

“BACK TO THE LAND AND ALL ITS BEAUTY”: MANAGING CULTURAL
RESOURCES, NATURAL RESOURCES, AND WILDERNESS ON NORTH
MANITOU ISLAND, SLEEPING BEAR DUNES NATIONAL LAKESHORE,
MICHIGAN

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DEDICATION

For the participants of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore's oral history projects. Thank you for sharing your memories and inspiring me to work as a ranger for the National Park Service, where I have the privilege of preserving, protecting, and interpreting your history.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Human Impact on North Manitou Island, 1840-1970.....	11
Chapter 2: Administrative History of North Manitou Island by Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore	58
Chapter 3: A Historical Wilderness	101
Conclusion: Managing Wilderness as a Cultural Landscape on North Manitou Island ..	135
Bibliography	139
Curriculum Vitae	

Introduction: North Manitou Island

At Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, established in 1970, visitors often encounter park rangers, exhibits, and printed materials that share the “myth” of the name “Sleeping Bear.”¹ According to these sources, Native American legend states that a mother bear and her cubs escaped a forest fire in present-day Wisconsin by swimming across Lake Michigan. The mother bear swam to the Michigan shore and waited there for her cubs. Eventually the two cubs succumbed to exhaustion and the mother bear watched helplessly as they sank beneath the waves. The mother bear never left that shore; she fell asleep and was covered by sand from the surrounding dunes, eventually becoming a great dune herself. Taking pity on the devoted mother, the Great Spirit Manitou raised her cubs from the depths of the lake and created North and South Manitou Islands.² The islands are a part of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore (See Figure 1), comprised of 65 miles of shoreline and 71,199 acres of land. Today visitors reach the almost 15,000 acre North Manitou Island via an 11 mile ferry ride from Leland, Michigan. (See Figure 2)

Although Congress included both islands in the park’s 1970 boundaries, Sleeping Bear did not purchase land on North Manitou until 1984. Park administrators then began managing North Manitou as a wilderness area. Formal wilderness designation has yet to

¹ Katelyn Fredericks, field work. Field work was accomplished through my time spent at Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore as an oral history and museum collections intern in the summers of 2009-2012 and as an interpretive park guide in the summer of 2013.

² Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, “The Legend of Sleeping Bear,” <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/historyculture/stories.htm> (Accessed April 2013); Katelyn Fredericks, field work. Sleeping Bear provides no documentation of the origin of this legend on their website. Even though the park was named for a supposed Native American legend, interpretation of Native American history is restricted to a few exhibit panels at the park Visitor Center and occasionally a ranger-led interpretive program.

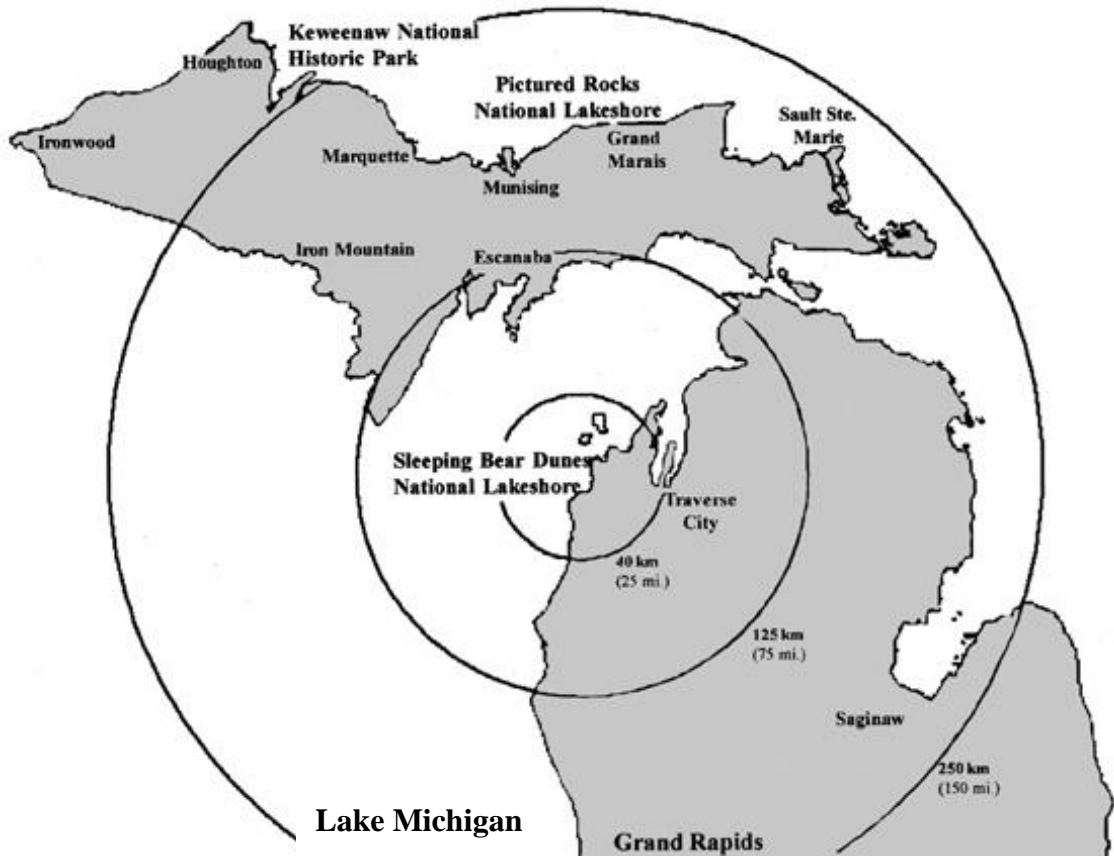


Figure 1. Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, http://www.nps.gov/slbe/plan_your_visit/directions

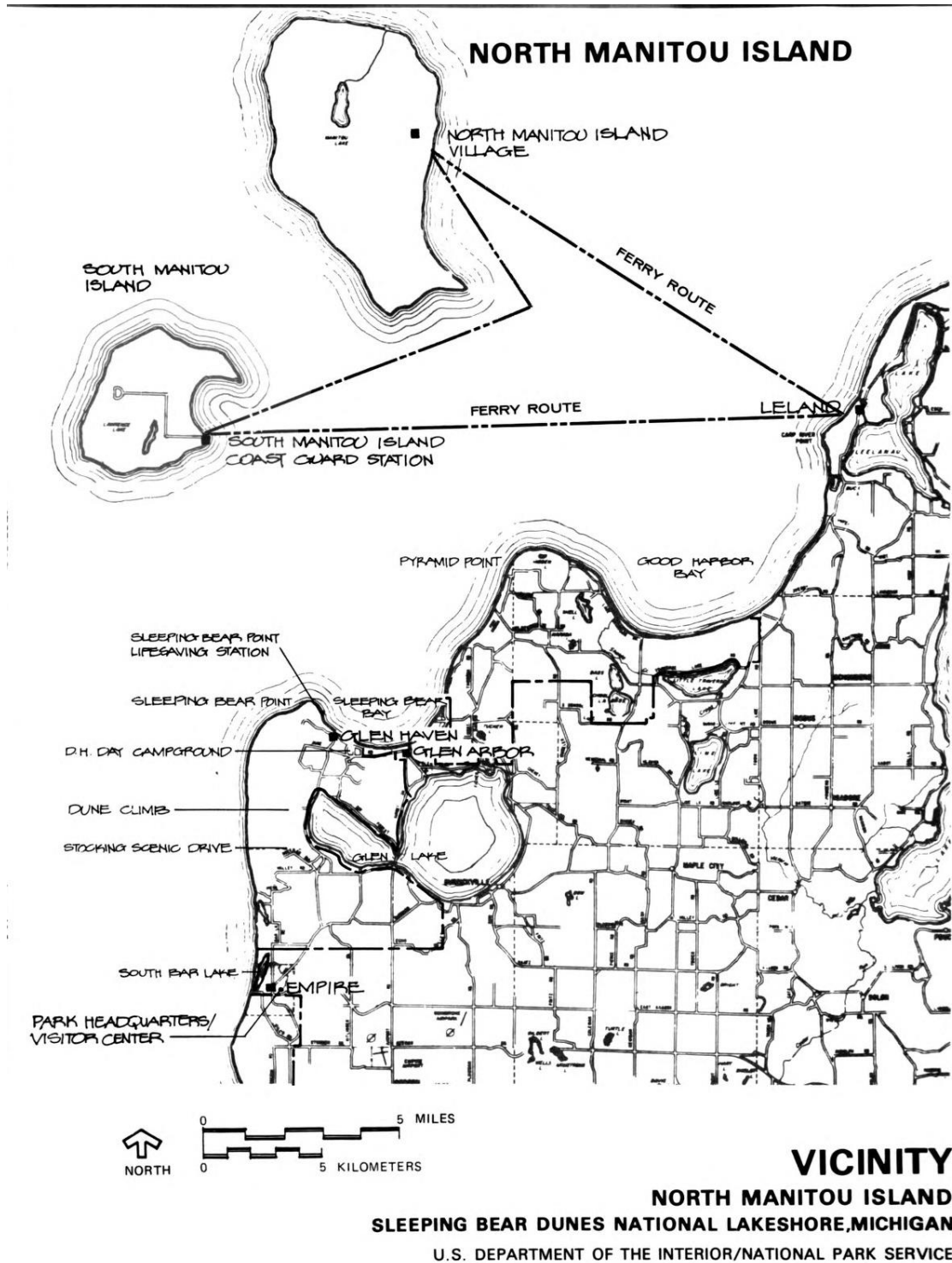


Figure 2. Map of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Development Concept Plan/Interpretive Prospectus, North Manitou Island, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore," 1987, 8.

occur; however, Congress requires Sleeping Bear to manage the island as such, except for a twenty-seven acre exclusion. According to the Wilderness Act of 1964, wilderness is “an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man...retaining its primeval character and influence, without permanent improvements...with the imprint of man’s work substantially unnoticeable.”³

Due to more than a century of intense human use, North Manitou Island does not fit the definition laid out in the Wilderness Act of 1964. Archaeological evidence shows that Native Americans inhabited North Manitou Island as early as 1000 BC and from AD 1000 to the time of European contact, circa 1630-1650.⁴ Prehistoric and historic material evidence indicates “non-intensive, seasonal use” concentrated on the eastern shore of the island, most likely used for seasonal fishing.⁵ Before the arrival of Euro-Americans, North Manitou Island supported a dense forest of hardwoods and conifers. By the 1840s, Euro-Americans arrived and initiated serious transformation of the island. At a time when water served as the main mode of transportation, North Manitou became a busy port because of its location on the Manitou Passage, a major shipping lane between the Manitou Islands and the mainland that offered vessels more protection compared to the open waters of Lake Michigan. The island’s location and its forest made it a convenient refueling station for vessels with wood-burning steam engines.⁶ Woodcutting became the

³ *The Wilderness Act of 1964*, Public Law 88-577, 88th Cong., 2d sess. (September 3, 1964), 1. For a copy of the Wilderness Act, as amended, see: <http://wilderness.nps.gov/document/WildernessAct.pdf>. The Wilderness Act also makes allowances for historic sites. See “Definition of Wilderness”.

⁴ Eric MacDonald with Arnold R. Alanen, *Tending a ‘Comfortable Wilderness:’ A History of Agricultural Landscapes on North Manitou Island, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, Michigan*. (Omaha: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Field Office, 2000), 17. Hereafter, cited as “MacDonald.”

⁵ MacDonald., 17-18.

first major activity producing a significant transformative impact on the island.

Following the cutting of wood for fuel came farming, fishing, lumbering, vacationing, and the establishment of a National Park.

All of these human activities produced cultural resources, defined by the National Park Service (NPS) as “the material evidence of past human activities.”⁷ The NPS implements cultural resources management in order to “minimize the loss or degradation of culturally significant material.”⁸ In addition to cultural resources, National Parks like Sleeping Bear also include natural resources; as defined by the NPS, natural resources include air, ecosystems, endangered and migratory animal species, geological resources such as caves, geothermal features, fossils and glacial features, water resources, natural sounds, and the night sky.⁹ The way in which the NPS is organized oftentimes contributes to an unbalanced approach to the management of cultural and natural resources, especially in regards to historic preservation and wilderness management.

The NPS administers historic preservation programs in Washington D.C. and park superintendents outside of Washington D.C. administer resource management programs within the individual National Parks. The NPS is headed by a director and made up of a headquarters office located in Washington, D.C. and seven regional offices comprised of many park units across the country. The responsibility for historic preservation lies in Washington, D.C. with the Associate Director of Cultural Resources who reports to the

⁶ Ibid., 22.

⁷ “NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline, Introduction,” http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/nps28/28intro.htm. (accessed, April 2013)

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ “About Natural Resources,” <http://www.nature.nps.gov/aboutus.cfm>. (accessed, April 2013).

Deputy Director of Operations.¹⁰ The seven regional offices are headed by Regional Directors who report to the Deputy Director of Operations in Washington. Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore is a part of the Midwest Region.¹¹ Individual park units like Sleeping Bear are managed by park superintendents who report to their specific regional managers. A park superintendent has a number of responsibilities such as the oversight of all park operations including “interpretation and education; visitor services; resource management and protection; facility management; and other administrative functions, such as procurement, contracting, personnel, and financial management.”¹² Within the portion of the federal bureaucracy represented by the NPS, superintendents exercise a great deal of authority within their parks, and they tend to come from a career path within the NPS that emphasizes natural resources over cultural resources and wilderness over historic preservation.

