DRAFT

Copper Country Survey
Final Report and Historic Preservation Plan

Mandan *Photo by Ryan Holt*

Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Sponsor
Jane C. Busch, Principal Investigator
June 2013

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The executive summary will be included in the final report.

1
2

CREDITS AND CREDENTIALS

Alison K. (Kim) Hoagland, project director, provided broad oversight of the survey, participated in the development of survey methodology, wrote district histories, consulted on issues as they arose throughout the project, and reviewed all survey products. Ms. Hoagland is professor emerita at Michigan Technological University, where she taught history and historic preservation for fifteen years. Before that, she was senior historian at the Historic American Buildings Survey of the National Park Service. She has directed cultural resource surveys across the country in her roles as professor, government employee, and volunteer for the D. C. Preservation League (formerly Don't Tear It Down). Ms. Hoagland has been a member of the Michigan State Historic Preservation Review Board, president of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, and a board member of the National Council on Public History. She has authored many books and articles, most recently *Mine Towns: Buildings for Workers in Michigan's Copper Country* from University of Minnesota Press. She chairs the Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission. Ms. Hoagland has a B.A. in American Civilization from Brown University and M.A. in American Studies with a concentration in historic preservation from George Washington University. She meets federal professional qualifications for historian and architectural historian.

Jane C. Busch, principal investigator and project manager, led the development of survey methodology, conducted pre-fieldwork research and planning, conducted fieldwork, wrote district descriptions and histories, created and entered data into the database, and wrote the survey report. She oversaw all other aspects of the survey including database creation, research, writing, mapping, and photography. Dr. Busch is a historic preservation consultant specializing in preservation planning and historic resource identification, evaluation, and designation. Since establishing her consulting business in 1998, Dr. Busch's projects have included historic resource surveys of Mackinac Island and Rochester Hills, Michigan; historic district study committee reports; and National Register nominations. She has worked on several projects in the Keweenaw, most recently directing a survey and writing a National Register nomination for the village of Laurium. From 1994 to 1998, Dr. Busch was the planner in the Michigan State Historic Preservation Office, where she had oversight of planning and local government programs. Prior to that she was assistant professor of material culture studies at the Cooperstown Graduate Program for History Museum Studies where she taught history of American architecture among other courses. Dr. Busch has a B.A. in anthropology and archaeology from Cornell University and M.A. and Ph.D. in American Civilization from the University of Pennsylvania. She meets federal professional qualifications for historian and architectural historian.

Ryan Holt, assistant manager, was responsible for on-site management of survey fieldwork. He took most of the survey photographs, organized and edited all photographs, prepared field maps, and used GPS to assist with navigation in the field. He produced the digital maps for the survey report and assisted in producing the district survey forms. Mr. Holt studied mechanical engineering at Michigan Technological University. He is a professional photographer whose work has been published in *Michigan History* and *Lake Superior* magazines. He uses GIS software to produce trail maps for outdoor sports in Keweenaw County, including ski trail maps for the Keweenaw Nordic Ski Club.

Eric Gollannek, historian, conducted most of the survey fieldwork, wrote district descriptions, and entered data into the database. Dr. Gollannek is an instructor in art history in the Honors College and Art Department at Grand Valley State University in Grand Rapids, Michigan. He has also taught art, design, and architectural history at the Kendall College of Art and Design in Grand Rapids and at the University of Delaware. In 2010–11 he conducted an intensive level survey of approximately two hundred resources for the City of Mackinac Island. Dr. Gollannek has a B.A. in history from Marshall University and M.A. and Ph.D. in art and architectural history from the University of Delaware. He meets federal professional qualifications for architectural historian.

Lynn Bjorkman, historian, conducted fieldwork for eight districts, wrote district descriptions, entered data into the database, and together with Arnold Alanen wrote most of the phase III district histories. She also conducted research for the final report and advised on the planning aspects of the project. Ms. Bjorkman is a historic preservation consultant based in Madison, Wisconsin. For the past fifteen years, her work has focused on the documentation and preservation of buildings and landscapes associated with copper mining in the Keweenaw Peninsula. For the Western Upper Peninsula Planning and Development Region (WUPPDR), Ms. Bjorkman conducted the 1995 survey of Calumet Village, Laurium Village, and Calumet Township's industrial district, leading to the establishment of two local historic districts. In 2000, while on the staff of Keweenaw National Historical Park, she directed a survey of mine worker housing within and adjacent to the park's Calumet Unit. Ms. Bjorkman has a B.A. in art history from St. Olaf College and a Master of Urban Planning degree from the University of Michigan. She meets federal professional qualifications for architectural historian.

Arnold R. Alanen, senior historian, worked with Lynn Bjorkman on fieldwork, descriptions, histories, and research for the final report, contributing particularly from his expertise on the history of Finns in America and on agricultural landscapes. Dr. Alanen is an emeritus professor in the Department of Landscape Architecture at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where he taught courses in landscape history and cultural resource preservation from 1974 to 2009. He has written several books and numerous articles on an extensive range of topics including the history of planned communities and landscape architecture, company towns, rural and immigrant settlements, and vernacular architecture. His most recent book is *Finns in Minnesota*, published by the Minnesota Historical Society Press. He meets federal professional qualifications for historian and architectural historian.

Four Keweenaw National Historical Park staff members served as an advisory team for the survey. Jo Urion, historian, led the team, which includes Steve DeLong, landscape architect, Jeremiah Mason, archivist, and John Rosemurgy, historical architect. The National Park Service (NPS) team participated in the development of methodology, assisted with fieldwork, consulted in their specialty areas, and reviewed survey products. Ms. Urion also wrote district histories. Collectively, the NPS team has more than thirty-five years experience working at the park, documenting, rehabilitating, and preserving the Keweenaw Peninsula's cultural landscapes and buildings and researching and interpreting copper mining history. Their projects have included rehabilitating the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company's historic office for use as park headquarters, cultural landscape reports for the park's Calumet and Quincy units, a long-range

interpretive plan, and rehabilitating the Union Building as the park's first visitor center. Ms. Urion has a B.A. and M.A. in history from the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. She meets federal professional qualifications for historian.

Jessica Montcalm, a graduate student in industrial archaeology at Michigan Technological University, wrote the majority of the Phase I district histories. John Griebel, a graduate of the industrial archaeology program at Michigan Technological University, provided research assistance during the initial planning stage of the project. In Ontonagon County, representatives of several organizations and agencies assisted in identifying historic resources and provided historical information: Bruce Johanson, Ontonagon County Historical Society; Brad Livingston, Bergland Cultural and Heritage Center; Josie Olson, Rockland Historical Museum; Patti Pattison, Old Victoria Restoration Site; Matt and Vicky Portfleet, Adventure Mining Company; and Robert Sprague, Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park. Nancy Sanderson of the Keweenaw County Historical Society and Barb Koski of Stanton Township also provided historical information. Erik Nordberg, who was then university archivist at the Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections, provided valuable assistance with research for the final report.

Kristine M. Kidorf created the survey database. Ms. Kidorf is sole proprietor of Kidorf Preservation Consulting, which she established in 2005. Prior to that she worked as historic preservation specialist in the Detroit Planning and Development Department and as environmental review coordinator in the Michigan State Historic Preservation Office. She adapted the Copper Country survey database from the database for a survey that she conducted in Farmington, Michigan. Ms. Kidorf has a B.S. in architecture from The Pennsylvania State University and an M.S. in historic preservation from the University of Vermont. She meets federal professional qualifications for architectural historian.

The Americana Foundation of Novi, Michigan, the Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, the Midwest Regional Office of the National Park Service, and a Federal Highway Administration National Scenic Byways grant provided major funding for the survey. Keweenaw National Historical Park provided additional funds and in-kind support.

PAST PRESERVATION EFFORTS

People in the Copper Country expressed an interest in local history at a very early date: one manifestation of this interest was the organization of the Houghton County Historical Society and Mining Institute in 1866. But preserving a record of historical events and preserving the places where they happened is not the same thing, and preserving historic places came much later. The establishment of Fort Wilkins Historic State Park in 1923, accompanied by restoration of the fort's historic buildings, was an important event in the development of historic preservation in the Copper Country, but it was decades before another preservation effort of comparable magnitude took place. In 1958 the Quincy Mine Hoist Association was established to preserve the Quincy Mining Company's No. 2 Nordberg steam hoist. Quincy had stopped mining in 1945 and the Nordberg hoist, once the largest steam engine in the world, was in danger of being scrapped. When mines shut down, demolition followed.

The 1968 shutdown of Calumet & Hecla (C&H) was a turning point for the Copper Country in every way, including for historic preservation. The demolition of significant portions of the company's industrial plant sounded an alarm for preservationists. The Calumet Theatre became a rallying point for locals. The theater was owned by the Village of Calumet, not by Universal Oil Products (UOP), which owned the former C&H properties, but the community could not support its landmark twelve hundred seat theater. In 1971 several organizations provided funds to begin rehabilitation of the theater, which was listed that year in the National Register of Historic Places. The Calumet Theatre was only the third property in the Copper Country to be listed in the National Register; Fort Wilkins and the Central Mine Methodist Church were listed in 1970. The Copper Country's abundant historic resources also attracted the attention of state and national historic preservation agencies. In 1972 the Michigan History Division of the Michigan Department of State conducted a survey of historic resources in the western Upper Peninsula, and in 1975 the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) conducted a survey in Houghton and Keweenaw counties to identify properties worth recording.

At the same time, local businesses and governments became more interested in promoting the Copper Country's historic places as tourist attractions. Universal Oil Products developed plans for a twenty-eight acre copper history theme park called Coppertown USA that would encompass the C&H industrial core. A very scaled-down Coppertown USA opened in 1975, consisting of a museum in the former C&H pattern shop. In 1977 the Western Upper Peninsula Planning and Development Region (WUPPDR) undertook a survey of historic resources in its six-county region and prepared a historic preservation plan that identified the most important historic resources with strategies for preserving them. WUPPDR's historic preservation plan discussed not only the economic benefits of historic preservation, but also the intangible value of preserving the region's historic character and how that contributes to quality of life. A number of the historic resources identified in this farsighted historic preservation plan have subsequently been listed in the National Register of Historic Places, but not surprisingly quite a few places that were identified as historic thirty-five years ago have been lost.

Preservation progress continued in the 1980s with more National Register listings. The establishment of a Main Street program in Hancock in 1984 was another step forward. But at the same time there were two major losses in Calumet—the demolition of Calumet and Hecla's

Superior engine house, once a symbol of the company's preeminence, and Italian Hall, a symbol of the bitter labor strike of 1913. The demolition of Italian Hall in particular was quite controversial and widely publicized and helped to generate interest in establishing a national park to preserve and interpret the history of copper mining. The National Park Service conducted studies in the area in the late 1980s, resulting in the designation of the Calumet Historic District and the Quincy Mining Company Historic District as National Historic Landmarks. In 1990 WUPPDR conducted a survey of historic resources related to copper mining and prepared a management plan that proposed a Michigan Copper Mining District Regional Heritage Reserve along the entire Copper Range; this also helped with planning for a national park. The establishment of Keweenaw National Historical Park in 1992 was clearly a watershed event for historic preservation in the Keweenaw. But more than an end in itself, the park was a new beginning that offered more ways to preserve the Copper Country's historic places. And while Keweenaw National Historical Park has taken the lead in historic preservation in the region, the National Park Service does not act alone, as the park is a partnership park—it works with local partners who undertake much of the work of preserving and interpreting copper mining history.[1] WUPPDR has continued to do important work that furthers historic preservation. WUPPDR conducted the planning and prepared the application for the Copper Country Trail, which was designated a state scenic heritage route in 1995. In 1996 WUPPDR conducted a survey of historic resources related to mining, logging, agriculture, conservation, and communities in southern Ontonagon and Houghton counties and parts of Gogebic, Iron, and Baraga counties. WUPPDR proposed a Forest Interior Heritage Area that would use these historic resources as a basis for heritage tourism.

There has been substantial progress in historic preservation since 2000. Among the highlights—both Calumet Village and Calumet Township have passed local historic district ordinances that protect historic resources within designated local historic districts. In Calumet Village, Main Street Calumet has provided additional tools for preserving and revitalizing Calumet's historic business district. The National Park Service has undertaken two award-winning rehabilitations of important historic buildings: the C&H general office building now serves as park headquarters and the Union Building is the park's visitor center. Currently the Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission is spearheading an effort to preserve the internationally-significant Quincy Smelter. The Advisory Commission has also sponsored this Copper Country survey and historic preservation plan, which aims to guide future preservation efforts in the region.

[1] More information on the park's partners is found in the Framework for Preservation section of this report.

PROJECT OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

The Copper Country survey was designed to collect information about above-ground historic resources on the Keweenaw Peninsula—the Copper Country—and to produce a survey report and preservation plan based on survey results. The Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, in consultation with staff members at Keweenaw National Historical Park, initiated the survey project in 2008. Although the park's boundaries are limited to the former Quincy mine, Calumet Village, and part of Calumet Township, one of the park's goals is to protect significant copper-mining resources on the entire Keweenaw Peninsula. The survey report and preservation plan supports this goal by identifying historic resources that are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places and by identifying preservation needs such as intensive-level survey, physical preservation, and public education. In the long term, the plan will help to direct the activities of the Keweenaw National Historical Park and its Advisory Commission as they develop educational programs and allocate financial and technical assistance. The plan is also designed to provide guidance for preservation organizations, local governments, and others with an interest in preserving the Copper Country's historic resources.

The Copper Country survey project is intended to update and expand two historic resource surveys and historic preservation plans that were conducted by the Western Upper Peninsula Planning and Development Region (WUPPDR), the first in 1977 and the second in 1990. WUPPDR's 1977 survey was a reconnaissance survey of historic resources in the six counties of the western Upper Peninsula: Baraga, Gogebic, Houghton, Iron, Keweenaw, and Ontonagon counties. The survey used a point system to identify the most important historic resources in those six counties; the historic preservation plan offered strategies for preserving them. WUPPDR's 1990 survey and historic resources management plan was specifically for the copper mining district: Keweenaw, Houghton, and northern Ontonagon counties. This plan was designed to manage 150 historic resources that were chosen from a field of 260 resources. Both of these surveys and plans still have relevance, but obviously there have been many changes since they were conducted. In addition, the Copper Country survey is more comprehensive than these two surveys, providing information on the entire pre-1970 built environment within the survey area, not just a selection of resources identified as most important.

A few other smaller surveys have been conducted in the Copper Country. In 1994–95 WUPPDR sponsored a survey of historic resources in Calumet Township, Calumet Village, and Laurium Village, and then in 1996 it sponsored a survey of historic resources related to mining, logging, agriculture, conservation, and communities in southern Ontonagon and Houghton counties (and parts of Gogebic, Iron, and Baraga counties). Also in 1996, part of Ontonagon Village was surveyed in conjunction with the M-64 bridge replacement. In 2000 Keweenaw National Historical Park sponsored a survey of mine worker housing in Calumet Township. And in 2011 the Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission sponsored a survey of copper mine waste deposits in Baraga, Houghton, Keweenaw, and Ontonagon counties. Some additional survey work has been conducted in various Copper Country locations in conjunction with National Register nominations and cultural landscape reports. All of these previous survey efforts inform the present survey.

The Copper Country survey is a comprehensive, reconnaissance-level survey of above-ground historic resources on the Keweenaw Peninsula. There are different definitions of the Keweenaw Peninsula; for the Copper Country survey the boundaries encompass all of Keweenaw, Houghton, and Ontonagon counties and the northwestern part of Baraga County. Above-ground resources are defined as resources with visible structural remains or landscape features. Buildings, structures, objects, and sites are the categories of above-ground resources. The cut-off date for inclusion in the survey is 1970, to the extent that can be determined from a brief visual inspection. Resources that were visible or readily accessible from improved public roads were included in the survey. In consideration of the large geographic area of the survey, the district, rather than the individual resource, was adopted as the survey unit. USGS maps were used to identify clusters of resources that were the basis for defining survey districts. Historical relationships were a secondary consideration in defining districts.

Phase I of the Copper Country survey took place in 2009 and entailed the development of survey methodology and database along with fieldwork in Ontonagon County, which was conducted in May and October. Nineteen survey districts were defined based on geography, and a twentieth thematic "roads and railroads" district was defined for state and federal highways and extant railroads in the county. The roads and railroads district was found not to be a useful construct, and it was discontinued in the next phases. In 2010 time was spent planning and fundraising for the next survey phases. Phase II fieldwork was conducted from May through August 2011 in southern Houghton County (south of the Keweenaw Waterway), northwestern Baraga County, and Keweenaw County. Twelve survey districts were defined for southern Houghton County, three districts for northwestern Baraga County, and eight districts for Keweenaw County for a total of twenty-three districts in phase II. One of the Keweenaw County districts is Isle Royale, consisting of Isle Royale National Park. No fieldwork was conducted in this district, instead, the survey form was completed using information from the *Isle Royale National Park General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement.* Phase III fieldwork was conducted from April through July 2012 in northern Houghton County, which was divided into nineteen survey districts. Thus the total number of survey districts is sixty-two; a list of all districts is found in Appendix B of this report.

Summary histories were written for each district. The primary repositories of historical information used in the survey are the Keweenaw National Historical Park Archives in Calumet and the Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections in Houghton; a list of sources is included in each survey form. Field worksheets were used to collect the following information for each district: topography and spatial organization including natural features; count of buildings, objects, structures, and sites; description, including types of buildings, structures, objects, and sites, architectural styles, materials, landscape features, typical and outstanding resources; condition; integrity; and estimated date range. Street worksheets were used to count resources and record information for streets or road segments within a district. Streamlined survey area worksheets were used for areas that were already well-documented, such as National Register historic districts. These worksheets were used to count resources, note current condition and integrity, and add information on styles, types, materials, etc. that were not described in the nomination or other source document. District worksheets were used to record information that applies to the district as a whole. High resolution digital photographs were taken of representative and outstanding resources, with image size no less than

1280 x 960. Field maps recorded actual survey area boundaries. The 2004 Houghton County road map was used for both southern and northern Houghton County field maps. Although a new Houghton County road map was published late in 2011, the 2004 map was used during the 2012 season for consistency.

As fieldwork for each district was completed, the information collected on the field worksheets was synthesized and analyzed and entered into the survey database. This Access database was designed so that it can be used for other surveys in the future, including both reconnaissance and intensive level surveys. The database record for each district contains boundary description, date span, historic and current uses, architectural styles, materials, physical description, assessment of condition, assessment of integrity, historical themes, history, references, and preliminary National Register evaluation. The database was merged to generate a printed Word survey form for each district, and representative photos and a map showing the district location were added to each form. Digital maps were prepared using Delorme XMap 7 GIS Editor software to create JPEG map images. In addition to the individual district maps, five area maps show all of the survey districts in northwestern Baraga County, southern Houghton County, northern Houghton County, Keweenaw County, and Ontonagon County. The color digital maps show a circular shape representing the general district location overlaid on actual fieldwork boundaries derived from the field maps. The printed black and white maps used in this report show only the circular shape representing the survey district location, so as not to give the impression that the fieldwork boundaries are defined historic district boundaries.

In addition to this survey report and historic preservation plan, the survey products are two interim reports; sixty-two district survey forms; the electronic database, maps, and photo files; and original field worksheets, field maps, and research materials. For phase I there are 518 photos and a total resource count of 7,875; for phase II there are 592 photos and a total resource count of 10,032; and for phase III there are 488 photos and a total resource count of 9,739. For the entire survey there are 1,598 photos and a total resource count of 27,646.

Data Location

Keweenaw National Historical Park has the complete set of survey products including all reports; district survey forms (included in the reports); electronic database, maps, and photo files; and original field worksheets, field maps, and research materials. WUPPDR in Houghton has copies of reports and electronic data. Additional copies of the reports are at the Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections in Houghton and the Michigan State Historic Preservation Office in Lansing.

Figure 1. Overview map of survey area

DESCRIPTIVE OVERVIEW

At the northwestern end of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, the Keweenaw Peninsula extends about seventy miles into Lake Superior. The Keweenaw region—known as the Copper Country or simply "the Keweenaw"—is defined by the Keweenaw Peninsula and by the Copper Range, a central highland of copper-bearing rock that runs lengthwise through the peninsula. At the base of the peninsula, the Copper Range continues southwest to the northern end of Lake Gogebic, then turns northward to end in the Porcupine Mountains. Because the Copper Range extends beyond the peninsula proper, definitions of what exactly constitutes the Copper Country vary. For this survey, we have defined the Copper Country as all of Keweenaw County—including Isle Royale National Park—Houghton County, and Ontonagon County. We have also included the northern part of Baraga Township in northwestern Baraga County. Although Baraga County is not usually considered part of the Copper Country, there were two copper stamp mills in Baraga Township that warranted including that area in the survey.

Lake Superior surrounds the Keweenaw Peninsula on the west, north, and east. Approximately fifty-five miles northwest of the tip of the peninsula, Isle Royale National Park is an island archipelago consisting of the large island of Isle Royale surrounded by about four hundred small islands. There are also several small islands near the shore of the Keweenaw Peninsula. Harbors and bays punctuate the lakeshore; the largest is Keweenaw Bay on the southeast. From the lowlands along the lakeshore, the land ascends—sometimes sharply—to the highlands of the Copper Range. Numerous rivers and streams flow from the interior into Lake Superior. There are many inland lakes of a variety of sizes, and swamps and marshes in low-lying areas. The Keweenaw Waterway crosses the peninsula at roughly its mid-section. Consisting of the Portage Lake Ship Canal, Portage Lake, Torch Lake, and the Portage River, the waterway was created in the 1860s and 1870s by dredging existing rivers and digging the Portage Lake Ship Canal to connect Portage Lake to Lake Superior on the north, resulting in an important transportation corridor. In the winter, snow—an average of more than two hundred inches a year—is a defining feature of the Copper Country landscape.

The forests that cover most of the land are composed primarily of hardwoods that grew after the original forest cover was logged. There are a few stands of virgin timber, notably in Porcupine Mountains State Park in Ontonagon County and Estivant Pines Nature Sanctuary in Keweenaw County. Most of the forest land is privately owned. Historically, much of this land consisted of large tracts held by the mining companies. When mining ended, these tracts were acquired by forest products companies. Recently these companies have been selling smaller parcels to individual owners. Publicly-owned forests include Porcupine Mountains State Park and Copper Country State Forest, but most is owned by the federal government in Ottawa National Forest, which occupies much of southern Ontonagon and Houghton counties, and Isle Royale National Park. Much of the forest land is managed for timber harvest, although some of the public forest is preserved as wilderness. Recreational activities such as hunting, fishing, and camping are important uses of forest land, especially, though not exclusively, in public forests. After forestry and recreation, agriculture is the most common land use. According to the 2007 USDA Census of Agriculture, there were 104 farms on 30,830 acres in Ontonagon County, 155 farms on 23,643

acres in Houghton County, and 8 farms on 1,602 acres in Keweenaw County. Although only a portion of Baraga County was included in our survey, working farms were evident.

Federal highway U.S. 41 and state route M-26 are the main routes through the Copper Country. U.S. 41 begins near the tip of the peninsula at Copper Harbor, follows the Copper Range highland across the Portage Lake Lift Bridge, then proceeds along the lakeshore to the village of Baraga, from where it travels east and south, eventually to Miami, Florida. M-26 also begins in Copper Harbor from where it follows the northern Lake Superior shore before combining with U.S. 41 from Phoenix to Laurium, then on to Lake Linden and along the shore of Torch and Portage lakes before it crosses the lift bridge; below the bridge it follows the Copper Range highland until the road ends at U.S. 45 near Rockland. U.S. 45 is the only other federal highway in the region; it starts at the village of Ontonagon and travels south into Wisconsin, eventually to Mobile, Alabama. M-38 and M-28 are important east-west routes; M-38 connects the villages of Ontonagon and Baraga, while M-28 crosses the southernmost part of Houghton and Ontonagon counties. M-203 in northern Houghton County and M-64 in western Ontonagon County are the remaining state highways in the region. County primary and local roads crisscross the more populated parts of the Copper Country, and there are seasonal roads in the state and national forests, yet there are large expanses with no roads at all. Two railroad lines are in use: the Escanaba & Lake Superior Railroad, connecting the village of Rockland with Escanaba, Michigan, and Green Bay, Wisconsin, and a branch of the Canadian National Railway connecting Marengo Junction, Wisconsin, with White Pine. Tracks have been removed from many miles of abandoned railroad lines that are now used as snowmobile trails.

The Copper Country is predominantly rural: in 2010 the combined population of Ontonagon, Houghton, and Keweenaw counties was 45,564, with an average density of 15.2 people per square mile.[2] Houghton County is the most populous, with a 2010 population of 36,628, including 12,342 people in Houghton and Hancock, the region's only two cities. Keweenaw County is the most sparsely populated county in the state of Michigan, with a 2010 population of 2,156 people and a density of only 4 people per square mile. The Copper Country's population is concentrated along the central spine of the Copper Range, including the cities of Houghton and Hancock, villages such as Calumet and South Range, and numerous mine locations—the communities that the mine companies built to house their employees. Buildings, structures, and piles of mine waste rock that are left from the copper mines are strung out along this spine; the large buildings, typically built of brick or stone, loom large on the landscape, even when they are in ruins. Villages that originated as shipping ports or mill towns dot the shores of Lake Superior and inland lakes; lighthouses mark the former and the massive ruins of copper stamp mills remain at the latter. Inland, a smaller number of villages originated as lumber towns along the railroad lines, especially along M-28, which parallels the former Duluth, South Shore, and Atlantic Railroad line. Former farming communities are scattered through Ontonagon County, southern Houghton County, and Baraga Township. The decline of the Copper Country's population from its peak of more than 100,000 in 1910 has had a decided impact on the landscape. Many communities are reduced in size from their earlier extent; in some only a house or two or perhaps a church or cemetery remain, whereas others have disappeared completely. Vacant and ruined buildings are commonplace.

[2] Although figures aren't available for the portion of Baraga Township included in the survey, most of the people there live in the incorporated village of Baraga, which had a population of 2,053 in 2010.

In communities large and small, single-family houses, usually built of wood, are the most common building type. The repetitive forms of company housing are particularly evident in the mine locations. Business districts are found in many of the villages, though few commercial buildings are found in mine locations. Churches are everywhere, made prominent by their steeples. Larger schools are found in cities, villages, and locations, and one-room schoolhouses in rural areas. Other building types include railroad stations, meeting halls, and government buildings. In rural areas, only a minority of farms are working, but extant farmsteads contain a variety of buildings and structures, most commonly houses and barns but also milk houses, poultry houses, silos, grain bins, root cellars, equipment sheds, and others. Finns were numerous among the Copper Country's farmers, and their saunas and log buildings are distinctive. Recreational buildings including motels, tourist cabins, and private cottages are common along the lakeshores; hunting camps are scattered throughout. Most of the built environment in the Copper Country dates from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. There are clusters of buildings from the 1840s and 1850s in the early ports of Eagle Harbor and Eagle River in Keweenaw County. Ranch houses from the early post-World War II years are concentrated in Houghton and its outskirts, White Pine, Ontonagon Village, and Baraga Village. Modern commercial strips are notably absent with two exceptions: a large strip on M-26 south of Houghton and a smaller strip on the outskirts of Calumet Village.

Counties are the largest units of government in the Copper Country. County governments operate the jails and major local courts, maintain rural roads, keep public records, and in some cases regulate land use, but their authority to pass ordinances is limited. In Michigan, cities, villages, and townships perform most local government functions including police and fire protection, tax assessment, providing utilities, and passing ordinances governing land use and public health and safety. In addition to the cities of Houghton and Hancock, there are eight incorporated villages in the Copper Country: Ontonagon in Ontonagon County; Calumet, Copper City, Lake Linden, Laurium, and South Range in Houghton County; Ahmeek in Keweenaw County; and Baraga in Baraga County. Except for the Keweenaw Bay Indian Community, the remaining unincorporated communities and rural areas are under the jurisdiction of one of the region's thirty-one townships. The western section of the L'Anse Reservation of the Keweenaw Bay Indian Community is located in northern Baraga Township. The Keweenaw Bay Indian Community is a sovereign nation; the tribal government operates independently of local governments with its own court, police, social services, and public works.

Government is the Copper Country's leading economic engine. Federal government employers include the National Park Service, U.S. Forest Service, and other federal agencies. At the state level there are state parks and forests and, most importantly, Michigan Technological University. Local government is the largest part of the public sector economy. In addition to county, city, village, and township governments, there are public schools and county road commissions. Retail and services follow government in their importance to the local economy. The prominence of accommodations, food, and drinking within the service industry points to the importance of tourism; much of retail is also tourist-oriented. The health care industry follows service and retail as a major contributor to the local economy. Other contributing industries include construction; manufacturing; finance, insurance, and real estate; and forestry and logging. Statistics on personal and household income indicate a relative lack of wealth in the

region. In 2009 the average per capita income for Ontonagon, Houghton, and Keweenaw counties combined was $29,702, compared to $34,315 for the state of Michigan and a national average of $39,635. Median household income for the three counties was $33,980 for the three counties, compared to $48,700 for the state of Michigan. Eighteen percent of individuals were living below the federal poverty level, compared to 16.8 percent for the state of Michigan. In 2010 the unemployment rate was 13.9 percent, compared to 13.2 percent for Michigan and 9.6 percent for the U.S. These figures reflect the national recession, but—despite areas of growth—the overall economy of the Copper Country was stagnant before the recession.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Native Americans lived in the Copper Country for thousands of years before the arrival of the first Europeans. They were the region's first copper miners, digging shallow pits to mine veins of copper, which was traded extensively throughout eastern North America. Trading posts at the mouth of the Ontonagon River and at the southern end of Keweenaw Bay were operated successively by French, British, and American fur traders. The fur trade was lucrative, yet tales of copper continued to lure French and British explorers, who found copper but did not succeed in establishing mines. Beginning in 1820, expeditions led by Lewis Cass, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, and Douglass Houghton provided additional information about copper in the Keweenaw, igniting public and government enthusiasm for copper mining. In 1842 the Ojibwa and the United States government signed the Treaty of La Pointe—the Copper Treaty—by which the Ojibwa ceded their lands on the southwestern shore of Lake Superior, including the Keweenaw Peninsula and Isle Royale.

In 1843 the federal government opened a land office at Copper Harbor, at first leasing but soon selling land to prospectors. Because travelers came by boat, the first communities—little more than tent camps—were established on the Lake Superior shore. In the northern Keweenaw Peninsula, Eagle Harbor and Eagle River joined Copper Harbor; in the south, the old Ojibwa village at the mouth of the Ontonagon River took on new purpose. Near Copper Harbor, the army built Fort Wilkins in 1844 with the intent to protect the incoming miners from hostile Ojibwa. This fear proved unfounded, however, and the troops were withdrawn two years later. Despite all the activity, findings of copper were meager until the 1845 discovery of a large mass of copper at the Cliff mine not far from Eagle River. The next major copper discovery came at the Minesota mine near Ontonagon in 1848. In the decade that followed, the Cliff and Minesota mines led the way in profits, encouraging the opening of more mines and bringing growth to the region. The mine companies recruited workers from Great Britain and Western Europe, particularly the Cornish, Irish, and Germans, who joined the Anglo-Americans and French Canadians. The mine communities, known as locations, were located inland along the Copper Range and consisted mostly of housing for mine workers, whereas the communities along the lakeshore developed into busy shipping ports with hotels, saloons, and stores. The population of the Copper Country grew from about eleven hundred people in 1850 to nearly fourteen thousand in 1860.[3] The opening of the canal and locks at Sault Ste. Marie in 1855 aided this growth by making transportation of settlers, supplies, and copper easier and cheaper.

Before the Civil War, mines and people were concentrated in the northern and southern ends of the Copper Country in the vicinity of the successful Cliff and Minesota mines. By the 1850s, however, there was increasing activity in the center of the peninsula in the area around Portage Lake. A cluster of mines south of Portage Lake led to the establishment of the village of Houghton on the south shore in 1854. North of Portage Lake, the Quincy Mining Company began mining the rich Pewabic Amygdaloid lode in 1856; the company platted the village of Hancock on the north shore in 1859. About ten miles to the north of the Quincy mine, Edwin Hulbert discovered the first evidence of the Calumet Conglomerate lode—the richest lode of all. The Civil War delayed exploration of the Calumet lode, but in 1865 Hulbert and his investors

[3] Arthur W. Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners: A History of Michigan's Keweenaw Peninsula* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994), 64.

organized the Calumet Mining Company, followed in 1866 by the Hecla Mining Company. In 1868 the village of Red Jacket (renamed Calumet in 1929) was platted near the Calumet and Hecla mines. In 1871 the two companies merged to create the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company (C&H), which soon became the largest and most profitable mine company in the Copper Country. By then, copper mining in the northern and southern ends of the Copper Range had declined. The shift in emphasis to central Houghton County and the villages of Houghton and Hancock was reinforced by the construction of the Portage Lake and Lake Superior Ship Canal. Completed in 1873, the canal made it possible for large boats to travel from Keweenaw Bay in the south through Portage Lake to Lake Superior in the north. By the 1880s railroads connected the Copper Country to Milwaukee and Chicago. Copper production increased from 14 million pounds in 1865 to 101 million pounds in 1890; 60 percent of that came from C&H.[4] In 1890 the population of the Copper Country exceeded 42,000 people, of whom approximately 35,000 lived in Houghton County.[5] By then most of the immigrant work force came from eastern and southern Europe, especially Italians, Croatians, and Slovenians; there was also a large influx of Finns, to the point where they were the largest immigrant group by 1890 and have remained so ever since.

Copper mining was by far the dominant industry in the Copper Country, but it was not the only industry. Commercial fishing predates the copper rush; it began on Isle Royale in 1837 and continued at a modest level until it boomed in the 1880s. The Isle Royale fisheries remained preeminent, but there were also fishing ports on the Keweenaw Peninsula. Logging began in the 1840s to provide lumber and fuel for towns and mines, but large-scale commercial logging began in the 1880s, when big lumber companies and railroads came to exploit the pine lands in the southern part of the Copper Country. The villages of Ontonagon and Baraga became bustling lumber mill towns and shipping ports. Tourists began visiting the Copper Country in the 1850s. At first they came by boat, typically as part of a Lake Superior tour, but in the 1880s the coming of the railroads opened the region to railroad tourism. Sandstone quarrying began in the vicinity of the south Portage Entry to the Keweenaw Waterway in the 1880s. The red Jacobsville sandstone that was quarried there contributed to the distinctive architecture of the Copper Country and was used in buildings as far away as New York City, New Orleans, and Omaha.

Copper production continued to increase in the 1890s and early 1900s; output for 1910 was 221 million pounds, more than double that of 1890. Three new mines opened in the late 1890s on the recently-discovered Baltic Amygdaloid lode about six miles south of Portage Lake. By 1903 the Copper Range Consolidated Copper Company owned all three mines, and it quickly surpassed Quincy in productivity, becoming second only to C&H. In 1910, Quincy accounted for approximately 10 percent of copper production, compared to 19 percent for Copper Range and 33 percent from C&H; the remainder came from other, smaller mines.[6] Older, deeper mines such as those on the Calumet Conglomerate lode were at a disadvantage; it was more expensive to extract rock from the deep shafts, and the ore was a lower grade. In the meantime, the Copper Country's secondary industries were changing as well. The big lumber companies had largely depleted the pine timber by 1900. New companies moved in to log hardwood and hemlock, but

[4] Larry Lankton, *Hollowed Ground: Copper Mining and Community Building on Lake Superior, 1840s–1990s* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010), 63–64.
[5] Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 158.
[6] Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 125, 137, 151–52.

this was not as extensive or as lucrative as pine logging. The removal of the forest cover, however, made large areas of land available for farming, which grew substantially. According to the U.S. Census of Agriculture, the number of farms in Ontonagon, Houghton, and Keweenaw counties combined increased from 191 in 1890 to 1,440 in 1910. Tourism grew, and places like Eagle Harbor, Copper Harbor, and Lake Gogebic became tourist destinations. The first automobile tourists came, a harbinger of the future. At the sandstone quarries, production peaked in the early 1890s, but then it declined, and before World War I all the quarries had closed. Yet copper still ruled the day, and the economy and population were still growing; in 1910 the population of the Copper Country reached its peak of approximately 105,000 people.[7]

The district-wide labor strike that began in July 1913 was a watershed event in Copper Country history. The costly and often violent strike ended nine months later in a victory for the mining companies, but it ushered in an era of chronic labor shortages and unrest. Three months after the strike ended, World War I began in Europe, and copper prices spiked due to wartime demand. In response, the region's copper production reached its peak of nearly 267 million pounds in 1916. But the market for copper collapsed after the war ended, beginning the long period of decline that neither company consolidation nor technological advances could stem. Copper production dropped to 92 million pounds in 1921 and then increased to 186 million pounds before the Great Depression sent it downward again, to a low of 47 million pounds in 1933. Production leveled off at about 90 million pounds in the late 1930s.[8] As copper mining declined, other industries assumed greater importance, especially the lumber industry. But by the 1920s the hardwood and hemlock forests were diminishing, and the industry was transitioning to pulpwood logging for papermaking. A number of lumber companies closed during the Depression. Farming increased and was bolstered in the 1930s by the back-to-the-land movement, but it became apparent that many of these farms were marginal, providing subsistence but not a living. As a result, public policy that had supported farming on cutover lands shifted to reforestation. Government agencies created the Copper Country State Forest and Ottawa National Forest and managed them for forestry and recreation. The latter supported the growing tourist industry, which after World War I shifted decidedly to automobile tourism. Commercial fishing peaked in the late 1930s, but it was not a big part of the regional economy. Overall, the economic picture was grim. In 1935, 36 percent of the population of Ontonagon County, 40 percent of the population of Houghton County, and 74 percent of the population of Keweenaw County were on relief.[9] New Deal programs helped to a degree—workers built roads, public buildings, and parks and planted trees in the new public forests. Nevertheless, the region's distress was evident in its population decrease from approximately 92,000 people in 1920 to roughly 64,000 in 1940.

Copper production remained relatively steady during World War II and then dropped again to 43 million pounds in 1946.[10] Quincy stopped mining and operated only its reclamation plant. C&H and Copper Range undertook limited mining while they diversified into other industries. Then in 1955 Copper Range began production at the White Pine mine in Ontonagon County, using new technology to extract copper from copper sulfide ore, which was unlike the native copper mined elsewhere in the Copper Country. The White Pine mine produced a yearly average of more than

[7] Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 158.
[8] Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 208.
[9] Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 238.
[10] Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 208.

70 million pounds of copper in the late 1950s, increasing to about 120 million pounds a year in the 1960s.[11] White Pine boosted the region's economy, as did automobile tourism, which boomed in the years after World War II, and the expansion of Michigan Technological University in Houghton. But these were not enough to reverse the decline. In 1960 the population of the Copper Country was approximately 50,000 people and still falling. The final C&H shutdown in 1968 marked the end of native copper mining, a powerful symbol of what had been lost.

[11] Ibid., 259.

HISTORICAL THEMES

Historic resources have little meaning when considered in isolation; to make sense they must be viewed in the context of the history and culture of their time and place. Our time period for the Copper Country survey is 1840 to 1970; our region is Keweenaw, Houghton, and Ontonagon counties and northwestern Baraga County, as previously described. Historical themes are the third component needed to evaluate resources in context. The following seventeen themes have been identified as significant in Copper Country history and applicable to the extant resources identified in the survey. The themes are not equally important, however; some are more prominent in Copper Country history than others. The copper industry is the preeminent theme; it dominated life in the Copper Country beginning with the copper rush of the early 1840s. Even as the copper industry declined in the mid-twentieth century, life still revolved around copper and its legacy. The copper industry is what makes the region nationally significant. All of the other themes relate to the copper industry to a greater or lesser extent.

Agriculture

Daniel Cash established what may have been the Copper Country's first farm at the mouth of the Ontonagon River in 1845. Some of the early mine companies, notably the Cliff and Minesota, established farms that grew potatoes and other root crops to feed their workers and hay and oats to feed their livestock. These crops did relatively well in the Keweenaw Peninsula's poor soils and short growing season. There was a great need for farmers to grow food for mine workers and their families in this remote region, yet farming was slow to develop. Except for the few ports, early settlement was along the mineral range, where mine companies owned most of the land, and they were reluctant to part with it. Away from the mines, the land was wooded and difficult to clear, and there were few roads for transporting produce to markets in the mine communities. Nevertheless, some farms, usually subsistence farms, were established along roads and rivers on leased or purchased land. The Bammert Farm, established in Keweenaw County in the 1850s, was an unusual example of an early farm that attained commercial success. Mine companies made land available to their workers for family gardens, and homes in villages and mine locations nearly always had a garden. It was not unusual for a family to keep a cow, hog, and/or poultry. For many years, more food was produced in villages than at rural farms.

In the 1870s, French Canadians established two farm communities, one east of Lake Linden and the other in a settlement called Paradise, west of Chassell; these were the first farm communities that were not near the mines. The French Canadians came to the area as loggers and stayed to establish farms on the lands that they had logged. In 1890 the U.S. Census counted 191 farms in Houghton, Keweenaw, and Ontonagon counties combined, with the largest number in Houghton County and the smallest in Keweenaw County. At that point agriculture was poised for expansion due to two factors. One factor was logging: as the timber was depleted, lumber companies and other owners of cutover lands, especially railroad companies, marketed these lands for farming. The second factor was the large number of Finnish immigrants, who came to the Copper Country with a strong tradition of farming in their native land and were eager to leave their mine jobs and establish farms as soon as they could afford to. Some Finns acquired farms through homesteading, but most purchased their farms, and they worked part-time as loggers, fishermen, miners, or common laborers to supplement their farming income. The Finns

favored dairy farming, which was part of their tradition and was suited to the climate and soils in the Copper Country. Root crops continued to be prominent; potatoes were always a staple of farming in the region. Farms were small, and most of their output was consumed by the farm family; what was left was taken to local markets. By 1900 there were 571 farms in Houghton, Keweenaw, and Ontonagon counties; by 1910 the number had increased to 1,440. The vast majority of these farms were operated by Finns. Farming was relatively minor in Keweenaw County, where there were only 36 farms in 1910 while there were 371 farms in Ontonagon County and 1,033 farms in Houghton County.[12]

Between 1910 and 1920, more than 1,600 new farms were established in the Copper Country, bringing the total in the three-county area to 3,094. Houghton County continued to be the leader, but the biggest gain—more than 900 farms—was in Ontonagon County. This tremendous growth was due in part to previously-established trends. Lumbering was declining, there were more cutover lands, and they were marketed aggressively for farming, not only by landowners, but also by those who saw farming as a way to improve the devastated lands and boost the flagging economy. This was happening throughout the Lake Superior region, and in 1911 Roger Andrews, a newspaper publisher in Menominee, established the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau (UPDB) to promote farming. Andrews coined the name Cloverland to connote the fruitfulness of lands in the region. The labor strike of 1913–14 had a major impact on farming. Finns were prominent among the strikers, and a sizable number of them left the Copper Country altogether or left the mines to establish farms. New Finnish farming communities were established in southern Ontonagon County where there was better farmland and a somewhat longer growing season than farther north. Previously-established Finnish farming communities grew as well. One of the thriving farm communities was around Otter Lake, and it was here that the John H. Doelle School was built in 1913, the first consolidated rural agricultural school in Michigan.

During the 1920s the number of farms in the Copper Country stayed about the same, with small gains in Houghton and Keweenaw counties and a slight loss in Ontonagon County. In the early 1930s there was a modest increase in the number of farms, to 3,581 farms in the three-county area in 1935, as laid-off workers went back to the land. During the Depression, potatoes and strawberries emerged as important cash crops. Beginning in 1930, Earl Roberts, Cooperative Extension agent for Keweenaw and Houghton counties, introduced improved potato cultivation techniques, which combined with farm electrification and mechanization to increase yields greatly and make Houghton County a major producer of potatoes for Midwest markets. Strawberries grew so well on some Houghton County farms that strawberry growers established the Copper Country Strawberry Growers Association in 1936 to ship berries out of the Copper Country to other Great Lakes markets. Despite the success of these two crops, during the late 1930s farming began a decline that continued through the twentieth century. In 1940 there were 3,203 farms in the three counties. In 1969 there were 473 farms in Houghton and Ontonagon counties; the census did not give data for Keweenaw County to avoid disclosing data for the small number of individual farms. Although average farm size increased during this time period, this was not merely a matter of consolidation; in 1969 the acreage of land in farms was well

[12] Farming increased in Baraga County as well, from 7 farms in 1890 to 241 farms in 1900, and 412 farms in 1910. Although there is no breakdown for the portion of Baraga Township in the survey area, it is evident that farming there grew dramatically.

under half of what it had been in 1935. The climate and soils in the Copper Country had never been that favorable for farming, but when the mines were flourishing there was a lucrative local market for farm products that helped to make farming profitable. With the decline of mining beginning in the 1920s, the population and the local market declined; in addition local farmers were increasingly in competition with more productive farms outside of the region that shipped their products to the Keweenaw. Furthermore, farmers often worked other jobs to supplement their farm income. When the jobs disappeared, many farmers could not make a living by farming alone. Farmers abandoned their farms and joined the thousands who left the Copper Country.

An array of farm buildings supported agriculture; the most important of these was the barn. The first barns had gable roofs and were relatively small. Gambrel-roof barns became popular in the early twentieth century, followed by gothic-roof barns in the 1920s, although not to the exclusion of earlier types. The Wisconsin dairy barn was a well-lit, well-ventilated type of gambrel-roof barn, identifiable in part by its large size, rows of windows, and roof-top ventilators. The long and low potato barn was another specialized barn type. The first generation of Finnish farmers built their barns and other farm buildings of logs. Later barns are of wood frame construction, but they may have lower walls of log, stone, stovewood, or concrete block. Other types of agricultural buildings and structures include milk houses, poultry houses, garages, spring houses, root cellars, grain bins, windmills, and sheds of various sizes and functions. Finns built distinctive versions of granaries and hay barns; more information on the construction and types of Finnish farm buildings can be found in the thematic narrative for Finnish ethnic heritage. With the exception of a small concentration found near Pelkie, all of the silos identified in the survey are located in Ontonagon County, presumably because corn was more successfully grown farther south.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

Farm buildings and landscapes are the most numerous property types related to the agriculture theme. Agricultural buildings and structures include barns, milk houses, poultry houses, garages, root cellars, grain bins, granaries, silos, windmills, and sheds; these buildings were grouped together into farmsteads. Houses, privies, and saunas are associated with the agriculture theme when they are part of a farmstead. Hay barns are located at a distance from the farmstead. The remains of numerous farmsteads are evident today, but often with just a fraction of their original buildings—most often a barn and farmhouse, or just a farmhouse. Farm landscapes are important agricultural resources. Landscape features include fields, pastures, fences, windbreaks, hedgerows, ponds, orchards, and the layout of buildings and structures. Farm communities are composed of multiple farms; some examples are in the vicinity of Otter Lake, Liminga, Misery Bay, Bruce Crossing, and Ewen. Non-farm buildings associated with agriculture are two agricultural schools, in Tapiola and Pelkie; a grange hall near Baraga; the Copper Country Cheese Cooperative in Dollar Bay; and two potato warehouses, one near Boston location and the other on the outskirts of Lake Linden.