Management of cultural and natural resources on North Manitou island is further complicated by the 1982 amendments to Sleeping Bear’s enabling legislation requiring that the park manage the island if it were a federally designated wilderness area.¹³ Issues in the management of wilderness areas also result from an ongoing debate between cultural resource managers, natural resource managers, and historians about the definition of wilderness. Jill Cowley, Historical Landscape Architect and Cultural Landscape lead

¹⁰ “About Us,” National Park Service Headquarters Organization, <http://www.nps.gov/aboutus/loader.cfm?csModule=security/getfile&PageID=125307> (accessed April 2013).

¹¹ “Map of NPS Regions,” http://www.nps.gov/aboutus/images/nps_regions_1.jpg (access April 2013).

¹² “About Us, Field Organization” <http://www.nps.gov/aboutus/organization.htm> (accessed April 2013).

¹³ “Development Concept Plan/Interpretive Prospectus, North Manitou Island, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1987), 28. See the section entitled “Legal Compliance and Consultation.”

for the National Park Service Intermountain Region, and her co-authors explain that “for some, wilderness means pristine nature and the absence of human modification, where the presence of ancient dwellings, historic sites, or other signs of prior human use degrades wilderness” and that “for others, wilderness is a cultural landscape that has been valued, used, and in some areas modified by humans for thousands of years.”¹⁴

Professor Robert Z. Melnick, the former Dean of the School of Architecture and Allied Arts at the University of Oregon and a nationally recognized expert on landscape architecture and preservation, writes that “in a cultural landscape, the factor is culture, as it interacts, over time, with the medium of the natural landscape, to finally result in the landscape we see and experience.” In other words, a cultural landscape is “a physical manifestation of human actions and beliefs set against and within the natural landscape.”¹⁵ On North Manitou Island, natural elements such as water and land and cultural beliefs about the best use of these natural elements shaped the landscape that exists today. This thesis focuses on the history of human impact on North Manitou Island, the management of natural and cultural resources on the island by Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, and the often conflicting beliefs and attitudes about wilderness and cultural resources that influenced (and continue to influence) management of the island by Sleeping Bear.

¹⁴ Jill Cowley et al., “Integrating Cultural Resources and Wilderness Character,” *Park Science* v. 28, no. 3 (Winter 2011-2012): 1.

¹⁵ Robert Z. Melnick, *Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park Service*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management, Park Historic Architecture Division, 1984), 2.

A Note about Sources

When Michigan became a state in 1837, North and South Manitou Islands were a part of Mackinac County. Therefore, in the Federal population census for 1840 and 1850, data for North Manitou is included with the rest of Mackinac County. In 1855, North and South Manitou were included in the newly created Manitou County. Separate Federal census data was taken for North Manitou Island in 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1890. Unfortunately, a fire destroyed the 1890 federal population census. In 1895, the state of Michigan re-drew county lines and Manitou County disappeared altogether; North and South Manitou became a part of Leelanau County and census takers did not compile separate data for the individual islands.¹⁶ As a result, historians must collect information about human settlement on North Manitou by analyzing a variety of sources in addition to the federal population and agricultural census; archaeology reports, land records and land surveys, logging and sawmill records, photographs, memoirs, and oral histories play a vital role in understanding how humans changed the face of the land. In addition, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore management plans, including the 1970 Master Plan, the 1979 General Management Plan and Assessment of Alternatives, the 1987 North Manitou Island Development Concept Plan/Interpretive Prospectus (DCP/IP), and the 2008 General Management Plan show how Sleeping Bear's administrators have managed the island in more recent history in a manner that reflects their beliefs about wilderness and cultural and natural resources management and demonstrates the impacts of the environmental and historic preservation movements on the NPS as a whole.

¹⁶ David L. Fritz, "History Data Report on North Manitou Island," (National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1986), 2, 8.

In addition to primary sources, secondary sources played a vital role in placing the history of North Manitou Island into a broader context. Two reports produced by the U.S. Department of the Interior offer a history of human activity on North Manitou Island. Eric MacDonald and Arnold R. Alanen along with David L. Fritz utilized census data, archeological data, biological reports, and primary sources related to the history of the island to write a history of cultural resources entitled “*Tending a ‘Comfortable Wilderness’*” and “History Data Report on North Manitou Island.” Brian Kalt’s *Sixties Sandstorm: The Fight Over the Establishment of a Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 1961-1970* and Theodore Karamanski’s *A Nationalized Lakeshore: The Creation and Administration of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore* helped fit the struggle to legislate Sleeping Bear into the bigger picture of the environmental movement and its relationship with the drive to create a system of federally managed wilderness areas.

Beliefs and attitudes about wilderness played the most important role in determining the kinds of activities humans engaged in on North Manitou Island. Roderick Frazier Nash’s *Wilderness and the American Mind* and more recent works regarding the ongoing debate about the definition of wilderness and appropriate management of cultural and natural resources located within federally designated wilderness areas also helped situate the history of wilderness on North Manitou Island into the existing body of literature. Historian James Feldman writes about Apostle Islands National Lakeshore: “the history of wilderness...reveals the central role of both natural and human processes in creating wild places. It demonstrates the folly of trying to separate nature and culture—or wilderness and history—whether for analysis or

management.”¹⁷ The debate over the significance of cultural resources on North Manitou Island reflects a broader conflict between different understandings of the meaning of place over time. It raises philosophical and managerial issues related to the definition of wilderness, the balance between cultural and natural resources management in heavily humanized parks such as Sleeping Bear, and the role of the NPS in protecting, preserving, and interpreting landscapes shaped by the relationship between human and natural history.

¹⁷ James Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness: Rewilding the Apostle Islands* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 16.

Chapter 1: Human Impact on North Manitou Island, 1840-1970

Visitors arriving on North Manitou today view evidence of the island's human history from the moment the ferry reaches the dock. They depart the ferry at the former United States Life Saving Service/United States Coast Guard station (USLSS/USCG). A community of dilapidated summer homes known as Cottage Row sits directly behind the station. Old roads traverse a landscape transformed by the loggers and farmers who made a living on the island. Over-grown farm fields and orchards are littered with rusty farm equipment and old cars. Long-abandoned farmhouses, cottages, and barns with boarded up doors, broken windows, and collapsed roofs skirt the edges of fields and forests. Non-native plants and animals brought to the island by homesteaders and sportsmen continue to flourish.¹⁸

The first view of North Manitou Island in 2014 differs drastically compared to the island as it appeared at the time of Euro-American contact. The island is roughly 7 ¼ miles long by 4 ¼ miles wide and features 20 miles of shoreline. On the west side of the island, sand dunes rise 421 feet above Lake Michigan. North Manitou is also home to 2 inland lakes, Lake Manitou and Tamarack Lake. Most of the island is covered with old-growth forest comprised of pine, cedar, hemlock, beech, and maple.¹⁹ Louis Payment, whose family lived and worked on North Manitou during the late nineteenth and early

¹⁸ Eric MacDonald with Arnold R. Alanen, "*Tending a Comfortable Wilderness*": *A History of Agricultural Landscapes on North Manitou Island, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, Michigan* (Omaha: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Field Office, 2000), 68-69. The authors cite a study done by NPS natural resource consultants, "White-Tailed Deer of North Manitou," in which the consultants claim that between 1962 and 1982 alone an estimated 30% of the island's hardwood was logged. The authors also cite a 1983 study which found that the deer had eliminated sugar maple and hemlock saplings and had "virtually extirpated 22 species from the island forest community." According to that same study, 31 non-native plant species were documented on the island. Hereafter cited as "MacDonald."

¹⁹ "North Manitou Island," <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/planyourvisit/northmanitouisland.htm>, (accessed, October 2013).

twentieth centuries, described how he felt during childhood visits to the island: “when you got on the island, you could see the mainland...but we didn’t care anymore...you didn’t listen to the radio, you didn’t read the newspaper...the whole United States could drop off...there we were in that little enclave.”²⁰ Today, because Manitou Island Transit provides ferry service to the island just once a day, most people who visit North Manitou are backpackers. While the island does provide modern-day backpackers with some of the feeling of seclusion described by Louis Payment, the island has most certainly not retained primeval character.²¹ Currently only seasonal park rangers reside on the island, and backpackers may only encounter other visitors on the ferry. Evidence of almost two hundred years of history remains scattered across a landscape created and continually influenced by human choices and actions.

Human Settlement Begins: 1840s-1850s

According to a North Manitou Island archaeological report, “prehistoric occupation was limited to the sheltered eastern shore of the island” and possibly the shores of Lake Manitou; the sites found on North Manitou indicate that Native Americans “not only visited the island, but lived there as well.”²² MacDonald writes that

²⁰ Interview, Nancy Hayes and Katelyn Fredericks, Oral History Interns, with Louis and Leigh Payment, former residents of North Manitou Island, “Voices of the Manitous” Oral History Project, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, July 19, 2010. Hereafter cited as “Hayes, Fredericks, and Payment.”

²¹ The Oxford English Dictionary defines primeval as “of or resembling the earliest ages of the history of the world.” http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english/primeval?region=us&q=primeval (accessed October 2012); *The Wilderness Act of 1964*, Public Law 88-577, 88th Cong., 2d sess. (September 3, 1964), 1. See “Definition of Wilderness.” For the Wilderness Act, as amended, see: <http://wilderness.nps.gov/document/WildernessAct.pdf>

Native Americans might have obtained “small mammals such as squirrel, hare, and perhaps beaver and muskrat,” as well as “passenger pigeons, and various water birds and their eggs” and “fish, turtles, or frogs.”²³ Additionally, Native Americans may have collected wild plants for a variety of uses.²⁴ Historian David Fritz wrote in a report commissioned by the NPS in 1986 that by the time of Euro-American arrival, no Native Americans had permanent settlements on the island.²⁵

When the steamship became the main mode of transportation on the Great Lakes during the mid-nineteenth century, North Manitou’s location on the Manitou Passage, a major Lake Michigan shipping lane, along with the island’s virgin forest made it a logical refueling station. Prior to Euro-American settlement, North Manitou supported a forest of hardwoods such as sugar maple and beech and coniferous stands of white cedar, balsam, fir, hemlock, and white pine. Woodcutters arrived and began taking advantage of the island’s abundant natural resources in the early 1840s.²⁶

According to Eric MacDonald, Associate Professor in the College of Environment and Design at the University of Georgia, and Arnold Alanen, Professor Emeritus of

²² Charles E. Cleland, “A Preliminary Report on the Prehistoric Resources of North Manitou Island” (Detroit: William R. Angell Foundation, 1967), 3, 11. Cleland believes that Native Americans lived on North Manitou by 1000 B.C. and occupied the island again between 1000 A.D. and the time of European contact. For a more comprehensive study of Native American history in the Great Lakes region, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York City: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For an inclusive look at Native American history in Michigan, see Charles E. Cleland, *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan’s Native Americans* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992).

²³ Eric MacDonald with Arnold R. Alanen, “*Tending a Comfortable Wilderness*”: *A History of Agricultural Landscapes on North Manitou Island, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, Michigan* (Omaha: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Field Office, 2000), 74.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 354-360. See “Appendix B: Some Possible American Indian Uses of Plant Species Currently Present on North Manitou Island” for a comprehensive look at over 150 plants, parts of plants utilized, plant use, and when plants were harvested.

²⁵ Fritz, 1.

²⁶ MacDonald, 21-22, 25

Landscape Architecture at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, who wrote a comprehensive evaluation of cultural resources on North Manitou, state that Nicholas Pickard began cutting cordwood-fuel for steamships-on the island between 1842 and 1846.²⁷ In 1847, Orange Risdon surveyed North Manitou Island on behalf of the Federal government (See Figure 3). His detailed survey notes and maps paint a picture of North Manitou at the beginning of its long history of wood cutting. Risdon described much of the land as “first-rate...well-timbered with Beech, Sugar, Lynn, Birch, Cherry, and a few scattering of Hemlock.”²⁸ He also described a “pine station” and the presence of white pine, balsam, fir, and cedar swamps on the island. Risdon noted that there were several “small chopping[s]” and that in certain areas “wood [was] chopped off” or “timber [was] cut off.” According to Risdon, several men had already established wood cutting operations on the island. On the southeastern corner of the island facing the Manitou Passage was the “Pickard wood yard & wharf 150 feet by 60, built on piles...two dwelling houses, grocery, blacksmith shop, store house & other buildings. A good establishment.” Risdon also described “fields of 15 or 20 acres, improved and stocked to grass,” which were most likely planted to feed the horses that worked alongside the wood

²⁷ MacDonald, 27.