The resources that most importantly represent the agriculture theme are farms that retain most or all of their historic buildings along with historic landscape features. Because the majority of farms have been abandoned, alterations to farm buildings are less of an issue than their collapse.

The best-preserved farms are still in use, but these have typically been updated to some degree. Houses often have artificial siding, new windows, and sometimes additions; smaller farm buildings may have artificial siding; and there may be some new buildings. Barns are usually unaltered except for a new roof. Farms that are National Register eligible will have integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association. They will retain a full complement of farm buildings in their historic spatial arrangement along with other landscape features. Some buildings may have minor alterations as long as the majority retains integrity of design and materials; modern intrusions will be minimal. There may also be historic districts composed of multiple farms.

An agricultural building may be individually eligible under Criterion A in the area of agriculture or under Criterion C in the area of architecture as an early or rare example of its type. For example, the two potato warehouses are significant for their role in an important chapter in Houghton County's agricultural history and as the only remaining examples of their type. Minor alterations do not affect eligibility under Criterion A, but buildings that are eligible under Criterion C must be highly intact. Buildings may also be individually eligible under Criterion C if they display exceptional qualities of design and/or building technique—there are a number of barns, for example, that exhibit these qualities. These buildings must retain integrity of design, materials, and workmanship.

(Photo—Davey Farm in Rockland, River St (1-C) Rockland Village, Rockland District)

Architecture

Residential buildings are the most common building type in the Copper Country. The oldest extant houses date to the 1840s and 1850s and are found primarily in Eagle Harbor and Eagle River. The toll house on the outskirts of Ontonagon Village and a house in Rockland have also been dated to the 1850s. The oldest house is the Eagle Harbor House, a side-gabled log house built in 1845, only its length suggesting its origin as a hotel. A few of the other houses were used early on as hotels, an important function on the unsettled frontier where many people were transient. Most of the houses are front- or side-gabled and one-and-one-half or two stories tall. The houses in Ontonagon and Rockland are upright and wing—a house type with a tall front-gabled section and a lower side-gabled wing. Some of the houses have rectangular sidelights, frieze-band windows, a wide band of trim at the eaves, and/or cornice returns, all characteristics of the Greek Revival style.

Once a mine location became more than a camp, mine companies built boardinghouses to house the predominantly single men in their workforce; none of these boardinghouses survive. As they became more established, companies began to build single-family log houses in order to attract workmen with families. The first log houses were roughly built and very small, with one or two rooms plus sleeping loft. Subsequent log houses were usually more carefully constructed of hewn logs and set on stone foundations, with three or four small rooms and a sleeping loft. At least one log house built in the 1860s remains at the C&H Mining Company's Hecla location. Log houses at Fulton and Phoenix locations also appear to be early examples. In the 1860s and 1870s, companies switched to frame construction, though smaller numbers of log houses were

built into the twentieth century. A few late nineteenth century examples survive at Swedetown, Tamarack, and Ahmeek locations. The restored log houses at Victoria location were built in 1899.

Frame construction made possible larger houses of a wider variety of forms. Company-built frame houses for mine and mill workers were typically one-and-one-half or two stories with four to five small rooms. Foundations were usually mine waste rock, siding was clapboard, and there was no decorative trim. Companies built a limited number of worker house types and grouped them so that each street consisted of one type, resulting in a repetitive rhythm of identical houses. Single-family houses were most common, but side-by-side double houses were built in smaller numbers. In the twentieth century worker houses tended to be larger and have more amenities, such as indoor plumbing and electricity. At the same time, early types continued to be built as late as the 1910s. The last company houses were built in 1918.

Front-gabled houses are the most common of the single-family house types, followed by T-plan and saltbox. Examples of front-gabled houses dating to the 1860s survive at Central mine; T-plan houses dating to the 1860s survive at Quincy mine; and saltbox houses dating to the 1860s survive at both Central and Quincy. Front-gabled houses are most often two stories, but there are also many one-and-one-half-story and less frequently one-story examples; one-story rear ells[13] are common. Usually the entrance is in the front of the house, facing the street. Twentieth century examples sometimes had small entrance porches with turned posts; often these porches have been enlarged, and usually they have been enclosed. The side-entry variation has the entrance on the long side of the house.

The T-plan house is a one-and-one-half- or two-story side-gabled house with a one-story ell centered in the rear, forming a T-plan. In 1864 the Quincy Mining Company built sixty-eight T-plan houses at Hardscrabble and Limerick locations; a few survive at Limerick. T-plan houses are widely distributed at mine locations, but seem to have been built most frequently by Quincy. At Mason, Quincy built a variation on the T-plan with the gable end facing the street, giving it the appearance of an upright and wing, although with different proportions. Saltbox houses are side-gabled houses that are one-and-one-half or two stories tall in front and one story in the rear; thus the roof is asymmetrical, with a longer pitch in the rear. The Martin house at Quincy mine was probably built by the Pewabic Mining Company in the 1860s; it retains its original clapboard siding and 2/2 windows. Saltbox houses are widely distributed at different mine locations; two notable concentrations are at Ahmeek and Tamarack locations.

Less common worker houses include the distinctive gambrel-roof house, built beginning in 1899 by C&H only. These were known locally as trunk houses because of their resemblance to immigrants' travel trunks. The two-story houses have front-facing gambrels. Rows of gambrel-roof houses are extant at Albion, Hecla, and Red Jacket Shaft locations. Companies built a small number of side-gabled houses that were neither T-plan nor saltbox; there are a few at Osceola and possibly other locations. A few L-plan company houses have been identified at Tamarack and Osceola locations. There may be more, but the L-plan house—in which the wing is the same height as the front-gabled upright—was a popular type built privately on leased company land,

[13] An ell is a rear extension, often lower than the front portion of a house. Ells were built both as part of a house's original construction and as later additions.

and more research is needed to determine if any are company built.[14] Mine companies built several hundred side-by-side double houses. The Pewabic Mining Company built double houses as early as the 1860s. Most of the double houses at C&H locations are side-gabled, whereas at South Range locations they are front-gabled or saltbox.

In addition to worker housing, companies built houses for upper-level personnel including clerks, mechanics, mining captains, bosses, physicians, and—at the top—the general manager, also called agent or superintendent. These houses are larger and had more amenities than worker houses, and they have Jacobsville sandstone foundations and decorative details reflecting popular architectural styles. The house that the Quincy Mining Company built for its agent in 1881 was a showplace; the Italianate villa has arched and bay windows, bracketed eaves, and a three-story tower in front. Nearby on U.S. 41, the chief mining captain's house (1899) is a two-and-one-half-story side-gabled house with a cross gable in front and bay windows on each end. At C&H, the general manager's large and rambling house is gone, but President Alexander Agassiz's house (ca. 1890) is extant, a two-and-one-half story L-plan house, spacious but modestly detailed. Other C&H managers' houses are located on Calumet Avenue (U.S. 41) and include a group of mining captain's houses built ca. 1900. These are relatively simple two-story front-gabled houses, yet they have more and larger rooms than worker houses and decorative details such as a Palladian or arched window in the front gable.

In Painesdale, the Copper Range Company built its general manager's house on Hubbard Avenue and homes for other upper-level personnel nearby on Algomah Street; together the two streets were known as Snob Hill. The general manager's house (1903) is a two-and-one-half-story side-gabled house with two-story bay windows flanking the front entrance porch. Architect Alexander Eschweiler of Milwaukee designed the general manager's house along with the doctor's house on Algomah Street. Built between 1900 and 1910, the Algomah Street houses are broad, two-and-one-half-story side-gabled houses with front porches and Colonial Revival details such as corner pilasters and dormer windows. Other examples of houses for upper-level personnel can be found at Ahmeek, Tamarack, Osceola, Mason, Baltic, and Mass locations. The mining captain's house at Victoria mine is unusual in its U-shaped form. On U.S. 41 at Wolverine, the house that the Wolverine Copper Company built for its superintendent in 1900 is an excellent example of the fully-developed Queen Anne style; it was designed by the firm of Charlton, Gilbert, and Demar.

In a few places there is company housing built by other types of companies. At Senter in Torch Lake Township, the Atlas Powder Company built one-story front-gabled houses for its workers. A few of these survive along with a two-story front-gabled teamster's house. Two streets of one-story front-gabled worker houses built by the Hawley Lumber Company survive in Ontonagon Village. There are four clusters of lumber mill worker housing in and near the village of Trout Creek, consisting mostly of one- and one-and-one-half-story front-gabled houses. On Weidman Street in Trout Creek, two rows of five houses apiece face each other across the street. Eight of these are one-and-one-half-story front-gabled worker houses. At the end of each row is a

[14] C&H did not build L-plan houses for workers, but it is not always clear at other company locations. Lynn Bjorkman, "Mine Worker Housing in Calumet, Michigan: 1864-1950" (Calumet: Keweenaw National Historical Park, 2000), 63 and C&H Core District survey form.

foursquare manager's house. The mill owner's house (destroyed by fire) once stood on a hill overlooking the street.

The demand for company housing far exceeded the supply. Mine workers who could not obtain company housing had a few options. They could build a house on leased company land. They could build, buy, or—most often—rent a house in a nearby village. The Quincy Mining Company built houses for sale in two subdivisions in Hancock, but this was the only instance of a mine company building houses for sale. Mine workers could also board with another family, an exceedingly common practice that helps to explain why people with relatively little income lived in relatively large houses. Laborers who were not mine workers also built, purchased, rented, or boarded in the villages. Compared to company housing, there is more variety in privately-built worker housing. The two-story front-gabled single-family house is the most common type, and in some places there are entire blocks of front-gabled houses, but—in contrast to company housing--they are not all identical in size and detail. Even a modest worker's house may have a front porch, windows with art glass, and decorative shingles or a bargeboard in the gable end. House types are often mixed on a given street. L-plan houses, usually two stories, are common. Foursquare houses, usually two stories, were built after 1900. For example, in Dakota Heights, which was developed for railroad workers beginning in 1906, the two-story foursquare house is the predominant house type. Other house types include upright and wing, one- and one-and-one-half-story front-gabled, and side-gabled.

Double houses were built to rent to workers, or a homeowner might live in one unit and rent the other. More than sixty double houses survive in Laurium, most of them side-by-side front-gabled doubles. Other double house forms are side-gabled and H-plan; a few are up and down rather than side by side. Other types of multi-family housing appear occasionally; these include a fourplex in Laurium and two three-story apartment buildings in Hancock. There are also a few two- or three-story boardinghouses built for that purpose, although usually boarders were accommodated in single-family and double houses.

Upper level mine personnel frequently built homes in the villages. And of course merchants and professionals who did not work for the mine companies lived in the villages. As with worker housing, the two-story front-gabled house is the most common type, followed by the L-plan. Upright and wing, side-gabled, smaller front-gabled, foursquare, and bungalows are other middle class house types. Bungalows are not as numerous as foursquares, but there are additional small gable-roof houses with lower-pitched roofs that indicate bungalow influence. In many cases, it is not appearance that differentiates a laborer's house from a middle class house, but whether the house is owned or rented. Nevertheless, as houses go up in price, they are more likely to have front or side extensions, bay windows, and/or cross gables that add complexity to plan and elevation. There are cross-plan houses and houses with the irregular plan characteristic of the Queen Anne style. Jacobsville sandstone instead of mine waste rock is used more frequently for foundations. The vast majority of houses are constructed of wood, but there is a concentration of brick houses in Hancock and scattered examples elsewhere, some concrete block in houses built after 1900, and Jacobsville sandstone in some of the more expensive houses.

The homes of more affluent families have decorative details that reflect current architectural styles. In the 1860s and 1870s, the Italianate style was the most popular house style in the U.S.

There are a few scattered instances of houses with arched windows and window hoods characteristic of the Italianate style, but the Quincy mine agent's house is the only fully-developed example of the style. In the older part of Houghton, there are about half a dozen Second Empire style houses with mansard roofs. The Queen Anne style was the most popular architectural style in the U.S. from the 1880s through the early 1900s, coinciding with the period of greatest growth in the Copper Country; not surprisingly, then, it is the most common style. Queen Anne style elements include porches with columns or turned posts, railings, and spindlework; art glass windows; Palladian windows; fishscale shingles; sunbursts; and bargeboards. In addition to these, more expensive houses may have irregular floor plans; varied wall surfaces combining sandstone, clapboard, and patterned shingles; wraparound porches; corner towers; balconies; combination hipped and gable roofs; and shaped chimneys. Nearly every village that was growing in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century has one or more large and ornate Queen Anne style houses. Neighborhoods of large Queen Anne style houses are found in Linwood and on Lake Street in Dollar Bay. On Victoria Avenue in Rockland they are mixed with Colonial Revival style houses, which appear in smaller numbers than the Queen Anne style and share some characteristics, such as Palladian windows and classical columns. Colonial Revival style houses usually have gambrel or side-gabled roofs; details include pediments, corner pilasters, oval windows, and modillion block cornices. Foursquare houses and bungalows, built in the 1900s and 1910s, have Arts and Crafts details such as square or canted porch columns, stucco or wood shingle walls, bracketed eaves, exposed rafter tails, and shed roof dormers. These stylistic details were once much more prominent than they are today, since on a great many houses they have been covered by artificial siding.

The upper tier of homes for the wealthy displays the greatest variety of architectural styles and the greatest sophistication in their treatment. Many of these houses were built for mining captains; it is likely that all of them were designed by architects. The Queen Anne style is well represented, but there are also houses in the Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, Shingle, Prairie, and Arts and Crafts styles along with eclectic combinations. Hancock and Laurium both have highly intact neighborhoods with a large proportion of upper class houses. In Hancock, the Quincy Mining Company platted the East Hancock neighborhood in 1891, requiring a minimum construction cost of two thousand dollars per house, which ensured that the houses would be large and substantial. Today the neighborhood contains more than eighty houses. Architect Charles Archibald Pearce designed Queen Anne and Shingle Style houses in the neighborhood. Hans T. Liebert designed several houses, including the Kauth House (1907), with a two-story columned portico, and his own house (1907), which combines Jacobean and Arts and Crafts style elements. In Laurium, mansions and more modest homes are found on the same streets; the largest houses are usually located on corner lots. Architect Charles Maass designed a number of fine houses in Laurium, either alone or in partnership with his brother Fred. Maass Brothers designed the Thomas Hoatson House (1907–08), a Classical Revival mansion with a two-story pedimented entrance portico with Corinthian columns, Corinthian corner pilasters, and dentils and modillion blocks on the cornices. At thirteen thousand square feet with forty-five rooms, it is the largest house in the western Upper Peninsula. Other outstanding houses include the Queen Anne style house that stonemason Paul Roehm built for himself entirely of Jacobsville sandstone (1896; William Pryor); the Shingle Style Vivian House (1898; Charlton, Gilbert, and Demar), with a first story of rusticated Jacobsville sandstone, wood shingle second story, and a corner

tower with belvedere; and the Gordon Campbell House (1913), which displays Arts and Crafts style influence in its horizontal lines, broadly arched entrance porch, and dark textured brick.

The population of the Copper Country began to decline after the strike of 1913–14 and new home construction along with it. In mine towns especially, very few new homes were built in the 1920s and 1930s. Two-story front-gabled and L-plan houses continued to be built, but the nationwide trend toward smaller houses was evident. One- and one-and-one-half story houses became more common. The Tudor cottage was introduced, a small one- or one-and-one-half story house characterized by a steeply-pitched gable roof in contrast to the low-pitched roof of the bungalow. Fully-developed examples have an enclosed entrance vestibule with a steeply-pitched asymmetrical front-gabled roof. More often, a small side-gabled house has a simple gable-roof entrance vestibule. Some two-story gabled-ell houses with an asymmetrical front gable show Tudor cottage influence. A few Cape Cod houses date to this period; others were built after World War II. In Copper Harbor there are a number of rustic log houses. More often rustic log or log-sided houses were built as recreational homes, but they fit Copper Harbor's development as a resort community and undoubtedly were influenced by the Keweenaw Mountain Lodge nearby.

Residential architecture includes outbuildings as well as houses. In the earliest decades, all houses had privies. By the late nineteenth century middle class houses typically had a bathroom, but worker houses without indoor toilets were built as late as the 1910s. Though they were once ubiquitous, only a few privies survive in villages or locations. Working class homes also had sheds and livestock barns in their rear yards so that families could produce their own food. Mine companies encouraged their workers to keep a cow and tend a garden, and toward that end the companies often built barns on worker house lots. C&H built some double and quadruple barns designed to be shared by two or four households. Although the large majority of barns are gone, there are a number of surviving examples, including some log barns in Mohawk and Ahmeek Village. Sheds were insubstantial, and relatively few survive. Homes of the more affluent had horse stables or carriage houses; examples of these survive in Houghton, Hancock, and some of the villages. At Raymbaultown location, a sandstone carriage house with garage addition survives at the house site of C&H general manager James McNaughton. A few garages were built in the 1910s, but most were built in the 1920s and later. Garages built before World War II are freestanding buildings, usually frame construction with gable or hipped roofs. Stables were also converted to garages. Numerous garages survive throughout the survey area.

In rural areas, most houses fall into two classes: farmhouses and recreational cottages. A large proportion of farmhouses were built by Finns, so there are quite a few built of logs, although the vast majority of these have siding covering the logs. Farmhouses are usually one-and-one-half or two stories. Front-gabled houses are common, although they do not predominate to the extent that they do in mine towns. In addition, front-gabled farmhouses often have broader proportions than those built for mine workers. Because most farmhouses were built after 1900, foursquare houses are more common, both one and two stories. Other house types include upright and wing, L-plan, side-gabled, and bungalow. Queen Anne style details are rarely seen on farmhouses, but a number of them have bracketed eaves, exposed rafter tails, and/or 3/1 or 4/1 windows reflecting the Arts and Crafts style. In Ontonagon County, a distinctive one-and-one-half story house type has the bracketed eaves and shed roof dormers characteristic of bungalows,

but the roof pitch is much steeper than on a bungalow. A group of unusual farmhouses on Paradise Road in Chassell Township are built of brick or terra cotta block, possibly reflecting the building traditions of the French Canadians who settled there. Recreational cottages are small gable-roof houses, usually one story and mostly found along lakeshores, although some inland examples were built as hunting camps. Some have exposed rafter tails or brackets indicating Arts and Crafts influence; others are built of logs or have log siding, indicative of the rustic style. Recreational cottages are difficult to date. Most would have been built after World War I, when travel by automobile became common.

After World War II, the ranch house was the predominant house type—in villages and cities, on farms and at the lakeshore, and at all social levels. Ranch houses are scattered throughout the region, but the largest concentrations are found in areas that experienced growth in the late 1940s through 1960s: the village of Baraga, city of Houghton and vicinity, village of Ontonagon, and especially White Pine. There are more than two hundred ranch houses in White Pine, a planned mine town built beginning in 1951. Ranch houses by definition are one story with a low-pitched hipped or gable roof or sometimes a flat roof. Small rectangular plan worker houses predominate at White Pine, yet even these have attached garages. More expensive ranch houses, such as those built by White Pine mine managers in Ontonagon Village, are larger, often L-plan, with deep overhanging eaves and large picture windows. Often these larger ranch houses have brick or stone veneer at their base with wood siding such as board and batten above. Some of the larger ranch houses, particularly in Houghton and vicinity, show the influence of modern design, with large expanses of glass and flat roofs. In Baraga and vicinity, a number of ranch houses have a distinctive veneer combining brick with irregular pieces of Jacobsville sandstone.

Other post-World War II house types are split levels and bi-level ranch houses. Cape Cods and small gable-roof houses continued to be built in the early post-war years. A small number of two-story side-gabled houses were likely built in the 1960s. There are occasional A-frame houses, usually built as recreational homes. Mobile homes are found both in villages and in rural areas, where they are used as both recreational and year-round housing. Mobile homes were usually not confined to trailer parks; only three of these were found, in Hancock, Dodgeville, and White Pine.

Student housing at Finlandia University and Michigan Technological University consists primarily of dormitories. Mannerheim Hall (1965)[15] at Finlandia University and Wadsworth Hall (1955) and McNair Hall (1965–1968; Tarapata-MacMahon Associates) at Michigan Tech are all large, multi-story brick-veneered buildings in the modern idiom. McNair Hall's ribbon bands of windows especially show International Style influence. In contrast, Michigan Tech's Daniell Heights housing for married students (1960; Minoru Yamasaki), consists of small two-story gable-roof buildings that relate to historic houses in the region.

Commercial buildings are the second most common building type. Occasionally they are found in mine locations, but most of them are in Houghton and Hancock and in villages throughout the Copper Country. As villages grew, concentrations of commercial buildings developed into central business districts. The first commercial buildings were wooden buildings of the shop-house type, essentially front-gabled houses with residential space on the upper floors and

[15] Mannerheim Hall was later renovated to classrooms and offices.

commercial space, marked by display windows, on the first floor. Early examples of shop-house commercial buildings survive in Eagle Harbor. As commercial buildings evolved, display windows became larger, and false fronts gave added height. While the first story was devoted to retail, the second story housed more private functions such as apartments, offices, meeting rooms, or work space. Bracketed cornices in the Italianate style were the most common embellishment. This type of two-part commercial building housed most commercial functions, including retail stores, saloons, banks, and hotels, although some of the latter took the form of large houses. One-part commercial buildings had no upper story. The blacksmith shop was an important commercial building type that took other forms. The Bammert blacksmith shop, built in the 1880s at the Cliff mine and later moved to Phoenix, is a two-story side-gabled frame building. In Copper Harbor, a sign on a small hewn log building states that it was built in the 1880s as a blacksmith shop.

In the 1880s, masonry construction became common for commercial buildings, although more so in some areas than others. The shift to masonry was in part a response to fires that devastated many communities. After an 1887 fire destroyed twelve city blocks in Lake Linden, the village council passed a fire code that required brick or stone construction within a specified section of the business district. Yet after an 1896 fire leveled nearly the whole village of Ontonagon, the village, including the business district, was rebuilt almost entirely in wood. Another reason for the shift to masonry was prosperity—masonry was preferred for larger buildings, and even in smaller buildings it is more substantial and impressive. Broad commercial blocks were built with two or three storefronts, and buildings with three stories, occasionally four or five, were built in Calumet, Laurium, Hancock, and Houghton. Masonry construction allowed commercial buildings to be constructed with common walls, so that the commercial buildings presented a continuous front to the street. Masonry construction became predominant in the largest and more prosperous business districts: Lake Linden, Laurium, Calumet, Hancock, and Houghton. It was used to various degrees in smaller business districts; in Ontonagon County wood frame commercial buildings continued to predominate. There were also wood frame buildings with masonry fronts or brick veneer. Brick was the most common type of masonry used for commercial buildings. A number of commercial buildings in Houghton County were built of Jacobsville sandstone, which was also used for trim and for decorative elements on brick buildings. The red Jacobsville sandstone lends a distinctive character to the business districts where it is found. It was not used at all in Keweenaw County and in Ontonagon County is found in only one instance: the trim on a brick hotel in Rockland. Rusticated concrete block was used for some commercial buildings built after 1900.

Cast iron, terra cotta, and pressed metal are other materials that were used for decorative treatments on commercial buildings. The Italianate style continued to be the most common style for late nineteenth century commercial buildings, but it is a more ornate version, with window hoods and elaborate cornices, the latter typically made of pressed metal. Richardsonian Romanesque and Romanesque Revival styles were favored for buildings constructed of Jacobsville sandstone. As with houses, the greatest variety of styles and their most exuberant expressions are found in the largest and most expensive commercial buildings. A few of these adopt the Renaissance Revival style; in Houghton, the Italian Renaissance style Douglass House hotel (1899–1900; Henry L. Ottenheimer) with its twin corner towers is an outstanding example. The Shelden-Dee Block (1899–1900; Henry L. Ottenheimer) in Houghton is a creative

interpretation of classical design elements. There are a few examples of later styles, including Sullivanesque and Art Deco. Banks were often the most substantial buildings in a business district, designed to inspire confidence. In Ontonagon's business district, the Classical Revival First National Bank (1921) is the only brick building on a street of wood frame commercial buildings. Laurium's two bank buildings are the largest and most ornate in the district. The First National Bank of Laurium (1907; Frank W. Hessenmueller) is a three-story Italian Renaissance style brick building with lavish terra cotta trim that includes a pedimented corner entrance with Ionic pilasters, egg and dart moldings, and cornice with acanthus leaf brackets and modillion blocks. Across the street, the State Savings Bank of Laurium (ca. 1901; Carl E. Nystrom) is a three-story Romanesque style brick building with marble Ionic columns at its corner entrance and sandstone piers and trim.

By the 1920s, new commercial building types were serving the needs of automobile owners and travelers. Foremost were gasoline filling stations, commercial garages, and combinations of the two, known as service stations. These were freestanding buildings built not only in central business districts, but also out along the highways. The most popular design for early filling stations was a small hipped roof building with a canopy in front; a brick example survives in Baraga Village and a wood frame example on Quincy Hill. With the addition of service bays, stations became larger. The brick service station (ca. 1928) at Fifth and Elm in Calumet, now a coffee house, is a good example. Examples of pre-World War II filling and service stations are scattered through the Copper Country; undoubtedly there were once many more than there are today. Tourist cabins, another new auto-oriented type of commercial building, appeared in the 1920s. Usually the cabins are grouped around a central courtyard, forming a tourist court. There are a number of tourist courts in Copper Harbor, which by the 1920s had become a resort community, but more often they are found along the highway, especially on highways that border lakeshores. Only three tourist courts were found in Houghton County; there are more in Ontonagon County and in northern Keweenaw County. Like recreational cottages, tourist cabins often have characteristics of the Arts and Crafts or rustic styles or a combination of both. These include exposed rafter tails, brackets, shingle siding, and log walls or siding. Taverns are another type of freestanding building usually found along highways, unlike the saloons that preceded them, which were located in central business districts. Taverns seem to have appeared in the 1930s, after Prohibition ended. They are typically one- or two-story frame buildings with no particular distinguishing characteristics.

The number of post-World War II commercial buildings in the Copper Country is relatively small compared to the number that date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nevertheless, examples can be found throughout the region. After the war there was a pronounced change in the appearance of commercial buildings: one-story buildings are freestanding, long and low, and usually have flat roofs. Some show the influence of modern design, particularly in the use of large expanses of glass. The Agate Shop in Eagle Harbor is a good example of a commercial building in the modern idiom, although its pitched roof is atypical. Some commercial buildings were built as infill in central business districts, but increasingly they were located at the edge of town, along the highway. In addition to retail stores, specialized types of commercial buildings include supermarkets, restaurants, bars, and taverns. One drive-in restaurant, in Baraga Village, was originally built as an A&W. New designs for gasoline service stations featured streamlining and porcelain enamel panels; there are

some examples of these types, but most have been remodeled or replaced. Tourist courts were built at least into the 1950s, but motels soon outnumbered them. Most motels are one story; a few have two stories. Near Kearsarge, the Hut Inn restaurant and motel (1952) shows modernist influence in its sweeping horizontal and diagonal lines.

After commercial buildings, industrial buildings are the most prominent building type; however, their prominence comes not just from numbers, but from their large size and imposing appearance. Shafthouses are among the tallest structures in the Keweenaw—the Quincy No. 2 shaft-rockhouse on top of Quincy Hill is visible for miles and has become a symbol of the Copper Country. Extant mine buildings are located along the Copper Range, from the Delaware mine in the north to the White Pine mine in the south. The first generation of mine buildings, built before the Civil War, were constructed primarily of wood; none of these survive. The oldest extant mine building may be the ca. 1860s powder house at the Calumet mine site. The majority of standing mine buildings were built from the 1880s to the 1910s; the most extensive complexes are at the Quincy and C&H mine sites. A small number of mine buildings were built after World War II; these can be found at the Centennial No. 3 and 6, Osceola No. 6 and 13, and White Pine mine sites.

Most of the extant mine buildings are constructed of masonry—brick, mine waste rock, Jacobsville sandstone, or a combination. Some of the Jacobsville sandstone buildings are built of squared blocks, but more often they use rubble stone. After 1900 concrete block was used as well. Mine buildings can be very large: the No. 2 warehouse at the Calumet mine site measures 80 x 440 feet. Some of the buildings have monitor roofs. Design details include arched lintels framing windows and doors and quoins at building corners; often these are fabricated of contrasting brick or stone. Quincy's No. 2 hoist house (1920; J. M. Hoff), a tall front-gabled building built of reinforced concrete with brick veneer, draws on classical design with its unusually tall arched windows, keystones, and concrete piers resembling pilasters. After World War II most mine buildings were built with sheet metal siding over steel frames. All mine buildings were part of the ore extraction process; they include boilerhouses, dryhouses, powder houses, hoisthouses, machine shops, drill shops, pattern shops, blacksmith shops, oil houses, and warehouses. Shafthouses once dotted the length of the Copper Range; five survive today. The Champion No. 4 shaft-rockhouse (ca. 1904) is the oldest. The Quincy No. 2 shaft-rockhouse (1908) stands 147 feet tall. Shaft-rockhouses at Osceola No. 13 and Centennial No. 6 and the small shafthouse at Centennial No. 3 date to the 1950s. The mine companies' stylish administrative buildings contrast with the industrial buildings. The Quincy Mining Company's general office building (1897; Robert C. Walsh), built of Jacobsville sandstone, combines classical design with the arched openings and rough-faced masonry of the Richardsonian Romanesque. The C&H general office building (1889; Shaw & Hunnewell) is one of the most eye-catching buildings in the Copper Country, with walls that combine dark mine waste rock and light fieldstone in an intricate design, set off by red brick trim.

Stamp mills were built primarily along lakeshores; the biggest concentration was at Torch Lake, but they were also built on other inland lakes and at several locations on Lake Superior. Only ruins remain of the stamp mills themselves, but several buildings associated with the mills survive. These include an office/warehouse building at the Champion mill site in Freda and a three-story boilerhouse (1906) at the site of the Michigan stamp mill in Baraga Township. At the

C&H stamp mill site in Lake Linden, a power plant, research laboratory, fire hall, and office building (1918) are extant. Two of the seven smelters built in the Copper Country stand today. The Quincy Smelter, built beginning in 1898, is a relatively intact complex of more than twenty buildings, among them cupola and reverberatory furnaces, mineral warehouse, briquetting plant, warehouses, powerhouse, machine shop, laboratory, and assay office. A smelter built in the 1950s remains at the White Pine mine. Although the furnaces are no longer extant at the C&H smelter in Hubbell, several buildings remain, including the mineral storage building and electrolytic plant, both constructed in 1913. In Dollar Bay, three brick buildings with monitor roofs were likely part of a copper wire mill.

The Atlas Powder Company produced the explosives that were essential to copper mining. Atlas built its industrial works and company town at Senter in 1910 and operated there until 1960. Brick industrial buildings at the Atlas site include a machine shop, warehouse, paint shed, and pulp house. A hipped roof frame laboratory building has scalloped rafter tails and dormer windows. A few other industrial buildings are unrelated to the copper industry. On Hancock Street in Hancock, several light industrial buildings constructed of concrete have brick facades with stepped gable roofs. In Dollar Bay, the Horner Flooring Company, established in 1930 and still operating, is a dense complex of industrial buildings built of wood, tile, brick, concrete block, and metal. Some additional industrial buildings in the villages of Ontonagon and Baraga are either greatly altered or nondescript.

Architects designed a small but prominent selection of buildings in the Copper Country, mainly public and commercial buildings, mine offices, churches, and large homes. The Red Jacket (Calumet) Village Hall (1885), designed by John B. Sweatt, is the earliest architect-designed building that has been identified. Sweatt lived in Marquette at the time; it appears that he was self-taught. Among the few buildings that he designed in the region is the monumental Houghton County Courthouse (1887). Mine companies and other affluent clients commissioned work from well known Midwestern architects such as Holabird & Roche and Henry L. Ottenheimer of Chicago, Alexander C. Eschweiler of Milwaukee, and John Scott of Detroit. Mine companies also commissioned buildings from architects in the eastern cities where the companies were based. Thus, Shaw & Hunnewell of Boston designed the C&H general office and library buildings. Robert C. Walsh of Morristown, New Jersey, designed Quincy's general office building; Walsh was the neighbor of the Quincy Mining Company's treasurer. Closer to the Keweenaw, D. F. Charlton of Marquette designed more than twenty buildings in the Copper Country. The first professionally trained architect to make a permanent home in the Upper Peninsula, Charlton established a practice in Marquette in 1890 and worked with various partners until 1918; for a few years he had a branch office in Hancock. The Vivian Building (1894) in Laurium, Hancock City Hall (1899), and St. Anne's Church (1901) in Calumet are among his most notable buildings. Some architects moved to the Copper Country during the boom years and then moved on. Charles K. Shand was one of them; he made his mark with buildings that include the Red Jacket Fire Hall (1899) and Lake Linden Village Hall (1902). Charles Maass had the longest career in the Copper Country, arriving in about 1895 and leaving in about 1920. Working alone or in partnership with his brother Fred, his designs include the Michigan House (1905) in Calumet, the Masonic Temple (1910) in Houghton, and many fine homes in Laurium. After 1920, commissions for architects became scarce as the population, economy, and new construction all declined. There are, however, three later commissions by prominent architects

that deserve mention: Nikander Hall (1939), designed by Eliel and Eero Saarinen with J. R. F. Swanson; the Sherman Gym (1949, remodeled 1985) at Michigan Technological University by Alden B. Dow; and Daniell Heights student housing (1960) at Michigan Tech by Minoru Yamasaki.

Builders designed and built most of the buildings in the Copper Country. The region's leading builders included Norwegian immigrant Edward Ulseth, who started a contracting business soon after his arrival in 1883; his nephew Nils Ulseth joined the business in the late 1880s. In 1896 Ulseth partnered with Finnish immigrant A. A. Bajari; Ulseth and Bajari reportedly built four hundred buildings in 1898 and 1899. Bajari died in 1902; Edward Ulseth continued in business into the early 1930s. Masonry contractor Paul P. Roehm supplied Jacobsville sandstone for many buildings in the Calumet area. German immigrant Herman Gundlach established a construction company in Houghton in 1898. His son Herman Gundlach Jr. took over the firm after World War II and built Herman Gundlach Inc. into the largest contracting firm in the Upper Peninsula.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

This thematic narrative covers residential, commercial, and industrial buildings, which together account for a large majority of buildings in the Copper Country. Other property types that are present in smaller numbers will discussed in their respective thematic narratives. For example, church architecture will be discussed under the religion theme.

Residential buildings that are significant for their architecture will usually be excellent representatives of a type, style, period, or method of construction. In order to be individually eligible for the National Register, a building must retain its character defining features. For example, a house that is eligible as a representative of the Greek Revival style would retain sidelights, frieze-band windows, band of trim at the eaves, and/or cornice returns in addition to clapboard siding and wood windows, preferably original. If there are many examples of a type or style, an eligible building would be held to a higher standard of integrity than if that type or style is rare. Worker houses number in the hundreds, yet there may be two dozen or less that retain their original or restored windows and siding. If the original interior plan is still evident, any of these would be individually eligible. More often, houses will be part of neighborhoods that are eligible as historic districts. A house may contribute to a historic district if it has replacement windows and secondary siding as long as most of the window openings are unchanged and the form is not overwhelmed by front and side additions. The form of the house is the most important characteristic in a row of identical company houses. But if there are a dozen streets of two-story front-gabled houses, the most intact streets would be selected for listing. Among the architect-designed homes of the wealthy, there are a number of examples that possess high artistic value; these must be highly intact to be individually listed.

As with residential buildings, a commercial building may be individually eligible for the National Register as an excellent example of a type, style, period, or method of construction. For example, the few surviving examples of early wood shop-house buildings or the best example of a Renaissance Revival style bank could be eligible. Compared to houses, a larger proportion of commercial buildings seem to possess high artistic value; their purpose, after all, is to attract and

sell, not merely to contain. For a commercial building to be individually eligible, it must retain its important character defining features. In the case of the two-part commercial buildings that make up the large majority of commercial buildings in the Copper Country, the storefront, upper story windows, decorative elements such as window hoods, and cornice must be restored or intact. Remodeled storefronts are very common; commercial buildings that have remodeled storefronts may contribute to a historic business district if the upper stories retain their historic features. Masonry commercial buildings fare relatively well in this respect because of the difficulty of altering window openings in brick or stone walls. On the other hand, it is not unusual to find wooden commercial buildings that have been re-sided and have new window openings that bear no relation to the originals. A business district need not retain all of its historic buildings to be National Register eligible, but it must retain most of them along with an appropriate sense of density. If one section of a business district is gone, the remainder may still be eligible if it retains its historic qualities.

The industrial buildings that stand in the Copper Country today are a fraction of what was there historically. In 1915 there were seventy-five shaft-rockhouses on the Copper Range; two of these stand today.[16] Some mine buildings were intentionally removed, while others deteriorated. Even massive stone buildings built of mine rock are most often found as ruins today. Often there are just one or two mine buildings standing at a mine site; if they retain integrity, they are individually eligible just because they are extant. Because most mine buildings were built of stone, usually they do retain integrity. Beyond their mere survival, many of these buildings represent excellence in design and construction, from both an aesthetic and engineering standpoint. The C&H and Quincy mine sites are both part of National Historic Landmark historic districts, but more than buildings make up these districts and more than architecture supports their significance. With mine buildings especially, but also with residential, commercial, and other types of buildings, it is difficult—and perhaps pointless—to separate architectural and historical significance.

(Photo—Saltbox houses, Maple St (1), Tamarack Location)

Commerce

Commerce is the buying and selling of commodities, goods, and services; it is closely linked to transportation. From the 1840s through the Civil War, people, goods, and copper were transported to and from the Copper Country via Lake Superior and the other Great Lakes. Thus the shipping ports of Copper Harbor, Eagle Harbor, Eagle River, and Ontonagon were the region's first commercial centers. As mines began producing copper and more people began to settle in the area, a distinctive pattern of community and commerce emerged. Industrial works and housing were built at the mine locations, which were located inland along the Copper Range, but there was little commerce at the locations—a company store, if that. Commerce expanded in the port communities, where the general store was the most important retail establishment, selling food, cloth, clothing, hardware, furniture, and more. Hotels and saloons offered essential services, and warehouses along the waterfront stored goods and materials. Rapid population growth and the 1855 opening of the canal and locks at Sault Ste. Marie fostered commercial

[16] Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 312.

growth in the region, although winter—when the Great Lakes were impassable—was a time of scarcity.

After the Civil War, the center of commerce and industry shifted to the Portage Lake area. In large part this shift was due to the success of the Quincy and C&H mines, but it was augmented by the construction of the Portage Lake and Lake Superior Ship Canal, completed in 1873. The villages of Houghton and Hancock were now shipping ports, and they grew to become commercial centers for the entire Portage Lake area. In the Village of Red Jacket (renamed Calumet in 1929), a business district that occupied about half of the village served Calumet & Hecla's numerous mine locations. Smaller business districts grew up in other villages located near mine and stamp mill locations. Business districts also developed in shipping ports for lumber, including Chassell, Baraga, and Ontonagon. After railroads arrived in the 1880s, business districts developed in lumber towns such as Ewen and Bruce Crossing that were located on the railroad lines.

As commerce matured, both the number and variety of businesses increased. In 1863, just four years after Hancock was established, the village had six saloons; three apiece of general stores, grocers, and hotels; a jeweler, hardware store, harness maker, carpenter, shoemaker, physician, lawyer, and insurance agent.[17] By 1890 the business district had undergone significant expansion: there were three banks, five hotels, five doctors, three dentists, three bakeries, three carriage dealers, six confectioners, four druggists, three dry-goods merchants, nine general merchants, nine grocers, six hardware stores, four meat markets, three millineries, eight tobacconists, four barbers, three laundries, two jewelers, one florist, one photographer, and numerous saloons and billiard halls.[18] One of the merchants was Jacob Gartner, who in 1900 built a new three-story department store on Quincy Street; it was reputed to be the largest department store north of Milwaukee. Gartner's Department Store was downtown Hancock's anchor store through the twentieth century. Other leading department stores were Vertin's in Calumet and Vivian's in Laurium. In counterpoint to these privately-owned businesses, cooperative stores were "owned" by members, who joined the co-op and were then able to buy goods at reduced prices. The Tamarack Co-operative Association was the first, opened in 1890 as a joint venture of officers and workers at the Tamarack Mining Company. The Tamarack Co-op was extremely successful and influential; private businesses had to keep their prices at a reasonable level in order to compete with Tamarack and the other cooperative stores that followed. The first chain stores appeared in the early 1900s. F. M. Kirby & Co., based in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, opened one of its 5¢ and 10¢ stores in Calumet in 1907. Within ten years Kirby became part of the F. W. Woolworth Company, which continued to operate the Calumet store.

Commercial expansion ended with the strike of 1913, when people began leaving the Copper Country. When the copper industry began its long decline in 1920, population loss accelerated, and commerce declined along with everything else. Perhaps the only area of commercial growth was related to the automobile and automobile tourism. The first tourist courts appeared in the 1920s, and automobile filling stations, service stations, and commercial garages multiplied.

[17] Charles F. Clark, *Michigan State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1863–4* (Detroit: Charles F. Clark, 1863), 336.
[18] Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 71.

Businessmen formed organizations such as the Copper Country Vacationist League to promote automobile tourism. This was a meager offering in the face of the Great Depression, when so many businesses closed, yet it offered hope for the future. Tourism increased after World War II, and motels and other businesses were built along highways, but the Copper Country did not develop the extensive roadside commercial landscapes that appeared elsewhere in the U.S. There were no shopping malls or shopping centers until the 1970s. Meanwhile, central business districts were full of vacant commercial buildings and vacant lots where buildings once stood.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

Commercial buildings associated with retail and services are discussed in the architecture thematic narrative along with standards for evaluating their architectural significance under National Register Criterion C. Warehouses are another building type associated with commerce. Aside from any architectural significance, buildings may be National Register eligible under Criterion A for the theme of commerce if they housed a business that was important to the community, such as a general store in a small village, a department store in a large village, a cooperative store, or the local bank. Buildings that housed long-term businesses may also be eligible. To be eligible under Criterion A, buildings need not be as intact as required for Criterion C, but they do need to retain major character defining features. For example, the Foley Brothers general store (1859) in Eagle Harbor has asbestos siding and replacement windows, but it retains its display windows and would be eligible under the commerce theme but not for its architecture. In other cases, the storefront may be remodeled if the upper story windows and cornice are intact. All business districts were important to their communities and would be eligible under the theme of commerce if they retain most of their historic buildings and those buildings as a group retain most of their historic features. The home of a prominent businessman may be eligible, for example, the National Register-listed Ransom B. Shelden house in Houghton is significant for its architecture and as the home of businessmen Ransom B. Shelden and John H. Rice, who purchased the house from Shelden.

(Photo—Sixth Street, Calumet)

Conservation

The movement to protect America's natural resources began in the nineteenth century. The 1872 creation of Yellowstone National Park—the first national park in the world—was an early milestone. In 1891 Congress passed the Forest Reserve Act, which enabled federally-owned forest lands to be set aside as forest reserves. In 1905 Congress established the U.S. Forest Service, and the forest reserves became national forests. The National Park Service was created in 1916 to manage the growing number of national parks. Both national forests and national parks were intended to be used for recreation, but whereas national forests were managed for sustained yield, the resources in national parks were protected. In Michigan, the first state conservation laws pre-dated federal legislation. The first state fisheries regulations were passed in 1859, and a state forestry commission was established in 1888, though it was abolished the following year because of opposition to its conservation proposals. In 1909 the Michigan Legislature created the Public Domain Commission to manage forests, fish, and game; the

Michigan Department of Conservation (renamed the Department of Natural Resources in 1969) replaced the Public Domain Commission in 1921. Michigan's state park system was created in 1919.

In the Lake Superior region, the conservation movement began as a response to the devastation that following commercial logging, which reduced forests to acres of stumps and piles of slash—the branches cut off from the logs. Cutover lands were susceptible to forest fires, which destroyed Ewen and Matchwood in 1893 and Ontonagon in 1896. At first government policy supported farming to regenerate cutover lands, but the marginal nature of many farms in the region led to a shift in policy toward reforestation. During the 1920s and 1930s large areas of cutover land in the Lake Superior region reverted to county governments as the result of tax delinquency. Government agencies used some of this land to create county, state, and national forests that were managed for forestry and recreation; one of these was the Copper Country State Forest. Ottawa National Forest was established in 1931 with 255,551 acres. Kenton was the original headquarters for the national forest; a stone obelisk in Kenton commemorates the 1931 dedication. By 1938, Ottawa National Forest contained 1,744,898 acres in Houghton, Ontonagon, Iron, and Gogebic counties.

In the meantime, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was created in 1933 as part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. Between 1933 and the end of the program in 1942, eighteen full CCC camps—typically two hundred men—and additional side camps, which were smaller and more temporary, operated in the Copper Country, including Isle Royale. The Civilian Conservation Corps replanted cutover areas, fought forest fires, constructed facilities in public parks and forests, and built roads. In Ottawa National Forest, the CCC built the Bergland Ranger Station in 1936. Although the rustic style was usual for such facilities at that time, the buildings at the Bergland station are colonial revival style. A ranger station built in the modern idiom at Kenton ca. 1960 illustrates the continued evolution of ranger station design.

Efforts to establish a national park on Isle Royale began in the early 1920s in response to plans to begin large-scale pulpwood logging on the island. Keweenaw Point was also considered as the location for a national park. Advocates for a national park on Isle Royale prevailed: Congress authorized Isle Royale National Park in 1931, and the National Park Service began acquiring property. The CCC arrived on the island in 1935 and began building the park's infrastructure including campgrounds, trails, and the park headquarters on Mott Island. A rustic-style house and pump house built by the CCC on Mott Island are extant today. The National Park Service adopted the rustic style for its buildings so that they would harmonize with the natural environment; the style became so prevalent in state and national parks that it has been called "parkitecture." The CCC's greatest legacy on Isle Royale was fighting the forest fire of 1936, which burned from late July to mid-September and destroyed more than 27,000 acres of forest—about one-fifth of Isle Royale. Eighteen hundred fire fighters, most of them from the CCC, are credited with preventing even more damage. By 1940 sufficient land had been acquired to establish Isle Royale National Park.

The Copper Country's first state park was established in 1923 to preserve historic Fort Wilkins. McLain State Park was established in 1931. But from a conservation perspective, the most important state park in the Copper Country—indeed in the state of Michigan—is Porcupine

Mountains Wilderness State Park, one of the largest wilderness areas remaining in the Midwest. As on Isle Royale, the movement for public ownership of the Porcupine Mountains began in the 1920s. Logging in the Porcupine Mountains had been limited in scope, leaving the largest stand of old-growth hardwood and hemlock in Michigan. When this area was newly threatened by logging in the 1930s, efforts toward public ownership gained momentum. Land acquisition began in 1944, and in 1945 the Michigan Legislature established the Porcupine Mountains State Park with forty-six thousand acres. The five buildings in the park's administrative complex, built in the late 1940s and 1950s, are another example of rustic park architecture. Twin Lakes was originally a county park; it was added to the state park system in the 1960s.

Conservation includes wildlife management, particularly fish and game. Wildlife management increased during the 1930s and included stocking fish in rivers and lakes. The Michigan Department of Conservation built the Otter River fish hatchery in southern Portage Township in 1932. Metal structures remain on the river banks, and the main building is a well-preserved example of the rustic style executed in log and stone.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

Administrative buildings at state and national parks and forests are the most numerous property types associated with the conservation theme. Even these are not present in large numbers, however, so that all of them are potentially National Register-eligible under the conservation theme if they retain their major character-defining features, particularly when there is a group of buildings as at the Bergland Ranger Station, which is National Register-listed, and at Porcupine Mountains State Park. Administrative buildings that are highly intact may also be significant for their architecture. This is true of the buildings at the Bergland Ranger Station, but some of the administrative buildings at Porcupine Mountains State Park have had alterations such as vinyl windows. The commemorative obelisk at the Kenton Ranger Station may be eligible, particularly in association with the adjacent building, which appears to be a well-preserved example of modern ranger station design. Trails, cabins, campgrounds, picnic areas, and scenic overlooks are also associated with state and national parks and forests, however, these property types represent recreation rather than conservation and are discussed under the recreation theme.

CCC camp sites were identified at Kenton, Sidnaw, and Pori, but there are no standing buildings at these sites; only a few ruins remain. One fire lookout tower was identified during the survey—a steel tower on Tower Road in Baraga Township; research is needed to determine its age. There may be additional fire towers in remote areas that were not accessible for survey. The Otter River fish hatchery is the only fish hatchery identified during the survey and is eligible as a representative of its type and for its rustic-style architecture.

(Photo—Otter River Fish Hatchery, Tapiola District)

Education

Schools were established in villages and mine locations once the mines started producing copper; mine companies supported schools as a way to encourage workers to immigrate with their

families. The public school that opened at the Cliff mine in the late 1840s may have been the first, but by the 1850s there were public and private schools in Copper Harbor, Eagle Harbor, Eagle River, Houghton, Ontonagon, and Rockland (the Minesota mine); there was also a Catholic school in Ontonagon. Schools might meet in any space that was available, but one-room schoolhouses appeared early on. The Copper Harbor School, built in 1850, is still in use, although the building has been altered. The 1853 Eagle Harbor School retains its original appearance—a one-story front-gabled frame building with 6/9 windows and bell cupola. The schools were ungraded, primary schools. At the Clifton school by 1863, two teachers taught an average of eighty students—on some days there were more than one hundred. In that year a second room was added to the school. In 1872 the overcrowded Eagle Harbor School was replaced with a new two-story school. Front-gabled like the older school, the new school retains its original windows with window hoods and bell cupola with pointed-arch openings. The first graded school was built in Houghton in 1866; the three-and-one-half-story school built of mine waste rock was called the Rock School (not extant) and taught grade school through high school.

By 1875 there were about thirty public schools with 5,500 students in Keweenaw, Houghton, and Ontonagon counties combined.[19] One of the distinguishing features of the Copper Country's public schools was the degree to which they were controlled by the mine companies, even though on paper the system of school districts governed by school boards was the same as in the rest of the state. Mine companies controlled schools in the locations, of course, but even in "independent" villages such as Lake Linden or Dollar Bay, mine companies exerted great influence. C&H in particular frequently built schools and then leased them to the school district. School boards were often populated with mine company officials. Thus the quality of a school was related to the success of the sponsoring mine company. Not surprisingly, Calumet schools came out at the top. In 1875 C&H built the Central School, reputed to be the largest and best school in the state. Its thirty-eight rooms included a high school assembly room, four recitation rooms, a laboratory, and a library. In contrast, the Keweenaw County schools superintendent reported two years earlier that only four of the county's twelve schools had a wall map, three had a dictionary, and one had a globe. Poor facilities were one problem; too few teachers, especially trained teachers, was another. As for the students, attendance was poor and often erratic—bad weather and work kept students away, and when fathers moved from one mine to another, the children moved from one school to another. Students usually left school at a young age. And as more families came from Europe instead of Great Britain, the number of different languages spoken at school multiplied. All of these factors made teaching and learning a challenge.

As the mines matured and prospered and the population increased, so did the number of students. Between 1895 and 1915, the number of students in Keweenaw County schools increased from 536 to 1,672, in Houghton County from 9,000 to 20,000, and in Ontonagon County from 1,185 to 3,266. In Houghton County there were 127 schools in 1910.[20] More and larger schools were built in villages, but in addition new one-room schools were built in rural areas as agriculture increased and the rural population grew. In the villages, Calumet schools continued to lead the way. In 1898, C&H built a new high school and a manual training school for high school-age students. The manual training school is indicative of the emphasis on preparing students for jobs in the mining industry. When the two schools were destroyed by fire, they were replaced by the

[19] Lankton, *Beyond the Boundaries*, 124, 144.
[20] Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 169–70; Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 169.

current high school, which opened in 1907 and incorporated both curricula. Designed by Charlton, Gilbert & Demar, the three-story brick school has classical design elements. The Calumet School District included Calumet Township and the villages of Calumet and Laurium. At its peak in 1908, the district had 8,300 students in twenty-one school buildings.[21] There were also two parochial schools in Laurium: Sacred Heart School, the largest Catholic school in the region, and the German Lutheran School. The only schools that came close to rivaling Calumet were the Copper Range schools, especially the high school (1909; Alexander Eschweiler) that the company built in Painesdale. The large Jacobean Revival school built of Jacobsville sandstone had a gymnasium, auditorium, laboratories, manual training facilities for boys, domestic science laboratory for girls, and separate bathrooms for boys and girls. From 1909 to the early 1940s, a Copper Range Railroad train brought students to the high school from the company's mill towns and those mine locations that were not within walking distance.

Schools were important to their communities and were often used for meetings and social activities, especially in small towns and rural areas where the school might be the only public space available. By the early twentieth century most schools were built of masonry, usually brick, although some two-story wood frame schools were built in smaller communities. Schools were often designed by architects; styles included Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, Arts and Crafts, and variants of the Gothic Revival. The Ripley School (ca. 1910; Charlton & Kuenzli), built by the Quincy Mining Company, is one of the most ornate. The Classical Revival style school built of Jacobsville sandstone features a central pediment supported by pilasters, arched windows with keystones, cornice with modillion blocks and dentils, and a cupola with engaged Ionic columns.

School consolidation was underway by the 1920s and accelerated in the 1930s; the introduction of school buses was a key factor. Consolidation was a nationwide trend, but in the Copper Country it was necessitated by population loss as well. As one-room schools closed, two-story brick schools were built in the villages. Two of these—in Pelkie and Tapiola—were agricultural schools, offering vocational training. During the 1930s federal relief funds were used to build schools. The school buildings of this generation are almost always in the Collegiate Gothic or Colonial Revival styles. As both population loss and school consolidation proceeded after World War II, larger schools were closed in addition to one-room schools. For the most part students were consolidated into existing schools, yet a few new schools were built in the 1950s and 1960s; examples include schools in Mohawk, Ontonagon Village, and White Pine. The long, low, flat-roofed one-story schools show the influence of the International Style and of new ideas about education and school architecture.

Two institutions of higher learning were established in the Copper Country in the late nineteenth century. The first was the Michigan Mining School in Houghton in 1885; in 1897 the name was changed to Michigan College of Mines. Construction of a campus began in 1889, and by 1908 there were seven buildings. Two of these buildings remain today: the Tudor Revival style gymnasium and clubhouse (1906; Charlton & Kuenzli) and the Classical Revival style administration and library building (1908; Charlton & Kuenzli). In 1927 the name was changed to the Michigan College of Mining and Technology, indicating that mining was not the sole

[21] Lynn Bjorkman, Calumet Village, Laurium Village, Calumet Township, Historical and Architectural Survey: Phase I (Houghton: WUPPDR, 1995), 25–26,

focus. As at colleges nationwide, the G. I. Bill brought growth to the Michigan College of Mining and Technology, and new buildings were built in the International Style. With a broader curriculum and graduate degree programs, the college became Michigan Technological University in 1964. In 1966 the student population was more than 3,500 and still growing.[22] By then the university had become an important part of the local economy.

Suomi College and Theological Seminary was established in Hancock in 1896 with classes designed to preserve Finnish culture, train Lutheran ministers, and teach English. The first permanent building at the college, now known as Old Main, was built in 1899 (Charles Archibald Pearce, architect). The imposing two-and-one-half story building of rough-faced Jacobsville sandstone with a square tower in front has the Gothic feeling characteristic of college buildings at the time. During the 1920s Suomi College became a two-year liberal arts college. In 1939 the college built Nikander Hall, designed by Eero and Eliel Saarinen with J. R. F. Swanson. The horizontal lines of the brick building show the influence of the International Style, but the texture and decorative brickwork depart from that style. Three new buildings constructed in the 1960s are typical of modern college architecture of that time period.[23]

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

The survey identified approximately sixty primary and secondary school buildings including one-room schoolhouses, two-story wood frame schools, two- to three-story masonry schools, and one-story schools built after World War II. There is one two-room one-story school: the Heikkinen School built in 1919 in Stanton Township. Given that in 1910 there were 127 schools in Houghton County alone, it is obvious that many school buildings have been lost; in Laurium Village only one out of six public elementary schools is extant. Nevertheless, examples remain of all of the types of school buildings. In addition there are the college buildings at Finlandia University (Suomi College) and Michigan Technological University. School and college buildings may be National Register eligible under Criterion A in the area of education if they played an important role in education in their communities. Most of the school buildings in the survey are significant under Criterion A in the area of education because they were historically or are currently the only school in a village or rural community. These same schools may also be eligible under Criterion A in the area of social history because of their importance as centers for community life. School and college buildings may be significant under Criterion C because they embody the distinctive characteristics of a type or style of school building, represent the work of a master architect, or possess high artistic value. Approximately twenty one-room schoolhouses were identified in the survey. While most, perhaps all, of these are individually significant under Criterion A, as a group they may be eligible as a non-contiguous district that shows how the one-room schoolhouse evolved over time. A number of the architect-designed schools have high artistic value. Nikander Hall, the only building in the Copper Country designed by Eliel and Eero Saarinen, represents the work of a master.

Eligible school buildings must retain integrity. Schools that are eligible under Criterion A may have some alterations such as secondary siding or replacement windows as long as the school

[22] Johnson, Johnson & Roy. *Michigan Technological University: A Guide to Future Physical Development* (Ann Arbor: Johnson, Johnson & Roy, [1966]), 9.
[23] Suomi College became a four-year college in 1996, and in 2000 the name was changed to Finlandia University.

retains the better part of its historic appearance. The 1850 Copper Harbor School is significant as the oldest school building in the Copper Country, but its bell cupola is gone and it has a large side addition, newer windows, and vinyl siding. Its historic appearance is so altered that it is not eligible. Schools that are significant under Criterion C must be highly intact. For a one-room school, original siding and windows are key character defining features and must be present or replaced in kind. However, highly decorated masonry schools built in the early twentieth century often have smaller windows within the original window openings. In this case the windows are relatively less important in the context of the whole, and this reversible change is acceptable if the other character defining features are intact.

(Photo—Pelkie one-room school, Pelkie Rd (1) Pelkie District)

Entertainment/Recreation

The entertainment and recreation theme covers a wide variety of topics including sports, games, performing arts, parks, tourism, and social activities such as picnics and dancing. In the early years of settlement, recreational activities were limited and generally informal, including such pastimes as visiting, walking, playing cards, and drinking. As communities grew, a variety of organized entertainments became available along with dedicated recreational facilities. Some forms of recreation and entertainment were specifically for residents, others were designed for tourists, and many were enjoyed by both residents and tourists.

Social gatherings typically featured dancing, music, and food. Holidays were celebrated throughout the year, with the biggest celebrations on Christmas, Washington's birthday, and the Fourth of July. Parades, band concerts, speeches, cannon firing, picnics, and a reading of the Declaration of Independence marked the Fourth of July. As early as the 1850s dances and balls were organized purely for entertainment, in lieu of a holiday or charitable cause. Halls were built to house social activities; larger hotels such as the Bigelow House in Ontonagon and the Douglass House in Houghton also included space for this purpose. The social tempo increased as ethnic and fraternal organizations were established and organized their own social events, often in their own halls; annual picnics were also a tradition. In Calumet (known as Red Jacket until 1929), the Union Building (1888; Byron H. Pierce) served as a meeting place for more than twenty different fraternal organizations and benevolent societies. The spacious Union Building had commercial space on the first floor and meeting space on the second and third floors, including a stage on the third floor. In Houghton, the Masonic Temple (1910; Maass Brothers) is a four-story building faced with Jacobsville sandstone. The third and fourth floors contained meeting rooms, a theater, and a large dining room. The Calumet Colosseum and the Houghton Amphidrome had space for very large events.

Festivals, fairs, and carnivals offered more opportunities for entertainment and recreation. Traveling circuses visited the Copper Country as early as the 1870s. In 1903 the Houghton County Agricultural Society held the first Houghton County Agricultural Fair at the Amphidrome in Houghton. The Keweenaw Agricultural Society was organized in 1912 and held its first annual fair in Mohawk that year. The Houghton County Fair continued into the 1930s and then, after a hiatus, was revived in 1951 by the Houghton County Fair Association. In the

interim, agriculture was celebrated at the Houghton County Potato Show during the 1930s and the Chassell Strawberry Festival beginning in 1949, the latter still taking place every July. In 1922 the Michigan College of Mines held its first winter carnival, now a major event not only for Michigan Technological University but for the community and visitors.

Among numerous clubs organized for a variety of purposes, two social clubs were established exclusively for the affluent elite. In 1903, C&H converted a house near its headquarters to the Miscowaubik Club, an elite club with an elected membership consisting of company officers and other professionals connected to C&H. The club was furnished with billiard, dining, reception, and card rooms along with a bowling alley, indoor golf, and lawn tennis. The Miscowaubik Club remains in its historic clubhouse today. In 1906 businessmen in the Houghton area organized their own elite club, the Houghton Club, and built a Renaissance Revival style brick clubhouse in 1910 (Alexander C. Eschweiler). The main floor of the club had a parlor, grille room, and billiard room while the second floor had a library, private dining rooms, bedrooms, and card rooms.

Musical and theatrical performances, especially the former, were popular entertainments in the Copper Country. There were many bands, orchestras, and choral groups, some sponsored by communities or mining companies and others affiliated with different nationalities. Popular bands had busy schedules playing at dances, celebrations, and outdoor summer concerts. Amateur theatrical groups staged productions. The Copper Country was also served by national theatrical and musical touring companies, which usually gave performances in both Hancock and Calumet. Minstrel shows came during the Civil War years; vaudeville shows came later along with dramas, musicals, opera, and concerts. Sarah Bernhardt, Lillian Russell, Maude Adams, and John Philip Sousa were among the famous performers who came to the Copper Country. Venues were not difficult to come by; by the late nineteenth century halls, schools, and churches all hosted performances. There were also dedicated theater buildings—more than twenty in Houghton County before 1910. The two grandest were the Calumet Theatre in Calumet and the Kerredge Theatre in Hancock. The village-owned Calumet Theatre (1900; Charles K. Shand) is a Renaissance Revival style theater built to seat twelve hundred people; its lavishly ornamented interior has been partially restored. The Kerredge Theatre (1902; destroyed by fire 1959) in Hancock was the region's largest theater, with seating for about fifteen hundred people. By the 1920s, older theaters added equipment for showing motion pictures, while new theaters were built specifically for that purpose. In Houghton, The Lode movie theater (1941) retains its original red and cream Art Moderne exterior with marquee.

Parks offered places for recreation and relaxation. Municipal parks were usually modest in size and amenities. The exception was Agassiz Park (1923), located on approximately twenty-five acres between the C&H mines and village of Calumet. Sponsored by C&H and designed by noted landscape architect Warren H. Manning, Agassiz Park contained tree-lined paths leading to a statue of Alexander Agassiz; athletic fields; and planting beds with trees, shrubs, and flowering plants. Larger parks could be found outside of the villages and mine locations. One of the oldest was Section Sixteen Park (ca. 1890) west of Calumet near Lakeview Cemetery. The popular park had one drawback—it was difficult to get there before automobiles were introduced. The Houghton County Traction Company offered a solution that benefitted both residents and the traction company: in 1902 it built Electric Park at the end of its streetcar line, near Boston.

Electric Park was one of dozens of "Electric Parks" that streetcar companies built around the country. Houghton County's Electric Park had picnic tables, play areas, a merry-go-round, and a pavilion for band concerts and dances; it proved extremely popular for group and family outings. Railroad companies built similar parks to boost their ridership. Soon after Electric Park opened, the Copper Range Railroad Company built Freda Park on Lake Superior. The railroad ran special Sunday excursion trains to the park, which had horseshoe and tennis courts, a bathing beach, dance pavilion, and beer garden.

In 1909 the Keweenaw Central Railroad built the Crestview Pavilion on a bluff overlooking Lake Superior and the village of Eagle River. During the summer, the Keweenaw Central Railroad ran five trains a day to Crestview from Calumet. The huge pavilion could accommodate hundreds of visitors and was the largest gathering place in Keweenaw County. At the Portage Entry near Jacobsville, White City was another park, only it was reached by steamboat rather than railroad. Between 1907 and 1919, steamers took passengers from Houghton, Hancock, and other communities on Portage and Torch lakes to White City. In addition to a dance pavilion, merry-go-round, roller coaster, and boardwalk, White City had a hotel and cottages. Even with overnight accommodations available, many people went to White City on day trips. The trip from Houghton took up to an hour and a half. On Sundays, boats made two trips, one leaving early in the morning and returning late afternoon and the other leaving after evening supper and returning close to midnight. Railroad and steamboat excursions took people to other destinations as well. On Sundays and holidays, day-long train excursions might go south to L'Anse for picnics on Keweenaw Bay or north to Eagle Harbor for agate collecting on the Lake Superior shore, with bands providing musical entertainment on the train. One could make similar trips by steamer, or a combination of steamer and railroad. Steamers made excursions to Isle Royale, where the Siskowit mine site and the Rock Harbor Lighthouse were popular picnic spots. Once a year, the Worcester Lumber Company took virtually the whole village of Chassell by barge to a picnic on the Portage Lake shore. Other companies and organizations organized similar outings by barge or steamer.

During the twentieth century, all of these destinations save Isle Royale became accessible by automobile. The Copper Range Railroad closed Freda Park in the late 1910s because people were traveling there by automobile, which did not benefit the railroad. The Keweenaw Central Railroad went out of business in 1917, but Crestview was still attracting crowds when it was destroyed by fire in 1925. Electric Park stayed open into World War II, outliving the Houghton County Traction Company by some ten years. Automobiles made it practical for townships and counties to build parks in more remote areas that were not served by railroad or steamboat lines. One example was Stanton Park in an isolated spot on Misery Bay. The park was a favorite gathering place for Finns from southern Stanton Township and the Toivola area. In 1947 Finns built a pavilion at the park. Beginning in the 1920s, state parks were established in the Copper Country with the dual purpose of protecting natural and historic resources and providing recreational opportunities for both locals and tourists. Fort Wilkins had long been a popular place for picnics and camping, and in 1923 it was established as the Copper Country's first state park. In addition to restoring the buildings at the fort, the state built a picnic area and campground. McLain State Park was established in 1931 and Porcupine Mountains State Park in 1945; Twin Lakes was established as a county park and added to the state park system in the 1960s. In addition to campgrounds, picnic areas, and hiking trails, the region's first ski hill was

constructed in Porcupines Mountain State Park in the late 1940s. Established in 1940, Isle Royale National Park also had the dual purpose of conservation and recreation.

People in the Copper Country partook of all of the sports and games that were popular in their day, including (but not limited to) boxing, wrestling, baseball, football, basketball, skiing, skating, snowshoeing, hockey, bowling, billiards, and golf, but with greater emphasis on some than others. Wrestling, for example, was a favorite sport of Cornish immigrants, and wrestling matches were a common entertainment. Baseball teams were organized in the 1860s, when baseball was a relatively new game that was expanding across the country. Before long every village and mine location had a baseball team, establishing a pattern of team competition between villages that would prevail in other sports. The Fourth of July and Labor Day holidays were marked by baseball games: on Labor Day in 1906, twenty-five hundred fans attended a game between Houghton and Calumet. Community teams played against others in the Copper Country and then competed for the Upper Peninsula championship.

People made the best of long, snowy winters by enjoying winter sports, especially ice skating. By the 1860s there were commercial and community ice rinks that were flooded with water and kept smooth for skating. Skating parties were festive events, much like balls. Ice hockey was introduced to the Copper Country in 1898, when the first game was played at the Palace, an indoor ice rink in a former foundry building in Ripley. Although the game originated in Canada, the Copper Country was an early center for ice hockey in the U.S. The Portage Lake ice hockey team, organized in 1899, competed at the national level, winning the U.S. amateur hockey championship in 1903. By then there were numerous local teams representing various high schools, villages, and the Michigan College of Mines. Several monumental indoor ice rinks were constructed, beginning in 1902 with Houghton's Amphidrome, the first structure in the U.S. built specifically for ice hockey. The Palestra (1904) was built in Laurium, the Glacia Dome (1908) in Mohawk, and the Colosseum (1913) in Calumet. The Amphidrome burned in 1927 and was replaced that year with the New Amphidrome, later renamed Dee Stadium. The Palestra was dismantled and moved to Marquette in 1921, and the roof of the Glacia Dome collapsed in 1938. For many years the Colosseum served a dual purpose as ice rink and armory. Ice hockey has continued to have great popularity among youth and adults, players and spectators. During the 1930–31 season, thirty-five hundred spectators came to watch two games between the Calumet Blackhawks and the Hancock Eagles.

Outdoor recreation—hunting, fishing, and camping—is particularly well suited to the environment of the Copper Country. The Upper Peninsula was recognized early on for excellent trout fishing on Lake Superior and on inland lakes and streams. A *New York Times* writer who visited the Copper Country in 1866 described the attractiveness of the region for sportsmen, both for fishing and "gunning," noting the presence of pigeons, deer, and other wild animals.[24] In the late nineteenth century people became more interested in active vacations during which they could camp, hunt, and fish. At the same time, railroads reached the Lake Superior region, making inland lakes and forests more accessible. The Copper Range Railroad actively promoted hunting and fishing and offered fishing excursions for both men and women. Booster organizations such as the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau promoted hunting and fishing as attractions for tourists. All of this was tied in with the growing conservation movement.

[24] "Lake Superior, The Keweenaw Copper-mining District," *New York Times*, 20 August 1866.

Reforestation was designed not only for timber harvest but also for recreation, especially hunting and fishing. Wildlife management included stocking fish and feeding deer. Campgrounds were built in county, state, and national parks and forests as well as at places such as Bond Falls Flowage. By the 1930s hunting and fishing were mainstays of the Upper Peninsula's growing tourist industry, yet locals participated in these sports as well. The Lake Linden-Hubbell Sportsmen's Association was organized in 1921, and other local sportsmen's clubs were organized in the decades that followed. In the first annual Lake Trout Trolling Derby held in Copper Harbor in 1941, a Waukegan, Illinois, man won the tourist first prize, while Jack Foster of Calumet won the local first prize.[25] Outdoor recreation boomed in popularity after World War II. Hunting has become practically synonymous with the Upper Peninsula and hunting camps a fixture of the landscape. Hundreds of hunting camps can be found in the Copper Country, ranging from shacks to mobile homes to tidy log or frame buildings.

In the mid-nineteenth century, tourism was limited to affluent people who had the money and leisure time to travel exclusively for pleasure. Even before the opening of the Sault Canal, a small number of tourists toured Lake Superior by steamboat. These tours usually included stops on the Keweenaw Peninsula. Some of these early tourists were health seekers looking for healthy lake breezes; others were sightseers who enjoyed the beautiful scenery and visits to the copper mines. Juliette Starr Dana of New York City kept a journal of her Lake Superior tour in 1852. She stopped at Copper Harbor, Eagle Harbor, Eagle River, and Ontonagon, staying a week at hotels in Eagle River and Eagle Harbor. Her activities included walks in the woods, collecting agates, and visiting several copper mines and the Eagle Harbor Lighthouse. Following the opening of the Sault Canal in 1855, steamboat companies offered regular service between Buffalo or Chicago and Duluth, Minnesota, with stops in between including ports on the Keweenaw Peninsula. Steamboat tours of Lake Superior grew in popularity, and guidebooks were published to serve both tourists and immigrants. In his 1872 *Lake Superior Guide*, John Disturnell described the Keweenaw copper mines as the wonder of the world, noting that the mines were accessible and well deserving of a visit. Disturnell remarked on the beautiful scenery in Keweenaw County, including Mount Bohemia and Mount Houghton, Lac La Belle and Bete Grise Bay, and Lake Fanny Hooe. He predicted that Isle Royale would become a favorite summer resort. Although Disturnell did not mention Carp Lake (now Lake of the Clouds), that was another early attraction.

Hotels offered accommodations for business travelers and tourists alike. Early hotels were little more than large houses. In contrast, the Bigelow House in Ontonagon claimed to be the largest U.S. hotel north of Detroit when it opened in 1855. The four-story hotel had sixty guest rooms, a ballroom with crystal chandeliers and velvet drapes, a billiard room, a bar, and a dining room. When the Douglass House opened in Houghton in 1861, it replaced the Bigelow House as the finest hotel in the Upper Peninsula. Tourists continued to come to the Copper Country by steamboat after railroads reached the region in the 1880s. For one thing, there was no railroad passenger service to northern Keweenaw County until 1906, and even then it did not extend to Eagle Harbor or Copper Harbor. Isle Royale, of course, could only be reached by boat. In addition, for those who had the time and money, steamships were a more comfortable mode of travel than railroads. The construction of larger locks on the Sault Canal in 1881 and 1896 made

[25] Newspaper clippings in Wesley Williams scrapbook, Upper Peninsula Regional Digitization Center, http://updigit.uproc.lib.mi.us/cdm/singleitem/collection/WWilliams/id/98/rec/19.

it possible for larger ships to enter Lake Superior, and the market for passenger travel on the lakes made feasible steamships that were larger, faster, and truly luxurious. During the 1890s the Northern Steamship Company launched the *North West* and the *North Land* on the Buffalo to Duluth route. The twin steamers were each 385 feet long, carried a crew of 147, and had the capacity for more than 400 passengers. Staircases between the passenger decks were built of white mahogany, the lounges were furnished in the Louis XV style, and electric lights were used throughout. For the next twenty years the *North West* and the *North Land* set the standard for luxury travel on the Great Lakes. Passenger steamship travel on the Great Lakes declined after World War I. Nevertheless, the Georgian Bay Line's *SS South American* made weekly stops in Houghton until 1966.

Railroads made travel to the Lake Superior region cheaper and faster, so that Lake Superior vacations became affordable to more people. Houghton, Hancock, and Calumet were connected to midwestern cities by rail in 1883; Ontonagon was connected in 1889. Railroads went to interior locations away from the lakeshore and encouraged outdoor recreation by making inland lakes and forests more accessible. This was the beginning of the Northwoods vacation, which railroads promoted throughout the Lake Superior region. Railroads reached southern Ontonagon County in the 1880s, and Lake Gogebic quickly became a popular spot for hunting, fishing, and camping. Beginning in 1899 the Copper Range Railroad gave access to the interior of southern Houghton County, and between 1906 and 1917 the Keweenaw Central Railroad provided passenger service to north-central Keweenaw County as far as Lac La Belle. In 1907 the *Detroit News Tribune* published an article about the completion of the Keweenaw Central Railroad and how it would bring tourists to Keweenaw County. The writer commented: "Previous to the building of this road, long and tedious stage rides were necessary from Calumet and for this reason the great majority of the travelers who came to the copper country missed the prettiest scenery." The writer listed bathing beaches, fishing, hunting, mine ruins, and the romantic village of Eagle River as among the county's charms.[26]

Although railroads undoubtedly boosted tourism in the Copper Country, they do not seem to have made as big an impact as in other parts of the Lake Superior region. The railroads did not build big resort hotels such as the Island View Hotel in Bayfield, Wisconsin, or the Hotel Chequamegon in Ashland, the latter accommodating four hundred guests. In addition, the Lake Superior shore was still the Copper Country's biggest tourist attraction, and much of it was better served by steamers than by railroads. By the 1890s, tourists were coming to Isle Royale to hunt and fish, often finding transportation on the boats that collected fish from the island's commercial fishermen. One of these fishermen, John Johns, built Isle Royale's first hotel along with several guest cottages in 1892. In 1902 Captain Walter Singer built the Island House Hotel, a much larger hotel with twenty-two bedrooms and a poolroom, ten guest cottages, and a pavilion with a bowling alley and dance floor. Additional hotels followed. Steamers stopped at Isle Royale, and railroads offered rail/boat excursions. Meanwhile, visitors began to buy lots and build private summer cottages on Isle Royale; wealthier visitors purchased small islands and built private resorts. People also began building lakeshore cottages on the mainland. A few lakeshore hotels were built for people traveling by steamer, including the White City hotel (not extant) at Portage Entry and the Dreamland Hotel (1913) farther north on Portage Lake.

[26] "Michigan's 'Land's End,' 'Way up in Lake Superior, Will Soon Resound to the Clatter of Tourist Invasion," *Detroit News Tribune*, 24 March 1907, Vertical File--Keweenaw County History, Calumet Public Library.

By the 1920s, railroad travel was declining in competition with the automobile. Railroads added new equipment and improved service to try to maintain ridership. In 1935 the Milwaukee Road introduced its fast, streamlined Hiawatha trains, which it added to its routes from Chicago to Ontonagon and Calumet. In 1958 the company introduced the new Super Sleeper Pullman car on the Copper Country Limited from Chicago to Calumet. When the Copper Country Limited ended in 1968, it marked the end of railroad passenger travel in the Copper Country.

The automobile transformed tourism just as it transformed every aspect of American life. In the early 1900s automobiles were expensive and relatively primitive, roads were poor, and automobile touring was a pastime for the wealthy who could afford to take long and costly trips. But by the 1920s autos cost less and performed better, and road building and improvement were proceeding rapidly. Automobiles gave tourists more freedom and flexibility than they had when traveling by railroad. Travelers were not limited to fixed timetables and could go virtually anywhere there was a road. Automobile tourists tended to be more transient—visiting more places and spending less time at each one. Automobile travel was not necessarily cheaper than railroad travel, but it was preferred. Automobile tourism superseded railroad tourism after World War I, and by 1935, 85 percent of vacation travel was by automobile.[27] Meanwhile, tourism in general increased through the 1920s, as people had greater personal income and more leisure time, including paid vacations. A growing number of affluent vacationers bought second homes, providing a counterpoint to the transient auto tourist.

When the *Detroit News Tribune* writer described how the new Keweenaw Central Railroad would open Keweenaw County to tourists, he also foreshadowed the coming of automobile tourism, noting that the county had excellent macadamized roads and was a paradise for automobilists. After World War I, local organizations promoted automobile tourism aggressively as they sought to offset economic decline. The Upper Peninsula Development Bureau (UPDB) led this campaign. Established in 1911, the UPDB promoted farming at first, but by the 1920s had shifted its focus to tourism. By the 1930s the Copper Country Vacationist League was organized specifically to promote tourism on the Keweenaw Peninsula and Isle Royale. Tourists came to the Upper Peninsula primarily from Michigan's Lower Peninsula, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. In addition, Keweenaw County was a popular vacation destination for people in Houghton County. And while the healthy lake breezes had not been forgotten, vacations were primarily about recreation. The automobile increased the popularity of the Northwoods vacation with its emphasis on hunting, fishing, and camping. Since much of the fun of an automobile trip was in the journey, scenic drives held much appeal. Moreover, the copper mines that had proven such exciting attractions when they were young now offered the romance of ghost towns and ruins.

The Lake Superior shore and inland lakes continued to be the major draws on the Keweenaw Peninsula. Automobiles and improved roads made inland lakes much more accessible than they were before. Gogebic Lake in Ontonagon County, Twin Lakes in Houghton County, and Gratiot Lake and Lac La Belle in Keweenaw County were among the larger and more popular lakes, but there were many more. Isle Royale continued as an important tourist destination, although the

[27] Jane C. Busch, *People and Places: A Human History of the Apostle Islands* (Omaha: Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 2008), 321.

character of an Isle Royale vacation changed when the national park was established in 1940. Fort Wilkins State Park, McLain State Park, and Ottawa National Forest offered new recreational opportunities. During the 1930s the Keweenaw County Road Commission made important contributions to the tourist infrastructure with its road improvements, scenic drives, and roadside parks. The commission's scenic overlooks, parks, and roads were marked by rustic directional and interpretive signs geared to tourists. Its biggest projects were Lakeshore Drive, Brockway Mountain Drive, and the Keweenaw Park and Golf Course, all begun in 1933. The Keweenaw Park and Golf Course, today known as the Keweenaw Mountain Lodge, is the closest thing in the Copper Country to a full-scale resort.

New types of accommodations were built for automobile travelers, distinctly different in design and location than the hotels built in villages near the railroad lines. At first automobile tourists camped virtually anywhere along the roadside, then municipal and private auto camps were built. By the 1920s tourist courts appeared, with clusters of small cabins grouped around a central courtyard. One of the earliest was the Pontiac Resort (not extant) in Copper Harbor. Tourist courts proliferated in the 1920s and 1930s, most of them along highways in Ontonagon County and northern Keweenaw County. Although it is not a tourist court, the Lake Breeze Hotel in Eagle Harbor was an early resort hotel that contributed to Eagle Harbor's growth as a resort town. Located on the lakeshore, the Lake Breeze Hotel was built as a warehouse in 1859 and converted to a hotel in 1923. Automobiles also made it possible for people to build private summer cottages all along the Lake Superior and inland lakeshores. Only a small number of private summer homes were built before automobile travel became common.

Efforts to promote tourism and build infrastructure in the Copper Country paid off. Despite the Depression, staff at the Keweenaw County Information Booth at Ahmeek counted 9,802 automobiles entering Keweenaw County in the last two weeks of June 1939, with travelers coming from thirty-five states and Canada.[28] Tourism was limited during World War II, but after the war it came back stronger than ever. The Copper Country benefitted from the postwar outdoor recreation boom. After the Porcupine Mountains State Park was established in 1945 it quickly became one of the Copper Country's leading tourist destinations, offering winter skiing as well as hunting, fishing, and camping. Visitation to Porcupine Mountains State Park grew from 73,350 in 1946 to 225,000 in 1957.[29] On November 1, 1957, the Mackinac Bridge opened, boosting automobile tourism to the Upper Peninsula much as the Sault Canal boosted steamboat tourism a century earlier. After World War II, motels superseded tourist courts as the most modern accommodations for automobile tourists.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

Entertainment and recreation is a multifaceted theme represented by a wide variety of property types. Building types that represent entertainment and recreation include ethnic, fraternal, and other types of social halls; clubhouses; theaters; indoor ice rinks; recreational cottages; and hunting camps. Overnight lodgings represent tourism specifically. Urban hotels served both

[28] Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 235.

[29] Aaron Shapiro, "'Air Conditioned by the Cool Breezes of Lake Superior': Vacationing in Michigan's Copper Country after World War Two," in *New Perspectives on Michigan's Copper Country*, edited by Alison K. Hoagland, Erik C. Nordberg, and Terry S. Reynolds (Hancock, MI: Quincy Mine Hoist Association, 2007), 146.

travelers and tourists and do not represent tourism as strongly as resort hotels, tourist courts, and motels. Sites that represent entertainment and recreation include campgrounds, picnic areas, trail systems, scenic overlooks, baseball fields, golf courses, parks, the Porcupine Mountains ski hill, and the Baraga County fairgrounds in Pelkie. Whereas the Ontonagon County and Houghton County fairgrounds were developed after 1970, the Baraga County fairgrounds date from at least the 1940s; however, the buildings there are new. None of the amusement parks are extant, but there are a number of municipal parks. State parks and Isle Royale National Park are most appropriately considered in terms of components such as campgrounds or picnic areas, which may be combined into districts, rather than as one whole unit.

These property types may be significant under National Register Criterion A in the area of entertainment and recreation if they are early or rare examples of that type or if they made an important contribution to the history of entertainment and recreation in the region. A number of properties that are significant under this criterion have already been listed either individually or as part of districts, such as the Miscowaubik Club in Calumet Township, the Masonic Hall in Houghton, and the Johns Hotel on Isle Royale. Others that are significant under this criterion include the Lake Breeze Hotel in Eagle Harbor and, on Rice Lake, the Lake Linden-Hubbell Sportsmen's Association Clubhouse (1940), which was built as a Boy Scout clubhouse and is the only sportsmen's clubhouse identified in the survey. A building may also be significant under Criterion C in the area of architecture as an early, rare, or excellent example of a type, period, or method of construction; as the work of a master; or for high artistic value. The Calumet Theatre is National Register-listed as the only surviving live performance theater in the Copper Country in addition to its high artistic value. Yet other, more modest buildings may be eligible, such as the earliest example or an outstanding example of a tourist court. A designed recreational landscape may be significant under Criterion C in the area of landscape architecture as an early, rare, or excellent example of a landscape type; for its high artistic value; or as the work of a master designer. There may also be districts that represent the entertainment and recreation theme, such as the cottages that surround an inland lake, or a cluster of motels, tourist courts, and cottages on a highway bordering Lake Superior.

To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, properties must have integrity as well as significance. Buildings that are significant under Criterion C must be highly intact with integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Buildings that are significant under Criterion A may have some alterations as long as they retain the better part of their historic appearance. Features that contribute to the historic character of a site such as a park or fairgrounds include spatial relationships, vegetation, original property boundary, topography, site furnishings, design intent, architectural features, and circulation system. A site need not retain all of these features, but it must retain enough so that its historic character is recognizable. To be eligible under Criterion C in the area of landscape architecture, design intent must be evident. The Porcupine Mountains ski hill is significant as the only example of its type in the Copper Country, but it is ineligible because of alterations to one of the two original ski slopes as well as major changes to the warming house.

(Photo—Hebard Park, M26(3), Copper Harbor District)

Ethnic Heritage

Ethnic diversity is one of the important defining features of Copper Country history, perhaps as important as copper itself. The predominance of European immigrants and their descendants affected every aspect of life in the Copper Country. Houghton County's foreign-born population was one of the largest in the U.S., larger than in Michigan's iron mining communities and sharply different than the state's Lower Peninsula, where settlers came primarily from New England and New York. It did not begin that way, of course. When the French first visited the Keweenaw Peninsula in the mid-seventeenth century, they encountered bands of Ojibwa, an Algonquian-speaking people who migrated to the Lake Superior region from the east. The Ojibwa followed a seasonal round of hunting, fishing, and gathering, but following the arrival of the French they were increasingly drawn into the international fur trade. In 1842 the Ojibwa and the United States government signed the Treaty of La Pointe by which the Ojibwa ceded their lands on the southwestern shore of Lake Superior, including the Keweenaw Peninsula and Isle Royale. The Treaty of 1854 established the reservation at Keweenaw Bay.

When the copper rush began, Cornish, Irish, German, and French Canadian immigrants arrived quickly, along with a smaller number of other English (not Cornish), Scots, and Scandinavians. The notable exception was Father (later Bishop) Frederic Baraga, the Slovenian priest who established a Catholic mission on Keweenaw Bay in 1843; later Slovenian immigrants to the Copper Country came in part because of his legacy. The Cornish were highly skilled miners who brought important mining techniques and technology to the Copper Country. They worked as miners, bosses, and captains, the most skilled and highly paid jobs in the mines. Some rose through the ranks to become agents; these included Johnson Vivian, Samuel Harris, and John Daniell. It appears that many Irish and German immigrants also had experience in mining; they worked both skilled and unskilled jobs at the mines. French Canadians did not work underground, but rather on the surface, at stamp mills, and in the woods as loggers. Lake Linden was a lumber town before C&H built its stamp mill there. Known as Frenchtown for its predominantly French Canadian population, Lake Linden became a center for French Canadian culture in the Copper Country. French Canadians, Germans, Irish, and Cornish had their own churches and their own saloons. They established fraternal, benevolent, cultural, and social organizations that organized social activities, provided support in times of need, and kept cultural traditions alive. The Sons of St. George (Cornish), St. Patrick's Benevolent Society, the Germania Society, and the Société St-Jean-Baptiste are just a few examples. The larger and more prosperous organizations built their own halls.

Many businesses in the Copper Country were owned by immigrants, some of whom started off working in the mines while others immediately established themselves in other trades. After rising to the rank of agent at the Minesota mine, Cornish immigrant William Harris went into the mercantile business; his general store in the Harris Block was the leading retail establishment in Lake Linden. Harris was also the first village president of Lake Linden. After he retired from mining, Johnson Vivian was involved in several business enterprises including a soap company and a safety fuse factory, but he was best known for the J. Vivian Jr. & Company Department Store, the anchor of Laurium's business district. Edward Ryan, known as "the merchant prince of the Copper Country," came to the U.S. from Ireland at the age of four; in 1854 he came to Houghton and entered the mercantile business. With the profits from his successful stores in

Hancock and Calumet (known as Red Jacket until 1929), Ryan organized and became president of the Hancock Copper Mining Company. Joseph Grégoire, from Quebec, made his career in the lumber industry. In 1867 he established a sawmill across Torch Lake from Lake Linden, which employed eighty men at its peak and became the nucleus of the community of Gregoryville. German immigrant Joseph Bosch established the most successful business in the Copper Country that was not part of the mining industry. After working as a miner, Bosch established a brewery in Lake Linden in 1874. The Bosch Brewing Company grew to become the largest brewery in the Upper Peninsula and one of the largest in Michigan, with branches, storehouses, and saloons throughout Houghton County and some beyond. In Calumet, Bosch built the Michigan House hotel. The Bosch Brewing Company remained in business until 1973.

In 1880 the Cornish were the largest immigrant group in Houghton County, followed by the French Canadians, Irish, and Germans. By then, their Michigan-born children and grandchildren were also a sizable part of the population. Immigrants were coming from other countries by the 1860s, but it was not until the 1880s that large numbers of Finns came, so that by 1890 they were the largest immigrant group in Houghton County, followed by the French Canadians and then the Cornish.[30] Slovenes Peter Ruppe and Jozef Vertin and their families are credited as the first Slovenes to come to the Copper Country since Bishop Baraga. In 1864, Ruppe and Vertin opened a general store together in Hancock. Two years later they separated, each of them opening successful stores in both Hancock and Calumet. Vertin's Department Store in Calumet grew to become a Copper Country landmark. Large-scale immigration of Slovenians began in the 1890s, the same decade when large numbers of Italians began to come. Whereas most Italian immigrants to the U.S. came from southern Italy, the large majority of Italians who came to the Copper Country came from northern Italy. Most of them settled in Calumet or South Range. Croatians are closely related to Slovenians; until 1920 the census identified both nationalities as Austrian, since both homelands had been incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867). The majority of the Copper Country's Croatian immigrants came in the early 1900s. By 1910 the largest immigrant group in Houghton County was the Finns, followed by the Cornish, "Austrians," and Italians. Other ethnic groups who came in smaller numbers included English-speaking Canadians, Poles, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Chinese.

Finns, Slovenians, Croatians, and Italians had a much different experience in the Copper Country than the Cornish, Irish, French Canadians, and Germans. With no mining experience, they were relegated to work as trammers and other poorly-paid, unskilled jobs in the mines. They did not speak English, and their cultures seemed more foreign to the predominantly Anglo-American mine owners. Mine companies and earlier immigrants discriminated against them. Like other immigrant groups, they established their own churches; saloons and taverns; and fraternal, benevolent, cultural, and social organizations. They also published newspapers in their native language, some of which had a national distribution. After 1890 they also established cooperatives. The labor strike of 1913–14 divided mine workers along ethnic lines. Finns and immigrants from eastern and southern Europe were most likely to support the strike, while immigrants from Great Britain and western Europe were least likely to support the strike. As late as February 1914, when most strikers had returned to work, 84% of Croatians continued to

[30] For more information on Finns in the Copper Country, see the Ethnic Heritage: Finnish theme.

strike, followed by 24% of Finns.[31] During and after the strike, a significant number of immigrant workers went to Detroit to work in the automobile industry. That was the beginning of the great outmigration that reduced the population of the Copper Country from approximately 105,000 people in 1910 to 50,000 in 1960. Despite this, the imprint of many cultures continues to define the Copper Country.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

The most important property types representing the ethnic heritage theme are those that most closely represent an ethnic group's cultural identity. Churches are the most prominent and numerous resources that remain to represent the different ethnic groups.[32] Nearly every immigrant group in a community built a church as soon as it had enough people and money, although some shared with another nationality. For example, in Calumet and adjoining locations there were five Catholic churches serving French Canadian, Slovenian, Croatian, Polish, and Italian congregations, and a sixth, Sacred Heart Church, that served both the Irish and Germans. Four of these churches are standing today. Ethnic halls are important, as they represent a group's efforts to support community and maintain cultural identity and traditions. Ethnic organizations often met in church halls or multi-purpose community halls, but some built their own halls. Unfortunately most of these have been lost. One that remains is St. George's Hall in the Dunstan Block (now Artis Books) in Calumet. The most famous ethnic hall was the Italian Hall in Calumet, site of the Christmas Eve disaster in 1913 and demolished in 1984. Cooperative stores are also significant for their role in supporting the community. The Croatian Cooperative Store (1907; Maass Brothers) in Calumet operated for only five years, but its building is still extant. Cemeteries may also be associated with a specific ethnic group. Irish Hollow Cemetery near Rockland is an obvious example, but there are other cemeteries that were used exclusively by a single ethnic group.