²⁸ Orange Risdon, “Survey of Islands, 1847,” 247. To view the original survey notes and plat map, see The Bureau of Land Management’s General Land Office online database, http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/details/survey/default.aspx?dm_id=31024&sid=rhmd0th4.imd#surveyDetailsTabIndex=0 (accessed November 2012).

cutters. Risdon also described “Blair’s boarding house for wood choppers” and areas where “wood [was] cut off for steamers.”²⁹

In October 1848, Neil McFadyn of Erie County, Pennsylvania, purchased just under fifty acres on North Manitou, the first land purchase on record for the island.³⁰ In 1849, Charles Stringham and Nicholas Pickard began purchasing land on North Manitou, meaning Pickard previously cut wood from land he did not own. Because no separate population census data exists for the island at this date, it is unknown if Stringham ever lived on the island. By the time of Risdon’s 1847 survey, Pickard had already cleared a large portion of forest near his dock. MacDonald surmises that at this time the “predominant strategy of the island’s wood choppers was to clear-cut large swaths of forest, moving inland from coastal areas and leaving little more than brushwood in their wake.”³¹ MacDonald also states that that due to one of the intended uses of the wood cut on the island, as fuel for passing ships, the woodcutters “probably were non-selective in choosing the species and size classes of trees to remove” which most likely “drastically impacted the ecology” of the island.³²

Even though census data from 1850 for the individual islands does not exist, land records reveal that several individuals purchased property on the island during the 1850s. From 1856 to 1859, Pickard purchased over eight hundred acres and presumably

²⁹ Ibid., 220, 223-267, 240, 247-248, 251, 280, 295

³⁰ Tract Book RG80-116, Leelanau County, Michigan, microfilm, Archives of Michigan, Lansing, MI. Niel J. McFadyn purchased 16 acres in Fractional Section 23 of Township 31 N Range 14 W on October 27, 1848 and 28.75 acres in Lot 1 of Section 22, Township 31N Range 14 West on October 30, 1848.

³¹ MacDonald, 30.

³² Ibid, 31.

expanded his wood cutting operation. Joseph Stringham also purchased property on the island during the same period totaling just over three hundred acres. Daniel VanVolkinburgh purchased a little over four hundred acres in 1859. According to MacDonald, Cornelius Jones began operating a sawmill on the island in 1855.³³

Historian Theodore Karamanski writes that “the abundance of pine, first in the eastern states and later in lower Michigan, created a market for pine boards in the construction industry. Pine was a light yet strong wood that could be easily worked, yet was still inexpensive.” In addition, “the balloon-frame construction style invented in Chicago in 1839 fueled the demand for dimensioned pine boards.”³⁴ With the construction of a sawmill on North Manitou, the island not only provided fuel for steamships making their way to big city markets through the Manitou Passage, but a much more valuable commodity as well—lumber. The cutting of wood for fuel and lumber continued on North Manitou well into the 1860s.³⁵

Due to increased transportation on the Great Lakes, there was a higher frequency of shipwrecks, especially on Lake Michigan where there are few bays for ships to take shelter during storms. During the 1840s, the Revenue-Marine Corps, a part of the U.S. Treasury Department, began providing metallic lifeboats to government officials such as lighthouse keepers and customs collectors on the Great Lakes in order assist in rescuing shipwreck victims. If no government official was available to oversee life-saving, two or more individuals could post \$450.00 bond and pay \$25.00 shipping fee in order to receive

³³ MacDonald, 30.

³⁴ Theodore J. Karamanski, *Deep Woods Frontier: A History of Logging in Northern Michigan* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 82.

³⁵ MacDonald, 31.

a lifeboat.³⁶ In 1854, Nicholas Pickard and other islanders paid the \$475.00 to have a life boat sent to North Manitou Island and the same year islanders constructed a Volunteer Rescue Station to house the lifeboat. The station was staffed on a volunteer basis until the inception of the United States Life-Saving Service (USLSS) some twenty years later. The North Manitou station was in continuous operation from 1854 through its establishment as a USLSS station in 1874 until 1915.³⁷

A Time of Transition: 1860s-1880s

The period of the 1860s through the 1880s marked a time of transition for North Manitou. Both the depletion of the forests and the increase in the availability of coal led to the demise of the cordwood industry. Historian Frederick M. Binder writes that by the mid 1850s, “steamboats on the Great Lakes were using large amounts...of coal” and that “one ton of coal was equivalent to more than three cords of wood and took up much less space; additional coal supplies gave the steamers greater range in their trips.”³⁸ At the same time, lumberjacks began to deplete Michigan’s pine forests by the 1880s and loggers moved on to harvest hardwoods such as maple, basswood, elm, and birch.³⁹ The transition from pine logging to hardwood logging also meant a change from seasonal to

³⁶ Frederick Stonehouse, *Wreck Ashore: The United States Life-Saving Service of the Great Lakes* (Duluth, Minnesota: Lake Superior Port Cities Inc., 1994), 11.

³⁷ William Herd and Kimberly Mann, National Historic Landmark Application, “North Manitou Island Lifesaving Station,” 6, 20. In 1915, the USLSS became a part of the United States Coast Guard, which maintained operation of the NMI station until 1938 when the station closed for good. In 1994, Congress conferred National Historic Landmark status on the Lifesaving complex, located in the 27 acre wilderness exclusion, and Sleeping Bear adaptively reused the buildings to house seasonal law enforcement rangers. Herd and Mann believe that the Volunteer Rescue Station is the only surviving example of its kind in the country.

³⁸ Frederick M. Binder, “Pennsylvania Coal and the Beginnings of American Steam Navigation,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 83, No. 4 (Oct. 1959): 421, 424.

³⁹ Karamanski, 83, 86.

year-round logging operations. Loggers harvested pine in the winter and transported it in the spring but hardwood, more susceptible to fungi, could not be stored outdoors over the winter.⁴⁰ Orange Risdon described a plentiful hardwood forest on North Manitou during his 1847 survey; however, hardwood logging did not reach its peak on the island until after 1900 when the construction of a railroad improved efficiency of the operation.

Once loggers cleared large portions of North Manitou of its pine, farmers began to take advantage of the open land. Farming became a part of the island economy in the 1850s and continued well into the twentieth century. Food also had to be grown for the draft animals that worked alongside the lumberjacks at the logging camps. The policy of open range, described by one North Manitou farmer, also impacted the island's environment: "since nature has put limits to the boundaries, we are not obliged to fence in our stock, for while they can range at will they cannot get beyond our reach."⁴¹

According to the 1860 Federal population census, 269 people lived on North Manitou; 39 men worked as day laborers, most likely at the lumber camps and at the saw mills. The next most common occupations included farming and fishing.⁴² The census taker recorded 180 Native Americans living in Manitou County, but provided no breakdown for the islands.⁴³ Nicholas Pickard owned the largest farm consisting of 200 acres each of improved and unimproved land valued at \$8,000.00. Thomas Bedford's

⁴⁰ Ibid., 188.

⁴¹ "North Manitou Island, Lake Michigan: Something About its Capabilities and Needs," *The Michigan Farmer and State Agricultural Journal*, Detroit, Saturday, Jan. 26, 1889. 1.

⁴² MacDonald, 365-372. Transcription of 1860 Federal Population Census. Nine men worked as farmers and eight as fishermen. While the majority of the Federal Population Census and the Federal Agricultural Census for Michigan are available on microfilm at the Archives of Michigan in Lansing, the transcription of the census data provided by MacDonald was proven by the author of this thesis to be accurate and MacDonald's transcriptions were more convenient to access.

⁴³ Fritz, 5.

farm included 60 improved acres and 140 unimproved acres. Carson Campbell owned the smallest farm made up of 60 improved acres and 10 unimproved acres. The farmers owned livestock including horses, milk cows, oxen, cattle, sheep, and swine. Their crops included wheat, corn, oats, and potatoes. They also produced wool and butter.⁴⁴

In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, farmers often fished part-time in order to supplement their income. According to historian Margaret Beattie Bogue, “commercial fishing on the Great Lakes evolved slowly until the mid-nineteenth century, when in response to population growth, wider markets, improved transportation, and new techniques of harvest and preservation, it escalated, reaching a climax in 1889.”⁴⁵ Fishing was also a family affair; men, women, and children worked together to harvest, clean, and preserve the fish and mend nets and other equipment. The fishing season on Lake Michigan usually lasted from April to November. During the nineteenth century, fishermen on the Great Lakes most commonly used gill nets and pound nets (See Figures 4 and 5) and fished for what Bogue calls “the big four,” whitefish, trout, herring, and sturgeon.⁴⁶

Both gill and pound nets caused a great deal of destruction. Because nets caught all fish of a certain size, fishermen tossed unwanted fish aside. Sometimes fish caught in the nets decayed before fisherman could lift them and “fouled the waters.”⁴⁷ Fishermen on Lake Michigan caught thousands of pounds of “the big four,” especially when

⁴⁴ MacDonald, 391. Transcription of 1860 Federal Agricultural Census.

⁴⁵ Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History, 1783-1933* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 18.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 32, 38, 75, 97, 150.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 100.

technological advances, like gill-net steamers, steam-powered gill-net lifters (introduced in about 1890), and better refrigeration (developed in 1892), allowed them to travel greater distances, lift heavier loads, and increase the amount of fish that could be preserved.⁴⁸ While specific data for North Manitou's fishing industry is not available, Bogue provides information for Lake Michigan as a whole. She writes that Lake Michigan was the second most productive of the Great Lakes and that Lake Michigan fishermen developed the largest fleet of gill-net steamers which "grew from five in 1873 to thirty in 1880 and eighty-two in 1885, and then declined to forty-eight boats" in 1890. "This drop," Bogue continues, "reflected an exodus to more productive fishing waters" such as Georgian Bay near Ontario, Canada. Over-fishing in Lake Michigan decimated fish populations, causing fishermen to move on to new fishing grounds.⁴⁹

While some islanders fished seasonally on North Manitou, other islanders continued to expand the logging industry on the island. According to historian David Fritz, during the 1860s, Nicholas Pickard and Edwin Munger each constructed sawmills.⁵⁰ Munger purchased about 585 acres on North Manitou in 1862.⁵¹ Between

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 49. For specific amounts of fish caught per year in Lake Michigan, see Tables 10.1, 10.2, 10.3, and 10.4, which include the years 1879, 1885, 1889, 1890, 1893, 1897, 1899. Beattie Bogue compiled the information from Great Lakes Fishery Commission reports.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Fritz, 6.

⁵¹ Leelanau County Tract Book RG 80-116, microfilm, Archives of Michigan, Lansing, MI. On September 23, 1862, Edwin H. Munger purchased lots 1,2, and 3 in Section 10 Township 31N Range 14W totaling 178.8 acres as well as lots 1, 2, and 3 in Section 15 Township 31 N Range 14 West totaling 165.9 acres. On the same day, he also purchased the W ½ SW ¼ of Section 27 Township 32 N Range 14 W which totaled 80 acres and the SE ¼ of Section 28 Range 32N Township 14 W which totaled 160 acres.

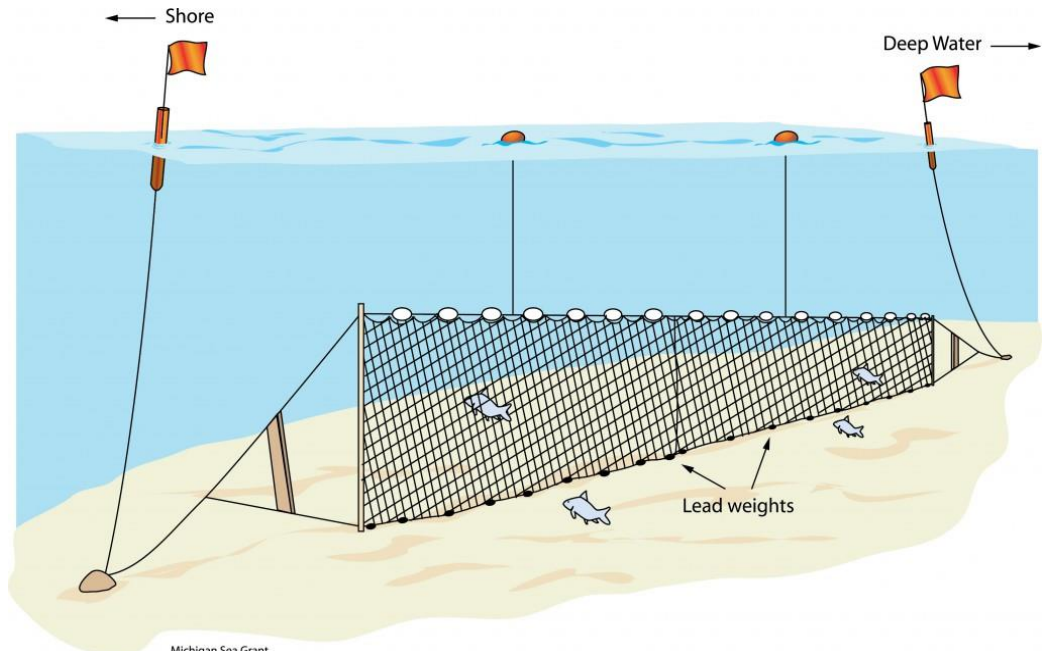


Figure 4. Gill Net. Gill nets have floats on top and weights at the bottom. Fish too big to swim through the net get caught by their gills. Gill nets are used for whitefish, trout and herring. From the Michigan Sea Grant website, <http://www.miseagrant.umich.edu/explore/fisheries/know-your-nets/gill-nets/>.