Saloons and taverns were often gathering places for a specific nationality. Marco Curto's saloon, built in Calumet in the 1890s, served an Italian clientele and had an upstairs hall that was used by Italian clubs. Later the Croatian Shute family purchased Curto's saloon; though no longer in the family, it operates today as Shute's Bar. In Ontonagon Village, Johnny's Bar served a Polish clientele. These are just two of many examples. In Calumet, the Lisa Block, built by Italian immigrant James Lisa, also served as Lisa's office when he served as deputy consul for Italy, strengthening its association with ethnic heritage. The Bosch Brewing Company represents German ethnic traditions, as brewing and drinking beer were German traditions that German immigrants brought to the U.S. Extant buildings associated with the Bosch brewery include the Joseph Bosch Building and Bosch Bottling Works in Lake Linden; a beer depot in Laurium; and the Michigan House in Calumet. Otherwise, so many businesses were owned by immigrants that in most cases they have relatively little significance under the theme of ethnic heritage. The Harris, Ryan, and Ruppe commercial blocks and Vivian and Vertin department stores are among the most prominent retail establishments built by immigrants, but there are many more. The house of a person who was a leader in his or her ethnic community would be significant, for

[31] *An Interior Ellis Island: Ethnic Diversity and the Peopling of Michigan's Copper Country*. Houghton, MI: MTU Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections, 2004–2007. http://ethnicity.lib.mtu.edu/index.html.

[32] This discussion does not apply to Finns; Finnish property types are discussed in the Ethnic Heritage: Finnish theme.

example, the home of Joseph Grégoire (if it exists), who mentored French Canadian immigrants and was active in preserving French Canadian culture. But the home of a prominent businessman whose ethnicity is incidental to his historical importance would not be significant under the ethnic heritage theme.

Few of the buildings associated with ethnic groups display styles, types, or construction techniques brought from the homeland. The crenellations at the top of the Central Mine Methodist Church tower are a unique feature drawn from churches in Cornwall. Other than Finnish farm buildings (discussed separately), the only buildings identified that may incorporate ethnic building techniques are barns and farmhouses on Paradise Road in Chassell and Portage townships. This area was settled by French Canadian farmers, and the buildings have some unusual and distinctive characteristics, but more research is needed.

With the possible exception of the Paradise Road buildings, all of these property types are significant under the ethnic heritage theme because of their *association* with ethnic heritage. Their appearance is no different than any other church or commercial building. Therefore the standards for integrity described for Criterion A under the religion and commerce themes apply here.

(Photo—Johnny's Bar, N. 7th St (1)—Ontonagon Village)

Ethnic Heritage: Finnish

There are more distinctively Finnish resources on the Copper Country landscape today than are associated with any other ethnic group. The first Finnish immigrants came in 1864 and 1865, recruited by the Quincy Mining Company. For the next twenty years they came steadily, propelled by poverty and oppression and attracted by jobs in the copper mines, hoping to save enough money to buy land and start farms. They came primarily to Houghton County, to mine and stamp mill villages and locations, soon becoming concentrated in the Village of Calumet (then known as Red Jacket) and locations nearby. In the mines they were usually relegated to the laborious and poorly-paid role of trammers, pushing the ore cars. By 1880 there were nearly fifteen hundred Finnish immigrants in the Copper Country.[33] In the 1880s Finnish immigration accelerated; by 1890 Finns had become the dominant ethnic group. Finnish immigration peaked in the early 1900s. The vast majority of Finns came from Finland; a smaller number came from Norway or Sweden. Finland Swedes were a minority who came from Finland but spoke Swedish; most of them settled in Dollar Bay.

In addition to the copper mines and mills, Finns worked at the sandstone quarries at Jacobsville, where they formed a majority of the workforce. The quarries were short-lived, however; in the long run, the movement of Finns to rural areas where they established farms was more important. The first Finnish homesteaders settled on the east side of Otter Lake, southwest of Chassell, in

[33] Arnold R. Alanen and Suzanna E. Raker, "From Phoenix to Pelkie: Finnish Farm Buildings in the Copper Country," in *New Perspectives on Michigan's Copper Country*, edited by Alison K. Hoagland, Erik C. Nordberg, and Terry S. Reynolds (Hancock, MI: Quincy Mine Hoist Association, 2007), 56.

1890. In the decades that followed, Finns established farm communities throughout much of southern Houghton County, northwestern Baraga County, and Ontonagon County, soon coming to dominate farming in the Copper Country. Much smaller numbers farmed in Keweenaw County. Their rural villages included Pelkie and Arnheim in Baraga County; Tapiola, Toivola, Elo, Askel, Nisula, Liminga, and Oskar in Houghton County; and Bruce Crossing, Wasas, and Wainola in Ontonagon County. Some Finns acquired their farms through homesteading, most through purchase. J. H. Jasberg of Hancock was a Finnish immigrant who worked as a land agent for the Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic Railroad (DSS&A), selling land to many of his countrymen. Farmers typically worked part-time as loggers, fishermen, miners, or common laborers to supplement their farming income. Although only a minority of Finns worked full-time as commercial fishermen, they became the majority in that trade. Finnish fishermen worked from more than a dozen ports on the Keweenaw Peninsula and Isle Royale; fishing villages at Portage Entry and Big Traverse were composed of Finnish fishermen exclusively.

At the turn of the twentieth century, most Finns still worked in the mines, where they had become the largest ethnic group in the workforce. Finns were present in mine towns from Rockland in Ontonagon County to Mohawk in Keweenaw County. The largest population of Finns was still in Calumet and vicinity, followed closely by Hancock. A number of the earlier Finnish immigrants had worked their way up to become miners, who were more skilled and better paid than trammers. More recent Finnish immigrants continued to work as unskilled labor, and compared to earlier Finnish immigrants, a larger proportion of them were radicals versed in socialism and unionism. This radical contingent contributed to growing labor unrest in the mines, including a 1906 strike at the Michigan mine in Rockland, organized by Finnish trammers. In response, the mine companies began an active policy of reducing the number of Finnish employees. Finns were prominent among the strikers in the 1913–14 strike, and were prominent among the holdouts who were the last to return to work. As they were pushed out of mining, more Finns established farms, a trend that continued into the Depression. Finns also left the Copper Country, during the strike and after, as mining and the overall economy declined. Their farms became increasingly marginalized due to shrinking local markets and increasing competition from farms outside of the region. Nevertheless, compared to other ethnic groups, a larger proportion of Finns stayed in the Copper Country. Today, approximately one third of the population of the Copper Country is of Finnish descent.

All immigrant groups tended to associate with their own countrymen, but the Finns were more insular than most, establishing their own institutions, continuing to speak Finnish, and generally resisting assimilation. This fueled misunderstanding of Finns and Finnish culture and was part of the reason for discrimination against them. In 1880 the still-small Finnish community in Calumet had its own newspaper, two churches, a mutual aid society, a literary society, a printing company, a book-publishing company, a lending library, and nine public saunas. A number of these institutions relate to the unusually high literacy rate among Finns compared to other ethnic groups. Finns built social halls to house benevolent organizations, temperance societies, and other groups. Most halls were long, narrow front-gabled frame buildings. The Kaleva Temple (1910) in South Range was different—owned by the Knights of Kaleva, a fraternal organization devoted to preserving Finnish culture, the Jacobsville sandstone commercial block contained a social hall on the second floor and rented commercial space on the ground floor. Finns established cooperatives for different purposes; stores were most common, but other types

included dairies, sawmills, and fish processing plants. The building most closely associated with Finns was the sauna, and the practice of taking a sauna was perhaps most peculiar to Anglo-Americans and other European immigrants in the mining communities. Although there were public saunas in villages, a private sauna in the yard was preferred.

Religion was important, and events that took place in the Copper Country impacted Finns nationwide. The Laestadian (Apostolic) Lutheran Church, a pietistic sect that relied upon a lay ministry, predominated at first; this group was established as a distinct denomination in the Copper Country during the 1870s. The more traditional Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church was somewhat similar to the Finnish State Church. In 1890 representatives from several Midwestern churches met in Hancock to form and support an association of Finnish congregations, the Suomi Synod; Suomi College and Theological Seminary was organized in 1896. Two years later a group of congregations that disagreed with the hierarchical organization of the Suomi Synod formed the Finnish National Evangelical Lutheran Church; one of its first and largest churches was established in Calumet. Despite their differences, all three church groups espoused temperance. By 1917 there were twenty-two Finnish churches in Houghton County alone.[34] A large group of radical Finns, who tended not to be church goers, were another faction.

The majority of Finns who came to the Copper Country were farmers in their native land, and it was on farms that traditional Finnish construction techniques and building types were displayed most fully. The smallest Finnish farms in the Copper Country usually had five buildings; larger farms could have as many as fifteen. The exceptional Johnson farm on Kyro Road near Pelkie retains all of its original eighteen buildings. Many farms had buildings arranged around an open courtyard. Most of the first generation of houses, barns, and saunas were built of logs. Not only Finns constructed buildings of logs, but Finnish log buildings were very well crafted of closely-fitted hewn logs. Early houses were small, usually two rooms in plan with one or one-and-one-half stories. The first livestock barns were also relatively small and had gable roofs. Gambrel-roof barns became common in the early twentieth century, while a number of gothic-roof barns appeared later. The first saunas were smoke saunas, built of logs with no chimneys or dressing rooms. Beginning in the 1920s, houses, barns, and saunas became larger and were more likely to be built of frame and board. Newer saunas also included chimneys and dressing rooms. During the 1930s Finns used stovewood (also known as cordwood) construction, a more unusual technique in which short logs were stacked perpendicular to the plane of the wall so that the cut ends faced outward.[35] Stovewood construction was most frequently used for building poultry houses, but it was also used for barns and other farm buildings. Hay barns were another distinctive Finnish building type; unlike cattle barns, hay barns were built of unhewn logs with spaces between them. The granary (*aitta*), also used occasionally to store seasonal items and clothing, was an unheated storage building, typically front-gabled with one-and-one-half stories and square in plan.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

[34] Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 145.

[35] Finns constructed the vast majority of stovewood buildings in the Copper Country, but it is possible that a few were built by Swedes, Norwegians, or Poles, who used stovewood construction in Wisconsin.

Resources associated with Finns are virtually everywhere in the Copper Country. Churches, social halls, cooperatives, saunas, commercial buildings, homes, farms, cemeteries, summer cottages, even entire villages represent the Finns who lived, worked, and socialized there. In cities and villages, churches, social halls, and cooperatives most strongly represent Finnish culture. Although they are not distinctive in their form, they are associated with Finnish cultural practices that played a prominent role in community life. The sauna is Finnish in both form and function, and until recent years when it became more widely popular, it was a sure sign of Finnish heritage. There are no extant public saunas in the Copper Country; the last one—Jukuri's sauna in Laurium—was demolished several years ago. There are a small number of home saunas in villages, but most of them are found on former farms in rural areas—there they number in the hundreds. Farms are the most numerous, recognizable remnants of Finnish settlement in the Copper Country. Farms contain Finnish building types—saunas, granaries, and hay barns—and buildings constructed using log and stovewood building techniques. In some areas Finnish farm communities extend for many miles. In their recent study, Arnold Alanen and Suzanna Raker wrote that the Copper Country probably retains more Finnish farm buildings than anywhere else in the U.S.

Because of their wide and sometimes scattered distribution and their significance in the larger context of Finnish America, a thematic multiple property submission to nominate "Finnish-American Resources in the Copper Country" to the National Register of Historic Places is recommended. Both districts and individual resources may be nominated as part of the multiple property submission. Districts may be non-contiguous, for example, a thematic district consisting of buildings of stovewood construction would be appropriate. In order to contribute to this district, buildings would require integrity of design, materials, and workmanship; artificial siding would not be acceptable. Most districts would be contiguous, consisting of villages, rural agricultural areas, enclaves of Finnish summer cottages, or a combination of these. Districts would require a concentration of resources historically associated with Finns. The National Register-listed Big Traverse Bay Historic District was a Finnish fishing village. Other than some saunas, the buildings speak more to fishing than to ethnicity, but the district gains a large part of its significance from its association with Finns. Most districts would be rural agricultural districts, for example, encompassing the large Finnish farming communities around Pelkie or Tapiola. In these districts the landscape would need to retain its rural character with relatively few modern intrusions. Buildings with alterations such as secondary siding or replacement windows would contribute to such a district, but a building with altered window openings and front additions that obscure its original form would be non-contributing.

Buildings of outstanding significance to the history of Finns in the Copper Country are individually eligible if they retain the better part of their historic appearance. Old Main, the first building constructed at Suomi College (1900), is listed in the National Register. The house of a prominent Finn or a commercial building that housed a long-term Finnish business could be eligible. Social halls and cooperative stores were not built in large numbers—perhaps one or two of each in a village—and their numbers have diminished over time. Seven Finnish cooperative stores and eight Finnish social halls were identified in the survey. The Copper Country Cheese Cooperative in Dollar Bay is the only extant cooperative dairy. Because of their small number and prominent role in community life, any of these would be National Register eligible of it retains integrity; only the Kaleva Temple is currently listed. Artificial siding is a relatively

minor, and reversible, change. But a hall that has been converted to a house would not be eligible, nor would a store with additions and other alterations that obscure its historic appearance. Because there are a larger number of churches, some will be more significant than others. For example, if there are three Finnish churches in a village, the one that is most intact may be preferred for National Register listing. But when a church is all that remains of a Finnish community, as is the case at Wainola, then vinyl siding is acceptable.

Saunas are numerous, but early log smoke saunas are not; therefore these early examples, some with later frame and board dressing rooms, may be individually eligible. Other saunas, along with granaries, hay barns, and other farm buildings, may be individually eligible if they display exceptional qualities of design and/or building technique. More frequently, farm buildings will contribute to an eligible farm, one that retains a full complement of farm buildings and its historic spatial arrangement along with other landscape features. Some buildings may have minor alterations as long as the majority retains integrity of design and materials. The National Register-listed Hanka Homestead, now a museum, is unusually intact, with more than a dozen log buildings built beginning in 1896. The aforementioned Johnson Farm near Pelkie is an outstanding example, but there appear to be several other Finnish farmsteads that meet these criteria.

(Photo—Settlers Co-op farm store and hall, Bruce Crossing)

Industry: Copper Industry

The Keweenaw Peninsula was the first major copper mining district developed in the U.S.; it dominated U.S. copper production until the 1880s. The Copper Range, the central highland of copper-bearing rock that runs lengthwise through the Keweenaw Peninsula, is unique among the world's copper mining districts in its abundance of elemental or native copper, unalloyed with other elements. Seven thousand years ago, Native Americans mined copper on the Keweenaw Peninsula and Isle Royale, digging shallow pits to mine veins of copper, which was traded extensively throughout eastern North America. When the French first visited the Keweenaw Peninsula in the mid-seventeenth century, they learned of copper from the Ojibwa. Reports of copper continued to lure French and British explorers, who made some unsuccessful attempts at mining. Beginning in 1820, expeditions led by Lewis Cass, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, and Douglass Houghton provided additional information about copper in the Keweenaw, igniting public and government enthusiasm for copper mining. In 1842 the Ojibwa and the United States government signed the Treaty of La Pointe—the Copper Treaty—by which the Ojibwa ceded their lands on the southwestern shore of Lake Superior, including the Keweenaw Peninsula and Isle Royale.

In 1843 the federal government opened a land office at Copper Harbor, at first leasing but soon selling land to prospectors. There was much prospecting but little copper until 1845, when a large mass of copper was discovered at the Cliff mine, not far from Eagle River. The next major copper discovery came at the Minesota mine near Ontonagon in 1848. In that year Michigan (Keweenaw Peninsula and Isle Royale) copper mines produced one million pounds of copper, 92

percent of U.S. copper production.[36] In the decade that followed, the Cliff and Minesota mines led the way in profits, encouraging the opening of more mines and bringing growth to the region. Ontonagon County was the industry leader in the 1850s, with mines in the Rockland district that grew up around the Minesota mine, in the Porcupine Mountains district, in the Norwich district, and in the Greenland hills. In Keweenaw County,[37] the Central mine was second to the Cliff in profitability; other mines included the Phoenix, Copper Falls, and Delaware. In 1847 there were at least a dozen mines on Isle Royale, but all of them closed by 1855. Mining companies built housing for their employees on company land, the start of a system of paternalism that would define labor relations and employees' lives through the life of the industry.

The first generation of mines worked deposits of mass copper that formed in cracks or fissures in the rock. In the long term, however, amygdaloid and conglomerate deposits would be more productive. Amygdaloid copper was deposited in almond-shaped voids in rock formed by lava flows. Conglomerate copper was created when copper filled the spaces in beds of sedimentary rock. With amygdaloid and conglomerate deposits, stamp mills were used to separate the copper from the surrounding rock. During the 1850s, a cluster of mines opened south of Portage Lake to work amygdaloid lodes. North of Portage Lake, the Pewabic Mining Company discovered the rich Pewabic Amygdaloid lode in 1856; the Quincy Mining Company began mining the Pewabic lode that same year. About ten miles to the north of the Quincy mine, Edwin Hulbert discovered the first evidence of the Calumet Conglomerate lode, which would prove the richest lode of all. In 1850 Michigan copper mines produced 1.3 million pounds of copper, 88 percent of the U.S. total; by 1860 this had increased dramatically, to 12 million pounds of copper, 75 percent of the U.S. total. High copper prices during the Civil War led new mines to open, but many of these were marginal producers, and labor shortages limited overall production. In 1865, 14 million pounds of copper were produced, only slightly more than in 1860.[38] Many mines managed to produce some copper, but not profits. Between 1843 and 1865 approximately three hundred mining companies were created. Ninety-four of these were incorporated, but only eight of the ninety-four paid dividends by 1865.[39]

The drop in copper prices when the Civil War ended brought mine closings: the number of Michigan copper mines decreased from thirty-six in 1865 to twenty-four in 1870; by 1890 there were fifteen mines.[40] Some new mines opened as well, including a few on Isle Royale. But for Keweenaw and Ontonagon counties, the overall picture was one of decline. In contrast, copper mining in Houghton County, specifically the Portage Lake area, experienced phenomenal growth, with the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company (C&H) leading the way. In 1865 Edwin Hulbert and his investors organized the Calumet Mining Company, followed in 1866 by the Hecla Mining Company. In 1867 Alexander Agassiz took over management of the two companies, and in 1871 they merged to create the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company with Agassiz as president. Agassiz remained president until his death in 1910, wielding great influence in the Michigan copper industry. From 14 million pounds of copper in 1870 (as much

[36] William B. Gates, Jr., *Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars: An Economic History of the Michigan Copper Mining Industry* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1951), 197.
[37] Keweenaw County was separated from Houghton County in 1861.
[38] Gates, *Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars*, 197.
[39] Larry Lankton, *Hollowed Ground: Copper Mining and Community Building on Lake Superior, 1840s–1990s* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010), 18.
[40] Ibid., 64.

as the whole district produced five years earlier), C&H production grew to 32 million in 1880 and 60 million in 1890, 60 percent of the Michigan total of 101 million pounds. The number of C&H employees nearly tripled, from 1,201 in 1870 to 3,496 in 1890.[41] C&H was renowned for the capacity of its surface plant. The Quincy Mining Company was second to C&H, producing 8 million pounds of copper in 1890—8 percent of the Michigan total. The Osceola, Allouez, Atlantic, and Tamarack mining companies were also prominent. Improved technology, notably power rock drills, dynamite, and bigger and better steam engines, increased productivity at the mines. Stamp mills and a few smelters lined the shores of Portage and Torch lakes. The 1880s saw the beginnings of the electrical industry and with it an important new market for copper. That decade also saw the rapid growth of copper mining in Montana. Because of the western mines, Michigan's share of U.S. copper production decreased from 82 percent in 1880 to 44 percent in 1885 and 39 percent in 1890.[42]

Beginning in the 1890s there was a pronounced trend toward company reorganization and consolidation. The Quincy Mining Company purchased the neighboring Pewabic, Mesnard, and Pontiac mines. In 1897 the Iroquois, Kearsarge, Tamarack Junior, and Osceola mining companies were consolidated as the Osceola Consolidated Copper Company. Then in 1899 copper prices rose sharply, largely in response to a substantial increase in demand from the electrical and related industries. This led to the opening of new mines and reopening of old mines. In Ontonagon County, the Adventure Consolidated Mining Company at Greenland, the Michigan Copper Company at Rockland, the Mass Consolidated Mining Company, and the Victoria Copper Mining Company became minor producers. In southern Keweenaw County, the Mohawk Mining Company, Ahmeek Mining Company, and Allouez Mining Company all opened productive new mines. In northern Houghton County, the reorganized Wolverine Mining Company became an important producer along with the Isle Royale Copper Company south of Portage Lake. These were overshadowed, however, by the opening of the Baltic, Trimountain, and Champion mines on the recently-discovered Baltic Amygdaloid lode about six miles south of Portage Lake. By 1903 the Copper Range Consolidated Copper Company owned all three mines, and it quickly surpassed other companies in productivity, becoming second only to C&H. In 1910 Quincy accounted for approximately 10 percent, Copper Range 19 percent, and C&H 33 percent of the total production of 221 million pounds from Michigan mines, a 20 percent share of the national market. The new Copper Range mines had a distinct advantage over the older, deeper mines—rock was more difficult and expensive to extract from the deeper mines, and the ore was a lower grade. In 1906 C&H copper production reached a high of 100 million pounds; by 1910 this had dropped back to 72 million pounds. C&H countered declining yields by opening new mines and, once permitted by Michigan law,[43] purchasing controlling interest in other mining companies.[44]

The district-wide labor strike that began in July 1913 was a watershed event in Copper Country history. The costly and often violent strike ended nine months later in a victory for the mining

[41] This includes mines, mill, and after 1888, smelter. Gates, *Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars*, 208–09.
[42] Production statistics from Gates, *Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars*, 198, 230 and Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 125.
[43] In 1905 Michigan law was changed to allow mining companies to own stock in other mining companies.
[44] Production statistics from Gates, *Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars*, 198, 230 and Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 125, 137, 151–52.

companies, but it ushered in an era of chronic labor shortages and unrest. Three months after the strike ended, World War I began in Europe, and copper prices spiked due to wartime demand. In response, the region's copper production reached its peak of nearly 267 million pounds in 1916. But the market for copper collapsed after the war ended, and Michigan copper production dropped to 92 million pounds in 1921, beginning the long period of decline. Neither company consolidation nor technological advances could stem the decline, but they did slow it down. The most important new technology was for copper reclamation from the stamp sands, or tailings, in Torch Lake. C&H opened the first reclamation plant in 1915; by 1925 the plant had produced 121 million pounds of copper at about half the cost of mining new copper. Meanwhile, C&H had been buying stock in other mining companies. In 1917 it acquired the remaining stock of the Tamarack Mining Company, and in 1923 it merged with the Ahmeek, Allouez, Osceola, and Centennial mining companies to create the Calumet and Hecla Consolidated Copper Company. Following the merger, the company's share of Michigan copper production increased from about 30 percent to at least 50 percent and often more. Copper Range took an option to work the Globe mine; in 1929 it acquired the White Pine and Victoria mines and took control of the National mine, the last three in Ontonagon County. Copper production increased to 186 million pounds before the Great Depression sent it downward again, to a low of 47 million pounds in 1933. Production leveled off at about 90 million pounds in the late 1930s, accounting for 8 percent or less of the U.S. total.[45]

Copper production remained relatively steady during World War II and then dropped again to 43 million pounds in 1946. Quincy stopped mining in 1945; it operated its reclamation plant until 1967. C&H and Copper Range undertook limited mining while they diversified into other industries. Then in 1955 Copper Range began production at the White Pine mine, using new technology to extract copper from copper sulfide ore, which was unlike the native copper mined elsewhere in the Copper Country. The White Pine mine produced an average of 77 million pounds of copper a year in the late 1950s, increasing to about 122 million pounds a year in the 1960s. The final C&H shutdown in 1968 marked the end of native copper mining. Between 1843 and 1968, the Lake Superior mines produced about 11 billion pounds of native copper. By the time it closed in 1995**,** the White Pine mine had produced 4.4 billion pounds of sulfide copper.[46]

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

Mine, mill, and smelter sites represent the theme of copper mining. The most significant sites are those that retain the greatest percentage of their historic buildings, structures, and site features such as shaft openings and piles of mine waste rock. Buildings that are early, rare, or exceptional examples of their type may be individually eligible for the National Register. The eligibility of industrial buildings and structures and employee housing under National Register Criterion C has been discussed under the architecture theme. Buildings and structures may also be individually eligible under Criterion A in the area of industry. Under Criterion A, industrial buildings and structures have greater significance than employee houses, which contribute to the

[45] Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 208, 229; Larry Lankton, *Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 250; Gates, *Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars*, 199, 230.
[46]Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 2, 208, 259.

larger whole but are not likely to be individually eligible for industry. Buildings and structures that are significant under Criterion A need not be as intact as for Criterion C. Among the most significant buildings in the area of industry is the Quincy Smelter (1898), one of the most intact surviving reverberatory furnace smelters in the world and the centerpiece of a complex of more than twenty buildings including cupola and reverberatory furnaces, mineral warehouse, briquetting plant, warehouses, powerhouse, machine shop, laboratory, and assay office. The smelter complex is part of the Quincy Mining Company Historic District. The Quincy Mine No. 2 Shaft Hoist House, individually listed in the National Register, housed the Nordberg steam hoist, the largest mine hoist in the world when it was built in 1918.

A mine, mill, or smelter site may be a historic district by itself or it may be part of a larger industrial district. At mine locations, houses typically outnumber industrial buildings; this is the case, for example, at the National Register-listed Painesdale Historic District. At the Central Mine Historic District there are nineteen houses and a church, but ruins of industrial buildings and piles of mine waste rock help to identify the community as a mine location and contribute to its significance. On Isle Royale, the Minong Mine Historic District contains prehistoric mining pits as well as shaft openings, ruins, and rock piles from a late nineteenth century mine; although it has above-ground remains, it is significant as an archaeological site. The most extensive industrial districts in the Copper Country are the Calumet Historic District and the Quincy Mining Company Historic District, both National Historic Landmarks. Both retain multiple industrial buildings and structures along with building ruins and piles of waste rock; in addition, both encompass multiple mine locations, some of which would not be individually eligible but contribute to the larger district. The Calumet and Quincy historic districts could be expanded with the addition of adjoining locations that were associated with them historically.

The Quincy Mining Company Stamp Mills Historic District encompasses the community of Mason, with employee housing and the ruins of Quincy's stamp mill and reclamation plant. There are no extant stamp mills in the Copper Country, only ruins—some quite large—with auxiliary buildings and expanses of stamp sands, or tailings. Mason could be part of a larger Torch Lake and Portage Lake Historic Industrial District that includes stamp mill and smelter sites in Lake Linden, Hubbell, Tamarack City, Dollar Bay, and Point Mills.

Tailings (stamp sands), slag heaps, and piles of mine waste rock are important—and disappearing—elements of the historic industrial landscape. Tailings and waste rock are being removed for new uses such as road construction, and tailings are being covered to mitigate their negative effects on the environment. Sean Gohman conducted a survey to identify and evaluate tailings, rock piles, and slag heaps; his report includes recommendations for National Register listing.[47]

(Photo—Lake Mine South Shaft (1-C) Greenland District)

Industry: Lumber Industry

[47] Sean M. Gohman, "Identification and Evaluation of Copper Country Mine Waste Deposits Including Tailings, Waste Rock, and Slag in Parts of Baraga, Houghton, Keweenaw, and Ontonagon Counties, Michigan," Draft (Calumet: Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 2012).

Logging transformed the landscape of the Copper Country, removing nearly all of its original forest cover. Today there are only two stands of virgin timber on the Keweenaw Peninsula—an extensive stand in the Porcupine Mountains and a smaller stand at Estivant Pines in Keweenaw County; there is also virgin timber on Isle Royale. Copper mines and mining communities provided a substantial market for lumber into the early twentieth century. Once railroads connected the Copper Country to Chicago and other Great Lakes cities, lumber exports gained importance. During the waning years of the copper industry, lumber and wood products increasingly replaced copper in the local economy, but the lumber industry was declining as well and could not stem the region's decline.

Logging began as soon as the first mines passed the exploration stage. Logs were used for constructing buildings, for mine timbers, and for fuel for both home and industry. Sawmills, which produced sawn lumber, were a sign of progress from frontier to settlement. A sawmill built at Eagle Harbor in 1845 was likely the first in the region. By the 1850s there were sawmills in the villages of Ontonagon and Houghton and at a number of mining locations; by the 1860s there were more. Town building and copper mining consumed a large amount of timber. Pine was preferred for building lumber and mine timbers. Sections of tree trunks called stulls were used to hold up the roofs of mine tunnels and shafts. Until C&H came on the scene, however, mining companies timbered sparingly. The greater demand was for cordwood to fuel steam engine boilers. Wood for fuel was sold by the cord—a stack measuring four by four by eight feet—hence the name cordwood. Hardwood was preferred for cordwood. At first logging took place in the vicinity of the mines and villages, but as timber in those areas was depleted, the mining and lumber companies expanded their reach. By the 1860s logging was taking place along the northern shores of Portage and Torch lakes and into the Bootjack area.

Sawmills and lumber companies were typically owned and managed by Anglo-Americans, while most of the loggers and mill workers were French Canadians. The exception, in many ways, was Joseph Grégoire (Gregory) and his sawmill near Lake Linden. Born in Quebec, Grégoire came to Portage Lake in 1859, purchased timberlands, and began supplying wood to mining companies and other customers. In 1867 Grégoire and two associates built a sawmill on Torch Lake, a short distance from Lake Linden. Five years later, Grégoire bought out his associates, expanded the sawmill, and built a factory to manufacture flooring, windows, doors, and altar railings. The community of Gregoryville grew up around the mill. Grégoire rebuilt the sawmill after it burned in 1876; the new mill had a capacity of forty thousand feet of lumber per day. While Grégoire supplied lumber to C&H and other mining companies in the Portage Lake area, he also shipped his products as far away as Chicago. By the early 1880s Grégoire owned 6,500 acres of timberlands, both pine and hardwood,[48] and he employed eighty men at his mills, many of them French Canadian immigrants who came to the area because Grégoire promised them jobs. Grégoire was a leader in local politics and in the French Canadian community. He retired from work in the late 1880s and died in 1895. The sawmill closed in 1910 after operating almost forty years, an unusually long span for a sawmill.

[48] In his *History of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan* (Chicago: Western Historical Society, 1883), A. T. Andreas gives two different figures for Grégoire's timberland holdings: 6,500 (p. 11) and 65,000 (p. 313); the former is more likely the correct figure.

The Sturgeon River Lumber Company was the second of Houghton County's leading lumber companies. A group of six investors organized the company in 1872 to log the rich pine lands of the Sturgeon River Valley; Orrin Robinson was superintendent. In 1873 the company built a sawmill in Hancock. In 1875 the same investors organized the Sturgeon River Boom Company, which cut a canal from the Sturgeon River across marshland to Pike's Bay. The Sturgeon River Lumber Company purchased John Chassell's farm on Pike's Bay in 1881. In 1887–88 the company replaced the Hancock operation with a new sawmill, planing mill, and lumberyards on the former farm and platted the company town of Chassell. In 1888 the Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic Railroad (DSS&A) established a railroad stop at Chassell, enabling the lumber company to ship its products by rail. The company employed more than two hundred people, many of them French Canadians; the mill had a capacity of twenty million board feet a year.

In the early 1880s, lumberman Thomas Nestor sold his property on Saginaw Bay and invested the money in sixty thousand acres of timberlands in the Sturgeon and Ontonagon river valleys. Nestor built his mill in the village of Baraga. By then, logging was taking place at many locations around the Keweenaw Peninsula. Before railroads reached an area, most logging took place close to the lakeshore or—for pine—near rivers where the logs could be driven to the lakeshore. At the lakeshore, logs were rafted to sawmills, some as far away as the Hebard and Thurber sawmill in Pequaming, on the eastern shore of Keweenaw Bay. During the 1880s mining companies transitioned from wood to coal to fuel their steam engines, but there remained a large demand for mine timbers. Not only were there new and bigger mines, but C&H used more mine timbers than other mining companies. The Calumet Conglomerate was harder than other types of copper-bearing rock, making the roofs of the mines more fragile and less stable. During the 1880s C&H began using milled square-set timbers in addition to stulls; there were so many timbers in its mines that they were described as a forest underground. In 1885 C&H owned approximately eighty million feet of standing pine to supply timbers for its mines.[49]

In Ontonagon County, there was little copper mining by the 1880s, but the village of Ontonagon was poised to become one of the Upper Peninsula's biggest lumber boom towns. White pine was the mainstay of the American lumber industry that began in New England and worked its way west. Pine logging was well underway in the northern Lower Peninsula by the mid-nineteenth century, moving northward as the pine was depleted. Large-scale commercial logging began in Ontonagon County in 1881, when a group of Chicago investors organized the Ontonagon Lumber Company, purchased thirty thousand acres of pine lands, and built a sawmill and shingle mill in the village of Ontonagon. The company's lumber was shipped to Chicago. In 1882, Sisson & Lilly—previously of Ottawa County in the Lower Peninsula—built a larger sawmill and shingle mill in Ontonagon. In September 1882 the Diamond Match Company, a giant matchmaking monopoly, bought control of both of these lumber companies and began buying timberlands in southern Ontonagon County. Thomas Nestor also owned extensive timberlands along the Ontonagon River. Commercial logging in Ontonagon County remained relatively limited in scope, however, until the late 1880s, when a rail line linked the port of Ontonagon to Milwaukee, and two additional railroad lines were built in southern Ontonagon County. In addition to Diamond and Nestor, many smaller lumber companies and logging contractors established logging and milling operations along the railroad lines in the south. Both

[49] Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 81.

Diamond and Nestor drove pine down the Ontonagon River to the village of Ontonagon,[50] but railroads were instrumental in transporting lumber to market and in supplying lumber towns that in turn supplied the logging camps. Paulding, Robbins, Craigsmere, Choate, Calderwood, Trout Creek, Paynesville, Baltimore, Ewen, Matchwood, and others served as supply centers and mill towns for dozens—perhaps hundreds—of logging camps in the surrounding woods. In southernmost Houghton County, the lumber towns of Pori, Frost, Sidnaw, Kenton, and Kitchie were established along some of the same railroad lines.

By the early 1890s, the Diamond Match Company's sawmills in Ontonagon operated around the clock, producing up to seventy million board feet of lumber per year and employing between 250 and 400 men, depending on the season. Pine logging in Ontonagon County peaked during the winter of 1894–95, when Diamond organized a massive logging operation to harvest trees that had been scorched in a forest fire the previous summer. By spring, 185 million feet of pine logs had been piled by the banks of the Ontonagon River. Logjams on the river slowed the processing of these logs, which was still underway in August 1896 when a forest fire destroyed Diamond's Ontonagon mills along with most of the village. With the county's pine timber nearly depleted, Diamond decided not to rebuild its Ontonagon mills. By the early 1900s there was little white pine left in the Copper Country.

Throughout the north woods, the lumber industry turned to hardwood, hemlock, and cedar once the white pine was depleted. The first two decades of the twentieth century were the peak years for hardwood and hemlock logging in the Upper Peninsula. Hardwood was used for lumber, furniture, and flooring. Hemlock became the preferred wood for mine timbers and was also used for lumber, railroad ties, and pulpwood; the bark was harvested for tanning bark. Cedar was used for shingles, railroad ties, paving blocks, utility poles, and posts. Some of the lumber companies that logged pine stayed to log hardwoods and hemlock, but most often the pine lumber companies moved on and new companies moved in. Hardwood and hemlock logging required new techniques and equipment. Because hardwoods do not float, logging railroads were built to access the timber. In Ontonagon County, the C. V. McMillan Company and its successor the Greenwood Lumber Company led the way in harvesting hemlock west of the village of Ontonagon. One of Greenwood's logging camps became the community of Green, designed as a model company town. Farther south, Gunlek Bergland purchased seventeen thousand acres of timberland north and west of Lake Gogebic. Bergland built his sawmill at the north end of the lake, where he platted the community of Bergland. Other lumber companies that were active in Ontonagon County included the Holt Lumber Company, Weidman Lumber Company, and Sawyer-Goodman Company.

In southern Houghton County, construction of the Copper Range Railroad and Mineral Range Railroad opened new areas for logging. Alston, Nisula, and Donken were all established as lumber towns during this period. Logging took place in other parts of the Keweenaw Peninsula, and there were even logging ventures on Isle Royale. But the biggest operation was in Chassell. Having logged all of its pine, in 1902 the Sturgeon River Lumber Company sold its timberlands, mills, and remaining property in Chassell to Charles H. Worcester of Chicago. The Worcester Lumber Company began operation in 1903. The company built a logging railroad into the Pike and Otter River valleys and employed 300 to 400 men in the woods in addition to 30 on the

[50] From Ontonagon, Thomas Nestor moved his timber by barge to his mill in Baraga.

railroad and 120 at the mill. By then, Finns had largely replaced the French Canadians who had worked for the Sturgeon River Lumber Company. With one of the largest sawmills on the Great Lakes, the Worcester Lumber Company produced 750 million feet of soft and hardwood lumber in addition to lath, shingles, hemlock tanning bark, and cedar poles and ties between 1903 and its closing in 1928.[51] Chassell was part of C. H. Worcester's larger logging empire; he owned more than one hundred thousand acres of timberland in the Upper Peninsula[52] and had a national reputation as a leading lumberman. Worcester chose Chassell for his summer home (built 1908; destroyed by fire 1974), and he introduced a number of improvements to his company town there, including new housing, wooden sidewalks, and electricity.

Even at its height, hardwood and hemlock logging was never as big an industry as pine logging, and by the 1920s it was declining. By 1929 some lumber companies had already ended their Keweenaw operations; more closed during the Depression. Contrary to the general trend, the Horner Flooring Company opened a plant in Dollar Bay in the 1930s, the Dion Lumber Company opened a sawmill in Gay in 1933, and the Boniface-Gorman Lumber Company began manufacturing cedar poles, ties, and posts in Lake Linden in 1934. By the 1930s, pulpwood for papermaking rivaled lumber as the primary product of the forest. At first hemlock was the preferred pulpwood, but as hemlock played out, spruce became the primary pulpwood. Balsam fir and jack pine were used as well. Spruce, balsam fir, jack pine, birch, aspen, and maple were all components of the second-growth forests that were growing on cutover lands by the 1930s and 1940s. The Northern Fibre Company built one of the first pulp mills in the Upper Peninsula in the village of Ontonagon in 1920. The Northern Fibre Company was short-lived, but in 1923 the Ontonagon Fibre Company took over the mill and added a paperboard machine. In 1931 the company was reorganized as the Ontonagon Fiber Corporation. The company struggled during the Depression, but did well during World War II, so well that it was purchased by the National Container Corporation. The pulp and paper mill in Ontonagon was the only one in the Copper Country; otherwise pulpwood was shipped to pulp and paper plants in northern Wisconsin.

During the 1930s trucks began to replace logging railroads for getting timber out of the forest. In addition, landowners began to adopt the principles of scientific forestry, managing timberlands as renewable resources by practicing selective cutting instead of clear cutting. The Michigan College of Mining and Technology established a forestry department in 1936, at once a sign of the growing forestry profession and also a sign of the importance of the industry in the region. Scientific forestry was one outgrowth of the conservation movement, which also included reforestation programs and the establishment of state and national forests. During the 1920s and 1930s large areas of cutover land in the Lake Superior region reverted to county governments as the result of tax delinquency. Government agencies used some of this land to create county, state, and national forests, including the Copper Country State Forest and Ottawa National Forest. Much of the timber in these forests was managed for timber harvest using the sustained yield methods of scientific forestry. It was also during this time that mining companies began to sell logging rights to the standing timber on their lands.

[51] Stephanie Atwood, Shannon Bennett, and Alison K. Hoagland, "Chassell School Complex" (Washington, D.C.; National Register of Historic Places, 2008), 14.

[52] Theodore J. Karamanski, *Deep Woods Frontier: A History of Logging in Northern Michigan* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1989), 195.

The lumber and wood products industry played a major role in the Copper Country's post-World War II economy. Logging took place in regenerated forests on much of the Keweenaw Peninsula, and scientific forestry became common practice. Pulpwood predominated, but there was also a sizable hardwood lumber industry. Many of the loggers were small operators, but there were several larger logging, milling, and manufacturing operations. The Dion Lumber Company in Gay operated into the 1960s, producing up to ten car loads of lumber a week. The Horner Flooring Company in Dollar Bay had a national reputation for its maple flooring; it is still in operation today. In Donken, the Vulcan Corporation's lumber mill was probably the largest in the Copper Country until it closed in the mid-1960s. Based in Antigo, Wisconsin, Vulcan employed eighty men in the mill and one hundred men in the woods in 1956; in addition to lumber its products included shoe lasts and bowling pins. In Ontonagon, the National Container Corporation closed abruptly in 1953 when the softwood that it used to make paperboard was no longer available. Four years later the Huss Ontonagon Pulp and Paper Company reopened the plant with new equipment to make paper from second-growth hardwoods. By 1967 Huss had become part of the Hoerner-Waldorf Corporation. Eventually the Smurfit-Stone Container Corporation owned the much-expanded paperboard plant.

Copper Range and C&H both continued to sell timber from their extensive landholdings. By the 1950s timber sales from its 185,000 acres of timberlands on the Keweenaw Peninsula provided Copper Range with its primary source of revenue. In 1955, C&H took the next step and entered the forest products business with its purchase of the Goodman Lumber Company of Goodman, Wisconsin—a company known for its excellent forestry practice. In addition to Goodman's mills and 70,000 acres of Wisconsin timberlands, the Goodman acquisition brought C&H the expertise to manage the 104,000 acres of timberlands that it already owned on the Keweenaw Peninsula. The Goodman Lumber Company became the core of the C&H Forest Industries Division. C&H built a sawmill near Calumet that produced birch and maple veneer for furniture, maple flooring, construction lumber, and softwood for industrial crating and mine timbers. The division also produced pulpwood for papermaking. In 1968 Copper Range opened its Northern Hardwoods Division and built a sawmill near South Range; later this became part of the Mead Corporation. Logging, milling, and wood products manufacturing continues today in the Copper Country. In some places it is a community's primary employer, but it is no longer a major part of the regional economy.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

Logging camps, lumber mills, and manufacturing plants are the property types most directly associated with the lumber industry theme. Logging camps are represented only by archaeological sites, and since the scope of this survey was limited to what was visible from improved roads, no logging camp sites were identified during the survey. Two sawmills were identified in the survey. The sawmill at the site of the CCC camp in Sidnaw is relatively new; if there are historic buildings, they do not retain integrity. At Donken, the extensive lumber mill complex comprises about a half dozen large brick and concrete block buildings that appear to date from the 1920s to the 1950s. Most of the buildings are in ruins, and the complex as a whole does not retain integrity. A mill pond remains at Trout Creek, and while it would contribute to a potential Trout Creek Historic District, it is not National Register eligible by itself. In the village of Ontonagon, the Smurfit-Stone Container Corporation, built around the original 1920 pulp

plant, closed in 2009 and was demolished two years later. The Hawley Lumber Company is significant as the sole surviving lumber company in the village. The company was established in 1881; most of the current buildings were built after World War II and appear to retain integrity. In Dollar Bay, the Horner Flooring Company is a dense complex of industrial buildings built of wood, tile, brick, concrete block, and metal. A number of the buildings appear to be relatively new, though some buildings clearly pre-date World War II. Horner Flooring is significant as one of very few extant wood products plants, but additional research is needed to determine if the plant retains integrity.

Company housing is not as central to the lumber industry theme as the mills and plants themselves, but there are places where only worker housing survives to represent vanished lumber mills. Two streets of one-story front-gabled worker houses built by the Hawley Lumber Company survive in Ontonagon Village; these may constitute a National Register historic district. There are four clusters of lumber mill worker housing in and near the village of Trout Creek, consisting mostly of one- and one-and-one-half-story front-gabled houses. On Weidman Street in Trout Creek, two rows of five houses apiece face each other across the street. Eight of these are one-and-one-half-story front-gabled worker houses. At the end of each row is a foursquare manager's house. The mill owner's house (destroyed by fire) once stood on a hill overlooking the street. These houses would contribute to a potential Trout Creek Historic District. In Donken, houses associated with the Vulcan lumber mill date to the 1950s and 1960s; most of these are in fair or poor condition and others lack integrity. Company houses at Chassell would contribute to a potential Chassell Historic District. Chassell was built as a company lumber town in the 1880s and remained so through 1928. The village of Chassell is significant as a company town for two of the Copper Country's leading lumber companies. Intensive level survey will determine if there are enough contributing buildings to support a historic district. Even without company housing, a lumber town may be all that remains to represent a community's historic role in the lumber industry. A number of lumber towns, especially those from the pine era, have disappeared completely. Of those that remain, Ewen and Bergland seem to be the most complete. Intensive level survey is needed to determine what remains from the time when these two villages functioned actively as lumber towns.

(Photo—Hawley Lumber Company, Iron St (1-A), Ontonagon Village District)

Industry: Quarrying

In contrast to the copper and lumber industries, sandstone quarrying took place in a relatively small part of the Keweenaw Peninsula and for a relatively short time. Yet during that time quarrying was a major industry, and sandstone from the quarries had a lasting impact on the region's architecture.