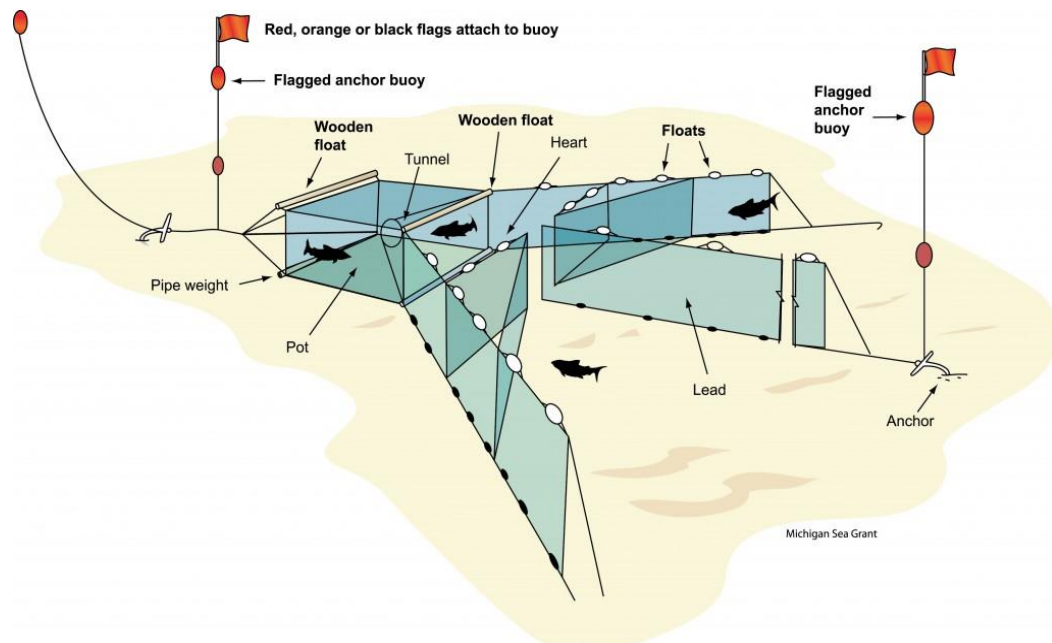


Figure 5. Trap Net. Also known as a pound net, this type of net diverts fish into an enclosure using channels. From the Michigan Sea Grant Website, <http://www.miseagrant.umich.edu/explore/fisheries/know-your-nets/trap-nets/>.

1862 and 1863 Albert Bacon of Grand Traverse County, Michigan, purchased over 6,000 acres on the island, almost half the total number of acres on North Manitou; however it does not appear that he ever lived on North Manitou and, according to Fritz, by 1900 other islanders purchased all of his land holdings.⁵²

In 1870, 94 individuals lived on North Manitou down from 269 in 1860. The significant drop in population may be due to the decline of pine and cordwood logging on the island. According to the Federal Population census, 21 men worked as laborers and 8 as fisherman, making those the most common occupations.⁵³ The census taker recorded Nicholas Pickard's occupation as a wood merchant.⁵⁴ None of the individuals recorded in the 1870 population census listed farmer as their profession. The 1870 Federal agricultural census for Manitou County did not provide separate data for the Manitou Islands however an examination of the census data reveals that Nicholas Pickard was still farming in 1870. His farm included 200 improved acres and 120 woodland acres. According to Fritz, Pickard died in 1876 and his wife began selling his land shortly thereafter.⁵⁵

In 1874, the USLSS established a station on North Manitou when the Treasury Department leased property from Nicholas Pickard.⁵⁶ Congress established the USLSS in 1871 as a part of the Revenue-Marine.⁵⁷ In 1874, Congress organized the USLSS into

⁵² Leelanau County Tract Book RG 80-116, microfilm, Archives of Michigan, Lansing, MI; Fritz, 7.

⁵³ Macdonald, 373-375. Transcription of 1870 Federal Population Census.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Fritz, 7.

⁵⁶ MacDonald, 32.

twelve districts including the Lake Michigan district. The North Manitou Island Lifeboat Station was in operation by 1877 and was one of twelve stations on Lake Michigan that year with the next closest station being located on Beaver Island, Michigan, approximately sixty miles to the North.⁵⁸ Members of the USLSS were responsible for rescuing victims aboard ships in distress using a variety of equipment.⁵⁹ The USLSS eventually became the main employer of North Manitou Island residents. Crews on the Great Lakes were usually composed of a Keeper and six to eight surfmen.⁶⁰ The crew had a number of duties including twenty-four hour beach patrol, beach apparatus drill, boat drill, signal drill, and practice at “restoring the apparently drowned.”⁶¹

North Manitou’s year-round population dropped again in the 1880s, possibly a continued reflection of the decline of woodcutting on the island. The census taker recorded 73 people living on North Manitou Island in 1880. The 2 most common occupations included fishing, with a total of 9 individuals, and farmer, with a total of 7

⁵⁷ Frederick Stonehouse, *Wreck Ashore: The United States Life-Saving Service of the Great Lakes*, (Duluth, Minnesota: Lake Superior Port Cities Inc., 1994), 13.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 18-19; Thos. S. Thompson, *Thompson’s Coast Pilot: For the Upper Lakes, on both shores from Chicago to Buffalo, Green Bay, Georgian Bay, and Lake Superior; Including the Rivers Detroit, St. Clair and Ste. Marie, with the Courses and Distances on Lake Ontario, and other information relative thereto.* (Detroit: Thos. S. Thompson, 5th ed., 1869), 22, <http://www.maritimehistoryofthegreatlakes.ca/bib.asp?PubID=22> (accessed, March 2013).

⁵⁹ Frederick Stonehouse, *Wreck Ashore*, see Chapter 10: “Equipment.” USLSS crews used lifeboats and lighter weight surfboats (row boats and later, motor boats), life preservers, the Lyle gun and breeches buoy, and the life car. Lifeboats and surfboats were usually stored in a building to protect them from the elements. The boats sat on a “beach carriage” which could be launched either directly from the building in which it was housed or hauled by a horse or by the crew down the beach and launched from another location.

⁶⁰ William Herd and Kimberly Mann, National Historic Landmark Application, “North Manitou Island Lifesaving Station,” 24.

⁶¹ Frederick Stonehouse, *Wreck Ashore*, 63-73.

individuals. Although the USLSS station had a crew in 1880, the crew was not listed in the population census.⁶²

The agricultural census enumerator recorded data for 7 farms in 1880. The farm with the largest amount of improved land (land that had been “tilled including fallow and grass in rotation whether pasture or meadow”) was owned by Francis “Frank” Hanson. Hanson owned 70 acres of improved land and 40 acres of unimproved land. Andrew Anderson’s farm included 10 acres of improved land and 150 acres of unimproved land.⁶³ He also purchased just under 200 acres of land on North Manitou in 1882.⁶⁴ Gustav Swan and his wife Mary owned 2 acres of improved land and 158 acres of unimproved land. After Gustav’s death, Mary purchased 160 acres of land on the island.⁶⁵ Larson Larson owned 20 improved acres and 1 acre of grass land. Francis Elti and his wife Anna rented their farm on the island which consisted of 5 acres of improved land, 40 acres of unimproved land, and 1 acre of mown grassland. John Strang and his wife Francis rented a farm which included 20 improved acres of land. The farmers owned livestock including horses, milk cows, cattle, poultry, and swine. Their crops included barley, Indian corn, rye, and potatoes. They also cut 10 tons of hay and 115 cords of wood. The farmers also produced 22 gallons of maple syrup. All of these activities played a role in

⁶² MacDonald, 376-378. Transcription of 1880 Federal Population Census.

⁶³ 1880 US Non-Population Census, Agriculture, Michigan, North Manitou Isle, Microfilm, Library of Michigan, Lansing, MI.

⁶⁴ Leelanau County Tract Book RG 80-116, microfilm, Archives of Michigan, Lansing, MI. On October 10 1882, Andrew Anderson purchased 21.4 acres in lot 2 of Section 20 in Township 31 N Range 4 W, 20.7 acres in Lot 1 of Section 28 in Township 31 N Range 14 W, and the SW ¼ NW ¼ and the W ½ SW ¼ of Section 21 Township 31 N Range 14 W totaling 120 acres. On March 12 1888, Anderson purchased 40 acres in the SW ¼ SW ¼ of Section 15 in Township 31 N Range 14 W.

⁶⁵ Homestead Certificate No. 60121 for Mary Olson Swan. Mary purchased 160 acres in the NE ¼ of Section 21 Township 31 North Range 14 West on October 17, 1888.

the continued transformation of North Manitou Island from a wilderness to a cultural landscape.

The Hardwood Era and the Introduction of Vacationing: 1890s-1920s

By 1900, a combination of wood cutting, logging, fishing, and farming contributed significantly to the transformation of the island's environment. During the 1890s, new developments accelerated environmental change and augmented the population including the boom and bust of the lumber industry, fruit growing, and continued fishing. By 1900, Michigan had become the country's leading hardwood provider, facilitated by improved logging tools and the introduction of the railroad.⁶⁶ In addition, North Manitou Island became home to a summer resort colony, a trend growing in popularity throughout the country, including Great Lakes states such as Michigan.⁶⁷

The Federal population census for 1890 was destroyed in a fire. Census takers collected agricultural statistics in the 1894 Census of Michigan, but only provided information regarding livestock and fishing on North Manitou; all other statistics included information about both North and South Manitou. The census taker noted four fishermen working on North Manitou in 1894.⁶⁸ By the 1890s, the fishing industry began to decline on Lake Michigan due to wasteful methods of fishing and over-fishing.⁶⁹

Agriculture expanded on North Manitou during the 1890s with the introduction of large-scale fruit farming. Fruit farming on the island reflected a broader trend on the

⁶⁶ Karamanski, 178.

⁶⁷ Theodore Karamanski, *A Nationalized Lakeshore: The Creation and Administration of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore* (Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2000), 5.

⁶⁸ Fritz, 10.

⁶⁹ Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History, 1783-1933* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 108.

Great Lakes described by historian Margaret Beattie Bogue who writes that “as lumbermen cut the timber leaving devastation in their wake, commercial fruit farming took on new economic importance, growing substantially from the mid-1880s on.”⁷⁰ Farmers on the mainland and on the Manitou Islands found their location near the Lake Michigan shore favorable to fruit growing. In addition, and definitely applicable to North Manitou, “excellent transportation by...lake steamers made the more distant, large urban markets a possible outlet.”⁷¹ Fruit farming also had negative environmental impacts due to the use of insecticides containing arsenic and lead.⁷²

In 1881, Frederick Beuhman purchased 160 acres on North Manitou, which he later began selling to William Stark of the Stark Brothers Nursery in Wisconsin. Part of the agreement included a promise of a shipment of 1,500 pear trees and 2,500 apple trees which Beuhman was supposed to plant and tend to for 15 years.⁷³ According to the author of an NPS historic context study of orchards, the Stark Brothers established their nursery in Missouri in 1816 and later expanded to the Midwest. In the decades to come, fruit farming would play a major role in North Manitou’s economy, especially with the introduction of tart cherries.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Margaret Beattie Bogue, “The Lake and the Fruit: The Making of Three Farm-Type Areas.” *Agricultural History*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (Oct., 1985), 498.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Fishing the Great Lakes*, 117. See chapter 8, “Agriculture, Lumbering, Mining, and the Changing Fish Habitat.”

⁷³ Leelanau County Tract Book RG 80-116, microfilm, Archives of Michigan, Lansing, MI. On June 6, 1890, Frederick M. Beuhman purchased 80 acres in the N ½ NW ¼, 40 acres in the SE ¼ NW ¼, and 40 acres in the NE ¼ SW ¼ of Section 33 Township 32 N Range 14 W; Fritz, “Data Report,” 10. Fritz cites an agreement recorded in Leelanau County Deeds between Beuhman and Stark Brothers. Beuhman sold parcels in Section 29 of Township 32 N Range 14 W in 1894 and parcels in Sections 28, 29, 32, and 33 also in Township 32 N Range 14 W in 1899.

⁷⁴ MacDonald, 92-93.

The maritime industry also grew during the 1890s with the construction of a lighthouse on North Manitou from 1896 to 1898 at the Southwestern tip of the island, facing the Manitou Passage. (See Figure 6) The USLSS station expanded in the 1890s with the construction of single family dwellings for married crew members, a crew ready room, and a two hundred foot fieldstone seawall.⁷⁵ The weekly drills completed by the USLSS surfmen as a part of their daily routine drew quite a crowd on the mainland station at Sleeping Bear Point, so perhaps vacationers on North Manitou Island came out to view the beach apparatus or boat drill.⁷⁶

Vacationing became a part of North Manitou's economy in the 1890s. Historian Cindy Aron writes about the development of the vacation which "began as a privilege of the early nineteenth-century elite...who journeyed in search of health and pleasure."⁷⁷ By the end of the nineteenth century, as wages increased, working hours decreased, and the middle class acquired leisure time, they too began to vacation.⁷⁸ According to Aron, in the late nineteenth century, "a vast variety of summer resorts took shape across the

⁷⁵ William Herd and Kimberly Mann, National Historic Landmark Application, "North Manitou Island Lifesaving Station," 5-12. Today, only one of the six original single-family dwellings remains, the Hans Halseth House, and it was moved to its present location in 1910. The crew ready room was constructed in 1895.

⁷⁶ Frederick Stonehouse, *Wreck Ashore*, 68.

⁷⁷ Cindy Aron, *Working At Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 3-4.



Figure 6. North Manitou Island Light. Bentley Historical Library, Post Card Collection, Box 9, North Manitou.

nation...seashore, mountains, springs, country towns, and rural farmhouses all became vacation destinations.”⁷⁹ Some vacationers “preferred the outdoors...enjoying the

⁷⁹ Cindy Aron, *Working At Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3.

benefits and beauty of nature.”⁸⁰ Vacationers from Chicago and other ports could easily reach North Manitou’s shores via steamship.