The sandstone that was quarried on the Keweenaw Peninsula is part of a band of sandstones that crop out along the south shore of Lake Superior from Duluth, Minnesota, to Munising, Michigan. In the east, the Jacobsville formation extends from the Keweenaw Peninsula eastward to Munising. The Jacobsville formation was named for the village of Jacobsville, which was established at a sandstone quarry near the mouth of the Portage River; the village, in turn, was

named for John H. Jacobs, one of the most successful quarry developers. In the west, the three formations of the Bayfield group extend from the head of Chequamegon Bay westward to the St. Louis River between Superior, Wisconsin, and Duluth. Ranging in color from red to brown, the sandstones of Lake Superior's south shore were known as Lake Superior sandstone, brownstone, or redstone. The Lake Superior sandstones were well suited to building—strong, durable, and easily worked. As geologists began to explore the Lake Superior region they recognized the economic potential of the local sandstone. In reports of their 1840 survey, geologists Douglass Houghton and Bela Hubbard described the sandstones of the Upper Peninsula and noted their value as a building material. By the 1860s, sandstone from the Jacobsville formation was being quarried near Marquette and Munising.

In 1861 Englishman George Craig discovered deposits of sandstone on land east of the mouth of the Portage River, also known as the Portage Entry.[53] Craig opened a quarry and established the small settlement of Craig nearby, but his venture failed. In 1883 John H. Jacobs with other investors formed the Wolf and Jacobs Company and opened a quarry on the shore of Keweenaw Bay about a mile southeast of the Craig quarry. Born in Ohio in 1847, John Jacobs started working in Ohio stone quarries at the age of eleven. In 1870 he came to Marquette to be foreman of the Peter Wolf and Son Company quarry and soon became a key figure in the Marquette sandstone industry, developing, managing, and investing in several different quarries. In 1885 the Wolf and Son quarry produced 90,000 cubic feet of sandstone. By 1887 output exceeded 300,000 cubic feet. In that year the company reorganized as Furst, Jacobs and Company, with the Furst family of Chicago as investors. The community of Jacobsville grew up near the quarry, populated primarily by Finnish quarry workers and their families. The sandstone from the quarry was valued for its beautiful red color and fine texture. By comparison, the sandstones quarried at Marquette and Chequamegon Bay were more brown in color. There was a strong market for Lake Superior sandstone during the 1880s. Stone was the material of choice for local landmarks such as banks, courthouses, city halls, and mansions. In response to destructive fires, many cities passed ordinances requiring that buildings in central business districts be constructed of brick or stone. In addition, the 1880s saw the rise in popularity of the Richardsonian Romanesque style, a massive and colorful style derived from the designs of Henry Hobson Richardson, one of America's greatest architects. Richardson's own works were typically executed in rock-faced granite and sandstone. Nevertheless, there were only a few other quarrying operations in the Copper Country during the 1880s. Notable among them was the Torch Lake Sandstone Quarry near Lake Linden. Owned by C&H, the quarry produced sandstone for the company's stamp mill and mine buildings.

During the 1890s, the strong market for Lake Superior sandstone led to an increase in quarrying activity along the eastern shore of the Keweenaw Peninsula. Furst, Jacobs and Company continued to lead the way; in 1890 its production peaked at 450,000 cubic feet. The following year Jacobs left the firm, which reorganized as Furst, Neu and Company. In 1893, Furst, Neu and Company consolidated with the Portage Entry Red Stone Company and the Portage Entry Sandstone Company as the Portage Entry Quarries Company. J. W. Wyckoff of Marquette became the company's manager. Within a few years the Portage Entry Quarries Company operated several quarries and was the largest sandstone producer on Keweenaw Bay, probably

[53] The term Portage Entry is used to refer to the mouth of the Portage River, to the village of Portage Entry on the west bank of the river, and to the land area in the vicinity of the river mouth.

the largest producer in the Lake Superior region. Wyckoff described the company as the Calumet and Hecla of commercial redstone. Because of the dominance of the Portage Entry Quarries Company, Jacobsville sandstone is often referred to as Portage Entry sandstone. Meanwhile, in 1892, John Jacobs organized the Kerber-Jacobs Redstone Company and opened a quarry about a mile north of Jacobsville. Between the quarry and the lakeshore the company built the community of Red Rock. Kerber-Jacobs quickly became second only to the Portage Entry Quarries Company in production.

Other quarrying companies operating during the 1890s included the Excelsior Red Stone Company, the Michigan Red Stone Company, and the Lake Superior Redstone Company near Portage Entry and the Keweenaw Redstone Company and Superior Red Sandstone Company in northern Baraga County. In 1894 lumberman Charles Hebard of Pequaming opened a quarry at the headwaters of the Trap Rock River in Keweenaw County, the northernmost of the Copper Country sandstone quarries. The following year Hebard's Traverse Bay Red Stone Company built a railroad from the quarry to the lakeshore and shipped 6,500 cubic feet of sandstone. In 1896 the company shipped 20,000 cubic feet of sandstone in its last year of operation. Later the Portage Entry Quarries Company operated the quarry, and the Mohawk Mining Company purchased the railroad to transport copper ore from its mine to its stamp mill at Gay.

The Traverse Bay Red Stone Company was not the only quarry to close in 1896. The Panic of 1893 precipitated the end of the Lake Superior sandstone industry, but it was not the only factor. When the depression of the 1890s eased, new construction techniques and architectural fashions left the brown and red sandstones behind. Steel and concrete were replacing traditional masonry construction. Where stone was used, architects favored light colored stones such as marble and limestone—the White City of the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago ushered in the new architectural fashion. Building stone shipments through the Sault locks document the decline of the Lake Superior sandstone industry from a peak of 47,973 tons shipped in 1890 to 4,670 tons in 1898. In 1897 John Jacobs sold his interest in the Kerber-Jacobs Redstone Company. At about that time the community of Jacobsville reached its population peak of approximately eight hundred people and then began to fall. Production declined at the quarries that remained open. In 1909 the Portage Entry Quarries Company ceased operations because there was no longer a market for "colored stone."

During the 1880s and 1890s, sandstone from the quarries at Portage Entry was used to construct buildings as far south as New Orleans, as far west as Omaha, as far north as Montreal, and as far east as New York City; it was even used for a bank in Liverpool, England. In the Copper Country, those decades were years of rapid growth, and in Houghton County especially, the red sandstone was used so frequently and prominently for banks, department stores, village halls, churches, industrial buildings, fine homes, and more that it played a large role in shaping the distinctive character of the region's architecture.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

The industrial landscapes of quarrying have disappeared; all that remain are several small lakes and ponds in the Portage Entry area that are abandoned quarries. These do not retain integrity as quarries. The scattering of houses in the vicinity of Jacobsville does not convey the village of

eight hundred people that once stood there. The 1888 Jacobsville Finnish Lutheran Church, the Jacobsville Cemetery, and probably the Jacobsville School date to the years when the quarries were active, but the cemetery and buildings by themselves are not strong enough representatives of the quarrying industry to be National Register eligible under the theme of quarrying. The church is listed in the National Register for its significance in representing Finnish Lutheran culture in northern Michigan.

(Photo—Quarry Lake, Red Rock Rd (2-A), Jacobsville District)

Landscape Architecture

The landscape architecture theme covers landscapes that were consciously designed according to design principles or traditions. The designer may be a landscape architect, another design professional, or an amateur. Villages and locations are the most common types of designed landscapes in the Copper Country. Not all villages and locations were consciously designed; some, particularly in the early years of settlement, grew organically rather than according to a plan. Most, however, were platted or laid out according to a rectangular grid plan, which was introduced on the eastern seaboard in the late seventeenth century and became standard for community layout as settlement expanded westward. Two of the Copper Country's earliest villages, Eagle Harbor and Ontonagon, were laid out in a grid plan. Where needed, the grid was altered to fit the local topography. At mine locations, mine shafts determined where mine buildings and residential neighborhoods would be located. Where there were landscape features such as rivers and hills, the straight lines of the grid were replaced by an irregular street pattern fitted to these features.

The Copper Range Consolidated Copper Company's post-World War II company town of White Pine stands in sharp contrast to the Copper Country's typical grid-plan communities. Copper Range hired Pace Associates of Chicago to design a modern, model company town for workers at its new White Pine mine. Construction began in 1952. The plan for White Pine used a curvilinear street plan characteristic of post-World War II suburbs. It included several types of housing, schools, a hospital, churches, and a town center with a shopping center, gas station, high school, and green space. But White Pine did not attract enough residents to support construction of all of these features, and in 1970 Copper Range hired Unlimited Development to develop a new master plan intended to make White Pine a more desirable place to live. The new master plan called for more housing, schools, and churches; a shopping center, a man-made lake and park, golf course, library, exhibition hall, motel, restaurant, theater, and bowling alley. The shopping mall, motel, restaurant, and bowling alley were built, but not much else. In the early 1970s White Pine had about fifteen hundred residents, far short of the projected five thousand.

Urban parks and street plantings are another aspect of community design and planning. Urban parks were usually modest in size and were found in villages more often than in locations. For example, in Laurium there are two small parks: Gipp Park (1935), which has a cobblestone monument to George Gipp, and Daniell Park (ca. 1937), which has a bandstand. Also in Laurium, trees were planted on residential streets according to a 1908 tree planting plan prepared by village engineer Donald Scott. The plan specified trees at intervals of sixteen feet eight

inches on the grass lawn between the sidewalk and the street—thirty-seven trees on each side of the street per block. Mature street trees planted according to this plan are found through much of Laurium today. Perhaps the most significant designed landscape in the Copper Country is Calumet's Agassiz Park, designed by Warren H. Manning, one of the country's premiere landscape architects. Manning first came to Calumet in about 1915 to design a garden for the home of C&H general manager James MacNaughton. A few years later Manning was hired to design a park to hold a statue of deceased company president Alexander Agassiz by the noted American sculptor Paul Wayland Bartlett. The park site was an open area between the C&H mines and the village of Calumet (known as Red Jacket until 1929). Manning's design for Agassiz Park included tree-lined paths leading to the statue; athletic fields; and planting beds with shrubs and flowering plants. Manning employed Helen Bullard, an early and important woman in the field of landscape architecture, to oversee the park's construction. After the park was dedicated in 1923, Manning came to Calumet twice a year to supervise park maintenance and work on other projects for C&H, including landscape plans for the homes of company officials and grounds for the high school and company hospital. On Calumet Avenue, Manning directed the replacement of fences around house lots with privet hedges; some of these hedges remain today. C&H terminated Manning's contract in 1932, as the company could no longer afford his services. Some designed landscapes were built using federal relief funds, such as the stone staircase in East Hancock.

There are also township, county, state, and national parks in the Copper Country. All of these were designed to some degree. Of the six state parks in the survey area, significant designed landscapes have been identified at two of them—Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park and Fort Wilkins Historic State Park. Fort Wilkins became a state park in 1923. During the late 1920s, a parking area, picnic area, and the east campground were developed. Additional improvements were made to these areas during the late 1930s and early 1940s. In addition to layout, rows of trees, buildings, and small-scale features such as fire rings and concrete curbs are some of the historic features of the Fort Wilkins park landscapes. Porcupine Mountains State Park was established in 1945. A hiking trail and cabin system, campground, ski area, service area, and Lake of the Clouds overlook were constructed in the late 1940s.

Also of note are the scenic drives and roadside parks that the Keweenaw County Road Commission built during the 1930s using federal relief funds. The commission's scenic overlooks, parks, and roads are distinguished by post and chain guard rails and rustic directional and interpretive signs. Its two biggest projects were Lakeshore Drive and Brockway Mountain Drive, both begun in 1933. On Lakeshore Drive (M-26) between Eagle Harbor and Copper Harbor, Esrey and Hebard roadside parks were designed to take advantage of the natural terrain and views. At Esrey Park (1933), steps and a fireplace are cut into a bedrock outcrop. The idea for Brockway Mountain Drive came from Warren Manning, who suggested a scenic summit highway when he was visiting the Copper Country in the 1920s. In addition to breathtaking scenic overlooks and the characteristic guard rails and rustic signs, two types of distinctive stone walls line sections of the roadway.

College campuses are another type of designed landscape, traditionally consisting of buildings arranged around one or more quadrangles. According to historian Arthur Thurner, landscape artists designed a campus for the Michigan College of Mines in Houghton by 1908. Early views

show the buildings facing, but set back from, College Avenue, with paths crossing the grassy area between the buildings and College Avenue and trees lining the avenue. In 1959, Swanson Associates of Bloomfield Hills produced a new campus development plan for the rapidly growing college, then known as the Michigan College of Mining and Technology. This plan called for expansion of the crowded campus across College Avenue (U.S. 41) and into the Hubbell Heights tract. In 1966, Johnson, Johnson & Roy of Ann Arbor prepared yet another development plan for what was by then Michigan Technological University. Key elements of Johnson, Johnson & Roy's recommendations were relocating College Avenue/U.S. 41 outside of the main academic area and replacing it with open space that included an efficient pedestrian circulation pattern, with buildings around the edges of the open space. These recommendations were implemented: U.S. 41 was relocated to the south of the main campus and several of the college's original buildings were demolished and replaced with new buildings along the edges of what was now a central open space.

At Suomi College (now Finlandia University) in Hancock, Eliel and Eero Saarinen and J. R. F. Swanson prepared a plan for future campus development in 1938, when they were designing Nikander Hall. Until the 1960s, however, Nikander Hall and Old Main were the college's only two buildings. By the time three more buildings were constructed in the 1960s, there was little evidence of the axial plan that Saarinen and Swanson presented.

Many cemeteries in the Copper Country, particularly in the early years of settlement, developed organically rather than according to a pre-conceived plan. By the late nineteenth century, cemeteries were commonly laid out with rectangular blocks divided into lots; family plots outlined with curbs, walls, or fences reflect these divisions. By then, some cemeteries were landscaped with cedar, Lombardy poplar, or maple trees. Historic photos suggest that Lakeview Cemetery (1894) west of Calumet incorporated aspects of rural cemetery design, with naturalistic plantings, but twenty years later the design was more formal, with canopy trees and manicured lawns.

The first golf courses were built in the U.S. in the 1880s and the first in Michigan in the 1890s. The Les Cheneaux Golf Course at Cedarville, opened in 1898, is the oldest golf course in the Upper Peninsula. Near Houghton, Portage Lake Golf Course, opened in 1902, is a relatively early golf course and the oldest in the Copper Country. Four additional golf courses were built in the Copper Country before 1970: the Calumet Golf Club (1925), Keweenaw Mountain Lodge (1935), Ontonagon Golf Course (1959), and Wyandotte Hills Golf Course (1960).

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

Villages, locations, parks, scenic drives, college campuses, cemeteries, and golf courses are all types of designed landscapes found in the Copper Country. These landscapes may have significance under themes such as social history, education, or entertainment/recreation, but they are not significant under the landscape architecture theme unless the landscape design itself has significance. Under Criterion C in the area of landscape architecture, a designed landscape may be significant as an early, rare, or excellent example of a landscape type; for its high artistic value; or as the work of a master designer. In White Pine, the street layout is significant as a type of community planning that is unique in the Copper Country. Agassiz Park in Calumet is

significant as the work of master landscape architect Warren Manning. Park landscapes in Fort Wilkins Historic State Park and Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park are significant as excellent examples of state park landscapes from the 1920s and 1940s that rarely survive without major alterations. Brockway Mountain Drive is one of only two scenic drives in the Keweenaw and is significant for its high artistic value.

To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, designed landscapes must have integrity as well as significance. Features that contribute to a landscape's historic character include spatial relationships, vegetation, original property boundary, topography, site furnishings, design intent, architectural features, and circulation system. A landscape need not retain all of these features, but it must retain enough so that its design intent and visual effect are recognizable. At White Pine, the design and layout of the community is highly intact. Agassiz Park has not fared as well. The park retains tree-lined paths and tall poplars along its northeast border. But the park's integrity has been significantly compromised: the statue of Alexander Agassiz has been moved out of the park, and new buildings have been constructed within park boundaries—a grocery store, office building, public restroom facility, four townhouses, and two senior apartment buildings. In her 1998 report on historic resources in Michigan's state parks, Amy Arnold identified an eligible historic district encompassing the road and trail system and service area at Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park; the ski area was not included because of alterations. At Fort Wilkins, Arnold identified a historic district containing the parking and picnic areas and east campground. Brockway Mountain Drive retains all of the major elements of its designed landscape, including its historic road pattern, scenic overlooks and views, and small scale features such as guard rails, walls, and rustic signs, though some of the latter have been replaced with duplicates. The Sky Top Inn at the summit was replaced in 1966, but this is a relatively small change in the context of the overall landscape. The Michigan State Historic Preservation Office has determined that Brockway Mountain Drive is eligible for the National Register. Esrey and Hebard parks appear to retain integrity and are significant as excellent examples of rustic roadside parks. The integrity of Lakeshore Drive as a whole, however, has been compromised by recent development. Additional research is needed to evaluate the eligibility of other parks as well as cemeteries and golf courses.

(Photo—Brockway Mountain Drive (4), Copper Harbor District)

Maritime History

Maritime history is a multifaceted theme that encompasses shipping, passenger travel, aids to navigation, lifesaving, and fishing. Water transportation was the primary means of travel to and from the Copper Country until the 1880s. In May 1843 the schooner *Algonquin* brought the first mining prospectors to Copper Harbor. The *Algonquin* was one of only two sailing ships on Lake Superior at that time; the other was the *John Jacob Astor*, which was wrecked at Copper Harbor during a storm in 1844. The next year additional sailing ships were portaged around the Sault Ste. Marie rapids along with the steamer *Independence*, the first steamer on Lake Superior. There were natural harbors at Copper Harbor and Eagle Harbor, but at Eagle River and Ontonagon, people and freight were transferred to smaller watercraft to be brought to shore. The reliance on water transportation posed hardships for the Copper Country's young communities.

The shipping season was only from late April or early May until late October or November, and the number and size of ships was limited by the rapids at the Sault. With copper and iron mining in the Upper Peninsula growing in importance, Congress authorized construction of a canal and locks at the Sault. The St. Mary's Falls Ship canal Company began building the canal in 1853; the company was paid with land grants. On June 18, 1855, the steamer *Illinois* was the first ship to pass through the canal. With the opening of the Sault canal, traffic on Lake Superior quickly increased, and the cost of shipping dropped.

In the Copper Country, however, a new traffic bottleneck emerged when copper mines were opened in the area around Portage Lake, and the villages of Houghton and Hancock were established. Lake ships could not navigate the Portage River, so freight to and from Houghton and Hancock had to be transshipped in small boats, a time consuming and costly process. Local merchants and mining companies raised funds to dredge and straighten the Portage River; the improved shipping channel that opened in 1861 allowed lake ships to dock at Houghton and Hancock. The next action was to create a northern entry to Portage Lake by cutting a canal through from Lake Superior. The Lake Superior Ship Canal Company built the canal between 1868 and 1873; as with the Sault canal, the government paid the company with land grants. The final action, undertaken by the mining companies in the early 1870s, was to dredge a channel between Portage and Torch lakes, making Torch Lake accessible to lake ships.

Even after the 1880s, when railroads connected the Copper Country to the outside world, steamers continued to transport passengers and freight between communities on the Keweenaw Peninsula. Lake shipping remained important as the cheapest way to transport bulk freight such as copper ingots. By then sailing ships were disappearing, with the exception of the schooner barge—a truncated schooner designed to be towed by a steamer—that was popular for shipping lumber. In Baraga, the Nestor Lumber Company built the schooner barges *George Nester* [*sic*] and *Mary N. Bourke* in the late 1880s. Within ten years, however, bulk freighters were rapidly making schooner barges obsolete. The *Robert J. Hackett*, the first bulk freighter, was launched in 1869; the *Spokane*, the first Great Lakes bulk freighter built of steel, was launched in 1886. Steel construction allowed freighters to grow to previously unimaginable sizes; by the end of the nineteenth century there were freighters with capacities exceeding six thousand tons. Lake Superior shipping continued to grow in the twentieth century. The number of passages through the Sault peaked at 25,407 in 1916, perhaps not coincidentally the year of peak copper production in the Keweenaw. The number of tons that were shipped through the Sault continued to increase to a peak of 98,744,000 tons in 1955.[54] Passenger travel declined more rapidly than freight shipping, but it was not until 1966 that the last passenger ship docked at Hancock.

Travel on Lake Superior was hazardous. In 1839 and 1840 two American Fur Company fishing schooners were wrecked on Isle Royale. The *John Jacob Astor* was the first of ten ships wrecked off the shore of the Keweenaw Peninsula between 1844 and 1865. Lighthouses and other aids to navigation helped ships to navigate around dangerous shoals and into harbors. The first five lighthouses on Lake Superior were all built to guide travel to and from the copper mines. The first two were placed in service in 1849, at Whitefish Point, near the southeastern end of Lake Superior, and Copper Harbor. These were followed by lighthouses on Manitou

[54] Jane C. Busch, *People and Places: A Human History of the Apostle Islands* (Omaha: National Park Service, 2008), 120–21.

Island (1850), Eagle Harbor (1851), and Ontonagon (1852). The next lighthouse, at Marquette (1853), served the iron mines, but lighthouse construction continued apace in the Copper Country, with lighthouses at Eagle River (1854), and Rock Harbor (1855) on Isle Royale. Construction of a lighthouse at the mouth of the Portage River in 1855 was a foresighted action anticipating the growth of traffic to Portage Lake. During the 1860s, the Lighthouse Board began replacing the first generation of lighthouses with more substantial structures, while it continued building new. Between 1865 and 1919, eight new light stations were established on the Keweenaw Peninsula, plus one on Gull Rock off the tip of the peninsula, one on Isle Royale, and two on the neighboring Menagerie and Passage islands. The first fog signal was installed in 1895 at the Eagle Harbor Light Station. The Lighthouse Service became part of the U.S. Coast Guard in 1939. Over the next few decades the Coast Guard automated a number of stations, decommissioned others, and staffed several stations with Coast Guard crews. The last manned light station was Eagle Harbor, which was automated in 1982.

In all, nineteen light stations were constructed in the Copper Country.[55] Lighthouses built during the nineteenth century were usually constructed of brick or stone; a few were wood frame. The skeletal iron light tower built on Manitou Island in 1861 is one of the two oldest iron light towers on the Great Lakes.[56] Several steel towers were built in the twentieth century. Keeper's dwellings were usually attached to the light tower; in the remote Rock of Ages lighthouse off of Isle Royale, the keepers lived in the lower levels of the light tower. Equipment at the light stations was updated as new technology was introduced. Considering that the first light station was built in 1849, there were many changes, including kerosene lamps, followed by gas and electricity; fog signals, first steam whistles and then air diaphones; and radio equipment, not to mention updated appliances and indoor plumbing in the dwellings. Fog signals were an important advance in maritime safety—in addition to fog caused by the lake effect, smoke from forest fires was a frequent problem in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

There were two lifesaving stations in the Copper Country, one at the northern end of the Portage Lake Ship Canal and the other at Eagle Harbor. The federal government built its first lifesaving stations in 1848. The U.S. Revenue Marine managed the stations until 1878, when the U.S. Life-Saving Service was established as a separate agency. By then the network of lifesaving stations included the Great Lakes. The first four lifesaving stations on Lake Superior were built in 1876 between Whitefish Point and Munising, an area known as the shipwreck coast. The fifth was built in 1885 at the north end of the Portage Lake Ship Canal, about three-quarters of a mile from the entrance to the canal. In 1902 this station was replaced by a new station with more buildings and a lookout tower. The Eagle Harbor Lifesaving Station was built in 1912, across Eagle Harbor from the village and the Eagle Harbor Lighthouse. In November 1913 the crews from both the Eagle Harbor and Portage stations participated in a famous rescue, when the steamer *L. C. Waldo* was driven onto Gull Rock and broke in half. The lifesaving crews were able to save the entire ship's company of twenty-four people and a dog, and as a result were awarded the Gold Lifesaving Medal for heroism, the highest award of the Life-Saving Service.

[55] This includes two range light stations, one at Copper Harbor and one at Eagle Harbor. The 1874 and 1950 Keweenaw Waterway Upper Entrance Lights are counted as one station, although in 1950 the location was shifted from the west bank of the canal to the end of the breakwater.
[56] The other was built the same year at Whitefish Point.

In 1915 the Life-Saving Service and the Revenue Cutter Service were merged to create the U.S. Coast Guard, which then took charge of the lifesaving stations. In 1935 the north entrance to the Portage Lake Ship Canal was widened, necessitating the removal of the Portage Lifesaving Station to a new location farther south. One boathouse was moved from the 1902 station; new buildings included a station building, crew quarters, and a three-stall boathouse in the Colonial Revival style favored by the federal government at that time. The Eagle Harbor station continued in operation until 1950, and the Portage station until 1990; in 1997 a new Coast Guard station was built at Dollar Bay.

Fishing for food was a necessary activity for the Lake Superior Ojibwa. Commercial fishing on Lake Superior began in 1836, when the American Fur Company established a fishing station at La Pointe, followed by Grand Portage and—in 1837—Isle Royale; seven smaller stations followed. By 1839 the company employed thirty-three fishermen on Isle Royale. Whitefish and lake trout formed the bulk of the catch; Lake Superior whitefish had already acquired a reputation for excellence. The American Fur Company's fishing enterprise was quite productive—the yield increased every year, reaching five thousand barrels in 1839. But the market collapsed in the late 1830s, and the company ended its commercial fishing in 1841. In 1842 another trading company, the Cleveland North Western Lake Company, sent a fishing party on the schooner *Algonquin* into Copper Harbor, to test the harbor as a commercial fishing site. But when the *Algonquin* returned in September, the fishermen had produced only thirty barrels of fish. Ironically, just a few years after the American Fur Company ended its fishing venture, the growth of copper mining and associated communities created a local market for fish. In 1847 Ransom Shelden and Columbus C. Douglas started a trading and fishing business at the mouth of the Portage River, beginning a long history of successful commercial fishing in that vicinity. Commercial fishing grew modestly: in addition to the Portage River entry, fishermen sailed from several locations on Isle Royale, from the village of Ontonagon, and likely from other ports. Most of the fishermen were French Canadian, Ojibwa, or Métis, of mixed French Canadian and Indian ancestry. In 1874 Michigan's state census counted seventy-five fishermen, hunters, and trappers in Ontonagon, Houghton, and Keweenaw counties, including Isle Royale.[57]

In the 1880s, commercial fishing on Lake Superior increased dramatically: the number of fishermen and the amount of the catch more than doubled between 1880 and 1885. The coming of railroads to the region and refrigerated rail cars that allowed fish to be shipped fresh instead of salted were important factors in this growth. Another reason was population growth, and thus market growth, in the Lake Superior region. In 1885 whitefish was the leading fish, followed by lake trout and then herring. In that year, fishermen in Keweenaw, Houghton, and Ontonagon counties caught a combined total of 490,000 pounds of fish, 10 percent of the total catch of 4,909,730 pounds from the U.S. waters of Lake Superior. The herring catch from Keweenaw and Houghton counties, however, was unusually high: at 140,000 pounds it accounted for half of the total U.S. catch from Lake Superior.[58] Nearly all of this came from Craig, a Finnish fishing village of about thirty or forty families on the east side of the Portage River entry.

[57] Lankton, *Beyond the Boundaries*, 122. Since the census did not include "uncivilized Indians," it may have undercounted the number of fishermen.

[58] U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, *Report of the Commissioner for 1887* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 40. A fisherman's catch was counted at his home port; thus, the Isle Royale catch would be counted with Duluth, Bayfield, or Houghton.

Approximately 115 fishermen worked on the Keweenaw Peninsula, including about sixty at Craig, nineteen at Houghton and Hancock, ten at Ontonagon, eight at Eagle River, and six at Eagle Harbor. These were the home ports of the fishermen, not necessarily where they were fishing; many of them fished along the shores of Keweenaw Bay and some fished as far away as Isle Royale. Finnish immigrants predominated, followed by French Canadians and Swedes and a few Ojibwa and Métis. The fishermen worked independently, usually selling their fish to local dealers for shipment to Chicago and other Great Lakes ports or to peddlers who sold them in the mining communities. Commercial fishing on Isle Royale was quite different than on the Keweenaw Peninsula. In the early 1880s most of the Isle Royale fishermen had their home ports in Bayfield, Wisconsin; Duluth; and Houghton and went to Isle Royale during the fishing season, setting up fishing camps on the island. The number of fishing crews varied from year to year, ranging from about twenty to sixty or more. The fishermen were predominantly Norwegian, Swedish, or Finland Swedes, who came from Finland but spoke Swedish. Most of them worked for large fish dealers, which sent fish tugs to the island at regular intervals to deliver supplies and collect fish.

The fishing industry continued to grow in the 1890s and early twentieth century, despite a crisis in the 1890s when the whitefish population crashed. Overfishing was the primary culprit, but habitat degradation from mining and lumbering was a contributing factor. By the early 1900s the industry had recovered, with lake trout and herring taking the place of whitefish. The herring catch soon exceeded the lake trout catch, although the latter commanded a higher price. During the 1890s the Finnish fishing village of Craig relocated to the west side of the Portage River entry, where it became known as Portage Entry and continued to play a prominent role in commercial fishing. By the 1920s there were also enclaves of Finnish fishermen and their families at Rabbit Bay, Big Traverse, and Gay on the eastern shore of the peninsula. In 1922, the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries counted a total of 124 fishermen in Keweenaw, Houghton, and Ontonagon counties—only a small increase over 1885. The amount of the catch increased more significantly, to a total of 662,335 pounds of fish for the three counties, or 6 percent of the U.S. Lake Superior total of 10,988,020 pounds.[59] Improved technology such as boats with gasoline engines and gas-powered mechanical gill net lifters helped to increase the yield. Commercial fishing on Isle Royale was at its peak during these years; in the 1920s more than 100 fishermen fished from the island. They came from Duluth and other locations on Minnesota's North Shore; A. Booth and Company was the largest of the fish dealers that took the catch to Duluth. Houghton and Ontonagon were counted among Lake Superior's important fishing centers on the American side, along with Sault Ste. Marie, Grand Marais, Munising, Marquette, Bayfield, and Duluth. Fishing boats were built on Isle Royale and a number of locations on the Keweenaw Peninsula; Chassell was the leader in this small but important local industry.

The Depression brought hard times to the Great Lakes fishing industry, not only because of falling prices but also because of declining fish populations. A number of fish dealers went out of business during the 1930s, and A. Booth and Company ended its Isle Royale operation. The number of fishermen on Isle Royale declined sharply during the 1930s, in part because of the Depression, but also because of the establishment of Isle Royale National Park, which created a less hospitable climate for commercial fishermen. On the Keweenaw Peninsula, however, the

[59] Department of Commerce, Bureau of Fisheries, *Report of the United States Commissioner of Fisheries for the Fiscal Year 1924* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925), 283, 286–87.

number of fishermen increased during the 1930s. As with farming, even if a fisherman couldn't make a profit, he could still feed his family. In 1941, there were eighteen fishing ports on the Keweenaw Peninsula, beginning at Baraga in the southeast and continuing around the tip to Ontonagon in the southwest. During the early 1940s Finnish fishermen formed a cooperative, the Northern Co-Operative Company (later Lake Superior Fisheries), in Hancock, to process and market their fish. The number of fishermen on the Keweenaw Peninsula continued to grow during the 1940s, when the war increased the demand for fish, and most fishermen were exempt from the draft. Herring especially was a profitable business during the 1940s. Most of the herring were caught during the three- to four-week herring run from late October to early December. In December 1949, the *Daily Mining Gazette* reported that the herring run that year would bring one million dollars to the Keweenaw Peninsula, with six companies employing four hundred people to catch, process, and ship herring.[60]

Commercial fishing in the Copper Country began to decline in the 1950s, as it did all over Lake Superior. Fish populations that were already stressed by overfishing were devastated by the parasitic sea lamprey, which came to Lake Superior from the lower lakes and preyed on large fish such as lake trout and whitefish. Between 1949 and 1961, the annual lake trout catch on Lake Superior decreased by 92 percent, while the whitefish catch decreased by more than 50 percent.[61] The government initiated a lamprey control program, which substantially reduced the lamprey population by the early 1960s; this was accompanied by a lake trout stocking program. In 1962 authorities closed commercial lake trout fishing on Lake Superior to give the trout time to recover. In 1967 commercial lake trout fishing was reopened, but with a strict quota in place. Meanwhile, the herring population declined, in part because of overfishing but also because of competition from rainbow smelt, another newcomer to Lake Superior. Given these circumstances, the Copper Country's commercial fishermen either retired or found other work; very few remained in the business by the late 1960s.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

Lighthouses are the most prominent resources that represent the maritime history theme. All of the nineteen light stations built in the Copper Country are extant, although the 1874 Keweenaw Waterway Upper Entrance Light on the west bank of the canal was replaced in 1950 by a light tower at the end of the breakwater, arguably a separate station. Many of the light stations have second generation lighthouses. The oldest building at a light station is the 1849 keeper's house at the Copper Harbor Light Station. The oldest lighthouse is the 1855 Rock Harbor Lighthouse, one of the oldest on the Great Lakes. In addition to light towers and keeper's dwellings (usually but not always attached to the tower), buildings and structures found at light stations include fog signal buildings, oil houses, privies, boathouses, garages, barns, docks, and a tramway (Passage Island). Ten of the nineteen light stations are listed in the National Register of Historic Places, nine of these in Keweenaw County and one in Ontonagon County. Because of this relatively large number, eligible lighthouses should be highly intact, without additions or other alterations that obscure their historic appearance. The presence of fog signal buildings, oil houses, and other auxiliary buildings augments a station's significance.

[60] "Herring Run is Worth Million Dollars to Copper Country," *Daily Mining Gazette*, December 8, 1949.
[61] Busch, *People and Places*, 205.

Of the two lifesaving stations that existed on the Keweenaw Peninsula, only the Portage station is intact. At the Eagle Harbor Lifesaving Station, the boathouse built in 1938 is the sole surviving building. It has been listed in the National Register as the most intact of the few surviving examples of the 1930s Coast Guard "Roosevelt" standard design three-bay boathouses in Michigan. The lookout tower from the Eagle Harbor station was moved to Copper Falls Park, where it stands today. The 1935 Portage Lifesaving Station is significant as the only intact lifesaving station in the Copper Country; it retains all of its major buildings, which in turn retain their historic appearance.

Fishing villages and enclaves and seasonal fishing camps are important remnants of the commercial fishing industry in the Copper Country. A fishery typically consisted of small dwellings, storage sheds, a net house, a fish house, a dock, and net reels for drying nets. Some also had an ice house. In order to be National Register eligible under the theme of maritime history, the distinctive building types associated with fishing must be present; dwellings only are not sufficient. The Big Traverse Bay Historic District consisting of the historic Finnish fishing village of Big Traverse is listed in the National Register. There are remnants of fishing enclaves at Portage Entry, Rabbit Bay, Betsy, Birch Point (Smith Fishery), and possibly other locations on the Keweenaw Peninsula; additional research is needed to determine whether these enclaves retain their historic fishing buildings. In their 1999 study of historic structures at Isle Royale National Park, Kathryn Franks and Arnold Alanen found that ten fishing camps survived out of more than fifty that once existed. Of these ten, five had integrity and one—the Edisen Fishery—was listed in the National Register.[62] The high rate of loss was due to abandonment and deterioration as well as National Park Service policy of burning camps that were no longer actively used for fishing. In addition to fishing communities and camps, fishing sheds on the bank of the Ontonagon River in Ontonagon Village are significant and possibly National Register eligible as the only surviving resources associated with that historic fishing port. Buildings that housed fish dealers or boat builders were not identified during the survey, but it's possible that some still exist.

Harbor improvements including docks, piers, and breakwalls are additional property types associated with maritime history. The National Register-listed Ontonagon Harbor Piers Historic District consists of two piers built beginning in the 1860s that create a shipping channel from Lake Superior into the Ontonagon River. The Keweenaw Waterway, consisting of the Portage Lake Ship Canal, Portage Lake, Torch Lake, and the Portage River, is exceptionally significant for its key role in improving shipping and supporting the development of the copper industry beginning in the 1860s. The waterway has been dredged periodically, but this has not noticeably altered its historic appearance.

(Photo—Keweenaw Waterway Lower Entrance Light Station, White City Rd (2-B), Jacobsville District)

Military

[62] Kathryn E. Franks and Arnold R. Alanen, "Historic Structures at Isle Royale National Park: Historic Contexts and Associated Property Types" (January 1999), cited in Philip V. Scarpino, "Cultural Resources on Isle Royale National Park: An Historic Context" (Indianapolis: Indiana University/Purdue University, 2010), 51.

Fort Wilkins, built in 1844, was the first military establishment in the Copper Country and the northernmost in a line of forts that extended to the Gulf of Mexico. The copper rush had just begun, and the U.S. Army built Fort Wilkins near Copper Harbor to keep law and order, enforce federal authority over land claims, and protect incoming prospectors from the Ojibwa. Just over one hundred infantry troops manned the fort at first. But the anticipated Ojibwa attacks and civil unrest never came, and in 1845 the troops at Fort Wilkins were reduced by half. In 1846 the fort was vacated. The army reoccupied the fort in 1867 and then abandoned it for good in 1870. Fort Wilkins today consists of twenty-one log or frame buildings built primarily in 1844; some are reconstructions. Most of the buildings are arranged around the parade grounds within wooden palisade walls. The fort cemetery is east of the fort proper.

Fort Wilkins was nearly cut off from the rest of the country during the winter when Lake Superior was frozen. Proposals to build an overland wagon road from Fort Wilkins to Fort Howard in Green Bay, Wisconsin, were put forward beginning in 1844. But there was no action until the Civil War was well underway. Congress authorized funds for a Military Road for transportation of troops, mail, and supplies in 1863; construction began soon after, but the final segment was not completed until 1873. Although the road never served a military purpose, it did become an important transportation route through the Copper Country.

More than eight hundred men from the Copper Country fought for the Union during the Civil War, so many that their departure created a labor shortage in the copper mines. After the Civil War many companies disbanded, but the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 prompted the Michigan Legislature, like other states, to establish the Michigan State Troops, composed of volunteer companies from around the state. The Calumet Light Guard was organized in 1880 and became part of the Michigan State Troops in 1881. The Houghton Light Infantry was organized in 1885 and joined the Michigan State Troops that year. When the Michigan Naval Militia was organized in 1893, a unit was established in Hancock. In 1894 the Michigan State Troops was renamed the Michigan National Guard. Both the Calumet Light Guard and the Houghton Light Infantry served in the Spanish-American War with loss of life not to battle but to illness—especially malaria—and injury. Under the Militia Act of 1903, all state National Guard units became part of the U.S. National Guard under the authority of the U.S. Army Reserve.

In July 1913, immediately after the start of the Copper Country labor strike, Michigan's governor sent the state's entire National Guard force of 2,817 men to Calumet and the Quincy mine. This included the Calumet and Houghton units, whose members were placed in a difficult and potentially dangerous position, as they were known in the community. The National Guard was charged with keeping the peace, and they were supposed to be nonpartisan, but the hospitality and amenities that the mine companies extended to the soldiers placed them on the side of the companies. Beginning in August, their numbers were reduced, and the last of the guard were withdrawn in January 1914.

The Calumet Light Guard and Houghton Light Infantry occupied a succession of armories, most no longer extant. Calumet's first armory was on C&H land. In 1903 C&H built a new, larger armory, designed for dances and other social functions as well to serve the light guard. After this building burned in 1942, the National Guard moved into the Calumet Colosseum (1913), which

then served as both armory and ice rink, its original function. The National Guard remained in the Colosseum until 2005. The Houghton Light Infantry met at first in the old Houghton courthouse and then in a building that also served as an opera house. In the early 1900s the infantry moved into the Amphidrome ice rink, where an annex was built to house them. The Amphidrome burned in 1927, and the New Amphidrome was built on the same site in 1928. In 1946 the Michigan College of Mining and Technology purchased the New Amphidrome and renamed it Dee Stadium. Both Dee Stadium and the Calumet Colosseum are three-story barrel-roof buildings. A similar-looking naval armory in Hancock was destroyed by fire in 1982.

In 1916, on the eve of U.S. entry into World War I, the U.S. Naval Reserve was organized; the Hancock Naval Reserves would become the Fifteenth Division. The Army National Guard was reorganized many times. In 1917 the Calumet Light Guard and Houghton Light Infantry became part of the 107th Engineers, which included companies from across the Upper Peninsula. Army and navy reservists and draftees from the Copper Country served in the two World Wars. During World War II, German POW camps were established at the former CCC camps Pori and Sidnaw; these were two of five POW camps in the Upper Peninsula. There were more than two hundred German prisoners of war at each of the two camps.

Several new military installations were built in the Copper Country during the Cold War. The Calumet Air Force Station was built on top of Mt. Horace Greeley in Keweenaw County in 1950, its purpose to provide radar surveillance to identify aircraft flying near the northern border of the U.S. With housing, commissary, exchange, dining hall, and gymnasium, at its peak the station was home to 450 military and civilian personnel and their families. The station closed in 1988. In 1953 the U.S. Army Tank Automotive Command (TACOM) established the Keweenaw Field Station as a substation of the Detroit Arsenal in Warren, Michigan. Located near the Houghton County airport, the purpose of the field station was to test military vehicles and tanks in cold weather. Eight buildings were constructed at the field station between 1955 and 1960. Michigan Technological University now operates the field station as the Keweenaw Research Center. In 1956 a new National Guard armory was built in Baraga. The brick building with its horizontal lines in the modern idiom is distinctly different than the fortress-like armories built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries or the other barrel-roof armories in the Copper Country.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

Resources associated with the military theme are few in number but of a wide variety of types. Some of these resources are central to the theme; these include military installations, armories, and POW camps. Because there are few military installations and each is one of a kind in the region, any would be considered National Register eligible if it retains integrity. Fort Wilkins is one of a small number of extant nineteenth century forts in the Great Lakes region and is listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The abandoned Calumet Air Force Station is gated and was not accessible during fieldwork. Recent aerial photos suggest that the station may be largely intact, although a few houses have been moved off site. Considering that closed Cold War era military bases elsewhere have usually been redeveloped, the Calumet Air Force Station may be significant not only for its unique role in Copper Country history but also as a well-preserved example of its type. Further investigation is recommended. Regarding the armories in the region, the New Amphidrome/Dee Stadium received new siding in the 1980s that greatly altered

its historic appearance. In addition, it's uncertain whether the National Guard actually used this building. The Calumet Armory/Colosseum retains integrity and is significant as both armory and ice rink. The Michigan Department of Military & Veterans Affairs (DMVA) has identified the Baraga Armory as National Register eligible.[63] Only ruins and debris remain at the two POW camps; however, a rare surviving example of a guard tower was dismantled and moved from Camp Sidnaw to the local airport. If restored as planned, the guard tower could be eligible as a rare example of its type.

The Keweenaw Field Station, though it did not house troops, is also important to the military theme as the only cold weather military vehicle testing station in the state. It appears to retain integrity and if so would be National Register eligible. The Military Road was built during the Civil War with defense in mind, but it never served a military purpose. VFW posts and veterans' memorials and honor rolls are tangential to the military theme. These may be eligible if they are outstanding representations, for example, a memorial of artistic design, such as the Civil and Spanish War memorial at Lakeview Cemetery.

(Photo—Fort Wilkins)

Politics/Government

The politics and government theme covers the enactment and administration of laws by federal, tribal, state, and local governments and activities related to the political process. Counties were the first government units established in the Upper Peninsula. In 1843 the Michigan Legislature divided the Upper Peninsula into six counties: Chippewa, Delta, Mackinac, Marquette, Ontonagon, and Schoolcraft. In 1845 the legislature defined Houghton County as a seventh county, and Houghton County was formally organized in 1846. Although Ontonagon County was defined as one of the six original counties, it was not formally organized as a separate county until 1853. Keweenaw County was separated from Houghton County in 1861, and Baraga County was separated from Houghton County in 1875. County governments were governed by a board of supervisors and were responsible for operating jails and courts and keeping public records. To this end they built courthouses and jails, modest structures at first, but by the late nineteenth century they were among the most prominent buildings in the region. Ontonagon County built a brick, Romanesque Revival style courthouse in Ontonagon Village in 1886. After the courthouse burned in the 1896 fire that destroyed most of the village, the walls were salvaged and a new courthouse constructed to the designs of architect D. F. Charlton. The 1960s modernist sheriff's office and jail stands near the courthouse. The Houghton County Courthouse (1887) in the city of Houghton is a High Victorian Gothic building of cream-colored Milwaukee brick with Jacobsville sandstone trim and a mansard roof. The one-story brick sheriff's office and jail (1963) is next door to the courthouse. In Eagle River, the Keweenaw County Courthouse (1866) and adjoining sheriff's residence and jail (1886; J. B. Sweat) were remodeled in 1925 in the Georgian Revival style. The courthouses and jails were not just for show, however; they were active, busy places.

[63] The Baraga Armory was identified as National Register eligible in a survey of above-ground cultural resources that the Louis Berger Group conducted for the DMVA in 2003. The SHPO concurred in a letter from John Halsey to Gregory Huntington, DMVA, dated 24 March 2003.

County governments also took responsibility for caring for the poor, either by assisting those who lived in their own homes or by admitting them to the county poorhouse. At first county governments rented buildings to serve as poorhouses; Keweenaw County continued to operate a poorhouse in this manner. In 1866 Houghton County built a poorhouse on a farm, and by the early 1870s Ontonagon County did the same. The concept was that residents would work on the farm to support and feed themselves and others. In 1881 the Houghton County poorhouse and farm had thirty-eight "inmates"; in addition, the county gave assistance to six hundred others outside of the poorhouse. Later, Houghton County built a county infirmary on the poor farm; ultimately this became the Houghton County Medical Facility, which operated there until 1968, when it moved to Hancock. Today the buildings remaining at the site are in ruins. In 1900 Ontonagon County upgraded its poorhouse with a new building designed by D. F. Charlton. The two-and-one-half-story brick building with cupola is the only poorhouse remaining in the Copper Country. In the early twentieth century, county road commissions were established to improve and maintain rural roads. Houghton County established a road commission in 1910, followed by Ontonagon and Keweenaw counties within the next few years. Road commissions built garages and offices for their own use, or in several instances occupied former mine buildings. Road commission buildings tend to be utilitarian, but the Ontonagon County Road Commission garage in Ontonagon Village is one of the Copper Country's few examples of the Art Moderne style.