In 1893, Silas Boardman subdivided land he owned on North Manitou and began selling it to his daughter and son-in-law from Chicago, George and Carrie Blossom and their friend Frederick Trude. The deeds for the land had covenants attached that required the land be divided into 10 east-facing lots that were 102 feet wide by 300 feet deep. Boardman did not allow construction on the land between the lots and the lake, which served as a park for the vacationers.⁸¹ In 1893, Boardman constructed the first cottage and by 1898 other land-owners constructed an additional 5 cottages.⁸²

Josephine Hollister, a former summer resident, described Cottage Row in a memoir entitled “The Summer Resort on North Manitou Island.” According to Hollister, “a boardwalk lighted by gas lamps ran from the front of the Shepard cottage north to the road and then on down to the dock.”⁸³ Figure 7 provides a view of the Cottage Row boardwalk, benches, and gas lamps. Hollister also wrote that summers on the island were “very simple” and that the “only activities were hiking, fishing, and picnicking with an

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ NMI Katie Shepard Hotel, List of Classified Structures, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 1-4., <http://www.hscl.cr.nps.gov/insidenps/report.asp>, (accessed November 2012). The List of Classified Structures is an inventory of all historic and prehistoric structures in the NPS system; structures are evaluated using the standards established in National Register of Historic Places. For more information, see http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/symposia/hispres-75/sec2.htm (accessed April 2013).

⁸² NPS Cultural Landscape Inventory 2012, North Manitou Island-Cottage Row, 24-25. See section on “Chronology and Physical History” for more details. Apparently, the first four cottages were constructed with materials left over from the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair. The Cultural Landscape Inventory is a “comprehensive inventory of all culturally and historically significant landscapes” within the NPS system that is maintained by the NPS Olmstead Center for Landscape Preservation. For more information about the Cultural Landscape Inventory, see http://www.nps.gov/oclp/cli_main.htm (accessed April 2013).

⁸³ Josephine Alford Hollister, “The Summer Resort on North Manitou,” 1. Courtesy of the Leelanau Historical Society.



Figure 7. North Manitou Island Post Card from October 15, 1906 showing the Cottage Row boardwalk and lamps. From Eric MacDonald with Arnold R. Alanen, *“Tending a ‘Comfortable Wilderness’: A History of Agricultural Landscapes on North Manitou Island* (National Park Service, Midwest Field Office, 2000), 36.

occasional boat trip, hayride, or dance. The chief attractions were the beauty of the island itself and opportunity to spend time with old friends and their families.”⁸⁴ Originally, none of the cottages included kitchens, which enhanced the sense of community at Cottage Row as vacationers ate their meals together at the dining hall of the North Manitou Hotel and later at the Katie Shepard Hotel, constructed in 1895 as a cottage for “Miss Katie” and her mother.⁸⁵ Figure 8 shows the layout of the buildings that remained on Cottage Row, including Katie Shepard’s hotel, by 1989 and includes a drawing of the Beuhman orchard.

⁸⁴ Hollister, 3.

⁸⁵ NPS Cultural Landscape Inventory 2012, North Manitou Island-Cottage Row, 23. According to this report, some summer residents began adding kitchens to their cottages after the Katie Shepard hotel, also known as The Beeches, closed in the 1930s.

In 1900, the census taker recorded fifty individuals living on North Manitou. Seven women reported keeping house as their occupation and six men worked as farmers. In addition, the census taker recorded three farm laborers, three fishermen, one light keeper and one carpenter.⁸⁶ The summer residents were not living on the island at the time of the census enumeration. Vacationers continued to frequent the island during the summer months and in 1901, construction of another dwelling expanded Cottage Row. In 1908, Katie Shepard converted her cottage into a hotel called The Beeches.

The USLSS station on North Manitou also expanded around 1900 with the construction of a fire pump well and the planting of non-native Lombardy poplar trees. By 1905, the crew also constructed a storm tower for displaying storm signal flags, a flag locker, blacksmith shop, and three and four foot wide sidewalks.⁸⁷ Also in 1905, D. H. Day of Glen Haven installed a telephone system using underwater cables between the USLSS stations at Sleeping Bear Point, North Manitou and South Manitou Islands as well as the lighthouses on both islands; telephone poles and phone lines became a part of the North Manitou landscape.⁸⁸ In 1915, the USLSS merged with the Revenue-Marine

⁸⁶ MacDonald, 379-380. Transcription of 1900 Federal Population Census.

⁸⁷ William Herd and Kimberly Mann, National Historic Landmark Application, "North Manitou Island Lifesaving Station," 7, 13, 14.

⁸⁸ "NMI: Telephone Pole Line," List of Classified Structures, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, North Manitou Island, 1-2. <http://www.hscl.cr.nps.gov/insidenps/report>. (accessed November 2012.) According to the LCS, a "series of T-shaped power poles that run from the cable box to Dimicks Point to the village" still stand on the island.

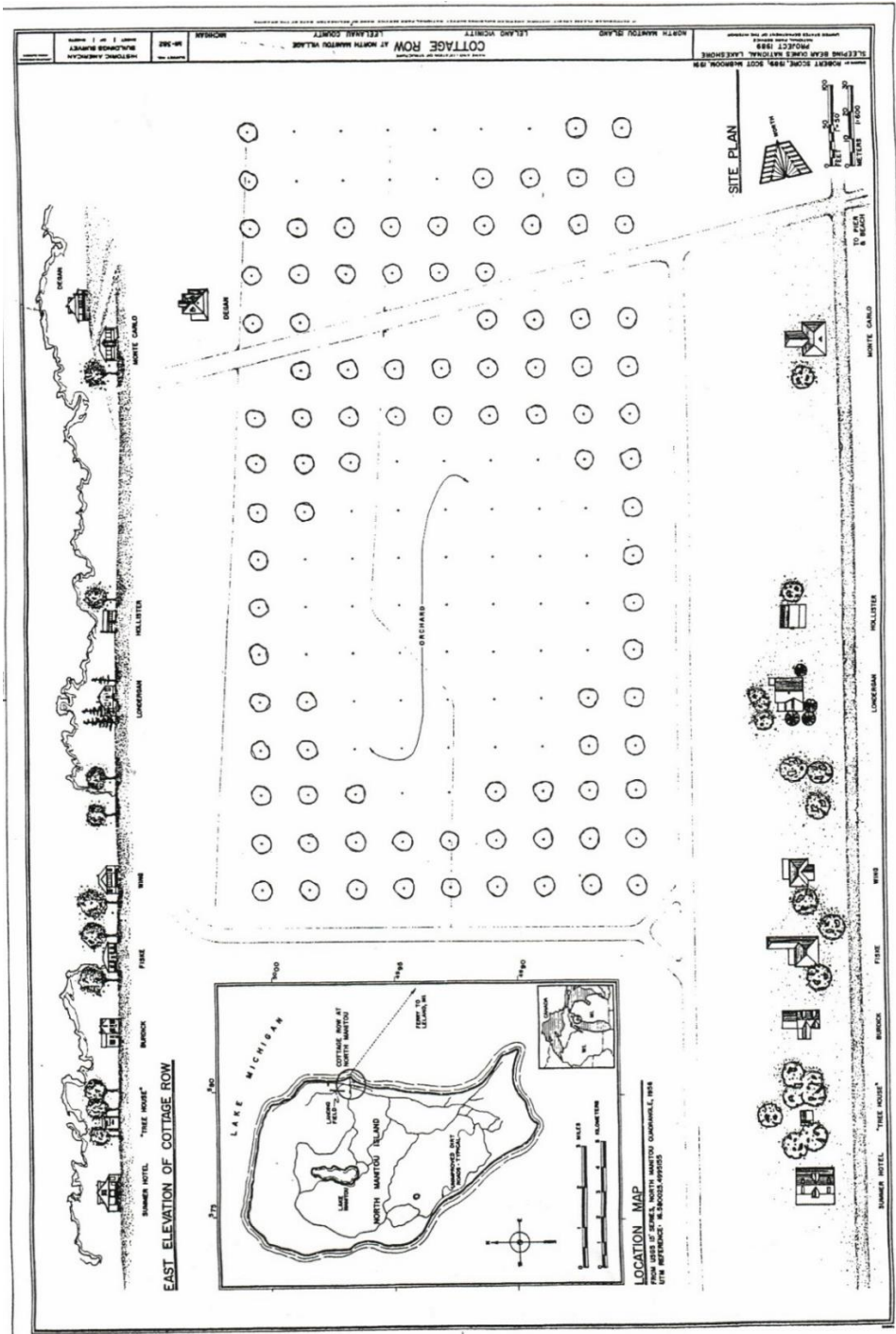


Figure 8. Site Plan showing Cottage Row, Cottage Row's location on the island, and the Beuhman orchard. Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 1989.

and became the United States Coast Guard (USCG) and on North Manitou, life-saving continued much as it always had.⁸⁹

During the first fifteen years of the twentieth century, a hardwood lumbering boom moved to North Manitou, flourished, and died. MacDonald writes that, “although much of the island was second-growth forestland, the timber evidently was mature enough to garner the interest of lumberman.”⁹⁰ The boom began in 1909 with the introduction of the railroad to the island by lumbermen Franklyn H. Smith and Henry S. Hull of Traverse City, Michigan. Smith and Hull purchased four thousand acres on North Manitou Island in 1909.⁹¹ That same year, they constructed five miles of narrow-gauge railroad lines on the island. A steamship transported logging cars and a twenty-eight ton steam engine to the island.⁹² (See Figures 9 and 10) Railroads became an important feature of hardwood logging and made year-round logging possible. According to historian Theodore Karamanski, narrow gauge railroads “were cheaper to construct than the standard wide gauge used by trunk lines because they could be built with sharper curves, lighter rails, and less fill for grades.”⁹³ Figure 9 provides an example of how the narrow-gauge railroad cut through the forest, dramatically changing the face of the land. Figure 10 shows the steam engine and railcars as well as a large group of men that

⁸⁹ Frederick Stonehouse, *Wreck Ashore*, 198-199.

⁹⁰ MacDonald, 47.

⁹¹ “Annual Report of the Smith and Hull Company,” 1-2. Box 1405, Corporation Annual Reports, Corporations and Securities, Department of Commerce, microfilm, Archives of Michigan, Lansing, MI; Fritz, 13.

⁹² Fritz, 15. Fritz states that in a 1909 article from the Traverse City *Evening Record* reporting on steamship Nessen transporting the railroad to North Manitou, Smith and Hull claimed that they hoped to haul “40,000 board feet of logs to its North Manitou sawmill every day during the cutting season...and that the company expected to have a six year cutting run, which proved to be a pretty accurate estimate.” Unfortunately, no company records have been found for Smith and Hull that detail their operation on the island.

⁹³ Karamanski, 176.

worked for Smith and Hull who lived on the island at the lumber camps and at Crescent City, the lumber boom town that sprang up on the island's west side.



Figure 9. Smith and Hull Narrow Gauge Railroad on NMI. Helen and Ole White Oral history collection, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives. No date.



Figure 10. Workers aboard the Smith and Hull Narrow Gauge Railroad on NMI. Helen and Ole White oral history collection, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives. No date.

By 1910, the population census reflected the effects of the introduction of year-round hardwood logging on North Manitou. The population of North Manitou had more than tripled in size from 50 individuals in 1900 to 180 individuals in 1910. The census taker listed 24 individuals with “odd jobs” as their occupation; these men may have worked for Smith and Hull as lumberjacks or at the dock loading lumber onto steamships, however the census taker did not specify. A total of 14 men worked in various capacities at the sawmill, shingle mill, and lumber camps. Other occupations included USLSS positions, where 7 men served, and farming, done by 3 men. Crescent City also boasted a school, boarding house, hotel, post office, and general store.⁹⁴ According to the White family, the sawmill generated the electricity in Crescent City.⁹⁵ Photos from the Helen

⁹⁴ MacDonald, 381-286. Transcription of 1910 Federal Population Census.

and Ole White oral history collection at the Sleeping Bear archives show power lines on Crescent City's main street. Figure 11 provides a view of at least 8 buildings along main street and the power lines. Figure 12 shows the A.J. White Sawmill and mill pond near Crescent City. The Crescent City boarding house, where many of the mill workers and loggers lived, appears in the left-hand corner of the photo.

In Figure 13, men load logs from a dock on the island's east side near the village and USLSS station onto a steamship. A simple conveyer belt located adjacent to the dock carried logs from the beach to the end of the dock. The building at the end of the dock with the tall stack most likely housed a steam generator used to power the drive mechanism for the conveyer, located on the left side of the building. The lack of the presence of coal in the photo indicates that workers probably used scrap wood to power the steam generator. At the front of the building is a large grooved wheel for turning the cable drive; the unprotected cable runs up the center of the photo to the right of the dock and posed a definite safety risk. The USLSS station and Cottage Row—where Chicagoans came to escape the noisy, dirty city—sit in the background of the photograph, in remarkably close proximity to what was surely an incredibly noisy industrial activity.