Soon after counties were created they were divided into townships, which performed local government functions including police and fire protection, tax assessment, providing utilities, and passing ordinances governing land use and public health and safety. Townships were subdivided as needed as an area became more populated. Houghton County, for example, was initially organized in 1846 with three townships, then in 1847 it was divided into six townships. Some of those townships went into Keweenaw and Baraga counties when they were organized, while the townships remaining in Houghton County were subdivided. Despite the presence of civil government, mining companies exercised considerable authority in the townships where they were located. Township halls are typically modest one-story front-gabled frame buildings. In addition, a number of communities have fire halls or stations that are under the jurisdiction of township government. The Trout Creek Fire Hall is an unusual example: the three-bay side-gabled frame building has the appearance of an oversized bungalow.

Only a small proportion of the communities in the Copper Country incorporated as villages. Some communities incorporated as villages but later dissolved their village government when the population declined. Ewen, for example, incorporated as a village in 1895 and then dissolved the village government in 1899 when the lumber boom ended. The first community to incorporate as a village was Houghton in 1861. Other incorporated villages are Hancock (1875), Calumet (1875, known as Red Jacket until 1929), Ontonagon (1885), Lake Linden (1885), Laurium (1889), Baraga (1891), South Range (1906), Ahmeek (1909), and Copper City (1917). Village governments had the same responsibilities as township governments, but because villages were more densely populated they required more intensive governing and had larger budgets for that purpose. The villages of Hancock and Houghton incorporated as cities when their populations crossed the required threshold, Hancock in 1903 and Houghton in 1970.

In contrast to the modest township halls, government buildings in the larger villages were imposing and stylish. The Village of Calumet and the Village of Laurium each built a village hall that was later remodeled and expanded in a grander style. In 1899–1900, when an opera house (Charles K. Shand) was added to the 1886 Calumet Village Hall (J. B. Sweatt), the village hall was remodeled to match the Italian Renaissance style of the opera house. The two buildings have first floors of rusticated Jacobsville sandstone and upper floors of cream-colored brick; there is a clock tower at the juncture of the two. In Laurium, the 1898 village hall was "remodeled" (essentially reconstructed) in 1914 (Fred Maass) to its current appearance. The two-story frame building is faced with sandstone on its front and north sides and has a three-story sandstone corner tower with arched windows, corbelling, and crenellations. Hancock City Hall (1899; Charlton, Gilbert & Demar) is a two-story building of rusticated Jacobsville sandstone, featuring a Flemish gable with a round arch window and a corner clock tower. The Lake Linden Village Hall (Charles K. Shand, 1901) is a brick Romanesque Revival style building with a tower in front and sandstone details. These buildings all incorporate offices, council chambers, police station, and—except for Calumet—fire hall. When the Calumet Village Hall was remodeled in 1899, the fire department moved across the street into a Romanesque Revival fire hall built of Jacobsville sandstone (Charles K. Shand). Other fire halls of note are the Italianate style Continental Fire Company (1883) in Houghton and the South Range Fire Hall (1913) built of rusticated concrete block.

The State of Michigan has large landholdings in the state parks and forests of the Copper Country, and there are administrative buildings associated with these entities. Outside of the state parks and forests, the only state government building is the Michigan Department of Natural Resources (DNR) Building in Baraga. The two-story front-gabled brick building with a two-story vestibule in front and mosaic spandrels between its metal casement windows is an unusual example of the modern style.

While the Treaty of 1854 established the Ojibwa reservation at Keweenaw Bay, it was not until 1936 that the U.S. government formally recognized the Keweenaw Bay Indian Community (KBIC) as a sovereign nation. The KBIC is governed by a tribal council. It operates independently of local governments with its own court, police, social services, and public works. The tribal center is on Beartown Road in Baraga Township.

Like state government, the federal government has large landholdings consisting of Keweenaw and Isle Royale national parks and Ottawa National Forest, but the buildings that most directly represent the federal government in local communities are post offices. The establishment of a post office in a community was a sign that it was recognized as a village, even if it did not incorporate as a village. During the nineteenth century, post offices were often located in private commercial buildings such as general stores. In the twentieth century, post offices were more frequently located in their own buildings, typically a modest one-story gable-roof building. In the larger villages, however, there were some substantial post office buildings. Brick post offices built in Houghton (1924), Hancock (1934), and Calumet (1939; Louis A. Simon) are relatively plain. The Houghton Post Office displays some Renaissance Revival style influence, while the Hancock Post Office is a modest version of the Colonial Revival style. The Calumet Post Office is known for its WPA mural depicting copper mining in Calumet. Post offices built

in Ontonagon (1958) and Dollar Bay (1967) in the modernist idiom are flat roof buildings of brick and sandstone with broad expanses of windows.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

Property types associated with the politics/government theme are city, village, and township halls; sheriff's offices and jails; courthouses; fire halls; post offices; and road commission offices and garages. The Ontonagon County Poorhouse is the only extant example of a poorhouse. Government buildings are significant under National Register Criterion A in the area of politics/government as centers for government activity and as symbols of government authority and political stability; the grander buildings also serve as symbols of civic pride. Many of these buildings are significant under Criterion C in the area of architecture because they embody the distinctive characteristics of a type of building or they possess high artistic value. The National Register listing of all three county courthouses, the Lake Linden and Calumet village halls, Hancock City Hall, and the Calumet Fire Hall is evidence that the significance of these architectural show places is recognized. Not one township hall is listed in the National Register, even though each township hall played a key role in the history of its township. An early, rare, or outstanding township hall may also be significant under Criterion C because it embodies the distinctive characteristics of the town hall as a building type. The Ontonagon County Poorhouse is significant under both Criteria A and C for its important role in the government and social history of the region and as a rare surviving example of its type. Modernist government buildings should be evaluated in relation to other modernist buildings in the region.

Government buildings that are significant under Criterion C must be highly intact with integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Government buildings that are significant under Criterion A may have some alterations as long as they retain the better part of their historic appearance. Integrity can be problematic for relatively plain, wood frame buildings such as township halls or small post offices. On these buildings, original siding and windows are key character-defining features, yet they are more likely to be altered than on masonry buildings. A rare or early township hall may still be National Register eligible with vinyl siding, but a more common type of township hall would need to be more intact.

(Photo—Ontonagon County Poorhouse, M38 (2), Ontonagon Township)

Religion

Missionaries intent on converting the Ojibwa to Christianity preceded miners to the Copper Country. Methodists established a mission on the eastern shore of Keweenaw Bay in 1834, but there was no mission on the west shore until Father Frederic Baraga established a Catholic mission (later named Assinins) there in 1843. The Catholic mission was more successful than the Methodist mission, in part because Catholicism was less demanding of its converts and in part because of the extraordinary Father Baraga, whose many accomplishments included writing a dictionary of the Ojibwa language, one of eight languages that he spoke. Both Father Baraga and Reverend John Pitezel from the Methodist mission traveled to the mines to minister to the miners, a difficult journey taken mostly on foot. The Cornish were predominantly Methodist,

while the Irish, Germans, and French Canadians were predominantly Catholic. At first, religious services were usually conducted in homes or schools; Reverend Pitezel preached in the cooper shop of the Cliff mine. Because few clerics were available, services were often conducted by lay people. The first church was a Methodist church built at the Cliff mine in 1848. In 1853, Father Baraga was appointed bishop of Upper Michigan and moved to Sault Ste. Marie, but he continued to travel widely and was instrumental in establishing Catholic churches throughout the Copper Country. By 1854 there were Catholic churches in Eagle Harbor and Ontonagon, followed soon after by churches at the Minesota and Norwich mines.

Methodist and Catholic churches were typically the first two churches built in a community, but a few Presbyterian and Episcopal churches were also built during the 1850s. By the late 1850s there were five churches in the village of Ontonagon: Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Baptist. Congregational and German Lutheran churches were built in Hancock in 1863 and 1866 respectively. Mining companies supported church construction, often providing land for churches and contributing to building funds, as churches cultivated the habits that managers wanted in their work force. By 1870 there were more than thirty churches in the Copper Country. The churches were modest, front-gabled wood frame buildings with a tower attached to the front or rising from the roof; usually there was a steeple. Pointed arch windows and doors spoke to traditional Gothic church architecture. The crenellations at the top of the Central Mine Methodist Church tower are a unique feature drawn from churches in Cornwall. Three churches survive from this period: Holy Redeemer Church (Catholic, 1854) in Eagle Harbor; Church of the Assumption (Catholic, 1858), which was built at the Cliff mine and moved in 1898 to Phoenix; and Central Mine Methodist Church (1868). The Assinins mission also grew during this time, adding a new schoolhouse in 1860 and a convent in 1866.

In the late nineteenth century the number of churches multiplied rapidly as the population grew, new denominations were introduced, and ethnic groups within denominations built their own churches, for example, separate churches for French Canadian, Slovenian, and Italian Catholics. There were also different denominations within ethnic groups, such as German Lutherans and German Catholics. And sometimes there were denominational splits within an ethnic group. For example, there were three Finnish Lutheran sects: the Apostolic (Laestadian) Lutheran Church, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church/Suomi Synod, and the Finnish National Evangelical Lutheran Church. Moreover, disputes among the Apostolic Lutherans sometimes led to the establishment of two or more separate congregations. New congregations often met in multi-purpose halls until they raised funds to building their own church building. By the early 1900s, in greater Calumet there were more than two dozen churches including all of those on company land and in the villages of Calumet (called Red Jacket until 1929) and Laurium. In addition to churches, several Catholic and Lutheran congregations in Hancock, Houghton, and other communities operated parochial schools. Sacred Heart School in Laurium was likely the largest. Established in 1891, the school had about eight hundred students in the early 1900s. The Copper Country's Jewish residents worshipped in private homes until 1912, when they built Temple Jacob (Maass Brothers, architects) in Hancock on land donated by the Quincy Mining Company. Avoiding Christian iconography, the brick synagogue has round-arched windows and is topped with a copper dome; stained glass windows depict Jewish symbols.

By then there was much more variety in church architecture, although the majority still adopted the traditional form with tower and steeple in front. The simplest churches are front-gabled buildings without even a tower. Other churches have corner towers, and two of the grandest—St. Joseph's Catholic Church (1912; A. F. Wasielewski) in Lake Linden and St. Joseph's Catholic Church (1908; Shand & Eastman, now called St. Paul the Apostle) in Calumet—have two towers. Built of Jacobsville sandstone, St. Joseph's in Lake Linden is Romanesque Revival style with a classical entrance portico topped by statues of saints, while St. Joseph's in Calumet is also Romanesque Revival with five arched entrances in front and buttresses on the side. Some of the differences in church design are due to religious differences, for example, Apostolic Lutheran churches are usually plainer than other Lutheran churches, and the Congregational Church (1893) in Chassell is Colonial Revival in style, hearkening to its New England roots. The largest and most ornate churches are second- or third-generation churches, built of brick or Jacobsville sandstone and located in the larger villages. In addition to the two St. Joseph's churches, St. Anne's Catholic Church (1901; Charlton, Gilbert & Demar) in Calumet is an outstanding example of a Gothic Revival church, built of Jacobsville sandstone with a corner bell tower, a triple pointed-arch entrance, and pointed arch windows separated by buttresses on the sides. There are three monumental churches in Houghton: Grace United Methodist Church (1893; William Pryor), a Richardsonian Romanesque church of Jacobsville sandstone; St. Ignatius Loyola Catholic Church (1902; Erhard Brielmaier), a Gothic Revival church of Jacobsville sandstone; and Trinity Episcopal Church (1910; John B. Sutcliffe), a Gothic Revival church built of brick. Although it is a wood frame structure, the First Congregational Church (1886) in Lake Linden is significant as an unusual example of a Stick Style church; Chicago architects Holabird and Roche designed it for a predominantly Scottish congregation.

With the decline in population beginning in the 1920s, congregations struggled to keep their churches open, but eventually they consolidated with others, and many church buildings closed. Relatively few new churches were built, usually to replace an older building that had been destroyed by fire. In Eagle River, the Northern Baptist Convention built the Gitche Gumee Bible Camp in 1930. At Assinins, a new orphanage was built in 1929. After World War II, a number of churches eschewed traditional styles and forms and embraced modernism. Geometric shapes predominate in form and details; in some examples the steeply pitched roof reaches nearly to the ground, like an A-frame house. Three modernist churches—Catholic, Methodist, and Lutheran—were built in the new community of White Pine. In contrast, Our Lady of the Pines Chapel (1953; Victor Oja) in Copper Harbor is a rustic log building with an adjoining shrine to the Virgin Mary.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

Churches are the most important property types representing the theme of religion. The survey identified nearly one hundred churches; at least one church survives in most communities, and in some cases a church is all that is left of a community. Six churches are individually listed in the National Register: Central Mine Methodist Church, Church of the Assumption (Phoenix), Holy Redeemer Church (Eagle Harbor), First Congregational Church (Lake Linden), Jacobsville Finnish Lutheran Church, and Saint Ignatius Loyola Church (Houghton). Other churches contribute to historic districts. Churches may be significant under Criterion A in the area of religion and under Criterion C in the area of architecture, however, Criteria Consideration A

applies to properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes. Under this consideration a church may be listed if it derives its primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance. A church may have historical importance if it is a rare or early example of a church representing a specific denomination or ethnic group or it is the only remaining church in a community. A number of churches are significant for their architecture, either as a rare, early, or outstanding example of a type or for artistic quality. Churches that are significant under Criterion A may have alterations such as vinyl siding or additions as long as they don't obscure the historic appearance of the church. Churches that are significant under Criterion C must be highly intact with integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Note that although St. Ignatius Loyola Church has an inappropriate entrance portico added in 1928, this is outweighed by the church's exceptional interior and exterior design and craftsmanship.

Other property types associated with churches are parsonages and rectories, convents, parochial schools, and cemeteries. Although these do not represent religion as strongly as churches, they may be National Register eligible on their own or more likely in association with a church. The survey identified only a few parsonages or rectories and five parochial schools. The same standards for integrity that apply to churches apply to these buildings. Criteria Consideration D applies to cemeteries. Under this consideration a cemetery may be listed if it derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events. Several cemeteries survive from the early years of the copper rush; others are the oldest surviving resource in a community or the only surviving resource in a community. Thus there are a number of cemeteries that may be eligible for age or historical importance or for association with an eligible church. A few cemeteries may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of landscape architecture; these will be discussed under the landscape architecture theme.

The Catholic mission at Assinins is exceptionally significant for its association with Bishop Baraga; it was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1972. Since that time the 1929 orphanage has been demolished, and the earlier orphanage and convent, a three-story rubble stone building (1866; 1872) is in very poor condition; the west wing has already collapsed. Extant resources are the school (1860), a barn, and the cemetery (established in the 1860s).

The Gitche Gumee Bible Camp is a well-preserved camp complex with historic buildings and landscape features; it appears to be National Register eligible under Criterion A in the areas of religion and entertainment/recreation and possibly under Criterion C in the area of architecture.

(Photo—First Congregational and Methodist Episcopal churches in Lake Linden, N Ave (1-B) in Lake Linden District)

Transportation

Water transportation was the primary means of travel and shipping to and from the Copper Country until the 1880s; water transportation is discussed under the maritime history theme.

Roads were needed to travel inland, however, as there were few navigable rivers. Trails became footpaths, which became horse trails and then wagon roads. Mine companies built the first roads to connect mine locations with shipping ports. The best of these was the Ontonagon Plank Road, built by cooperating mine companies between 1850 and 1859. Constructed of side-by-side wooden planks, the road was good enough to support a daily stagecoach line. Ordinary wagon roads were poorly built and difficult to travel; the situation improved in winter when snow covered the ruts and stumps and sleighs were used. As settlement progressed, roads were built to connect mine locations with each other. The first government-sponsored road was built by Houghton County in 1856 to connect Copper Harbor and Portage Lake. The State of Michigan sponsored the Mineral Range State Road from Copper Harbor to Ontonagon; construction began ca. 1857 and was completed in 1863. In that year, the U.S. Congress authorized the construction of a Military Road linking Copper Harbor with Green Bay, Wisconsin. Construction began soon after; the final segment was completed in 1873. More and better roads were built, allowing regular mail delivery and stagecoach travel between Copper Country communities and to Green Bay, Wisconsin, and Marquette, Michigan. The first bridge over Portage Lake between Houghton and Hancock was built in 1876.

Railroads were essential to the growth of the copper industry in the late nineteenth century. The first railroads in the Copper Country were short lines that were built north of Portage Lake in the 1860s to connect mines to stamp mills. In 1873 the Mineral Range Railroad offered the first passenger service, carrying passengers—as well as copper rock—between Calumet and Hancock. Ten years later the Marquette, Houghton & Ontonagon Railroad (MH&O) reached Houghton via a line along Keweenaw Bay, giving the Copper Country its first rail connection to cities outside of the region. The network of rail lines expanded rapidly, transforming the landscape with hundreds of miles of track and numerous bridges over waterways. Within the region, numerous railroads connected communities, mines, mills, and smelters, extending as far north as Lac La Belle in Keweenaw County. In Ontonagon County and southern Houghton County, three railroad lines connected lumber towns with major Midwestern cities; one of these lines—the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway—extended to Ontonagon Village. Mergers and buyouts made for a complex history, but in the twentieth century three lines emerged as predominant. The Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic Railroad (DSS&A) was organized in 1886 through the consolidation of several existing lines. Within two years the DSS&A extended from Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, to Duluth, Minnesota, crossing southern Ontonagon County. By the early 1890s the DSS&A had acquired the MH&O Railroad and gained control of the Mineral Range and Hancock & Calumet railroads to become the leading railroad line in the Copper Country. The Mineral Range Railroad operated under its own name until 1949. Extending north to Mohawk, the Calumet branch of the DSS&A provided service to copper mines and mills, while the main line through southern Ontonagon County served lumber towns; both lines carried passengers.

The DSS&A's chief rival was the Copper Range Railroad, established in 1899 by the Copper Range Company to serve its new mines southwest of Houghton on the Baltic lode. A line between Houghton and Mass City with a branch to the Copper Range mines was quickly completed. Branch lines were soon added to the company's stamp mills at Redridge and vicinity as well as northward to Calumet. The Copper Range Railroad's primary business was to serve its own mines, locations, mills, and smelter, but it also carried passengers and general freight. In

1917, when Copper Range contracted to haul ore for the Mohawk and Wolverine mines, it extended its line from Calumet to Mohawk and from there to the stamp mills at Gay. The Copper Range Railroad's bustling yard in Houghton included a large roundhouse and massive coal dock.

The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway (reorganized in 1928 as the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad), commonly known as the Milwaukee Road, was not as prominent in the Copper Country as the Copper Range or DSS&A railroads, but it made a place for itself with its superior passenger service. The Milwaukee Road's single railroad line in the Copper Country extended through lumber towns in southern Houghton and Ontonagon counties to end at Ontonagon Village. But the Milwaukee Road and the Copper Range Railroad cooperated with each other to provide passenger service from Calumet to Chicago. This culminated in the Milwaukee Road's Northern Michigan Special, which operated from 1912 to 1920 and provided through service on a single train. Meanwhile, the Milwaukee Road operated the famed Copper Country Limited passenger train from Chicago to Calumet over DSS&A tracks. Passenger depots were the public face of the railroad lines. Depots were numerous, typically modest one-story frame buildings with hipped or gabled roofs and bracketed eaves. The most substantial depot following this design is the Mineral Range Railroad Depot (1903) in Houghton, built of Jacobsville sandstone. It was designed to rival the nearby Copper Range Railroad Depot (1899), a two-story hipped roof building of yellow brick with Jacobsville sandstone trim. In Calumet, the Mineral Range Railroad Depot (1908; Frank W. Hessenmueller) is a two-story brick building that housed railroad company offices on the second floor.

Beginning in 1900, electric streetcars offered a transportation alternative in central Houghton County. The Houghton County Traction Company interurban line began in Houghton and extended north through Hancock to Boston by the end of the year; by 1908 it extended to Mohawk, with a branch to Hubbell via Lake Linden. The streetcar was extremely important in its first two decades. For travel between villages it provided a less expensive and more convenient alternative to railroad trains, while for local travel it provided an alternative to walking. But after years of declining ridership, the Houghton County Traction Company went out of business in 1932. In part this was due to competition from the Copper Range Motor Bus Company, formed in 1925 as a subsidiary to the Copper Range Railroad. Economic and population decline were other factors, but the biggest factor was automobile ownership, which brought an end to streetcar and interurban service across the country. A few Houghton County Traction Company stations remain today as well as the company's streetcar barns in Hancock and Laurium and a power plant in Laurium.

The first automobile owner in the Copper Country may have been Frank Kaiser of Lake Linden; his 1900 purchase was reported in the *Daily Mining Gazette*.[64] In the early 1900s wealthy individuals purchased automobiles primarily for recreational use. Automobiles were expensive, and they could not go far or fast without good roads. The good roads movement began in the late nineteenth century, with bicyclists at the forefront. In 1893 the Michigan Legislature passed the County Road Act, which enabled a county to establish a road commission and levy taxes in order to improve roads. Houghton County established a road commission in 1910, followed by

[64] Erik Nordberg, "Automobiles Made Early Debut in the Copper Country," *Houghton County Historical Society Newsletter* (Autumn 2000), 2.

Ontonagon and Keweenaw counties within the next few years. Meanwhile, the Michigan Legislature passed laws establishing a state highway department in 1905 and a state trunkline highway system in 1913; these laws provided state funds for local road building. Michigan highway M-15 from Menominee through Escanaba and Marquette to Copper Harbor was an early state trunkline; in 1926 it was designated U.S. 41. The federal government enacted the Federal Aid Road Act in 1916, the first of many laws to provide federal funding for road building. With funding in place, existing roads were improved and new roads were built. New and replacement bridges were made of steel and concrete. Road commissions built garages and offices for their own use, or in several instances occupied former mine buildings. Road commission buildings tend to be utilitarian, but the Ontonagon County Road Commission garage in Ontonagon Village is one of the Copper Country's few examples of the Art Moderne style.

By the 1920s automobiles had become more reliable and less expensive, and the family automobile was well on its way to becoming commonplace. Federal relief programs boosted road building during the Depression; the Keweenaw County Road Commission in particular made good use of these funds to build new roads. During World War II, Copper Country roads took a back seat to the war effort, but when the war ended road building resumed with renewed intensity. Many Copper Country bridges date to the late 1940s and 1950s. The opening of the Mackinac Bridge in 1957 brought a dramatic increase in automobile travel to the Upper Peninsula (UP). Freeway construction also made it faster and easier for people to travel to the UP. The first sections of the I-75 freeway in Michigan were built in 1957; its impact was felt in the UP well before the freeway was completed in 1973.

Railroad service had begun to decline in the 1920s due to the same factors that brought the demise of the interurban: economic decline, population decline, and competition with motor vehicles. The Copper Range Railroad operated its last passenger train in 1946. When the Copper Country Limited ended in 1968, it marked the end of passenger travel in the Copper Country. Freight service, though diminished, lasted a little longer. The Copper Range Railroad line ceased operating in 1972, and ten years later the Soo Line, formerly the DSS&A, stopped running trains north of Baraga. Today two railroad lines are still in use—the former Milwaukee Road line to Rockland and a branch of the former DSS&A line from Marengo Junction, Wisconsin, to White Pine.

Private airplanes were flying over the Copper Country by the 1920s. At first they landed in open fields, but soon a few landing strips were built. The Prickett Grooms Airport at Sidnaw was built in 1933. The Houghton-Keweenaw County Airport was built at Laurium in 1933–34 using federal relief funds. The airplane hangar is a barrel-roof building of Jacobsville sandstone. In 1948 the airport at Laurium was replaced by the current Houghton County Memorial Airport; a new terminal was built in 1958. Ontonagon County opened its current airport in 1961. The Houghton County Memorial Airport is the only airport in the Copper Country with commercial airline service.

Property Types and Evaluation Standards

The wide variety of property types related to transportation can be grouped into four categories: road, railroad, streetcar, and air. Most of the resources related to road transportation are roads

and bridges. There are also a small number of road commission buildings and one toll house. Commercial buildings and residential garages that relate to automobile ownership and travel have been discussed under the themes of commerce and architecture, respectively. Roads and road-related resources may be eligible under Criterion A in the area of transportation if they are early or rare examples or if they played an important role in the development of road transportation. For example, the ca. 1850s toll house in Ontonagon Village is significant as the only remaining example of a toll house in the Copper Country. Bridges may also be eligible under Criterion C in the area of engineering as an early, rare, outstanding, or excellent representative of a specific bridge type. Historic bridge surveys conducted by the Michigan Department of Transportation (MDOT) identified fifteen different types of historic highway bridges. Bridges may also be eligible under Criterion C for high artistic value. Buildings may be significant under Criterion C in the area of architecture as an important example of a style or type. The Ontonagon County Road Commission garage in Ontonagon Village is significant as a rare example of the Art Moderne style in the Copper Country. Roads and road-related resources that are eligible under Criterion A will have integrity of location, design, setting, materials, and association. Moved bridges and buildings may be eligible under Criterion C but integrity of workmanship, design, and materials will be emphasized.

Bridges have often been altered for continued and safe use. Deck replacement does not affect integrity, nor does the placement of guard rails inside historic railings. Replacement of parts of the superstructure or substructure with new materials or a different design does impact integrity and may affect eligibility, depending on the extent of the alterations and the reason why the bridge is significant. MDOT has identified the following highway bridges as National Register eligible according to its statewide historic bridge context: the Cedar Creek and Silver River culverts, Fanny Hooe Creek Bridge, and the Main Street Bridge in Eagle River in Keweenaw County; the Pike River Bridge, the County Line Road Bridge over the West Branch Sturgeon River, and the Houghton-Hancock Lift Bridge in Houghton County; and the M-28 bridge over the Middle Branch Ontonagon River in Ontonagon County; four of these bridges have been listed. Several reliable sources have also identified the Lake Shore Drive Bridge in Eagle River as National Register eligible. There are likely additional bridges that are significant at the local level.

Integrity is problematic when it comes to roads. Many roads in the Copper Country generally follow routes that were established in the nineteenth century, but they have been paved or re-paved with modern materials and there have been many changes in alignment. It is not unusual to see sections of road marked Old M-28 or Old M-64, for example, that parallel the current highway. There do not seem to be any roads that retain integrity as a whole. In the vicinity of Copper Harbor there are some surviving sections of the Military Road constructed of logs or planks on stringers. These sections may be National Register eligible. Sections of early twentieth century brick and concrete paving in Calumet have been identified as contributing to the Calumet Village Civic and Commercial Historic District.

Property types associated with railroad transportation include tracks, switches, bridges, signals, depots, the C&H Railroad roundhouse (ca. 1888), the Quincy & Torch Lake Railroad engine house and water tower (1889), the Isle Royale Railroad engine house (1917), and buildings in Ontonagon Village and at Frost Junction that may be switching buildings. Whereas road-related

resources are numerous, railroad-related resources are not. The vast majority of the railroad tracks that once criss-crossed the Copper Country have been taken up and the majority of railroad bridges along with them. It appears that about a dozen railroad bridges survive. The survey identified nine passenger depots, whereas several dozen once existed. Because railroads were so important in Copper Country history, and because so few resources survive, most of them will be eligible under Criterion A in the area of transportation if they retain integrity of location, design, setting, materials, and association. Tracks and small-scale resources such as switches and signals are considered as part of a larger railroad line. Unfortunately the tracks were recently removed between Ontonagon and Rockland on one of the Copper Country's earliest railroad lines, the former Milwaukee Road, so that line no longer retains integrity. As with highway bridges, railroad bridges may be eligible under Criterion A for transportation or under Criterion C for engineering. Several railroad bridges, including but not limited to examples of high level trestle bridges, appear to have engineering significance. Buildings may be significant under Criterion A or under Criterion C as an important example of a type or style. Most of the extant depots retain integrity and appear to be eligible. The C&H roundhouse has lost integrity due to recent alterations. The Isle Royale Railroad engine house is intact except for new doors, and the Quincy & Torch Lake Railroad engine house is being restored.

Streetcar lines were not as long-lived or as essential as railroads to the historical development of the Copper Country; nevertheless, for three decades they played an important role in the life of the communities where they were located. Tracks, overhead lines, and trestles are all gone. The survey identified six extant streetcar stations, a car barn in Hancock, and a car barn and power plant in Laurium. Criteria A and C apply to these buildings in the same way that they apply to railroad-related buildings. The Ahmeek Streetcar Station has been listed in the National Register. Although both car barns have been altered, they retain the greater part of their historic appearance and appear to be eligible under Criterion A, along with the power plant in Laurium.

Properties relating to air transportation were never numerous; today three airports and the hangar in Laurium remain. Airport buildings and runways may be eligible under Criterion A in the area of transportation; buildings may also be eligible under Criterion C as an important example of a style or type. The hangar in Laurium is an unusual example of an airplane hangar built out of Jacobsville sandstone; it is eligible under both criteria. The Houghton County Memorial Airport underwent a major renovation and expansion in 1971–72; it does not retain integrity. More research is needed on the Prickett Grooms and Ontonagon County airports.

(Photo—Copper Range Railroad Depot, Houghton West District)

SURVEY RESULTS

A primary goal of the Copper Country survey was to identify properties that may be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. A reconnaissance level survey can only provide a preliminary identification of properties that may be National Register eligible; intensive level survey with additional research is needed to determine whether these places have the integrity and significance required for National Register listing. The potentially eligible properties identified here were evaluated using the National Register of Historic Places criteria for evaluation and the contextual information provided in the thematic narratives. Recommendations from previous surveys were taken into consideration.

The National Register criteria state:

> The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:
>
> A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
> B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
> C. That 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; or
> D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.

Appendix A contains a list of properties that are currently listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

The properties described below are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Individually listed properties must have interior as well as exterior integrity; only in rare cases did surveyors go inside of buildings, so some buildings that appear eligible from the outside may be eliminated. On the other hand, intensive level survey will undoubtedly identify additional resources with historical significance that could not be determined by reconnaissance survey. Some properties have been added and some deleted from the assessments of National Register eligibility found on the individual district survey forms. Those assessments were made at the end of fieldwork for each district, without the benefit of the contextual information contained in the thematic narratives. Properties that may be individually eligible are listed first, followed by a discussion of potential districts. The list of individually-eligible properties identifies individual resources in most cases, but in some cases it specifies a type of property, such as houses or farmsteads. In these cases it appeared that there were multiple houses or farmsteads that could be National Register eligible, but intensive level survey will be needed to identify exactly which ones. Additional information on all of the properties

identified as potentially eligible may be found in the district survey forms and field worksheets; there are also photographs of many of them in the photo files.

Baraga County

Location	Description	NR Criteria	Themes
Baraga Village	Baraga Armory	A, C	Architecture, Military
Baraga Village	Sand Point Lighthouse	A	Maritime History
Baraga Village	Side Track Bar	A, C	Commerce, Architecture
Baraga Village	DNR Building	C	Architecture
Baraga Township	Michigan Mill boiler house	A	Industry: Copper
Baraga Township	Baraga Grange Hall	A	Agriculture
Pelkie	Pelkie Elementary School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Pelkie	First Apostolic Lutheran Church	A, C	Ethnic Heritage: Finnish, Religion, Architecture
Pelkie vicinity	Pelkie School (1909)	A, C	Education, Architecture
Pelkie vicinity	Pelkie Cemetery	A	Social History
Pelkie vicinity	Johnson Farm, Kyro Road	A, C	Agriculture, Ethnic Heritage: Finnish, Architecture
Pelkie vicinity	Farmsteads and farm buildings	A, C	Agriculture, Ethnic Heritage: Finnish, Architecture

In northwestern Baraga Township, there may be a rural agricultural historic district that extends westward into southern Portage Township in Houghton County. This part of Baraga Township, which contains the National Register-listed Hanka Homestead, is contiguous with the Otter Lake community of Finnish farmers. There may be another rural agricultural historic district in the vicinity of Pelkie, where there was also a large Finnish farming community; this district would include, but would not necessarily be limited to, Hamar Road. Within this potential district there are a number of farmsteads and farm buildings that may be individually eligible, including examples of stovewood and hewn log construction and distinctive Finnish building types such as granaries and saunas. Both of these potential agricultural historic districts retain historic landscape features and rural character with relatively few modern intrusions. There may be a district encompassing all or part of the village of Pelkie, which has been that area's community center since the 1890s. Buildings in Pelkie include two churches, a co-op store, a cheese factory, a school, automobile service station, railroad-related buildings, and houses.

Houghton County

Location	Description	NR Criteria	Themes
Adams Township	Michigan Smelter office	A	Industry: Copper

1

Location	Description	NR Criteria	Themes
Askel vicinity	Heikkinen Farm	A, C	Agriculture, Ethnic Heritage: Finnish, Architecture
Askel vicinity	Askel Cemetery	A	Ethnic Heritage: Finnish, Social History
Atlantic Mine	St. Mary's Church Hall	A, C	Industry: Copper, Architecture
Boston vicinity	Potato warehouse	A	Agriculture
Calumet Township	Schoolcraft Township Cemetery	A	Social History
Centennial Heights	WPA stone boat	C	Art
Chassell	Hamar House	C	Architecture
Chassell	Community Center	C	Architecture
Chassell	Chassell State Bank	A, C	Commerce, Architecture
Chassell vicinity	Farmsteads and farm buildings	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Coburntown	Barn, Sunshine Road	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Copper City	Commercial buildings	A, C	Commerce, Architecture
Copper City vicinity	Kearsarge No. 4 machine shop	A, C	Industry: Copper, Architecture
Dollar Bay	Copper Country Cheese Cooperative	A	Agriculture
Dollar Bay	Dollar Bay High School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Dollar Bay	Order of Runeberg Lodge	A	Ethnic Heritage: Finnish
Elo vicinity	Elo Cemetery	A	Ethnic Heritage: Finnish, Social History
Florida	Calumet Finnish Ladies' Society Hall	A, C	Ethnic Heritage: Finnish, Architecture
Franklin Township	Keweenaw Research Center	A	Military
Hancock	House, 624 Lake Avenue	C	Architecture
Hancock	House with Flemish gables, Quincy Street	C	Architecture
Hancock	Finnish Lutheran Church	A, C	Religion, Architecture
Hancock	Central High School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Hancock	Edward Ryan School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Hancock	E. L. Wright School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Hancock	OHM Building, Hancock St.	A, C	Commerce, Architecture
Hancock	Tenement, Quincy St.	C	Architecture
Hancock	Houses on Quincy, Roberts, Minnesota, Emma, Ethel	C	Architecture
Hancock	Gas station, N. Lincoln Dr.	A, C	Commerce, Architecture
Hancock	Sisters of St. Joseph Carondelet Hospital	A, C	Health/Medicine, Architecture

Location	Description	NR Criteria	Themes
Hancock	Nikander Hall	A, C	Education, Architecture
Hancock	HCTC streetcar barn	A	Transportation
Hancock	Houghton-Hancock Lift Bridge	A	Transportation
Hancock Township	Portage Lifesaving Station	A, C	Maritime History, Architecture
Hancock Township	Farmsteads	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Houghton	Copper Range Railroad Depot	A, C	Transportation, Architecture
Houghton	MTU Administration and Library Building	A, C	Education, Architecture
Houghton	MTU Daniell Heights	C	Architecture
Houghton vicinity	Forest Hill Cemetery	A	Social History
Hubbell	Queen Anne style house, D Avenue	C	Architecture
Hubbell	First National Bank	A, C	Commerce, Architecture
Hubbell	Opal Building	A, C	Commerce, Architecture
Hubbell	St. John's Lutheran Church	A, C	Religion, Architecture
Hubbell	St. Cecelia's Catholic Church, parsonage, school	A, C	Religion, Architecture
Hurontown	Bungalow, Main Street	C	Architecture
Jacobsville vicinity	Jacobsville School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Jacobsville vicinity	Jacobsville Cemetery	A	Social History
Kearsarge	Hut Inn	A, C	Commerce, Architecture
Kearsarge	Vic's Cabins	A, C	Entertainment/Recreation, Architecture
Kearsarge	WPA stone boat	C	Art
Kenton	Ottawa National Forest Ranger Station and obelisk	A, C	Conservation, Architecture
Laird Township	Farmsteads	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Laird Township	Motley School	A	Education
Laird Township	County Line Road Bridge	A	Transportation
Lake Linden	Mineral Range Railroad Station	A, C	Transportation, Architecture
Lake Linden	C&H stamp mill site	A	Industry: Copper
Lake Linden	Potato warehouse	A	Agriculture
Lake Linden vicinity	Mount Calvary Cemetery	A	Social History
Lake Linden vicinity	Maple Hill Cemetery	A	Social History
Lake Linden vicinity	House, Bootjack Rd. (Gregoryville)	C	Architecture
Laurium	Airport hangar	A, C	Transportation, Architecture

Location	Description	NR Criteria	Themes
Liminga	Two one-room schools	A, C	Education, Architecture
Nisula	St. Henry's Church	A, C	Religion, Architecture
Nisula	Nisula School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Osceola Township	Lakeview Cemetery	A, C	Social History, Landscape Architecture
Paavola	Farmsteads	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Portage and Chassell townships	Farmsteads, Paradise Road	A, C	Agriculture, Ethnic Heritage, Architecture
Portage Township	Farm buildings in vicinity of Tapiola, Askel, Elo	A, C	Agriculture, Ethnic Heritage: Finnish, Architecture
Portage Township	Otter River Fish Hatchery	A, C	Conservation, Architecture
Portage Township	Karki Hill Cemetery	A	Ethnic Heritage: Finnish, Social History
Redridge	Redridge School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Ripley	Ripley School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Schoolcraft Township	Farm with observatory-granary, Post Road	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Schoolcraft Township	Recreational homes	A, C	Entertainment/Recreation, Architecture
Sidnaw	Sidnaw School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Sidnaw	POW camp guard tower	A	Military
Stanton Township	Farmsteads and farm buildings, northern Stanton Township	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Stanton Township	One-room school, Coles Creek Road	A, C	Education, Architecture
Stanton Township	Heikkinen School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Stanton Township	Farmstead, Lakeview Rd.	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Stanton Township	Farmstead, Misery Bay Rd.	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Stanton Township	Gothic-roofed barn, Misery Bay Rd.	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Tapiola	Doelle Agricultural School	A, C	Agriculture, Education, Architecture
Tapiola vicinity	Farmstead, 3576 Lake Road	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Tapiola vicinity	Stovewood poultry house, 17177 S. River Road	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Torch Lake Township	Sarazin School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Torch Lake Township	Keweenaw Waterway Lower Entrance Light, light station, breakwater pier	A, C	Maritime History, Architecture

1

Location	Description	NR Criteria	Themes
Torch Lake Township	Nara Farmstead	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Torch Lake Township	Farm, Red Rock Road	A, C	Agriculture, Ethnic Heritage: Finnish, Architecture
Torch Lake Township	Lake Linden-Hubbell Sportsmen's Association Clubhouse	A, C	Entertainment/Recreation, Architecture
Torch Lake Township	Recreational homes	A, C	Entertainment/Recreation, Architecture
Twin Lakes	Golden Harp Tavern	A, C	Commerce, Architecture
Winona vicinity	Woodland Cemetery	A	Social History
	Keweenaw Waterway	A	Maritime History

In northernmost Calumet Township, there may be an industrial historic district encompassing the Centennial, Wolverine, and Kearsarge mine sites, an area once known as the Valley of the Mines. Multiple sites associated with each mining company contain industrial buildings, structures, ruins, and waste rock piles. Two of five extant shafthouses in the Copper Country are in this proposed district at the Centennial No. 3 and No. 6 mine sites.

An intensive level survey of worker housing in the C&H, Osceola, Tamarack, and Centennial mine locations in Calumet and Osceola townships recommended National Register listing for the entire area of 910 acres with approximately fifteen hundred properties as the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company Worker Housing Historic District.[65] A small proportion of the proposed historic district is within the National Historic Landmark Calumet Historic District; a larger proportion is within the boundaries of Keweenaw National Historical Park. The proposed district contains the largest concentration of mine worker housing in the Copper Country. The 2000 survey identified 86 percent of the buildings in the proposed district as contributing. There have been losses since then, but not enough to invalidate the integrity of the district as a whole.

There may be one or more rural agricultural historic districts in the area west and southwest of the village of Calumet. In addition to farmsteads that may be individually eligible, the area contains historic agricultural landscapes and retains its rural character with few modern intrusions.

In the city of Hancock, the Quincy Hillside Addition (1899) and the Quincy Second Hillside Addition (1903) may be eligible as historic districts. The Quincy Mining Company platted the two subdivisions to provide reasonably priced homes for mine workers. In contrast to mine locations, the company sold both houses and lots. The Quincy Second Hillside Addition extends outside of city boundaries into Franklin Township. There may also be a residential historic

[65] Lynn Bjorkman, "Mine Worker Housing in Calumet, Michigan: 1864-1950" (Calumet: Keweenaw National Historical Park, 2000).

district in the area along Lake Avenue and Water Street. This neighborhood contains a concentration of distinctive house styles and types, including some of the oldest houses in the city. Two areas near the National Historic Landmark Quincy Mining Company Historic District may be eligible as historic districts. One is the village of Paavola, an independent community built to house workers at the Arcadian Mining Company. Paavola contains diverse house types, a community hall, and small barns and other buildings used for subsistence agriculture. In Ripley, the Quincy Mining Company built housing for workers and managers at the Quincy Smelter; however, only a small part of Ripley is included in the Quincy Mining Company Historic District. There are nearly one hundred buildings in Ripley, mostly houses. The Ripley School is a focal point; the Michigan SHPO has determined that the school is eligible.

Another potential industrial historic district consists of Torch Lake and Portage Lake stamp mill and smelter sites in the communities of Lake Linden, Hubbell, Tamarack City, Mason, Dollar Bay, and Point Mills. Although none of the stamp mills survive, there are impressive ruins along with industrial and administrative buildings, structures, and stamp sands. The Quincy Mining Company Stamp Mill Historic District in Mason is within this proposed district. Just north of Hubbell, there may be a residential historic district in Linwood, which includes a section of large houses that were marketed to C&H upper-level personnel. Immediately north of Lake Linden, there may be a residential historic district of large houses on Cemetery Road.

On the peninsula surrounded by Portage and Torch lakes, the Atlas Powder Company site with its company town of Senter may be eligible as a historic district. The Atlas Powder Company provided explosives to the mining companies; its explosives plant at Senter operated from 1910 to 1960. This distinctive industrial complex retains at least four brick industrial buildings (only part of the site was accessible), laboratory, office building, and five company houses.

In Houghton, there may be a residential historic district on East Houghton Avenue and vicinity, where there is a concentration of elaborate houses dating from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Along Woodland Drive, extending from Houghton into northern Portage Township, a group of distinctive modern ranch, split-level, and two-story houses may constitute a district. Other potential historic districts in northern Portage Township are Dakota Heights, Hurontown, and Isle Royale No. 2 and No. 5 locations. Laid out in 1906, Dakota Heights is a neighborhood of worker housing that was developed for workers in the Copper Range Railroad yards. Immediately south of Houghton, Hurontown is composed of two communities that were platted in 1862 on former mining company land. Approximately one hundred resources in Hurontown are mostly houses dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Isle Royale No. 2 location contains houses, industrial buildings, and ruins. Isle Royale No. 5 location contains houses and two schools.

In the South Range area, the Painesdale Historic District is listed in the National Register, but there are other potential districts associated with the Copper Range Consolidated Company copper mines. The incorporated village of South Range was the commercial village serving the mine locations; it is the most intact and substantial of the district's communities. There appears to be a historic business district along Trimountain Avenue in South Range; there may also be a larger historic district that encompasses residential neighborhoods in the village. At Baltic and Trimountain locations there may be historic districts composed of worker and manager housing.

The Baltic mine site retains four industrial buildings and large piles of mine waste rock. On the Lake Superior shore, Freda may constitute a historic district as the most intact of the Copper Range stamp mill locations. The community contains extensive ruins from the Champion stamp mill, the mill office/warehouse, and worker housing.

In the unincorporated village of Chassell, there may be a historic district along Willson Memorial Drive. Chassell was the leading lumber company town in Houghton County and one of the most important lumber towns in the western Upper Peninsula. Willson Memorial Drive is the main thoroughfare and retains commercial buildings, churches, houses, and a community center. There may also be a residential historic district on other streets in the village, including but not necessarily limited to the company housing on Marinette Street.

In southern Portage Township, there are two potential rural agricultural historic districts, one in the vicinity of Askel and the other west of Tapiola. Both areas were part of the Otter Lake Finnish farming community, the oldest Finnish farming community in the Copper Country. The districts retain concentrations of Finnish farms with excellent examples of distinctive Finnish agricultural building types and construction techniques along with historic landscape features; there are few modern intrusions. There may also be a historic district of recreational cottages on the north shore of Otter Lake.

In the Twin Lakes area of Elm River Township, there may be one or more historic districts of recreational cottages on Lake Gerald, Lake Roland, and/or Sandy Lake. There may be a thematic district of hunting and fishing camps in Duncan Township. Many of the camps are log buildings in the rustic style.

Keweenaw County

Location	Description	NR Criteria	Themes
Ahmeek Location	Ahmeek Mine Office	A, C	Industry: Copper, Architecture
Ahmeek vicinity	Methodist Church	A, C	Religion, Architecture
Ahmeek vicinity	Ahmeek mine dry house	A, C	Industry: Copper, Architecture
Allouez Township	Veterans Memorial Park	A, C	Entertainment/Recreation, Art
Allouez Township	Keweenaw Handicraft Shop	A, C	Entertainment/Recreation, Architecture
Allouez Township	Sunset Bay Campground	A, C	Entertainment/Recreation, Architecture
Copper Harbor	Our Lady of the Pines Chapel	A, C	Religion, Architecture
Copper Harbor vicinity	Copper Harbor range lights station	A, C	Maritime History, Architecture
Copper Harbor vicinity	Fort Wilkins State Park campground, parking area, picnic area	A, C	Entertainment/Recreation, Architecture, Landscape Architecture

Location	Description	NR Criteria	Themes
Eagle Harbor	Lake Breeze Hotel	A, C	Entertainment/Recreation, Architecture
Eagle Harbor	Eagle Harbor School (1872)	A, C	Education, Architecture
Eagle Harbor	Foley Brothers General Store	A	Commerce
Eagle Harbor vicinity	Eagle Harbor rear range lighthouse	A, C	Maritime History, Architecture
Eagle Harbor vicinity	Pine Grove Cemetery	A	Social History
Eagle Harbor Township	Copper Falls Park	A	Entertainment/Recreation
Eagle Harbor and Grant townships	Brockway Mountain Drive	A, C	Entertainment/Recreation, Landscape Architecture
Eagle River	Main Street Bridge	A	Transportation
Eagle River	Lake Shore Drive Bridge	A	Transportation
Eagle River	Gitche Gumee Bible Camp	A, C	Religion, Entertainment/Recreation, Architecture
Eagle River vicinity	Evergreen Cemetery	A	Social History
Grant Township	Mendota Ship Canal	A	Maritime History
Phoenix vicinity	Bammert Blacksmith Shop	A, C	Commerce, Architecture

On M-26 between Eagle Harbor and Copper Harbor, Hebard Park, Esrey Park, and Silver River Falls may constitute a non-contiguous district of roadside parks created by the Keweenaw County Road Commission (KCRC). They may also be part of a larger district of KCRC projects in Keweenaw County. During the Depression, the KCRC used federal relief funds for projects that provided work for unemployed mine workers and played an important role in the development of automobile tourism. The parks are also notable for their landscape design.

There appears to be a historic district in the village of Eagle Harbor. One of the oldest communities in the Copper Country, Eagle Harbor retains much historic fabric including the largest concentration of Greek Revival style buildings in the region. In addition to houses, nineteenth century buildings include a general store, hotels, two schools, and three churches, some of which are individually listed or eligible. Buildings related to the development of Eagle Harbor as a resort town in the twentieth century include recreational homes, the Lake Breeze Hotel, motels, and several tourist-oriented commercial buildings.

In central Keweenaw County, there may be a historic district encompassing the Cliff, Phoenix, Central, Delaware, and Mandan mine locations along with other mine sites in the vicinity. This district does not have the dense concentration of buildings that is found in the South End, but there are clusters of buildings at the important Central (NR listed) and Phoenix mine locations, scattered buildings elsewhere, cemeteries, numerous ruins of industrial buildings, and important mine waste rock piles and stamp sand deposits. The Cliff site has outstanding significance as the first successful mine in the Copper Country; archaeological excavations there have demonstrated

its eligibility under Criterion D for archaeology. At the Delaware mine, one of the shafts is open for underground tours.

There is potential for several historic districts among the mine sites, locations, and villages of southwestern Keweenaw County. Known as the South End, this mining district extends from Seneca Location in the north to Allouez on the Houghton County border. Mining began here in 1847 and ended in 1966. There is an array of housing types and styles for mine workers and managers in the company locations of Bumbletown, Allouez, New Allouez, Ahmeek Location, Fulton, Mohawk, and Seneca Location. Although Mohawk was a company location, it also served as a community center with general stores (not extant) and churches. Ahmeek Village was incorporated in 1909 as a commercial village; it retains its historic commercial district along with churches, a streetcar station, town hall, and many houses. The South End also contains industrial buildings, ruins, and waste rock piles.

In southeastern Keweenaw County, there may be a historic district in the village of Gay. The small community at the mouth of the Tobacco River supported logging and quarrying before the Mohawk and Wolverine mining companies built stamp mills there in the early twentieth century, leading to significant growth. After the last stamp mill closed in 1932, the Dion sawmill became the primary employer until the 1960s. Today Gay retains much of its historic fabric as a stamp mill and lumber town, including worker housing and community buildings. A towering smokestack remains from the Mohawk stamp mill, and there are miles of stamp sands along the Lake Superior shore. Northeast of Gay on the lakeshore, a former Finnish fishing community at the mouth of the Big Betsy River may constitute a historic district. Most, if not all, of the two dozen houses and outbuildings are from the Jarve family of commercial fishermen who lived and operated there in the mid-twentieth century.

Ontonagon County

Location	Description	NR Criteria	Themes
Bergland	Pump house	C	Architecture
Bergland	Bergland School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Bruce Crossing	Settlers Co-op Hall	A, C	Ethnic Heritage: Finnish, Architecture
Bruce Crossing	Settlers Co-op Farm & Feed Store	A, C	Agriculture, Ethnic Heritage: Finnish, Architecture
Bruce Crossing	Bungalow with garage and barn, M-28	C	Architecture
Carp Lake Township	Carp Lake Township Precinct 2 School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Ewen	Humphrey farmstead	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Ewen	Foursquare house, Birch St.	C	Architecture
Ewen	Ewen United Methodist Church	A, C	Religion, Architecture
Ewen	State Bank of Ewen (now township library & offices)	A, C	Commerce, Architecture

Location	Description	NR Criteria	Themes
Ewen	Ewen High School	A, C	Education, Architecture
Greenland Township	Wainola Church	A	Religion, Ethnic Heritage: Finnish
Greenland Township	Mass Co-op Company	A	Commerce, Ethnic Heritage: Finnish
Haight Township	Maple Grove Town Hall	A	Politics, Government
Interior Township	M-28 Bridge, Middle Branch Ontonagon River	A, C	Transportation, Engineering
Interior Township	Agate Falls railroad trestle bridge	A, C	Transportation
Mass City	Settlers Co-op Store	A	Commerce, Ethnic Heritage: Finnish
Mass location	Mass mine doctor's house, Ridge Road	A, C	Industry: Copper, Architecture
Matchwood Township	Topaz Community Hall	A	Social History
Matchwood Township	Farmsteads	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
McMillan Township	Farmsteads and farm buildings	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Misery Bay	Misery Bay Hall	A, C	Education, Social History, Architecture
Misery Bay	Farmsteads	A, C	Agriculture, Ethnic Heritage: Finnish, Architecture
Ontonagon Township	Ontonagon County Poorhouse	A, C	Politics/Government; Architecture
Ontonagon Township	Ontonagon Golf Course Clubhouse	A, C	Entertainment/Recreation, Architecture
Ontonagon Township	Evergreen Cemetery	A	Social History
Ontonagon Township	Farmsteads	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Ontonagon Village	Toll House	A, C	Transportation, Architecture
Ontonagon Village	First National Bank	A, C	Commerce, Architecture
Ontonagon Village	Johnny's Bar	A	Ethnic Heritage
Ontonagon Village	Hawley Lumber Company	A, C	Industry: Lumber, Architecture
Ontonagon Village	Ontonagon County Road Commission Garage	A, C	Transportation, Architecture
Ontonagon Village	Heard Farm, 215 Silver St.	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Ontonagon Village	Redeemer Free Lutheran Church	A, C	Religion, Architecture

Location	Description	NR Criteria	Themes
Ontonagon Village[66]	Commercial building, 626 River Street	A, C	Commerce, Architecture
Ontonagon Village	Commercial Building, 745 River Street	A, C	Commerce, Architecture
Ontonagon Village	Commercial Building, 401 Quartz Street	A, C	Commerce, Architecture
Ontonagon Village	House, 502 Greenland Road	C	Architecture
Ontonagon Village	House, 109 Mercury Road	C	Architecture
Ontonagon Village	House, 607 Old Rockland Road	C	Architecture
Ontonagon Village	House, 102 River Street	C	Architecture
Ontonagon Village	House, 109 N. Steel Street	C	Architecture
Ontonagon Village	House, 210 S. Steel Street	C	Architecture
Ontonagon Village	House, 418 S. Steel Street	C	Architecture
Porcupine Mountains State Park	Carp Lake mine site	A, D	Industry: Copper, Archaeology
Porcupine Mountains State Park	Presque Isle Suspension Bridge	A, C	Entertainment/Recreation
Rockland	Davey Farm	A, C	Agriculture, Architecture
Rockland	Meader House	C	Architecture
Rockland	House (1856), McClellan Avenue	C	Architecture
Rockland	Reynolds House	C	Architecture
Rockland	Rose Cemetery	A	Social History
Rockland vicinity	Irish Hollow Cemetery	A	Social History, Ethnic Heritage
Rockland vicinity	Woodlawn Cemetery	A	Social History
Trout Creek	Trout Creek School (brick)	A, C	Education, Architecture
Trout Creek	Railroad depot	A, C	Transportation, Architecture
Trout Creek	Fire Hall	A, C	Politics/Government, Architecture
White Pine	Ball mill site	A, D	Industry: copper, archaeology

There are at least two potential historic districts in the village of Ontonagon. On South Steel and Gold streets, the Hawley houses are identical worker houses built by the Hawley Lumber Company. On Greenland Road there is a group of large, well-preserved early twentieth century

[66] The three commercial buildings and seven houses that follow were identified as National Register eligible in an intensive level survey that Commonwealth Cultural Resources Group conducted in 1996. Commonwealth Cultural Resources Group, "Phase I Archaeological Survey, Land Use History and Survey of Above-Ground Historic Resources, M-64 Bridge Replacement Project, Ontonagon, Michigan" (Jackson, MI: CCRG, 1996).

houses influenced by the Queen Anne style. Styles and types of houses in the remainder of Ontonagon Village are more diverse than usual, including Queen Anne; Arts and Crafts, both bungalows and foursquares; Tudor cottages; Cape Cod cottages; and ranch houses. Integrity is variable, so intensive level survey is needed to determine where there are districts.

In her 1998 inventory of historic resources in Michigan's state parks, Amy Arnold identified an eligible historic district encompassing the road and trail system and service area in Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park.[67] These resources were developed following establishment of the state park in 1945 and include foot trails, South Boundary Road, trailside cabins, Lake of the Clouds overlook, and service area buildings. Arnold did not include the Union Bay Campground (1952) because it was not fifty years old in 1998; now it appears to contribute to the historic district.

The White Pine town site appears to be eligible as a historic district. The town site is exceptionally important for its association with the White Pine mine, which produced more than four billion pounds of sulfide copper between 1955 and 1995, when native copper mining had ended. The White Pine mine site does not retain integrity, but the town site does, and it has significance in its own right as a model company town designed by Pace Associates of Chicago. With a curvilinear street pattern characteristic of postwar suburbs, White Pine was built beginning in 1952. Today, community buildings, two schools, three churches, and a few examples of multi-family housing remain at White Pine along with approximately two to three hundred single-family houses, most of them ranch houses.

There may be an industrial historic district encompassing the Mass mine sites. At Mass mine sites A & B there are foundations, pond and dam, a smokestack, and waste rock piles.[68] At Mass location, a half dozen or so large homes for upper-level mine personnel on Ridge and Trevarrow roads may constitute a historic district. There may be a rural agricultural historic district south of Mass City in southern Greenland Township, extending eastward into Bohemia Township as far as Dishneau Road. In the early twentieth century this was a prosperous dairy farming area, predominated by Finns. More than one hundred former farms were identified during the survey. Numerous farmsteads have multiple buildings, including examples with log construction. The town sites of Wainola and Wasas are within the potential district, which retains its rural agricultural character with few modern intrusions.

Rockland is the most intact of the native copper mine towns in Ontonagon County; it is also significant for its association with the Minesota mine, the second profitable copper mine in the Copper Country. There may be a historic business district on National Avenue (U.S. 45), which contains a concentration of commercial buildings built ca. 1900, including examples in the Italianate style. On Victoria Avenue, a potential residential historic district comprised of large Queen Anne and Colonial Revival style houses may extend along intersecting streets.

At Victoria, there may be a historic district encompassing Victoria location, the sawmill site, and the mine site. At Victoria location, four log workers' houses have been restored, and there are

[67] Amy Arnold and Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Inventory of Historical Resources in Selected Michigan State Parks* (Lansing: Michigan State Historic Preservation Office, 1998).
[68] Mass mine site C was not accessible for the survey.

ruins of additional log houses there and at the sawmill site. At the Victoria mine site, there are numerous ruins of industrial buildings and large piles of mine waste rock. Some additional company housing is located near the mine site, including the mine captain's house.

In southern Ontonagon County, Trout Creek, Ewen, and Bergland are the most intact of more than a dozen lumber mill towns that existed there in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most have disappeared with little or no trace other than a name on a map. Of the three, Trout Creek had the longest life as a lumber town: the first sawmill began operating there in 1891, and the last burned ca. 1970. A potential historic district in Trout Creek would include commercial buildings, churches, two schools, a fire hall, railroad station, and housing, including two distinct clusters of mill worker housing. Near the village (which is unincorporated, so boundaries are not defined), two more clusters of worker housing and a mill pond could be included in this historic district. Ewen was platted in 1889 and grew rapidly as a mill town and supply center for logging camps in the woods nearby. Rebuilt after a fire in 1893, in the early twentieth century Ewen was part lumber town and part community center for the surrounding farms. There may be a historic commercial district on Cedar Street; there are also streets of worker housing, but integrity may be an issue. Lumberman Gunlek Bergland platted Bergland in 1902, but he let the village develop independently rather than as a company town. There may be a historic district in Bergland, which retains houses, churches, commercial buildings, a park, a cemetery, and a school. Early twentieth century buildings are concentrated south of M-28, while later buildings such as ranch houses and two modernist churches predominate north of M-28.

Non-Contiguous Historic Districts

In addition to the contiguous districts described above, there may be two non-contiguous thematic historic districts, one consisting of stovewood buildings and the other consisting of one-room schoolhouses. During the 1930s Finns used stovewood (also known as cordwood) construction, an unusual construction technique in which short logs were stacked perpendicular to the plane of the wall so that the cut ends faced outward.[69] Stovewood construction was most frequently used for building poultry houses, but it was also used for barns and other farm buildings. There may be several dozen stovewood farm buildings in Houghton, Baraga, and Ontonagon counties. Approximately twenty one-room schoolhouses were identified in the survey. While most, perhaps all, of these are individually significant under Criterion A, as a group they may be eligible as a non-contiguous district that shows how the one-room schoolhouse evolved over time.

Priorities for Intensive Level Survey

Many individual properties and districts that may be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places have been identified in the preceding discussion. Following are suggested priorities for conducting intensive level survey. In general, intensive level survey of potential districts will have a greater impact than documentation of individual properties. If a property is threatened, however, that may override other considerations. In some cases it will be possible to combine intensive level survey with preparation of a National Register nomination. In other

[69] Finns constructed the vast majority of stovewood buildings in the Copper Country, but it is possible that a few were built by Swedes, Norwegians, or Poles, who used stovewood construction in Wisconsin.

cases it may make more sense to conduct intensive level survey first in order to get more information about a potential district before proceeding with a National Register nomination.

- Priority 1: Intensive level survey of places with concentrations of copper mining resources, including White Pine, Torch Lake, and the South End of Keweenaw County

- Priority 2: Intensive level survey of places such as Eagle Harbor that played an important role in copper mining history but do not contain copper mining resources

- Priority 3: Intensive level survey of places tangentially related to copper mining, such as agricultural districts

- Priority 4: Intensive level survey of places not related to copper mining, such as lumber towns in southern Ontonagon County

Copper mining resources have been given top priority because the history of copper mining is the most important story in the history of the region; it is what makes the Copper Country nationally significant. Nevertheless, even if other types of historic resources are of secondary importance, they have been included here because they may be National Register eligible and are worthy of consideration when time and resources permit.

THE FRAMEWORK FOR PRESERVATION

Historic preservation activities in the Copper Country are supported by a framework of federal and state government agencies, local governments, nonprofit organizations, laws, and policies. Within this framework, Keweenaw National Historical Park plays the lead role. Congress established the park in 1992 to preserve and interpret the nationally significant resources that tell the story of copper mining on the Keweenaw Peninsula. The park consists of two units: the Quincy Unit, northeast of the city of Hancock, and the Calumet Unit, in and around the village of Calumet. The Quincy Unit contains 1,120 acres that encompass the buildings, structures, ruins, and landscapes that remain from the Quincy Mining Company. The National Park Service (NPS) owns 137 acres within the Quincy Unit, including two standing buildings—the Quincy Mine Office and the Mesnard Streetcar Station. The Calumet Unit contains 750 acres that include the historic village of Calumet and the mine locations that surround it, most notably the buildings, structures, and landscapes of the Calumet & Hecla (C&H) Mining Company. The NPS owns four historic buildings in the Calumet Unit—the C&H general office building, C&H library, C&H warehouse, and the Union Building—and one historic structure—the Russell snowplow. The NPS has rehabilitated the C&H general office building as park headquarters and the Union Building as a visitor center; the C&H library houses the park's museum collections and archives.

Most of the property within park boundaries is not owned by the NPS. Keweenaw National Historical Park was established as a partnership park, intended to work with and assist local partners who undertake much of the work of preserving and interpreting copper mining history, both within and outside of park boundaries. The park's enabling legislation established the Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission to assist the park in its mission, to act as a liaison with neighboring communities, and to conduct activities outside of park boundaries. The seven members of the Advisory Commission include representatives from local governments and the State of Michigan; there is also an executive director. One of the commission's activities is to help administer and develop the Keweenaw Heritage Sites program, a network of nineteen sites owned and operated by state and local governments, private businesses, and nonprofit organizations both within and outside of park boundaries. The majority of the Heritage Sites are museums or heritage centers; all but two of these are located in historic buildings. These include the Coppertown Museum, Keweenaw Heritage Center at St. Anne's, and Copper Country Firefighters History Museum in Calumet; the Chassell Heritage Center in Chassell; the Copper Range Historical Museum in South Range; and the Ontonagon County Historical Society museum and lighthouse in Ontonagon Village. In Lake Linden, the Houghton County Historical Society operates a museum complex of in situ and moved buildings on the site of the C&H stamp mill in addition to a heritage center in the First Congregational Church. The Keweenaw County Historical Society's primary museum complex consists of the Eagle Harbor lighthouse and its auxiliary buildings. In addition, the society has restored and interprets historic buildings in Central, Eagle Harbor, Eagle River, Gay, and Phoenix.

The Heritage Sites include three mine sites that offer underground mine tours: the Delaware mine (Keweenaw County), Adventure mine (Ontonagon County), and Quincy mine. These mine sites also have ruins and a few standing buildings, most notably at the Quincy mine, which is operated by the Quincy Mine Hoist Association. Other historic sites include Fort Wilkins

Historic State Park near Copper Harbor, the Hanka Homestead Museum near Pelkie, and Old Victoria near Rockland. Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park contains numerous remains of early copper mines. Two National Register-listed buildings that are not museums are also Heritage Sites. At the Calumet Theatre, visitors can tour the theater or attend a theatrical performance. The Laurium Manor Inn, a mine captain's mansion that is now a bed and breakfast inn, is open to the public for tours.

Keweenaw National Historical Park and the Advisory Commission work with a variety of partners in addition to the Heritage Sites. The municipalities within park boundaries are key partners. Calumet Village, its historic district commission, and its downtown development authority along with Main Street Calumet work closely with the park to preserve and revitalize Calumet's historic business district. Calumet Township with its historic district commission and downtown development authority works similarly to preserve historic resources within its jurisdiction, including many that it owns. Franklin Township owns the Quincy Smelter and works with the Advisory Commission and the nonprofit Quincy Smelter Association to preserve this internationally-significant historic resource. Franklin and Quincy townships are partners in preserving the Quincy mine site. Several partners are involved in promoting heritage tourism including the Keweenaw Peninsula Chamber of Commerce, Keweenaw Convention and Visitors Bureau, Western Upper Peninsula Heritage Trail Network, and Copper Country Trail National Byway. The Copper Country Trail Committee—itself a consortium of private and public partners—is actively involved in the stewardship of historic and natural resources within the byway corridor, which consists of all of the Keweenaw Peninsula north of the Portage Lake Lift Bridge. The Western Upper Peninsula Planning and Development Region (WUPPDR) coordinates the work of the Copper Country Trail Committee and undertakes other heritage tourism initiatives. Isle Royale National Park occupies a unique place among the park's partners, as it contains historic resources that tell the story of copper mining on Isle Royale, a complement to Keweenaw National Historical Park's mission to tell that story on the Keweenaw Peninsula. Faculty and students at Michigan Technological University's graduate programs in industrial archaeology and heritage management undertake many activities in partnership with the park, including documenting historic sites and writing nominations for the National Register of Historic Places. The mission of the Keweenaw Bay Indian Community's Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) is to preserve and protect all aspects of Ojibwa culture, including historic sites.

In addition to maintaining and restoring the park's historic buildings, Keweenaw National Historical Park and the Advisory Commission conduct numerous activities that further historic preservation and guide interpretive efforts. A cultural landscape report was completed for the Quincy Unit and another is underway for the Calumet Unit, assessing the current conditions of historic resources and making recommendations for their preservation. The park's interpretive programs include walking tours that highlight the significance of historic buildings, structures, and landscapes. The Advisory Commission sponsored the Copper Country survey of above-ground historic resources along with a second survey of mine waste deposits and has given special attention to preserving the Quincy Smelter, helping to obtain a $1,000,000 congressional appropriation for its stabilization. Park staff members provide extensive technical assistance to partners in the areas of preservation, museum collections, interpretation, education, and visitor services. A few examples of technical assistance recently provided by the park's landscape

architect include assessing the Quincy Smelter complex for safety and preservation deficiencies, advising the Quincy Mine Hoist Association on landscape improvements that are compatible with historic resources, working with the Village of Calumet and Main Street Calumet to develop a site plan to transform a vacant lot into an urban sculpture park, and developing a wayfinding sign program for the Keweenaw Heritage Sites. The park's historical architect serves as architectural advisor to the Village of Calumet Historic District Commission. Other examples of his technical assistance activities include condition assessments with repair recommendations for the Church of the Assumption in Phoenix and the Adventure Mining Company hoist house foundation in Greenland, and making recommendations for several façade rehabilitation projects in Calumet's business district. Last but not least, both the NPS and the commission offer grants for historic preservation and related activities, a welcome source of funds that can be difficult to obtain for these purposes. The NPS funds projects within park boundaries, while the Advisory Commission can also fund projects outside of park boundaries. The Keweenaw Heritage Grant program began in 2008 and through 2012 has granted a total of $469,578. A few of the projects funded in 2012 were asbestos abatement at the Quincy Smelter, cornice restoration of the Croatian Co-op building in Calumet, restoration of the Carnegie Library in Houghton, and repair of leaded glass windows in Christ Episcopal Church in Calumet. The NPS has also used other monies to fund the rehabilitation of historic buildings. Recent examples include replacing the roof of the Coppertown Museum building, originally the C&H pattern shop, in partnership with Coppertown USA, and stabilizing the Paine Webber building on Fifth Street in Calumet in partnership with the Calumet Village Downtown Development Authority (DDA).

Laws at the national, state, and local level and the agencies and programs enabled by these laws provide tools to preserve historic places. More than any other law, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended, determines how preservation activities are conducted in the United States. The NHPA established the State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs), the Historic Preservation Fund to fund the SHPOs, the National Register of Historic Places, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Section 106 review and comment on federal undertakings, and the Certified Local Government Program. The National Register of Historic Places is the nation's list of properties worthy of preservation. Administered by the National Park Service (NPS), the National Register lists resources significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture. National Register listing does not restrict what a private property owner can do to a property. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation administers Section 106 of the NHPA, under which activities that are funded or licensed by federal agencies are reviewed for their effects on resources that are listed in or eligible for the National Register, providing some protection from any adverse effects that these activities might cause. The most common types of projects that undergo Section 106 review are road improvements and low-income housing rehabilitations. The Certified Local Government Program is a partnership between federal, state, and local governments intended to promote preservation at the local level. Communities that are certified as Certified Local Governments (CLGs) are recognized for their commitment to preservation, receive priority for technical assistance, and can apply for historic preservation grants that are available only to CLGs. The Village of Calumet is in the process of becoming certified as a CLG.

The National Historic Landmarks Program, administered by the National Park Service, was established in 1960 to recognize the nation's outstanding cultural and historic resources; after 1966 it was coordinated with the National Register program. Resources are designated as landmarks when they possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States. The Calumet Historic District and the Quincy Mining Company Historic District are both National Historic Landmarks. The Tax Reform Act of 1986 established a 20 percent federal income tax credit for rehabilitating historic buildings for commercial, industrial, agricultural, or rental residential use. The tax credit is available to owners or long-term lessees of buildings that are individually listed in the National Register, that contribute to a National Register district, or that contribute to a local historic district that has been certified for this purpose. Rehabilitation work must follow the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation*. A total of eight projects in Calumet, Laurium, Hancock, and Houghton have been completed using the federal historic rehabilitation tax credit.[70] Under the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA), federal agencies must review the impacts of their projects on the environment, including natural, historic, and cultural resources. To comply with NEPA, agencies complete environmental assessments or environmental impact statements. Keweenaw National Historical Park's *General Management Plan* (1998) included an environmental impact statement.

Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act of 1966 provides that the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) and other U.S. Department of Transportation agencies cannot approve a project that will harm historic resources unless it has been demonstrated that there is no prudent and feasible alternative; this has provided important protection to historic resources that are affected by federally-funded highway projects. In 2012 Congress passed MAP-21, the Moving Ahead for Progress in the 21st Century Act, to fund and guide surface transportation programs beginning in 2013. Under MAP-21, the Transportation Alternatives Program replaces the Transportation Enhancement Program, continuing to offer grants for preservation of historic resources that relate to surface transportation. Unfortunately, MAP-21 eliminated the National Scenic Byways Program, which had positive impact in the Copper Country, particularly through the Copper Country Trail, which was designated a National Scenic Byway in 2005. In addition, a National Scenic Byways grant provided substantial funding for the Copper Country survey.

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development offers Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds for activities that benefit low- or moderate-income persons or prevent or eliminate slums or blight; these activities include historic preservation and heritage tourism. The Michigan Economic Development Corporation (MEDC) and Michigan State Housing Development Authority (MSHDA) administer CDBG funds in Michigan. CDBG funds have been used for many projects in the Copper Country; a few examples are rehabilitation of the Scott Hotel in Hancock as senior housing, stabilization of the Quincy Smelter, and rehabilitation of the Morrison School in Calumet Village as rental apartments. HUD's HOME program provides grants to build, buy, or rehabilitate affordable housing for low-income households; HOME funds have been used for housing rehabilitation in the Copper Country.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture's (USDA) Rural Development Program offers technical assistance, loans, and a limited number of grants to support housing, community facilities,

[70] A few additional projects utilized the state historic rehabilitation tax credit, which is no longer available.

utilities, and economic development in rural America, objectives that can readily encompass historic preservation. Rural Development loans that support historic preservation have been made to the Quincy Mine Hoist Association to restore the Quincy locomotive engine house and to Calumet Township for rehabilitation of the Keweenaw Heritage Center at St. Anne's. Calumet Township also received a Rural Development grant to install an elevator in the Calumet Colosseum. The USDA supports the National Endowment of the Arts Citizens' Institute on Rural Design, which offers grants to rural communities to host community design workshops. Among other objectives, the workshops can show how to preserve a community's historic character.

At the state level, the Michigan State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) is the most important government agency for historic preservation. Located within MSHDA, the SHPO helps people throughout Michigan to identify, evaluate, designate, and protect historic resources. The SHPO administers federal and state historic preservation programs including the National Register of Historic Places, the Certified Local Government Program, Section 106 review, historic preservation tax credits, historic resources survey program, archaeology, local historic districts, the Michigan Lighthouse Assistance Program, and the Michigan Main Street Program. Michigan Lighthouse Assistance grants have been awarded to the Gull Rock, Manitou Island, Ontonagon, and Eagle Harbor lighthouses in the Copper Country. Main Street Calumet is one of sixteen communities statewide that participate in the Michigan Main Street Program. MSHDA operates a number of other programs in support of affordable housing and community development, including, but not limited to, several federal housing programs. MSHDA grants money for housing rehabilitation in the Copper Country on an ongoing basis; WUPPDR administers these funds. MSHDA's Community Development Division operates a rental rehabilitation program to support rental housing rehabilitation in downtown business districts; the program gives priority to the historical rehabilitation of commercial buildings. The rental rehabilitation program operates in the village of Calumet. Among other MSHDA awards have been a Neighborhood Preservation Program grant to Calumet Township and façade rehabilitation grants to Calumet Village.

The Michigan Heritage Route Program, located in the Michigan Department of Transportation, was established in 1993 to recognize and preserve the state's recreational, scenic, and historic highways and to use them to promote economic development. The Copper Country Trail, consisting of U.S. 41 between Houghton and Copper Harbor, was designated in 1995, the first scenic heritage route in the state. The Copper Country Trail's historic resources are recognized as valuable assets. Although U.S. 41 is the byway, the scope of the Copper Country Trail takes in the entire byway corridor, which is all of the Keweenaw Peninsula north of the Portage Lake Lift Bridge. WUPPDR has submitted an application for a Bridge to the Clouds Heritage Route in Ontonagon County. It is proposed as a recreational heritage route, but as with the Copper Country Trail, the historic communities and sites along the route are considered among its assets. Michigan's Coastal Management Program, established in 1978 and located within the Michigan Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ), assists shoreline communities and organizations to protect and enhance coastal areas. Under the federal Coastal Zone Management Act, the DEQ receives federal funds that it passes through as grants for design and construction projects within the coastal zone boundary, including restoration of historic coastal structures. Projects funded by the Coastal Management Program have included restoration and exhibits at the Eagle Harbor and

Copper Harbor light stations, Keweenaw County's zoning ordinance, and the Historic Houghton virtual tour of the city of Houghton.

Two state laws enable local ordinances that are of particular benefit to historic preservation. Michigan's Local Historic Districts Act (PA 169 of 1970, as amended) enables local governments to adopt local historic district ordinances, under which a historic district commission reviews exterior work within designated local historic districts. A local historic district ordinance provides the strongest protection for historic districts, as the historic district commission has the authority to deny work that is not in keeping with the district's historic character. Both Calumet Village and Calumet Township have passed local historic district ordinances. The Calumet Village Historic District Commission meets monthly and works closely with Keweenaw National Historical Park; it has proven that even a small village (population 798) can utilize a historic district ordinance to protect its historic resources. The Calumet Township Historic District Commission meets on an irregular basis. The Downtown Development Authority Act (PA 197 of 1995) enables local governments to create downtown development authorities (DDAs) to prevent deterioration, encourage historic preservation, and promote economic growth in downtown business districts. There are ten DDAs in the Copper Country: Calumet Village, Calumet Township, Hancock City, Houghton City, Lake Linden Village, and South Range Village in Houghton County; Grant Township (Copper Harbor) in Keweenaw County; Greenland Township and Ontonagon Village in Ontonagon County; and Baraga Village in Baraga County. A third state law, Michigan's Natural Resources and Environmental Protection Act (PA 451 of 1994, as amended), enables property owners to grant easements to units of government or nonprofit organizations; a historic preservation easement ensures that the historic features of a resource will not be altered. A property owner who donates an easement qualifies for a federal income tax deduction.

Planning documents such as land use and master plans articulate a community's views and policies toward historic preservation. The Western Upper Peninsula Planning and Development Region (WUPPDR) is the lead planning agency in the Copper Country. Established in 1968, WUPPDR is one of fourteen state-designated planning and development regions in Michigan. WUPPDR serves the six counties in the western Upper Peninsula; its mission is to foster stable and diversified economies. WUPPDR assists communities in the region with planning activities designed to support economic development, protect the environment, and improve quality of life; it also serves as the regional clearinghouse for federal- and state-funded programs. WUPPDR has long advocated for protection of the Copper Country's historic resources and has promoted their value as a basis for economic development. In 1977 WUPPDR prepared a historic preservation plan with policy guidelines for historic resources. WUPPDR followed this up in 1990 with a survey of historic resources related to copper mining and a management plan that proposed a Michigan Copper Mining District Regional Heritage Reserve along the entire Copper Range. The management plan assisted the creation of Keweenaw National Historical Park and was the basis for the Copper Country Trail, which incorporates the northern portion of the proposed heritage reserve. In 1994–95, WUPPDR sponsored an architectural survey of Calumet Township, Calumet Village, and Laurium Village. In 1996 WUPPDR conducted a survey of historic resources related to mining, logging, agriculture, conservation, and communities in southern Ontonagon and Houghton counties (included in the current Copper Country survey) and parts of Gogebic, Iron, and Baraga counties. WUPPDR proposed a Forest Interior Heritage Area

that would use these historic resources as a basis for heritage tourism. WUPPDR continues to promote historic preservation and heritage tourism; its 2011 *Comprehensive Economic Development Strategy* identifies historic preservation ordinances as one of the ways to achieve the goal of improving community design and infrastructure and thus quality of life. Another goal is to further cultural preservation and heritage-based tourism as an economic development strategy.

The new Michigan Planning Enabling Act (PA 33 of 2008) created a more uniform process for preparing master plans and has encouraged more communities to undertake this process—a positive step for preserving historic resources. At the county level, Keweenaw County updated its 2002 land use plan in 2013; Houghton County's 2012 master plan is an update of its 2006 land use plan. Historic preservation is an integral part of both of these plans. Keweenaw County's plan makes frequent mention of the county's historic, scenic, and recreational assets; one of the plan's seven goals is heritage preservation. Houghton County's plan cites the county's "unusually rich concentration of nationally significant scenic, historic, and cultural resources," including Keweenaw National Historical Park and its partners. The plan calls for sound management and protection of these resources. The City of Hancock's strategic plan for the years 2012 to 2016 incorporates historic preservation in its vision statement, goals, and planned actions; specifics include preserving the city's architectural heritage and historic resources that support tourism. The City of Houghton is currently working on a new master plan to replace the last plan prepared in 1972. In the interim, several area plans have been completed, including downtown plans that emphasize preserving the historic character of the business district. Three villages—Calumet, Lake Linden, and Ontonagon—and five townships—Eagle Harbor, Calumet, Chassell, Portage, and Baraga—have master, land use, and/or strategic plans. Most of these at least make mention of historic preservation. Baraga Township's land use plan does not mention historic preservation, but it emphasizes the importance of preserving the township's farmland and rural character, which could encompass preserving historic farm landscapes and buildings. A few other townships have planning commissions but no plans currently in place.

The Michigan Zoning Enabling Act (PA 110 of 2006, as amended) has similarly encouraged more communities to implement zoning. Zoning helps to preserve historic character by regulating land use and aspects of construction such as massing and setback. For example, zoning can prevent construction of an industrial building in a residential neighborhood or require that buildings in a historic business district be at least two stories tall to match the existing fabric. The zoning picture varies considerably by county. Keweenaw County is the only county in Michigan with county-level zoning. Keweenaw County regulates zoning in all municipalities within the county except for Eagle Harbor Township, which has its own zoning. In Houghton County, eight of twenty-one municipalities have zoning: the cities of Hancock and Houghton, the villages of Calumet and South Range, and Calumet, Chassell, Duncan, and Portage townships have zoning. Houghton County's master plan provides the legal basis for a municipality to adopt zoning if it does not have a plan of its own. In Ontonagon County, Ontonagon Village and nine out of eleven townships have zoning; Bohemia and Matchwood townships do not have zoning. Baraga Township has zoning; Baraga Village does not.

Building codes regulate work that is done to historic buildings. Both the code that is used and how it is applied can affect a building's historic features. For example, a building code may require an open staircase in a historic commercial building to be enclosed for fire safety, or the code may allow other fire safety measures to be implemented instead of enclosing the staircase. In Keweenaw County, the county building department issues building permits for all municipalities. In Houghton County, the county building department issues building permits for all municipalities except the Village of Calumet and City of Houghton. In Ontonagon County, the county government has no building department; all building permits are issued by the municipalities. Baraga Township has a building department; Baraga Village does not. All of the building departments use the Michigan Building Code, which incorporates the International Building Code. The Michigan Building Code is flexible enough to preserve a building's historic features, but much depends on the knowledge and understanding of the building inspector.

Government policies toward the historic resources that they own have a significant impact in the Copper Country, where governments have extensive land holdings and own numerous historic buildings, structures, objects, and sites. Isle Royale National Park is one of two large areas owned by the federal government; it contains 571,790 acres, of which 23 percent is on land. Congress authorized Isle Royale National Park in 1931; the park was established in 1940. The park's purposes include preserving and protecting its wilderness character and preserving and protecting its cultural and natural resources. Historic resources in Isle Royale National Park include lighthouses, copper mines, fishing camps, the Johns Hotel, recreational cottages, and early park buildings; the four lighthouses, Edisen fishery, Johns Hotel, and Minong mine site are listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Isle Royale National Park's status as a wilderness park may, however, jeopardize preservation of the park's historic resources. In 1976 Congress designated 98 percent of the park's land area as federal wilderness; subsequently that was increased to 99 percent. According to the Wilderness Act of 1964, a wilderness is "affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man's work substantially unnoticeable." This has been interpreted as necessitating the removal of buildings and other evidence of human activity, and to this end, some buildings on Isle Royale have been destroyed or left to deteriorate. The National Park Service is currently working on a cultural resources management plan for the park; this will address all of the park's cultural resources. Until this plan is completed, cultural resources are managed according to the park's 1998 general management plan, which proposes adaptive reuse and preservation of only a select few.

Ottawa National Forest is the second large area owned by the federal government. Established in 1931, the national forest encompasses much of southern Ontonagon and Houghton counties and extends beyond the Copper Country into Baraga, Gogebic, and Iron counties. Most of the historic resources within the national forest are villages, houses, and farms that are private inholdings within forest boundaries. Resources owned by the federal government consist largely of historic sites such as mine sites, logging camp sites, and CCC camp sites; some of these have visible features. These resources are managed under the U.S. Forest Service Heritage Program. The National Register-listed Bergland ranger station houses a heritage center and museum that is operated by the Bergland/Matchwood Historical Society in partnership with Ottawa National Forest. Outside of Ottawa National Forest and the national parks, there are a few other buildings that are owned by the federal government. Several post offices are in historic buildings, and post offices in Calumet and Hancock contribute to National Register historic districts. The Calumet

Village Post Office is located in Calumet's local historic district, but the post office incurred some insensitive alterations before the historic district was established. The Michigan Department of Military & Veterans Affairs has identified the Baraga Armory as eligible for the National Register.

The Keweenaw Bay Indian Community (KBIC) assumed the duties of a State Historic Preservation Office in 2005, establishing a Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) to carry out SHPO programs such as the National Register of Historic Places and Section 106 review on tribal land, which includes land ceded in the 1842 treaty. The KBIC owns and maintains the Sand Point lighthouse, which is in the Ojibwa Recreation Area; the grounds are open to the public. KBIC's master plan for Sand Point proposes the future restoration of the lighthouse.

Many of the state-owned historic resources in the Copper Country are located in state parks that are under the jurisdiction of the Michigan Department of Natural Resources (MDNR). The six state parks in the region are Fort Wilkins Historic State Park in Keweenaw County; McLain State Park and Twin Lakes State Park in Houghton County; and Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park, Agate Falls Scenic Site, and Bond Falls Scenic Site in Ontonagon County. Fort Wilkins is the only one of these parks created expressly to preserve historic resources: the park was established in 1923 to protect Fort Wilkins and make it available to the public. The Copper Harbor rear range light station was part of the original state park; the main Copper Harbor light station was added to the park at a later date. The MDNR manages Fort Wilkins State Park as part of the Michigan Historical Museum system. The state has been meticulous in its restoration of Fort Wilkins, and recently nominated the Copper Harbor light station to the National Register of Historic Places. A study that the SHPO conducted in 1998 makes the case that buildings and landscapes built for the state park in the 1930s and 1940s are also eligible for the National Register. Alterations and repairs to the buildings have been sensitive to their historic appearance.

Porcupine Mountains State Park was established in 1945 to protect an expanse of virgin forest from logging; today the park contains sixty thousand acres. In 1972 the Michigan Legislature designated the park a wilderness area. Within the state park there are at least a dozen copper mining sites, including some of the earliest mines in the Copper Country. When the state park was created there were some mine buildings and structures still standing; these have since been removed. A number of the mine sites are marked and interpreted by the park. The SHPO's 1998 study of state park architecture identified park buildings, structures, and landscapes from the 1940s and 1950s as historically significant. One of these buildings was recently removed, however, and inappropriate alterations have been made to a number of others. At Twin Lakes State Park, a concessions building built in the 1930s has been altered; no early park buildings appear to remain at McClain State Park. There are no above-ground historic resources at the two scenic sites. Outside of the state parks, the MDNR building in Baraga may be significant as an example of post-World War II modern architecture. It is unlikely that there are above-ground historic resources in the Copper Country State Forest.

The Michigan Department of Transportation (MDOT) is responsible for state-owned highway bridges. In 1995 MDOT conducted a statewide inventory of bridges older than 1956 in order to identify bridges that were eligible for National Register listing. The inventory identified eight

National Register-eligible bridges in the Copper Country; four of these were listed. In 2006 MDOT conducted an inventory of bridges built between 1956 and 1966. By identifying National Register-eligible bridges within a statewide context, these inventories aid community and transportation planning and facilitate the review of federally-funded work under Section 106, Section 4(f), and NEPA. This does not ensure that a historic bridge will be preserved, however. In 2006 the historic swing-span bridge in the village of Ontonagon was replaced when it was determined that there were no prudent and feasible alternatives; mitigation included historic resource survey in the village and National Register nominations for eligible resources. The state also owns roadside parks; a number of these were created in the 1930s and retain their landscape design and rustic buildings and structures. With this in mind, WUPPDR partnered with MDOT to develop Context Sensitive Solutions (CSS) to maintain and improve these parks in ways that are sensitive to their historic character.

The Michigan Technological University campus was built beginning in 1889, but only two buildings remain from the early twentieth century: the National Register-listed clubhouse and gymnasium (1906) and the administration and library building (1908). Two early buildings burned, and the university demolished four others in the late 1960s to make way for new construction. Buildings built in the 1950s and early 1960s are now fifty years old, and some appear to be eligible for the National Register. The university's current strategic plan lists as one of its objectives to provide exceptional infrastructure, a rich cultural environment, and a welcoming, aesthetically pleasing campus, but it makes no mention of preserving historic buildings. The university also owns the Keweenaw Research Center, which may be eligible for the National Register.

County governments own county courthouses, some of the most prominent buildings in the Copper Country; the Ontonagon, Houghton, and Keweenaw County courthouses are all listed in the National Register, as is the Keweenaw County sheriff's residence and jail. The sheriff's offices in Houghton and Ontonagon counties are post-World War II modern buildings that should be evaluated for National Register eligibility. Keweenaw County owns the National Register-listed Keweenaw Mountain Lodge, a noted ensemble of Depression-era rustic buildings. Several buildings, including a motel, have been added to the property in recent years, and in 2007 a large conference center was added to the rear of the main lodge. All of the new construction is in a compatible rustic style. County road commission buildings may be significant; some of them are old mine buildings, and the Ontonagon County Road Commission building in Ontonagon Village may be the only example of Art Moderne architecture in the Copper Country. County road commissions also maintain county parks, such as Copper Falls Park in Keweenaw County, which may be National Register eligible.

In general, city, village, and township halls in the Copper Country are significant for their prominent place in community life. The more ornate, architect-designed city and village halls such as Hancock City Hall or Lake Linden Village Hall are valued and are often listed in the National Register. Calumet Village has gone to great lengths to restore its village hall and adjoining theater. The simpler township halls tend to be viewed more as functional than as historic and are more likely to be updated with new siding or windows, diminishing their historic character. Parks and memorials owned by local governments may be historically significant; two examples are the Wolverine Boat Park owned by Calumet Township and Agassiz Park owned by

Calumet Village. Unfortunately, the historic landscape features of both of these parks have been altered. Township governments own a number of historic mining buildings and structures: Franklin Township owns the Quincy Smelter, Osceola Township owns the Quincy dredge, and Calumet Township owns more than fifteen mine buildings and structures. The townships have worked to preserve these buildings and structures, but they are expensive to maintain, and adaptive reuse can be difficult or impossible. What, for example, does one do with a half-submerged dredge?

Two nonprofit organizations outside of the Copper Country deserve mention for the assistance that they can provide to local historic preservation efforts. The National Trust for Historic Preservation's mission is to provide leadership, education, and advocacy to save America's historic places and revitalize communities. National Trust programs and activities include an annual national preservation conference, the National Trust Main Street Center, Barn Again, and a highly-publicized yearly list of eleven most endangered places. The National Trust offers grants to nonprofit organizations and government agencies, primarily for preservation planning and education. One of these grants is the Michigan Preservation Fund, available only to Michigan organizations and agencies. The Michigan Historic Preservation Network (MHPN), Michigan's statewide historic preservation advocacy organization, is a partner to the National Trust. MHPN programs and activities include an annual conference, vocational training in the preservation trades, an easement program, and workshops. Field representatives sponsored jointly by MHPN and the National Trust travel across the state to give communities customized assistance with their preservation activities and challenges.

CRITICAL ISSUES

Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission members and National Park Service staff members identified the following critical issues pertaining to historic preservation in the Copper Country in order to help develop preservation goals.

Historic Buildings, Sites. Structures, and Landscapes

A century of profitable copper mining, along with related industries and a population that surpassed one hundred thousand, has left a rich architectural heritage on the landscape. Out-migration beginning in the early twentieth century has permitted much of that heritage to remain, in some cases untouched, but in many cases vacant and deteriorating.

Challenges to building and landscape preservation:

- The Copper Country's historic resources are so numerous and widespread that it is difficult to prioritize preservation activities and devise ways to make an impact over such a broad area.

- Due to the utilitarian and often deteriorated appearance of industrial buildings, there is a lack of appreciation for this building type. Their large size and other characteristics complicate the adaptive reuse of these buildings.

- Because stamp sands contain contaminants and are sometimes toxic, all mining landscapes are perceived as contaminated, and their historical importance is frequently dismissed. The failure to recognize the significance of historic mining landscapes leads to the loss of important features such as waste rock piles.

- In the past, fire has damaged or destroyed many historic resources and continues to be a threat.

Community Values and Attitudes

Residents take pride in the unique history of the Copper Country, which also attracts many visitors. Copper mining drew immigrants from multiple countries to this area, and descendants of those immigrants celebrate their ethnic origins. Nonetheless, this interest in the area's history does not necessarily translate into actions to preserve historic buildings, landscapes, and sites.

Values and attitudes that affect preservation efforts:

- The qualities of the area's built environment are not widely appreciated; preserving historic places does not rank as a priority in residents' lives.