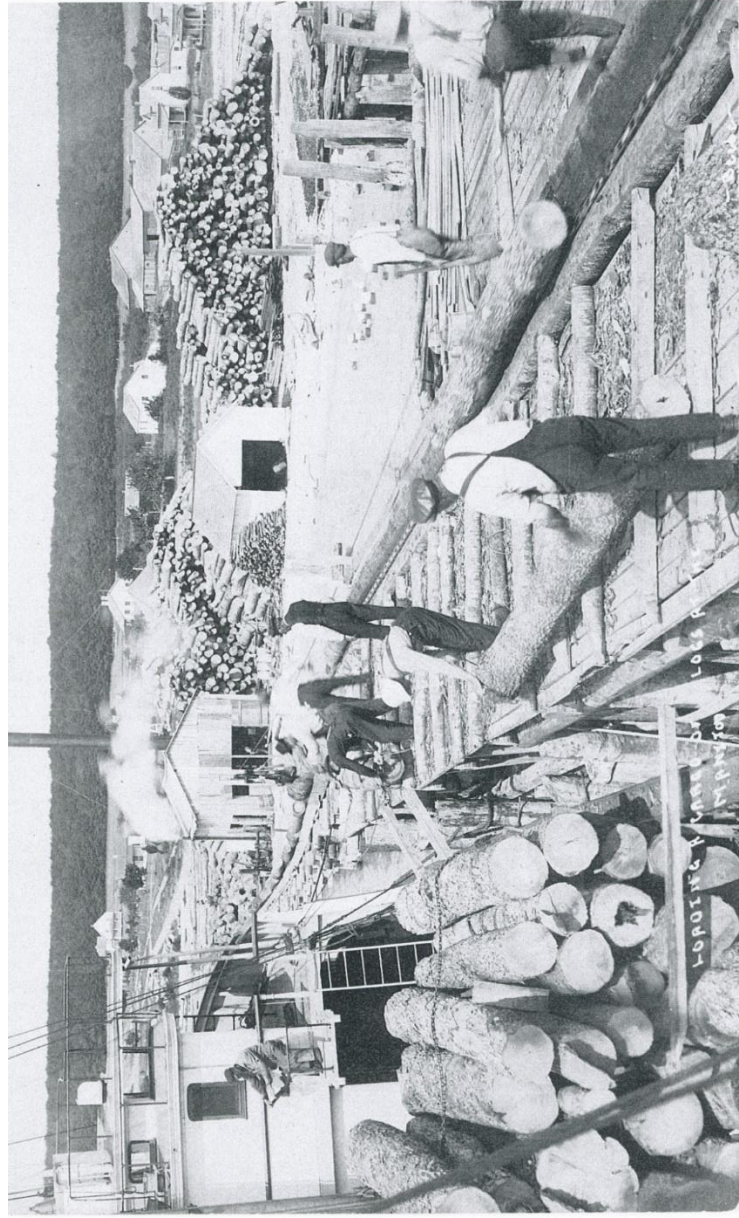
⁹⁵ Interview, Nancy Hayes and Katelyn Fredericks, Oral History Interns, with Helen and Ole White, children of A.J. White, owner of a North Manitou Island sawmill, "Voices of the Manitous" Oral History Project, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, June 22, 2009. Hereafter cited as "Hayes, Fredericks, and White."



Figure 11. Main Street, Crescent City, NMI. Helen and Ole White oral history collection, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives. No date.



Figure 12. A.J. White Sawmill and Mill Pond, Crescent City, NMI. Helen and Ole White oral history collection, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives. No date.



Empire Lumber Co. operations - Loadings Logs on Edmond Buckley East Side 1916

Figure 13. Loading Logs on NMI. Helen and Ole White oral history collection, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI

In addition to Smith and Hull, Peter Stormer also cut wood on North Manitou. Fritz writes in his “History Data Report” that Stormer cut wood from 1908 to 1916.⁹⁶ An examination of Stormer’s original manuscript ledger provides information about logging activities on North Manitou from 1910 to 1919. The ledger contains information such as types of trees cut, diameter of logs, number of logs, and month, date and year. The ledger shows that Stormer definitely cut wood from 1910 to 1919 on land owned by John and Benjamin Newhall.⁹⁷ In 1900 and 1907, Benjamin, Franklin and John Newhall of Chicago purchased just over 858 acres on North Manitou.⁹⁸ From 1910 to 1919, Stormer cut 561,333 logs of various lengths and produced an estimated 49,546,910 board feet of lumber from land owned by the Newhalls. Stormer harvested ash, basswood, beech, birch, black ash, cedar, cherry, green and rock elm, hemlock, maple, oak, and some pine.⁹⁹ Basswood was used for house siding, birch for flooring, cedar for fence posts, railroad ties, and shingles, and elm for cooperage. Railroad ties were often constructed of

⁹⁶Fritz., 86.

⁹⁷ “Peter Stormer Log Scale” courtesy of the Empire Area Museum, Empire, MI. This manuscript ledger contains information about Stormer’s logging activities on North Manitou Island from 1910 to 1919 including “no. logs” for each type of tree cut and “total scale” and “total logs.” The logs were all cut from either “John Newhall, NMI” “Newhall land, NMI,” “Newhall, NMI, North end island,” or “Newhall, NMI, North side of Lake.” The Newhalls must have purchased additional land, specifically at the North end of the island, because the land purchases recorded in the Leelanau County Tract book are all located in T 31 N in the Southern portion of the island.

⁹⁸ Leelanau County Tract Book RG 80-116, microfilm, Archives of Michigan, Lansing, MI. Franklin and Benjamin Newhall of Chicago purchased all 640 acres of Section 16 in Township 31 N Range 14 W on November 27 1900. John Newhall of North Manitou Island purchased lots 3 and 4 in Section 22 Township 31 N Range 14 W totaling 97.3 acres on July 12, 1907. Benjamin Newhall of North Manitou Island purchased lots 2 and 3 in Section 28 Township 31 N Range 14 W totaling 121 acres on August 19, 1907.

⁹⁹ Data compiled by the author from the “Peter Stormer Log Scale,” courtesy of the Empire Area Museum, Empire, MI. Stormer used two different types of log scale including the Doyle scale and the Scribner scale, so the number of board feet provided in the text is truly an estimate; Brian Bond, “Understanding Log Scales and Log Rules,” 2-6. Bond states that “for logs that are to be processed into lumber, log rules are usually applied to estimate the total volume (expressed in board feet) of lumber that can be sawn. A board foot is equivalent to 1 inch thick by 12 inches long by 12 inches wide...” About the process of scaling a log, Bond writes that it “is a matter of measuring the average diameter inside the bark at the small end of the log, measuring the length of the log and using the log rule to determine the gross scale...”

hemlock and hemlock bark created tannic acid used to tan animal hides. Maple was utilized for lumber, furniture and flooring.¹⁰⁰ Fritz writes that Stormer's operation was contemporaneous with Smith and Hull, but was significantly smaller.¹⁰¹

In less than a decade, loggers "substantially depleted" North Manitou's hardwood supply.¹⁰² Smith and Hull ceased operations in 1914, just six years after arriving on the island. In 1915, A.J. White closed his sawmill and the Crescent City post office shut its doors, marking the end of the city's relatively short lifespan.¹⁰³ MacDonald writes that the "ecological effects of logging were drastic and long-lasting. Intensive logging was cyclical, and periodically altered the vegetation composition in ways that eventually were masked after relict saplings and pioneer tree species reclaimed the cut-over areas."¹⁰⁴ Oftentimes, regrowth from these cut-over areas was utilized to make pulp wood-used to generate paper, plywood, and other products.¹⁰⁵ Later in the twentieth century, extensive logging would begin again on North Manitou, but sources do not indicate if loggers harvested regrowth for pulp wood.

Vacationing played a more important role in the island's economy after the decline of logging and lumbering. Tourists continued to visit the island via steamship. In 1910, the Northern Michigan Line of the Northern Michigan Transportation Company

¹⁰⁰ Karamanski, 83, 86-87.

¹⁰¹ Fritz, 17.

¹⁰² MacDonald, 49.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Macdonald, 256.

¹⁰⁵ Forest W. Stearns, "History of the Lake States Forests: Natural and Human Impacts," 16, www.ncrs.fs.fed.us/gla/reports/history.PDF, (accessed October 2013). Stearns originally prepared this manuscript in October 1995 for the Lake States Regional Forest Resources Assessment, Lake States Forestry Alliance.

provided passage from Chicago to North Manitou Island on board the *S.S. Manistee*. One-way fare cost \$7.00, round-trip cost \$12.00, and meals and berth were included in the price. The company advertised “Attractive Week-End Trips” for travelers who wished to “escape the heat and dust of the city.”¹⁰⁶

The demise of logging and lumbering on North Manitou caused the year-round population to drop from 180 in 1910 to 99 in 1920. The USCG employed 12 men and 2 men ran the lighthouse. The census taker recorded 4 farm laborers, 2 farm managers, and 1 fisherman. Although Fritz and MacDonald claim that Peter Stormer ceased logging operations in 1917, the census reveals that in 1920 he was still engaged in logging and that 7 men boarded with him who worked as wood choppers, team drivers, and log cutters at the lumber camp. In addition, Peter Stormer Jr. worked as a lumber mill laborer.¹⁰⁷ Information about Stormer’s operation on the island does not appear in the census after 1920.

The infrastructure necessary to successfully commodify recreation on North Manitou began in the 1920s and played a role in the continued humanization of the island. From 1922 to 1926, land owners constructed one new cottage on Cottage Row and altered two others.¹⁰⁸ During the early 1920s, William Angell, who had studied law in Chicago and eventually became the President of Continental Motors in Detroit, visited North Manitou and enjoyed the fishing, hiking, and “peace and quiet.”¹⁰⁹ In 1926, Angell

¹⁰⁶ 1910 Northern Michigan Line, Northern Michigan Transportation Company, Chicago, IL, 1. Brochure, 00[0856], Folder 2, Box 5, #280, Travel Literature Collection, Grand Rapids Public Library, Grand Rapids, MI.

¹⁰⁷ MacDonald, 387-389. Transcription of 1910 Federal Population Census.

¹⁰⁸ NPS Cultural Landscape Inventory 2012, North Manitou Island-Cottage Row, 25.

and four other members of the newly formed Security Trust Company began buying land on the island.¹¹⁰ The Security Trust Company was also known as the Manitou Island Syndicate and more commonly as the Manitou Island Association (MIA). By 1928, the MIA had purchased the majority of the land on the island and also controlled the island's "economic and social life." According to MacDonald, during the 1920s the MIA focused on agriculture.¹¹¹ From 1925 to 1929, the MIA earned income from farming and from the "sale of cattle, beef, pork and potatoes, and the rental of pasture land, farm labor and draft animals." They also earned income from dairy goods, a cherry orchard, an apple orchard, a sugar bush, fishing, logging, and cutting ice off of Lake Manitou.¹¹² The MIA took advantage of North Manitou's unique growing season; cherries on the island ripened two weeks later than those on the mainland. The MIA also benefitted from the construction of a cannery on the mainland at Glen Haven in 1923 where they soon began exporting their largest number of cherries.¹¹³ In addition to agriculture, recreation became a marketable commodity on North Manitou.

¹⁰⁹ "The Story of William R. Angell and North Manitou Island," ASB-0009, Box One, Manitou Island Association collection, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. The 1946 amendment to the 1926 Trust Agreement lists the five original members of the trust: George M. McConnell, John McConnell, Allan A. Murray, Roger Sherman, and William R. Angell. All of the men except for Angell were from Chicago. Each man was entitled to one-fifth of the earnings of the trust

¹¹¹ MacDonald, 55.

¹¹² MacDonald, 401. Table H-1 Manitou Island Association Income Directly Attributable to Sales of Commodities and Services, 1925 and 1929. MacDonald compiled the information available in this table from the Manitou Island Association Farm Account Book 1924-1929. From 1925 to 1929, the association employed between seven and ten year-round workers and between sixteen and forty-six seasonal workers. From 1927 to 1929, the association employed between forty-three and fifty-one individuals, including women and children, just to harvest their cherry crop

¹¹³ MacDonald, 92-93.

The MIA hoped to transform the island into an exclusive fishing and hunting retreat. While Lake Michigan and the island's two small inland lakes provided plenty of fishing, hunting opportunities were limited because North Manitou had no large game. The MIA introduced non-native raccoon and white-tailed deer to the island in 1926 in order to provide more varied hunting for sportsmen.¹¹⁴ The MIA attempted to make the island more "wild" by introducing these non-native species, which would later accelerate the human-caused impact on the fabric of the land.

After a decade-long break, the MIA revived the harvesting of timber on the island and constructed a new sawmill in 1928.¹¹⁵ The MIA also constructed several other buildings in the late 1920s, including the Village Barn, used for dressing and packaging deer shot on the island, and several rental cottages for married staff.¹¹⁶ By the late 1920s, heavy-duty trucks replaced logging railroads in the rest of the state and prompted the construction of roads better suited to the new vehicles.¹¹⁷ North Manitou Island had forty-two miles of roads by the mid-1950s. Woodchoppers and lumbermen first used the roads and later USLSS staff, other island residents, and the MIA expanded the road network to

¹¹⁴ Manitou Island Association Application for Game Breeder's License, State of Michigan, Department of Natural Resources, May 28, 1981. Manitou Island Association Box 3, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI. The application shows that they MIA obtained a game breeder's license for white-tailed deer and raccoon in 1926.

¹¹⁵ Manitou Island Association Sawmill, List of Classified Structures, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 1-4. <http://www.hscl.cr.nps.gov/insidenps/report.asp>. (accessed November 2012). According to the LCS, the steam engine, boiler, carriage track, saw arbor, and sawdust conveyor stored inside the sawmill originally belonged to Peter Stormer.

¹¹⁶ Manitou Island Association Village Barn, List of Classified Structures, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 1-4. <<http://www.hscl.cr.nps.gov/insidenps/report.asp>> (Accessed November 2012); Manitou Island Association Rental Cottage, List of Classified Structures, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 1-4. <http://www.hscl.cr.nps.gov/insidenps/report.asp>. (accessed November 2012) Just one of a series of rental cottages stands today.

¹¹⁷ Karamanski, 244.

accommodate different types of logging and farming equipment, horses, and automobiles.¹¹⁸ Figure 14 provides a map of the network of roads on the island as they appeared in 1956.