- Historic resources are perceived as unimportant and are endangered by a lack of awareness of the opportunities and benefits of historic preservation.

- Despite a legacy of paternalism from the mining companies—and the idea that someone will take care of needs—there is also an anti-government sentiment that prefers little intrusion into private life.

- A preference for building new instead of using old often results in new development that adversely affects historic resources.

Government Framework

Established when the population was greater, local governments (townships, villages, cities) are numerous in the Copper Country. Because of the small constituencies of most elected officials, office-holders are accessible to citizens. However, the small population of most municipal units provides limited operating revenue; consequently, only a few local governments have ongoing historic preservation programs. The federal government has a presence in the Copper Country through two national parks and Ottawa National Forest.

Challenges to the effective implementation of preservation policies, laws, and programs by municipalities and the federal government:

- The large number of local government units hampers efforts to form a shared vision and create partnerships with federal and state governments and private organizations to address common preservation concerns.

- Only two counties and ten municipalities have master, land use, and/or strategic plans, and in Houghton County only eight out of twenty-one municipalities have zoning. Lack of effective land use planning and regulation threatens historic resources.

- Section 106 review of federal, federally assisted, and federally licensed activities is not adequately enforced or administered as effectively as it could be.

- The designation of Isle Royale National Park as a wilderness area is a threat to the preservation of the park's historic resources.

The Economic Climate

High rates of unemployment, low wages, and a large percentage of elderly residents on fixed incomes are characteristics of the local economy. The decline in industry and tax base means that local governments have little funding available for historic preservation. State and federal support for preservation projects and programs continues to be reduced.

Economic realities that challenge preservation efforts:

- Many local residents who own historic properties do not have discretionary income to cover expenses beyond basic needs.

- Insufficient funding and incentives for preservation projects are obstacles to preserving historic resources.

- Due to a lack of revenue, townships, which in many cases own significant industrial resources, are unable to preserve all of the historic resources that they own.

GOALS

The goals that follow address the Copper Country's critical preservation issues and offer a broad strategy for preserving the region's historic resources. The action plan will identify specific actions to be undertaken toward achieving these goals. The goals are not in priority order.

1. Increase appreciation for historic places and awareness of the benefits of historic preservation.

2. Promote community revitalization and environmental and economic sustainability through historic preservation.

3. Build alliances and strengthen partnerships between agencies, organizations, and individuals who have an interest in historic preservation.

4. Use federal, state, and local legislation, including planning and zoning, to protect historic properties.

5. Increase funding, incentives, and technical support for historic preservation.

ACTION PLAN

The action plan will be developed at the June 25 planning workshop and will be added to the final version of this report.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alanen, Arnold R. and Lynn Bjorkman. "Plats, Parks, Playgrounds, and Plants: Warren H. Manning's Designs for Mining Districts of Northern Michigan," *IA: Journal of Industrial Archeology* 24 no. 1, 41-60.

Alanen, Arnold R. and Katie Franks, eds. *Remnants of Corporate Paternalism: Company Housing and Landscapes at Calumet, Michigan*. Calumet: Keweenaw National Historical Park, 1997.

Alanen, Arnold R. and Suzanna E. Raker. "From Phoenix to Pelkie: Finnish Farm Buildings in the Copper Country." In *New Perspectives on Michigan's Copper Country*, edited by Alison K. Hoagland, Erik C. Nordberg, and Terry S. Reynolds, 55–72. Hancock, MI: Quincy Mine Hoist Association, 2007.

Albee, Stephen I., Mary Ann Heidemann, Lynn A. Rusch, and Joyce B. McKay. *An Economic Diversification Study of the Forest Interior Heritage Area in Michigan's Western Upper Peninsula*. Houghton, MI: WUPPDR, 1996.

An Interior Ellis Island: Ethnic Diversity and the Peopling of Michigan's Copper Country. Houghton, MI: MTU Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections, 2004–2007. http://ethnicity.lib.mtu.edu/index.html.

Andreas, A.T. *History of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan*. Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1883.

Arnold, Amy and Deborah Dietrich-Smith. *Inventory of Historical Resources in Selected Michigan State Parks*. Lansing: Michigan State Historic Preservation Office, 1998.

Atwood, Stephanie. "Lake Linden Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places, 2009.

Atwood, Stephanie, Shannon Bennett, and Alison K. Hoagland. "Chassell School Complex." Washington, D.C.; National Register of Historic Places, 2008.

Bjorkman, Lynn. "Calumet Village, Laurium Village, Calumet Township, Historic and Architectural Survey: Phase I." Houghton: Western Upper Peninsula Planning and Development Regional Commission, 1995.

———. "Mine Worker Housing in Calumet, Michigan: 1864-1950." Calumet: Keweenaw National Historical Park, 2000.

Bogue, Margaret Beattie. *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History, 1783-1933.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000.

Busch, Jane C. "Laurium Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places, 2004.

———. *People and Places: A Human History of the Apostle Islands*. Omaha: Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 2008.

Calumet Light Guard and Houghton Light Infantry. *Our Boys in the Spanish-American War*. Houghton: Gazette Co., 1900.

Cochrane, Timothy and Hawk Tolson. *A Good Boat Speaks for Itself: Isle Royale Fishermen and Their Boats*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

Commonwealth Cultural Resources Group. "Phase I Archaeological Survey, Land Use History and Survey of Above-Ground Historic Resources, M-64 Bridge Replacement Project, Ontonagon, Michigan." Jackson, MI: CCRG, 1996.

Dana, Juliette Starr. *A Fashionable Tour Through the Great Lakes and Upper Mississippi: The 1852 Journal of Juliette Starr Dana.* Ed. David T. Dana. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004.

Department of the Interior, National Park Service. *Isle Royale National Park Final General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement*. (Washington, D.C.: 1998).

Dobson-Brown, Deborah L. and Stephen I. Albee. *Michigan Copper Mining District Historic Resources Management Plan*. Houghton, MI: WUPPDR, 1990.

Doyle, Earl L. *Ontonagon's Fishing Industry: 1895–1968*. Houghton, n.d.

Disturnell, John. *Lake Superior Guide*. Philadelphia: J. Disturnell, 1872. Online at http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=moa;idno=AJA3067.

Dunbar, Willis. *All Aboard! A History of Railroads in Michigan*. Grand Rapids, MI, 1969.

Eckert, Kathryn Bishop. *The Sandstone Architecture of the Lake Superior Region*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000.

Forero, George A., Jr. "The Copper Range Railroad and the Copper Country." *Mid-Continent Railway Gazette* 37 (December 2004): 1–42.

Freshwater, Paul. *A Sesquicentennial History of Keweenaw County, Michigan*. Eagle Harbor, MI: Keweenaw County Historical Society, 2012.

Friggens, Thomas G. and Patrick E. Martin. *Fort Wilkins: Yesterday and Today*. Lansing: Michigan Historical Center, 2000.

Gamero, Lisa and R. O. Christensen. "Eagle Harbor Coast Guard Station Boathouse." National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places, 2011.

Gates, William B, Jr. *Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars: An Economic History of the Michigan Copper Industry*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1951.

Halverson, Lynn H. "The Commercial Fisheries of the Michigan Waters of Lake Superior." *Michigan History* 39 (March 1955): 1–17.

Henderson, Troy. *Lake Superior Country: 19th Century Travel and Tourism*. Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2002.

Hoagland, Alison K. *Mine Towns: Buildings for Workers in Michigan's Copper Country*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

———, ed. *Copper Country Architects*. http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/.

Holmio, Armas K. E. *History of the Finns in Michigan*. Ellen M. Ryynanan, translator. 1967; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001.

Hyde, Charles K. *Historic Highway Bridges of Michigan*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993.

———. *The Northern Lights: Lighthouses of the Upper Great Lakes*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995.

Johanson, Bruce H. *This Land, the Ontonagon*. Third ed., rev. Ontonagon: Firesteel Publications, 2007.

Johnson, Johnson & Roy. *Michigan Technological University: A Guide to Future Physical Development*. Ann Arbor: Johnson, Johnson & Roy, 1966.

Julien, Connie. *Copper Country Hockey History*. 2003–2011. http://www.cchockeyhistory.org/.

Karamanski, Theodore J. *Deep Woods Frontier: A History of Logging in Northern Michigan*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989.

Keweenaw Digital Archives—Michigan's Copper Country in Photographs. MTU Archives. http://digarch.lib.mtu.edu/default.aspx.

Lankton, Larry. *Beyond the Boundaries: Life and Landscape at the Lake Superior Copper Mines 1840–1875*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

———. *Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

———. *Hollowed Ground: Copper Mining and Community Building on Lake Superior, 1840s–1990s*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010.

LaVanway, Paul. "A 75th Anniversary Celebration of Lakeshore and Brockway Mountain Drives." Adventures in History lecture at the Keweenaw County Historical Society, July 25, 2009.

———. "A History of Keweenaw County's Roads and Highways." August 2007. Submitted to the Keweenaw County Historical Society for publication in *The Superior Signal*. http://archivesofmichigan.files.wordpress.com/2008/02/keeweenaw-county-roads.pdf.

Meeks, Harold A. "Marginal Agriculture in Michigan's Copper Country." Doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1964.

Nordberg, Erik. "Automobiles Made Early Debut in the Copper Country." *Houghton County Historical Society Newsletter* (Autumn 2000): 2–3.

———. "Frost on the Spuds." *Michigan History Magazine* 93 (January-February 2009): 22-31.

Nute, Grace Lee. *Lake Superior*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1944.

Pepin, John. *POW Camps in the U.P*. Marquette: *Marquette Mining Journal*, 2000. http://wnmutv.nmu.edu/media/pow_book72.pdf.

Pepper, Terry. "Seeing the Light: Lighthouses of the Western Great Lakes." 2012. http://www.terrypepper.com/lights/.

"Railroads." *Copper Country Explorer*. Copper Country Media, LLC, 2006–13. http://www.coppercountryexplorer.com/railroads/.

Rakestraw, Lawrence. *Commercial Fishing on Isle Royale*. Isle Royale Natural History Association, 1968.

———. *Historic Mining on Isle Royale*. Isle Royale Natural History Association, 1965.

Roinila, Mika. "Finnish Commercial Fishermen on Lake Superior: The Rise and Fall of An Ethnic Fishery." *Middle States Geographer* 36 (2003): 25–37.

Roise, Charlene K. and Clayton B. Fraser. "Historic Highway Bridges of Michigan, 1875-1948." National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form. Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places, 1999.

———. *Michigan Bridge Inventory: The Survey Sample*. Minneapolis: Hess, Roise and Company, 1995.

Sanderson, Nancy Ann. *Copper Country Postcards: A View of the Past from the Keweenaw Peninsula*. Eagle Harbor, MI: Keweenaw County Historical Society, 2005.

Scanlan, Tom. "Calumet Air Force Station: A Brief History." In *New Perspectives on Michigan's Copper Country*, edited by Alison K. Hoagland, Erik C. Nordberg, and Terry S. Reynolds, 153–64. Hancock, MI: Quincy Mine Hoist Association, 2007.

Scarpino, Philip V. "Cultural Resources on Isle Royale National Park: An Historic Context." Indianapolis: Indiana University/Purdue University, 2010. Online at http://www.nps.gov/isro/parkmgmt/upload/Cultural-History-Context.pdf.

Shapiro, Aaron. "'Air Conditioned by the Cool Breezes of Lake Superior': Vacationing in Michigan's Copper Country after World War Two." In *New Perspectives on Michigan's Copper Country*, edited by Alison K. Hoagland, Erik C. Nordberg, and Terry S. Reynolds, 135–52. Hancock, MI: Quincy Mine Hoist Association, 2007.

Stonehouse, Frederick. "Combat Engineer! The History of the 107th Engineer Battalion (1881-1981)." 107th Engineer Association. http://www.107thengineers.org/History/CombatEngineer/bookframe.html.

Swanson Associates. *Campus Development Plan for the Houghton Campus, Michigan College of Mining and Technology*. Bloomfield Hills, MI: Swanson Associates, 1959.

Thuma, Linnie. "East Hancock Neighborhood Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Washington, D.C.: National Register of Historic Places, 1979.

Transystems|Lichtenstein. *Final Report: Michigan Historic Bridge Inventory Update.* Langhorne, PA: Transystems|Lichtenstein, 2008.

U.S. Census Bureau. Agriculture. 1860, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920. Accessed from http://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html. 1940, 1969, 2007. Accessed from http://agcensus.mannlib.cornell.edu/AgCensus/homepage.do;jsessionid=190926060E909AAC2E204D1AD99B86C9.

U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries [Bureau of Fisheries]. Annual Reports. 1887, 1924, 1925. Accessed from "United States Fish Commission Annual Reports." *NOAA Central Library*. http://www.lib.noaa.gov/collections/imgdocmaps/fish_com_annualreport.html.

U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. *Keweenaw National Historical Park, Michigan, Final General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1998.

Western Upper Peninsula Planning & Development Region (WUPPDR). *All Roadside Parks Are Not Created Equal: Context Sensitive Solutions for MDOT's Special Roadside Facilities in Houghton and Keweenaw Counties*. Houghton: WUPPDR, 2008.

———. *Comprehensive Economic Development Strategy*. Houghton: WUPPDR, 2011.

———. *Copper Country Trail National Byway Corridor Management Plan*. Houghton: WUPPDR, 2005, 2011.

———. *Historic Preservation Plan*. Houghton: WUPPDR, 1977.

———. *Preserving the Character: A Visual Assessment and Protection Control Analysis of Copper Country Trail Communities*. Houghton: WUPPDR, 2009.

Whittlesey, Charles. *Fugitive Essays*. Hudson, OH: Sawyer, Ingersoll and Co., 1852.

APPENDICES

A. NATIONAL REGISTER LISTINGS

The following properties are currently listed in the National Register of Historic Places:

Baraga County (within the survey area)

NAME	LOCATION	YEAR LISTED
Assinins	Assinins	1972
Herman and Anna Hanka Farm	Northeast of Pelkie	1984

Houghton County

NAME	LOCATION	YEAR LISTED
Big Traverse Bay Historic District	Schoolcraft Township	1975
Joseph Bosch Building	Lake Linden	1982
Calumet and Hecla Industrial District	Calumet Township	1974
Calumet Downtown Historic District	Calumet Village	1974
Calumet Fire Station	Calumet Village	1974
Calumet Historic District	Calumet Village and Township	1989
Calumet Theatre	Calumet Village	1971
Chassell School Complex	Chassell	2009
College Club House and Gymnasium	Houghton	1980
County Road C11--Pike River Bridge	Chassell vicinity	1999
Douglass House	Houghton	1982
East Hancock Neighborhood Historic District	Hancock	1980
First Congregational Church	Lake Linden	1980
Hancock Town Hall and Fire Hall	Hancock	1981
Thomas H. Hoatson House	Laurium	1994
Houghton County Courthouse	Houghton	1975
Jacobsville Finnish Lutheran Church	Jacobsville	1976
Kaleva Temple	South Range	1982
Keweenaw National Historical Park	Calumet and Quincy Units	1992
Lake Linden Historic District	Lake Linden	2009
Lake Linden Village Hall and Fire Station	Lake Linden	1981
Laurium Historic District	Laurium	2005
Lieblein House	Hancock	1980
John J. Michels House	Houghton	1991
Old Main, Suomi College	Hancock	1972
Painesdale	Painesdale	1993
Quincy Mine No. 2 Shaft Hoist House	Hancock vicinity	1970
Quincy Mining Company Historic District	Hancock vicinity	1989
Quincy Mining Company Stamp Mills Historic District	Mason	2007

Quincy Street Historic District	Hancock	1988
Redridge Steel and Log Dams	Redridge	1992
Saint Ignatius Loyola Church	Houghton	1987
Shelden Avenue Historic District	Houghton	1987
Ransom B. Shelden House	Houghton	1980
Shelden-Dee Block	Houghton	1982
Smith-Dengler House	Kearsarge	2008
South Range Community Building	South Range	1981
J. Vivian Jr. and Company Building	Laurium	2003

Keweenaw County

NAME	LOCATION	YEAR LISTED
Central Mine Historic District	Central	1974
Central Mine Methodist Church	Central	1970
Church of the Assumption	Phoenix	2000
Copper Harbor Light Station	Copper Harbor vicinity	2012
Eagle Harbor Coast Guard Station Boathouse	Eagle Harbor vicinity	2012
Eagle Harbor Light Station	Eagle Harbor	1984
Eagle Harbor Schoolhouse	Eagle Harbor	1972
Eagle River Historic District	Eagle River	1984
Edisen Fishery	Isle Royale National Park	1977
Fort Wilkins	Copper Harbor vicinity	1970
Gull Rock Light Station	Grant Township	1984
Holy Redeemer Church	Eagle Harbor	1972
Houghton County Traction Company Ahmeek Streetcar Station	Ahmeek	2000
Isle Royale Light Station	Isle Royale National Park	1983
Johns Hotel	Isle Royale National Park	1997
Keweenaw Mountain Lodge and Golf Course Complex	Copper Harbor vicinity	1980
M 26--Cedar Creek Culvert	Eagle Harbor Township	1999
M 26--Silver River Culvert	Eagle Harbor Township	1999
Manitou Island Light Station	Grant Township	1984
Minong Mine Historic District	Isle Royale National Park	1977
Passage Island Light Station	Isle Royale National Park	2006
Rock Harbor Lighthouse	Isle Royale National Park	1977
Rock of Ages Light Station	Isle Royale National Park	1983
Sand Hills Light Station	Allouez Township	1994
US 41--Fanny Hooe Creek Bridge	Copper Harbor vicinity	1999

Ontonagon County

NAME	LOCATION	YEAR LISTED
Bergland Ranger Station	Bergland	2005
Ontonagon County Courthouse	Ontonagon	1980

Ontonagon Harbor Piers Historic District	Ontonagon	2001
Ontonagon Lighthouse	Ontonagon	1975
Ontonagon School	Ontonagon	2011

1
2

B. List of Survey Districts

County	Current Name	Date Built	Theme/ Subtheme 1	Theme/ Subtheme 2	Theme/ Subtheme 3	Theme/ Subtheme 4	Theme/ Subtheme 5
Baraga	Baraga District	1860s-1960s	Ethnic Heritage/Native American	Industry/ lumbering industry	Architecture	Maritime History	Agriculture
Baraga	Keweenaw Bay District	1890s-1960s	Agriculture/ dairy farming	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish	Industry/ copper industry	Entertainment /Recreation	Architecture
Baraga	Pelkie District	1890s-1960s	Agriculture/ dairy farming	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish	Architecture		
Houghton	Airport District	ca. 1890s-1960s	Agriculture	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish	Military	Architecture	
Houghton	Alston-Nisula District	1890s-1960s	Agriculture	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish	Architecture		
Houghton	Bootjack District	1880s-1960s	Agriculture	Entertainment /Recreation	Architecture		
Houghton	Boston-Tecumseh District	1860s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Agriculture			
Houghton	C&H Core District	1860s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture			
Houghton	Calumet District	1860s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture	Commerce/ retail	Entertainment /Recreation	
Houghton	Chassell District	1880s-1960s	Architecture	Agriculture	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish	Commerce/ retail	
Houghton	Dollar Bay District	1880s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish		
Houghton	Hancock East District	1870s-1960s	Architecture	Commerce/ Retail	Education	Industry/ copper industry	
Houghton	Hancock West District	1860s-1960s	Architecture	Industry/ copper industry			
Houghton	Houghton East District	1870s-1960s	Architecture	Education			
Houghton	Houghton West District	1860s-1960s	Commerce/ retail	Architecture	Politics/ Government/ county government		

County	Current Name	Date Built	Theme/ Subtheme 1	Theme/ Subtheme 2	Theme/ Subtheme 3	Theme/ Subtheme 4	Theme/ Subtheme 5
Houghton	Jacobsville District	1870-1960s	Industry/ quarrying	Maritime History	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish	Agriculture	Architecture
Houghton	Kearsarge District	1860s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture			
Houghton	Kenton-Sidnaw District	1890s-1960s	Industry/ lumbering industry	Entertainment /Recreation	Conservation		
Houghton	Lake Linden District	1860s-1960s	Architecture	Industry/ copper industry	Commerce/ retail		
Houghton	Laurium District	1880s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture	Commerce/ retail		
Houghton	Liminga District	1890s-1960s	Agriculture	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish	Architecture	Entertainment /Recreation	
Houghton	Mason District	1880s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture			
Houghton	North Portage Township District	1860s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture	Agriculture	Entertainment /Recreation	
Houghton	Point Mills District	1890s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture			
Houghton	Quincy District	1850s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture	Transportation		
Houghton	Redridge District	1890s-1950s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture			
Houghton	Salo District	1890s-1960s	Agriculture	Entertainment /Recreation	Maritime History	Architecture	
Houghton	South Range District	1900-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture	Commerce/ retail		
Houghton	Tapiola District	1890s-1960s	Agriculture/ dairy farming	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish	Architecture		
Houghton	Toivola District	1890s-1960s	Agriculture/ dairy farming	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish	Architecture		
Houghton	Torch Lake Mills District	1880s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture			
Houghton	Traprock District	1870s-1960s	Agriculture	Architecture			

County	Current Name	Date Built	Theme/ Subtheme 1	Theme/ Subtheme 2	Theme/ Subtheme 3	Theme/ Subtheme 4	Theme/ Subtheme 5
Houghton	Traverse Bay District	1920s-1960s	Maritime History	Entertainment /Recreation	Architecture		
Houghton	Twin Lakes District	1890s-1960s	Entertainment/ Recreation	Industry/ copper industry	Industry/ lumbering industry		
Keweenaw / Houghton	Allouez-Ahmeek District	1860s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture	Commerce/ retail		
Keweenaw	Cliff-Delaware District	1840s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Entertainment /Recreation	Architecture		
Keweenaw	Copper Harbor District	1840s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Military	Maritime History	Entertainment /Recreation	Architecture
Keweenaw	Eagle Harbor District	1840s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Maritime History	Entertainment /Recreation	Architecture	Commerce/ retail
Keweenaw	Eagle River District	1840s-1960s	Architecture	Maritime History	Politics/ Government	Entertainment /Recreation	Transporta-tion
Keweenaw	Isle Royale District	1850s-1960s	Maritime History	Entertainment /Recreation	Industry/ copper industry	Conservation	Architecture
Keweenaw	Mohawk District	ca. 1850s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture			
Keweenaw	South Shore District	ca. 1860s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Entertainment /Recreation	Maritime History		
Ontonagon	Bergland District	1900s-1960s	Industry/ lumbering industry	Entertainment /Recreation	Architecture	Conservation	
Ontonagon	Bruce Crossing District	ca. 1890s-1960s	Industry/ lumbering industry	Agriculture	Ethnic Heritage /Finnish	Commerce/ retail	Architecture
Ontonagon	Ewen District	1890s-1960s	Industry/ lumbering industry	Commerce/ retail	Agriculture	Architecture	
Ontonagon	Green District	ca. 1900s-1960s	Entertainment/ Recreation	Agriculture	Architecture		
Ontonagon	Greenland District	1850s-1960s	Industry/copper industry				
Ontonagon	Mass District	Early 1900s-	Industry/copper industry	Agriculture/ dairy farming	Ethnic Heritage/	Architecture	

County	Current Name	Date Built	Theme/ Subtheme 1	Theme/ Subtheme 2	Theme/ Subtheme 3	Theme/ Subtheme 4	Theme/ Subtheme 5
		1960s			Finnish		
Ontonagon	Misery Bay District	1890s-1960s	Agriculture	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish	Entertainment /Recreation	Architecture	
Ontonagon	Ontonagon Township District	1850s-1960s	Agriculture	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish	Entertainment /Recreation	Architecture	
Ontonagon	Ontonagon Village District	1850s-1960s	Architecture	Commerce/ retail	Industry/ lumbering industry		
Ontonagon	Paulding District	ca. 1900s-1960s	Entertainment/ Recreation	Agriculture	Conservation		
Ontonagon	Paynesville District	1890s-1960s	Agriculture	Ethnic Heritage /Finnish			
Ontonagon	Porcupine Mountains District	1840s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture	Conservation	Entertainment /Recreation	
Ontonagon	Roads and Railroads District	1850s-1960s	Transportation	Engineering			
Ontonagon	Rockland District	1850s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Architecture	Commerce/ retail	Agriculture	
Ontonagon	Silver City District	Late 1800s-1960s	Entertainment/ Recreation				
Ontonagon	Topaz-Matchwood District	1900s to 1960s	Agriculture	Architecture	Entertainment /Recreation	Ethnic Heritage/Finnish	
Ontonagon	Trout Creek District	ca. 1890-1960s	Industry/ lumbering industry	Agriculture	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish	Entertainment /Recreation	
Ontonagon	Victoria District	1850s-1930s	Industry/copper industry	Archaeology/ historic--Non-aboriginal	Engineering/ power generation engineering	Architecture	
Ontonagon	Wainola-Rousseau District	1900s-1960s	Agriculture	Architecture	Ethnic Heritage/ Finnish	Entertainment /Recreation	Conserva-tion
Ontonagon	White Pine District	1900s-1960s	Industry/copper industry	Community Planning and Development	Architecture		

C. MAPS OF SURVEY DISTRICTS

The five area maps that follow show all of the survey districts in northwestern Baraga County, southern Houghton County, northern Houghton County, Keweenaw County, and Ontonagon County. The maps show only a circular shape representing the general survey district location, so as not to give the impression that the fieldwork boundaries are defined historic district boundaries.

COPPER COUNTRY SURVEY
BARAGA COUNTY

N

LEGEND

APPROXIMATE SURVEY DISTRICT

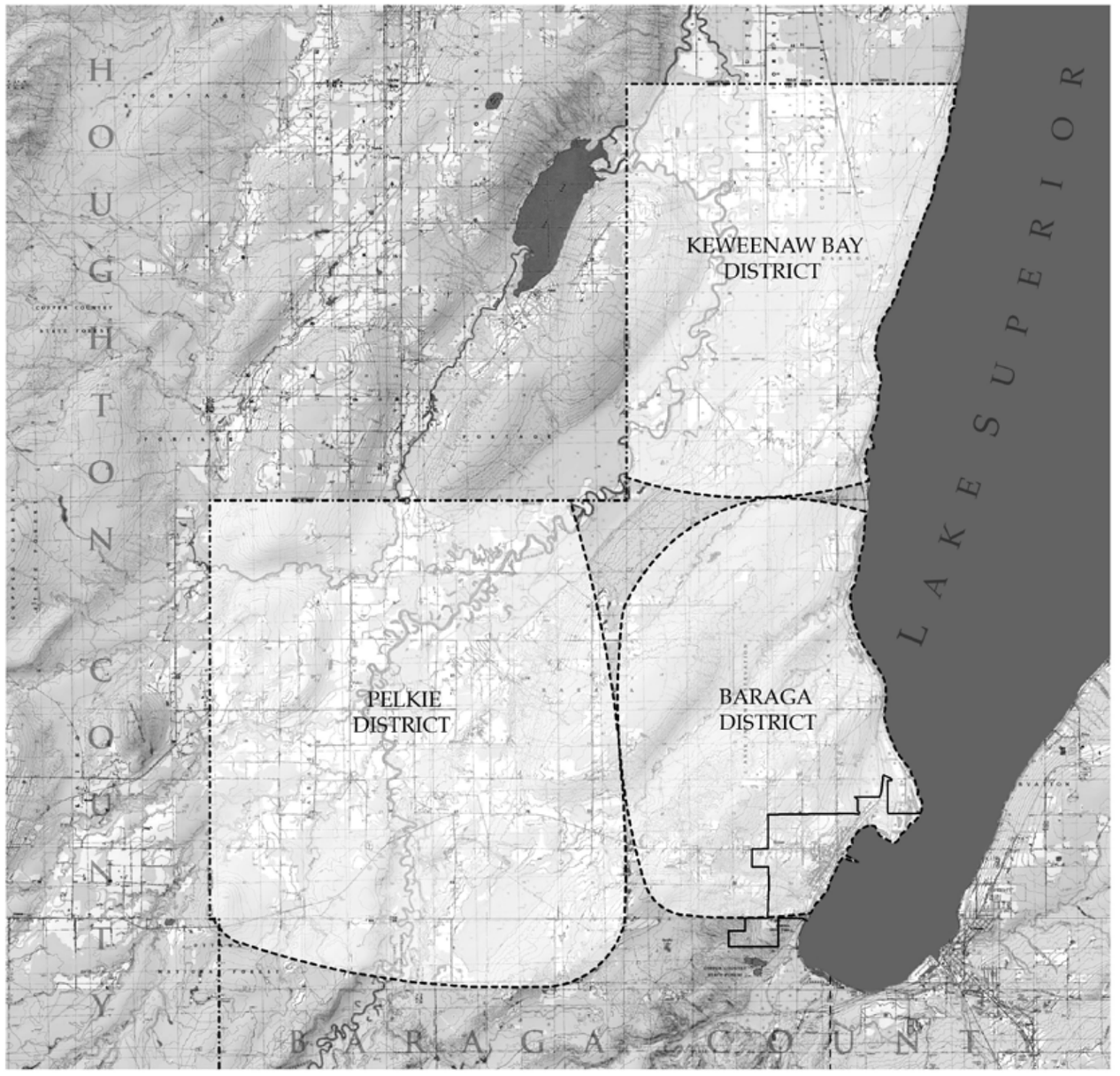
TOWNSHIP BOUNDARY

INCORPORATED VILLAGE BOUNDARY

COUNTY BOUNDARY

SCALE

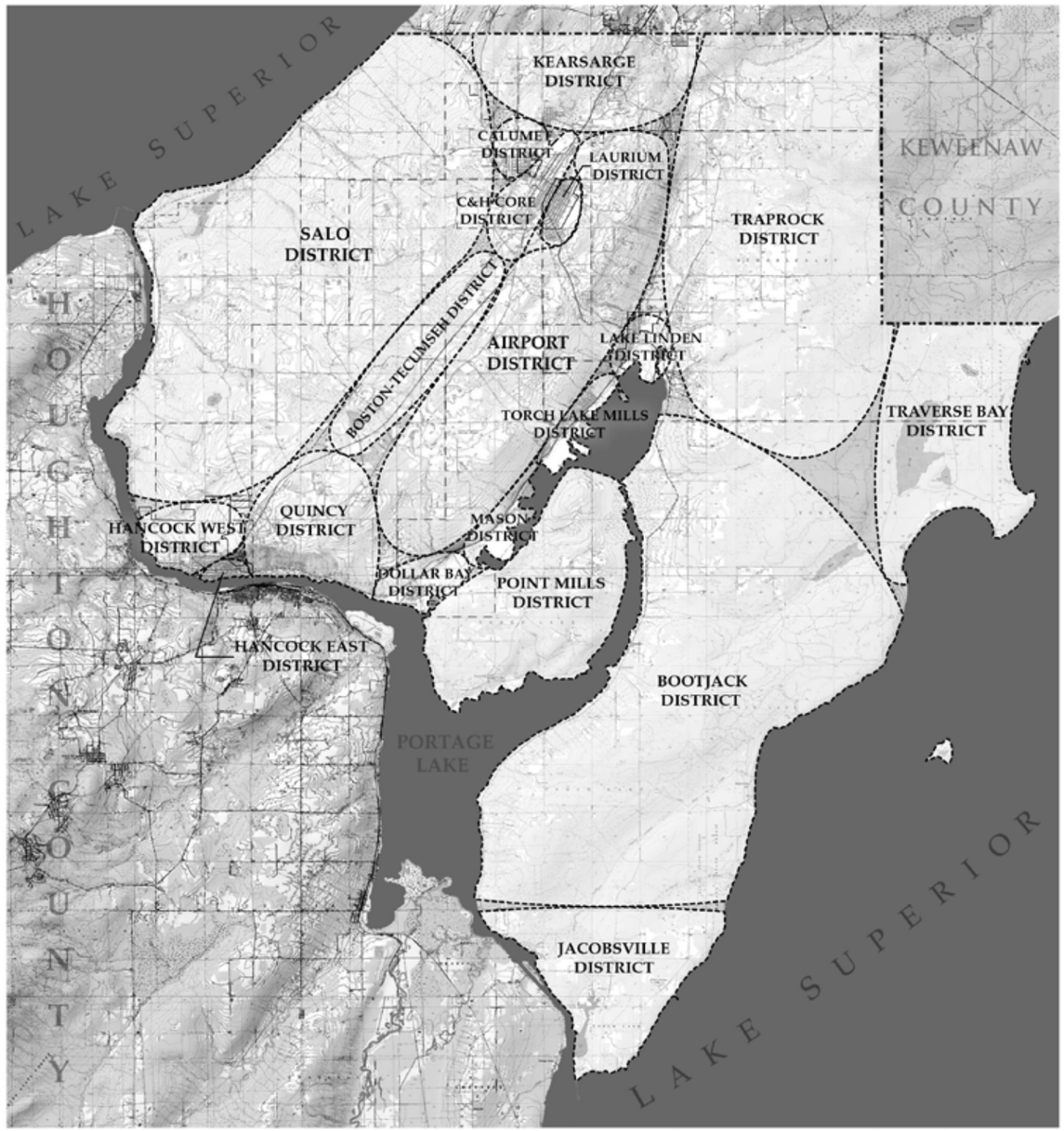
0 ½ 1 1½ 2 2½ mi



MAP PREPARED BY RYAN HOLT OCTOBER 2011

COPPER COUNTRY SURVEY
NORTHERN HOUGHTON COUNTY

N



LEGEND

APPROXIMATE SURVEY DISTRICT
TOWNSHIP BOUNDARY
INCORPORATED CITY OR VILLAGE BOUNDARY
COUNTY BOUNDARY
STATE PARK BOUNDARY

SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 mi

MAP PREPARED BY RYAN HOLT NOVEMBER 2012

COPPER COUNTRY SURVEY
SOUTHERN HOUGHTON COUNTY

N

LEGEND

APPROXIMATE SURVEY DISTRICT

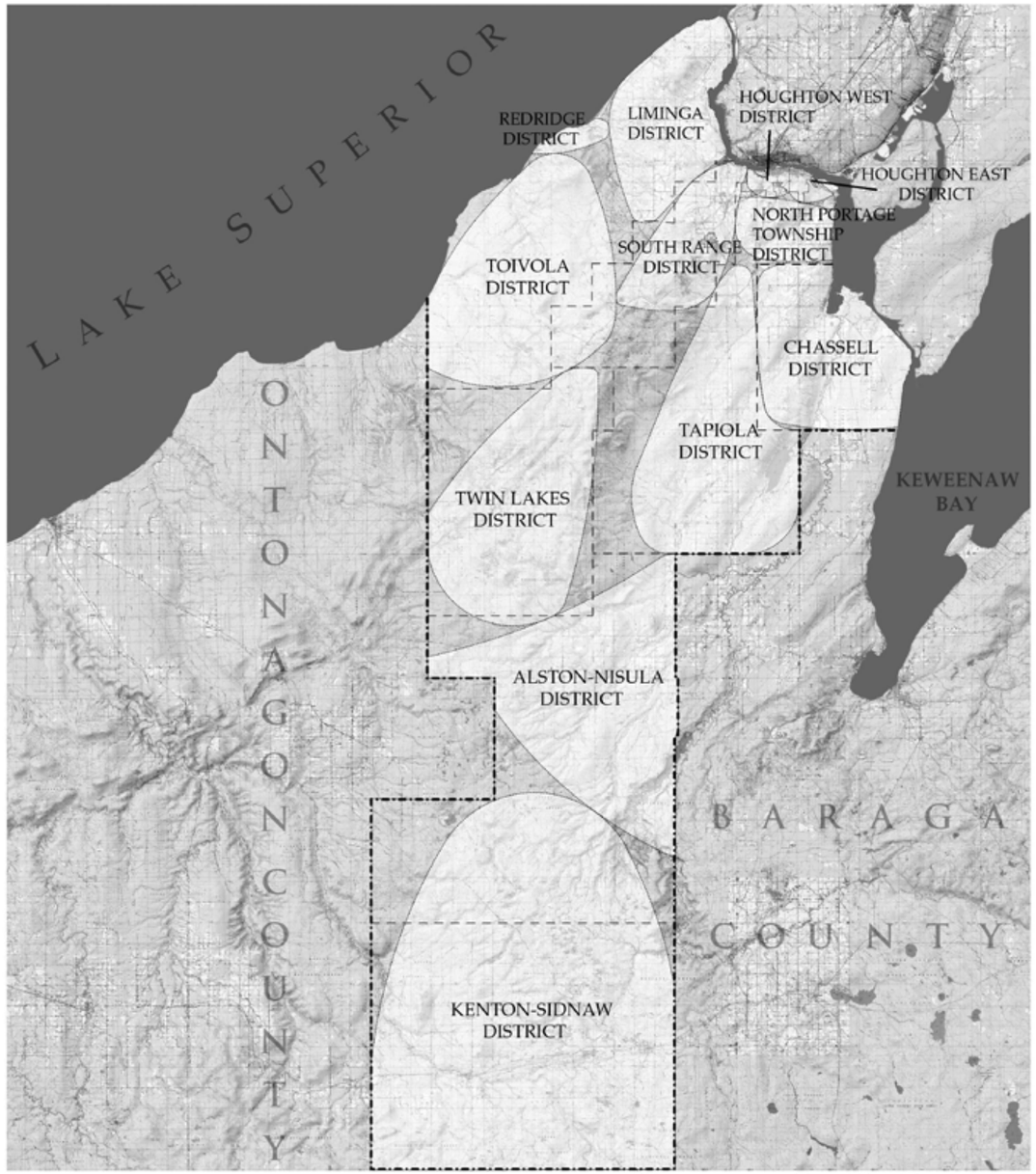
TOWNSHIP BOUNDARY

INCORPORATED CITY OR VILLAGE BOUNDARY

COUNTY BOUNDARY

SCALE

0 1 2 4 10 mi



MAP PREPARED BY RYAN HOLT FEBRUARY 2012

COPPER COUNTRY SURVEY
KEWEENAW COUNTY

N

LEGEND

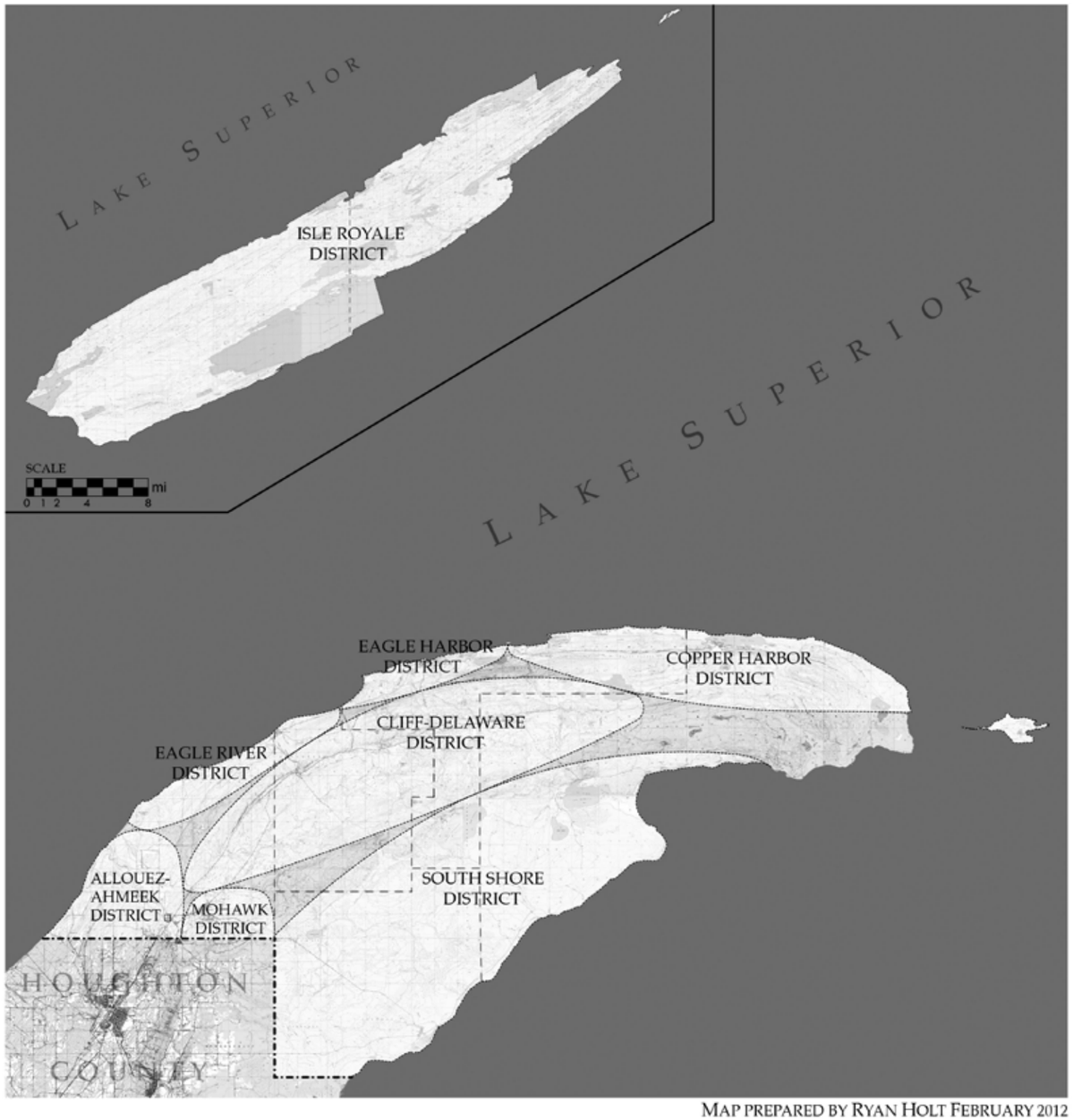
APPROXIMATE SURVEY DISTRICT

TOWNSHIP BOUNDARY

INCORPORATED VILLAGE BOUNDARY

COUNTY BOUNDARY

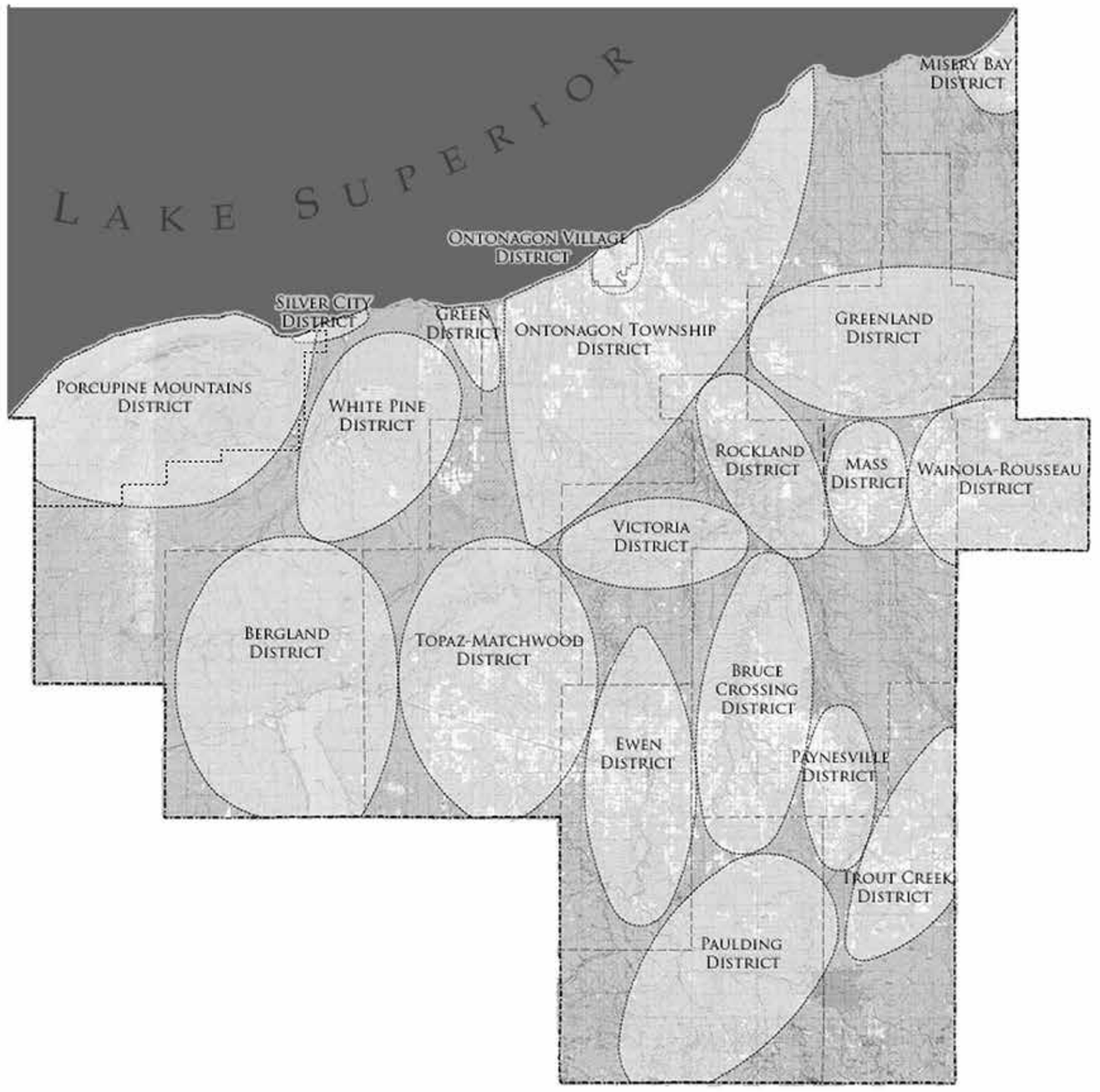
SCALE
0 1 2 4 8 mi



MAP PREPARED BY RYAN HOLT FEBRUARY 2012

COPPER COUNTRY SURVEY
ONTONAGON COUNTY

N



LEGEND

APPROXIMATE SURVEY DISTRICT
TOWNSHIP BOUNDARY
INCORPORATED CITY OR VILLAGE BOUNDARY
COUNTY BOUNDARY
STATE PARK BOUNDARY

SCALE

0 1 2 4 10 mi

MAP PREPARED BY RYAN HOLT
MARCH 2010

D. District Survey Forms

The sixty-two district survey forms will be included on a CD in the final report.