The Manitou Island Association: 1930s-1960s

By 1930, only one family farmed independent of the Manitou Island Association.¹¹⁹ The heyday of vacationers arriving on steamships had also passed as the Great Depression began to take its toll. Katie Shepard closed her hotel in 1932 and the USCG closed the station on the island in 1933.¹²⁰ The removal of the USCG also caused the island's year-round population to drop. In 1935, the USCG automated the North Manitou Island shoal light and the Lighthouse Service abandoned the North Manitou light in 1938, eliminating the need for crews at either station.¹²¹ By 1938, the MIA served as the only remaining employer on North Manitou.

Recreation, specifically hunting, continued during the 1930s. According to Edgar McKee, a former employee of the MIA, the association held its first organized deer hunt in 1937 and hunters took about fifty deer. McKee also wrote that for \$150.00, each hunter was provided with a ferry ride to the island, a place to sleep, meals, a personal hunting guide, and "guaranteed deer." McKee stated that the MIA divided the island

¹¹⁸ North Manitou Island Roads, List of Classified Structures, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 1-4. <http://www.hscl.cr.nps.gov/insidenps/report.asp> (accessed April 2013).

¹¹⁹ MacDonald, 95.

¹²⁰ Rita Hadra Rusco, *North Manitou Island Between Sunrise and Sunset* (Sheridan Books, 1991), 19-20. Rusco's work contains both personal recollections of her time spent on the island and information about the island's history. In this thesis, only Rusco's personal recollections were cited in order to describe the work done by Rusco and her husband for the Manitou Island Association.

¹²¹ Fritz, 11.

NORTH MANITOU ISLAND PROPERTY AND ROAD MAP

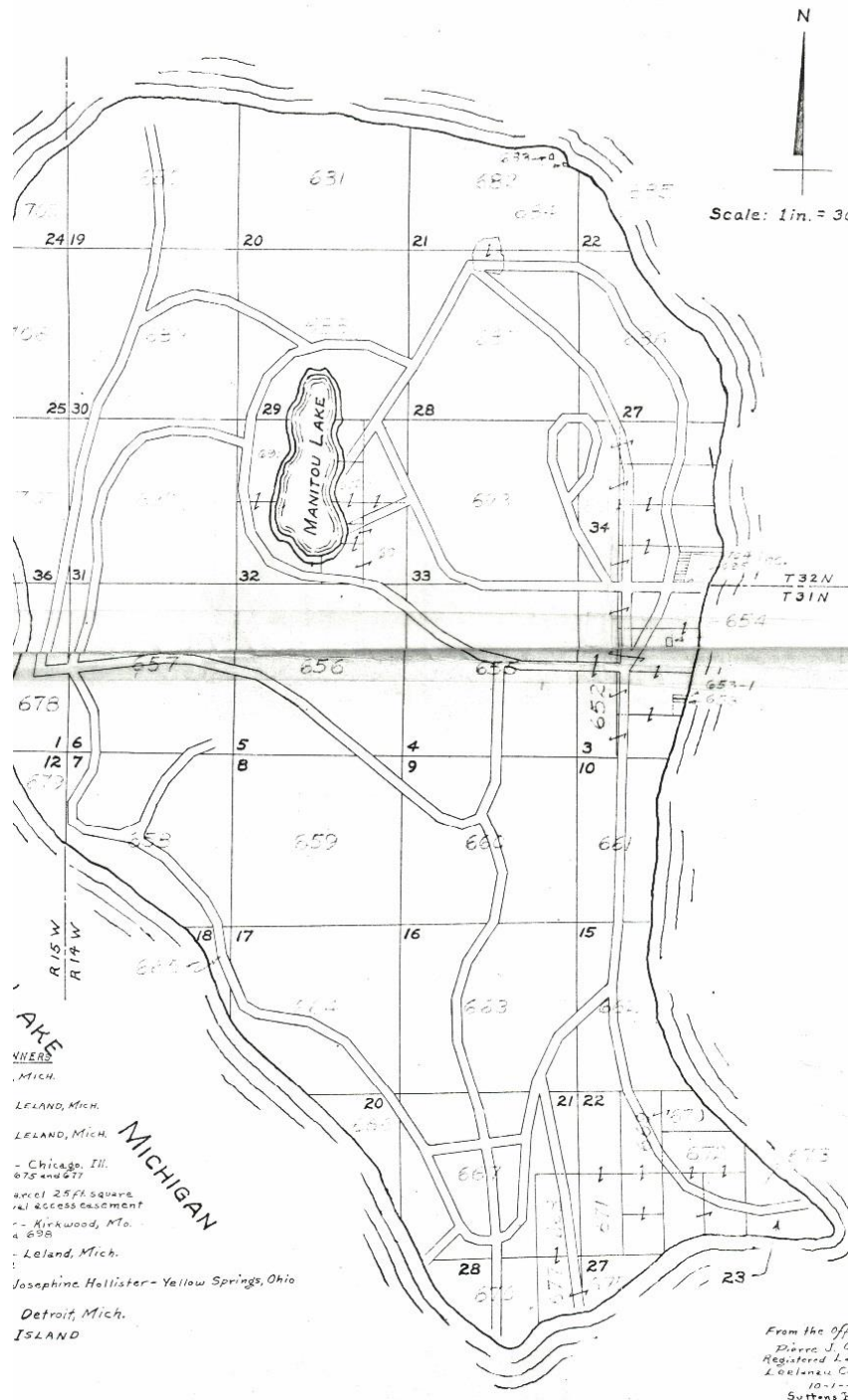


Figure 14. North Manitou Island Property and Road Map, 1956. Manitou Island Association Collection, Box 3, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

into 10 sections and only 1 man was allowed to hunt on a section at a time with his guide.¹²² Guides drove the hunters to their assigned hunting sections in station wagons.¹²³ From 1937 to 1939, hunters took 104 deer on North Manitou and an estimated 20 died during the winter.¹²⁴ McKee wrote that prior to the first hunt in 1937, the MIA began feeding the deer in an attempt to lower winter losses due to starvation caused by significant over-grazing. Over-grazing and the decision to feed the deer played a major role in continuing the island's transformation into a place shaped by the effects of human beliefs and actions.

The MIA expanded operations during the 1930s. They grew deer feed, consisting of alfalfa and oats, on North Manitou.¹²⁵ They also “had large cherry and apple orchards...and shipped tons of fruit each year” and continued to produce lumber and shingles for use on the island.¹²⁶ The MIA also constructed several buildings during the 1930s. Most of the new buildings, including an equipment shed, a stone office building, a garage, a carpenter shop, and a gas station were located in the village, near the old

¹²² Edgar McKee, “North Manitou Island 1937-1942,” 1-3. Leelanau Historical Society, Leland, MI. In this three-page memoir, McKee describes work he typically completed as an employee of the Manitou Island Association during the 1930s.

¹²³ Rita Hadra Rusco, *North Manitou Island Between Sunrise and Sunset* (Sheridan Books, 1991), 42.

¹²⁴ I. H. Bartlett, “Michigan Department of Conservation, Game Division, North Manitou Island Deer 1961-1963, Report No. 2420, April 30, 1963, 7. Totals come from chart entitled “North Manitou Island Deer: Deer Hunting Kill, Starvation, And Other Loses.” According to Bartlett’s estimates about 80% of the winter losses were caused by “lack of sufficient food (many could not get to it)” and about 20% were due to “crippling during hunting, and other causes.”

¹²⁵ Edgar McKee, “North Manitou Island 1937-1942,” 1-3. Courtesy of the Leelanau Historical Society.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

USCG station.¹²⁷ Figure 15 shows the gas station, pump, and gas tanks, surrounded by non-native Lombardy poplar trees planted around 1900 by the USLSS for aesthetic and navigational purposes and possibly as a wind break.¹²⁸



Figure 15. North Manitou Island Gas Station, circa 1955. Louis and Leigh and Payment Oral History Collection, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

In 1942, Rita (later Rita Hadra Rusco) and Jack Hadra arrived on North Manitou Island to begin work as business managers for the Manitou Island Association and to oversee the work done by the other employees. Rusco wrote about her experience living

¹²⁷ “Manitou Island Association Carpenter Shop Ruin,” Manitou Island Association Garage,” Manitou Island Association Stone Office Building,” “Manitou Island Association Equipment Shed,” List of Classified Structures, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 1-4. <<http://www.hscl.cr.nps.gov/insidenps/report.asp>> (Accessed November 2012).

¹²⁸ MacDonald, 216.

and working on the island in *North Manitou Island: Between Sunrise and Sunset*. In her memoir, Rusco writes that there were 50 people living on the island the year she and her husband arrived and that the population declined every year until they moved from the island in 1953.¹²⁹ Rita and Jack ran the grocery store, arranged deer hunts, managed the feeding of the deer, and kept records for the MIA. Other employees of the association at this time were responsible for the cherry harvest, taking care of the MIA lodge and 25 one-room cabins, and seeing to guests' needs.¹³⁰ There was also a school and a post office and the Grosvenor family operated a mail boat when Rita and Jack lived on North Manitou.¹³¹ From 1940 to 1949, 1,688 deer were taken during hunts and 680 died during the winter season, mostly due to starvation caused by continued over-grazing.¹³²

In 1949, Angell established the William R. Angell Foundation to “promote and assist in the education, training, and development of young people: to establish, capitalize and conduct students revolving loan funds.” The foundation awarded money to individuals, various private and public colleges and universities in Michigan, several Y.M.C.A.s in Michigan, and some research projects.¹³³ The Angell Foundation was also

¹²⁹ Rita Hadra Rusco, *North Manitou Island: Between Sunrise and Sunset* (Sheridan Books, 1991), 35.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 22–23, 37.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 5, 22, 89. Rita writes about three generations of the Grosvenor family providing transportation to North Manitou including Tracy, George, and Michael Grosvenor.

¹³² I. H. Bartlett, “Michigan Department of Conservation, Game Division, North Manitou Island Deer 1961-1963, Report No. 2420, April 30, 1963, 7.

¹³³ “The Story of William R. Angell and North Manitou Island,” cover, 4. ASB- 0009 Box 1, Manitou Island Association, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

created to “be the beneficiary of his...interest in the MIA.¹³⁴ In January of 1950, Angell died due to injuries sustained when he was struck by a Detroit city bus.¹³⁵

In 1953, Rita and Jack Hadra left North Manitou and Tracy Grosvenor took over as manager until 1959. According to Fritz, while Grosvenor worked as island manager, the MIA began logging again.¹³⁶ MacDonald writes that in 1956, the MIA hired the firm of Day and Jurica to cut one million board feet a year.¹³⁷ The records on logging kept by the MIA are spotty; occasionally, Day and Jurica attended the association’s meetings and gave reports that varied in detail. In June 1956, Day and Jurica reported that they had cut maple and planned to cut birch but gave no amounts.¹³⁸ At the June 1957 meeting, Day and Jurica reported that they had already cut between 85,000 and 90,000 board feet of lumber and by the time of the August 1957 meeting they had cut 104,000 feet in that month alone.¹³⁹ In April 1958, Day and Jurica had cut 200,000 board feet of lumber.¹⁴⁰ At the August 1958 meeting, no amounts were listed but Day and Jurica reported cutting

¹³⁴ MacDonald, 58.

¹³⁵ Rusco, 121.

¹³⁶ Fritz, 35.

¹³⁷ MacDonald, 60.

¹³⁸ Manitou Island Association Meeting Minutes, June, 23, 1956. Folder “Minute Book North Manitou Island,” Wm Angell Foundation and MIA Box 1, SLBE 0100, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

¹³⁹ Manitou Island Association Meeting Minutes, June, 22, 1957 and September 21, 1957. SLBE Archives, SLBE 0100 Wm Angell Foundation and MIA Box 1, Folder: “Minute Book North Manitou Island,” Folder 1.

¹⁴⁰ Manitou Island Association Meeting Minutes, April 26, 1958. Folder “Minute Book North Manitou Island,” Wm Angell Foundation and MIA Box 1, SLBE 0100, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

maple, beech, and hemlock on the island.¹⁴¹ This significant amount of wood cutting continued to alter the island's landscape. In addition to a renewed interest in lumbering, the MIA also revamped its marketing campaign for recreation on the island.

Marvin and Arlene Fluelling became island managers after Tracy Grosvenor resigned in 1958.¹⁴² Once the Fluellings arrived, the MIA began an advertising campaign consisting of several different brochures aimed at portraying North Manitou as a pristine wilderness (despite the fact that intensive lumbering continued while guests vacationed on the island) and a wholesome family getaway. According to the brochures, visitors would "Find Things Just as They Were," and "At North Manitou, you are back to the land and all its beauty." The MIA aimed to please sportsmen and families with amenities such as the lodge and cottages "furnished with comfortable beds," and "hearty northwoods meals." The brochure also calls a visit to North Manitou a "journey into the past" with "natural forests teeming with wildlife in the unspoiled beauty of early Michigan." A map included in the brochure shows the island's "well-lighted" 4,500 foot airstrip states that the island is "220 air miles from Chicago and Detroit."¹⁴³ Figure 16 captures a twin-engine beach craft landing at the island's airstrip which sat just behind Cottage Row.

¹⁴¹ Manitou Island Association Meeting Minutes, August 2, 1958. Folder "Minute Book North Manitou Island," Wm Angell Foundation and MIA Box 1, SLBE 0100, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

¹⁴² Manitou Island Association Meeting Minutes, September 21, 1957. Folder "Minute Book North Manitou Island," Wm Angell Foundation and MIA Box 1, SLBE 0100, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI. "Mr. Grosvenor... would like to resign as Manger of the Island effective February 1, 1958, due to the condition of his health..."

¹⁴³ Manitou Island Association brochure entitled "Welcome to North Manitou Island," Leelanau Historical Society, Leland, MI.

Issues with managing the deer herd intensified during the 1950s. From 1950 to 1959, the Michigan Department of Conservation recorded 2,498 deer taken during hunts and estimated that 755 deer died during the winter.¹⁴⁴ At a 1956 meeting of the MIA, Mr. Bartlett of the Michigan Conservation Department reported that “between 150 and 200 deer had died from different causes, some from starvation due to the impossibility of getting to the feed boxes because of heavy snow.” (See Figure 17) So even though feeding the deer did prevent starvation during most of the year, the policy of artificial feeding did not prevent starvation during the winter months.

Bartlett also reported that “the deer had been eating artificial feed so long they will have to learn to eat the tops of trees again” and he thought the timbering would “help when they get back on natural diet.” Due to overgrazing, wildflowers and yew began to disappear and maple, cedar, white pine, elderberry, and mountain ash trees struggled to reproduce. Bartlett did not believe there was anything the MIA could plant in order to further supplement the diet of the deer herd and he suggested “killing more fawns.”¹⁴⁵ Bartlett reiterated what the MIA came to discover after introducing the non-native deer to the island; the island was simply too small to support a large herd. The deer management issues serve as another example of environmental transformation as a result of human action.

¹⁴⁴ I. H. Bartlett, “Michigan Department of Conservation, Game Division, North Manitou Island Deer 1961-1963, Report No. 2420, April 30, 1963, 7

¹⁴⁵ Manitou Island Association Meeting Minutes, June 23, 1956. Folder “Minute Book North Manitou Island,” Wm Angell Foundation and MIA Box 1, SLBE 0100, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.



Figure 16. Twin-engine beach craft at North Manitou Island Airstrip circa 1955. Louis and Leigh Payment Oral History Collection, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.



Figure 17. Louis Mosier Filling Deer-Feeding Stations on NMI, circa 1955. Louis and Leigh Payment Oral History Collection, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

The National Park Service Takes Interest: 1960-1970

During the 1960s, the MIA attempted to appeal to additional sportsmen by providing more opportunities for fishing. While native smallmouth bass, yellow perch, and blue gill already flourished in Lake Manitou near the island's interior, the MIA decided to improve sport fishing by planting rainbow trout in the inland lake. In 1964, 1965, and 1968 the MIA planted a total of three thousand rainbow trout in Lake Manitou. The MIA also attempted to diversify its hunting opportunities by releasing pheasant in 1961, guinea hens and partridge in 1962, and ducks in 1968. Apparently none of these species took to their new home and most did not survive the winter. However, turkeys released in 1961, 1962 and 1963 flourished.¹⁴⁶

Deer hunting continued as well, however specifics are only available for 1960 through 1966. From 1960 to 1966 hunters took a total of 1,721 deer. From 1960 to 1964, the Michigan Department of Conservation estimated that 745 deer did not survive the winter.¹⁴⁷ According to one article, the artificial feeding program ceased in about 1980, at a time when an estimated 2,000 deer lived on North Manitou, when the NPS "paid more than \$3 million for the right to manage the island during the drawn-out court case over its value."¹⁴⁸ Once Sleeping Bear purchased the island in 1984, park managers implemented two annual deer hunts in order to help control the size of the herd, which continued

¹⁴⁶ Gordon Charles, "Swiss Family Manitou," *Detroit News*, Saturday March 23, 1980. Leelanau Historical Society, Leland, MI.

¹⁴⁷ I. H. Bartlett, "Michigan Department of Conservation, Game Division, North Manitou Island Deer 1961-1963, Report No. 2420, April 30, 1963, 7; I. H. Bartlett, "Michigan Department of Conservation, Game Division, North Manitou Island Deer Report No. 2508, April 20, 1967.

¹⁴⁸ Ed Hoogterp, "'Bonus' With Manitou Purchase Is a Problem of Too Many Deer," *Grand Rapids Press*, May 22, 1983, 1A. Wm. Angell Foundation and MIA Box 1, SLBE 001, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

through 2013.¹⁴⁹ Administrators of the annual hunts kept track of the numbers of deer taken per year; from 1984 to 2011, hunters took a total of 3,551 deer.¹⁵⁰ Park managers did consider removal of the herd, but ultimately chose to let the deer remain on the island because of the “opportunities for wildlife observation and hunting.”¹⁵¹ Data regarding the current size of the herd is unavailable.

Environmental transformation continued into the 1960s and 1970s when the MIA began logging in re-forested areas. The MIA may have reinstated logging as a way to pay for the expensive artificial deer feeding program.¹⁵² Similar to the previous decade, reports on logging by Day and Jurica are incomplete. According to MIA meeting minutes from the 1960s, the MIA still conducted business with Day and Jurica, however specifics were not provided. MacDonald states that in 1972, the MIA hired Day and Jurica to cut one million board feet of lumber annually for five years.¹⁵³ In 1972, Day and Jurica reported producing over 452,000 board feet of maple, cherry, beech, elm, basswood and birch.¹⁵⁴ Lumbering continued on North Manitou throughout the 1970s however the arrival of the National Park Service brought changes to island activities.

¹⁴⁹ “White Tail Deer”, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/naturescience/whitetaildeer.htm> (accessed April 2013)

¹⁵⁰ Chart, “Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore North Manitou Island Deer Hunt Statistics 1984-2011. For a breakdown of number and sex of deer taken by year, see <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/planyourvisit/loader.cfm?csModule=security/getfile&PageID=313836> (accessed April 2013).

¹⁵¹ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, “General Management Plan,” Dated October, 1979, 7.

¹⁵² Gordon Charles, “Swiss Family Manitou,” Detroit News, March 23, 1980, 38. Wm. Angell Foundation and MIA Box 1, SLBE 001, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

¹⁵³ MacDonald, 62.

¹⁵⁴ Chart showing number of board feet of each type of tree, Manitou Island Association Meeting Minutes, March 29, 1973. Folder “Minute Book North Manitou Island,” Wm Angell Foundation and MIA Box 1, SLBE 0100, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

During the early 1960s, the National Park Service took an interest in the Sleeping Bear area. In 1970, after a decade-long battle between local land owners and the federal government, Congress authorized the creation of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.¹⁵⁵ Even though Congress included both islands within the boundary of the new National Lakeshore, park administrators were not able to purchase North Manitou Island from the Angell Foundation until 1984 for \$12.5 million.¹⁵⁶

By the time of Sleeping Bear's establishment, over a century of intensive human impact on North Manitou drastically altered the face of the land. Two years before North Manitou was officially included within Sleeping Bear's boundaries, Congress amended the park's enabling legislation requiring park administrators to manage North Manitou Island as if it were a federally designated wilderness area.¹⁵⁷ Status as an unofficial wilderness area, where the NPS had a history of placing more emphasis on the management of natural resources compared to the management of cultural resources, might have allowed for the relatively little attention paid to the cultural resources Sleeping Bear inherited when it purchased North Manitou Island. The story of human transformation that began on North Manitou in the 1840s continued into the twenty-first century as Sleeping Bear's administrators began the process of re-wilding in an attempt to make the island fit the definition of wilderness as "untrammeled" laid out in the Wilderness Act of 1964.

¹⁵⁵ *An Act to Establish in the State of Michigan the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore*, Public Law 91-479, 91st Cong., 2d sess. (October 21, 1970). For a copy of the act, see: http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/slbe/adhi_appendix4.htm.

¹⁵⁶ Karamanski, "A Nationalized Lakeshore," 59.

¹⁵⁷ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Development Concept Plan/Interpretive Prospectus, North Manitou Island, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore," 1987, 28. "Legal Compliance and Consultation."

Chapter 2: Administrative History of North Manitou Island by Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore

The Environmental Movement and a “New Kind of Park”

National Park Service (NPS) Historian Richard Sellars writes that “the central dilemma of national park management has long been the question of exactly what in a park should be preserved.”¹⁵⁸ Should managers groom views and vistas for the enjoyment of tourists or scientifically manage natural resources? Until criticism of park management began during the 1930s, Sellars states that the NPS was firmly entrenched in “protecting and enhancing the scenic façade of nature for the public’s enjoyment, but with scant scientific knowledge and little concern for biological consequences.”¹⁵⁹ Scientific programs were not established in the NPS until Horace Albright’s directorship from 1929 to 1933. However, “without a vocal public constituency specifically concerned about natural resource issues” the early programs achieved only limited success.¹⁶⁰ The popularization of ecology during the 1960s led to a better understanding of the consequences of human manipulation of the natural world and also created a constituency that swelled the environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁶¹ This constituency was the driving force behind the creation of Sleeping Bear Dunes National

¹⁵⁸ Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 4.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 148. In Chapter 4, “The Rise and Decline of Ecological Attitudes, 1929-1940,” Sellars writes about the introduction of wildlife biology to the NPS and early attempts at the scientific management of predators, fish, and forests.

¹⁶¹ Donald Worster, *Nature’s Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 341. Worster writes that the “idea of ecology flashed into the popular mind during the late 1960s...and in 1970 led the American media to christen the coming decade the ‘Age of Ecology.’”

Lakeshore, a new kind of park born out of the environmental movement and shaped for decades thereafter by the tenants of environmentalism.

During the early 1930s Aldo Leopold, writer, professor, and head of the first college wildlife management program, helped popularize the burgeoning conservation movement in America. Leopold advocated and practiced the scientific study of the land to answer questions about how humans could become better stewards of the environment.¹⁶² His accessible writing style in works like *A Sand County Almanac* (1949) helped bring the new science of ecology to the general public. In this book, Leopold shared his “ecological conscience.” He wrote that “We abuse land because we regard it as a commodity belonging to us. When we see land as a community to which we belong, we may begin to use it with love and respect.”¹⁶³ In narratives such as “Good Oak,” Leopold also stressed the interconnectedness between humans and the environment, human history and natural history.¹⁶⁴ In 1968, *A Sand County Almanac* became instrumental in popularizing ecology with a new generation of grass-roots environmental activists when Oxford University Press published a paperback edition of the book.¹⁶⁵

Aldo Leopold’s work influenced some of the major contributors to the environmental movement such as Rachel Carson. In 1962, the publication of Rachel

¹⁶² Marybeth Lorbiecki, *Aldo Leopold: A Fierce Green Fire* (Helena, Montana: Falcon Publishing Co, 1996), 129-133.

¹⁶³ Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac and Sketches Here and There* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1949), Leopold’s foreword, viii.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, “Good Oak,” 6-18.

¹⁶⁵ Curt D. Meine, “Moving Mountains: Aldo Leopold and ‘A Sand County Almanac,’” *Wildlife Society Bulletin*, Vol. 26, No. 4, Commemorative Issue Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of ‘A Sand County Almanac’ and the Legacy of Aldo Leopold (Winter, 1998): 704.

Carson's *Silent Spring*, which historian Linda Lear called "an epochal event in the history of environmentalism," kicked off a grass-roots environmental movement and "helped launch a new decade of rebellion and protest in which the idea of Nature under stress also began to be seen as a question of the quality of life."¹⁶⁶ By "writing in language that everyone could understand and cleverly using the public's knowledge of atomic fallout as a reference point" Carson further popularized the movement.¹⁶⁷ Like Leopold, Carson viewed the relationship between humans and the environment and the idea of ecology as an interconnected web: "the history of life on earth has been a history of interaction between living things and their surroundings."¹⁶⁸ Her thesis however, focused on the quality of human life: "If we are going to live so intimately with these chemicals—eating and drinking them, taking them into the very marrow of our bones – we had better know something about their nature and their power."¹⁶⁹ During the 1960s, influenced by a constituency increasingly worried about the state of the environment and the quality of life, Congress passed legislation aimed at protecting both the health of Americans and the land from the damage caused by unregulated industrialization. At the same time, the NPS began to realize that "the environmental era raised resource management questions that clearly required scientific data" and they also began adding parks to the system "on

¹⁶⁶ Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2005), 121. Gottlieb explores the early roots of conservation, the development of resource management, and wilderness preservation, as well as contemporary movements.

¹⁶⁷ Linda Lear, "Introduction" to Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (Boston: A Mariner Book Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002 ed.), xv.

¹⁶⁸ Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: A Mariner Book Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002 ed.), 5.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

the basis of scientific and ecological characteristics.”¹⁷⁰ The creation of Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore (authorized in 1966), Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (authorized in 1966), Apostle Islands National Lakeshore (authorized in 1970), and Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore (authorized in 1970) were supported by a public constituency influenced by the environmental movement.

At the same time that environmentalism began to develop, two other grass-roots movements, federal wilderness management and historic preservation, began to flourish along parallel tracks. In 1935, the fight to create a separate federal wilderness system began with the formation of the Wilderness Society by Bob Marshall, Chief of the Forest Service, and seven other founding members, including Aldo Leopold. The founding members agreed that the federal government should “preserve large expanses of roadless and otherwise undeveloped nature in a system of designated wilderness areas.”¹⁷¹ In 1956, the members of the Wilderness Society began lobbying for the passage of the Wilderness Act. Congress finally passed the Wilderness Act in 1964; much of the language in the act had been crafted by Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the Wilderness Society. The act gave Congress the power to create wilderness areas, where “the earth and community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain.”¹⁷² A decade later, Congress expanded the definition of wilderness when it passed the Eastern Wilderness Act of 1975. Historian William Cronon explains

¹⁷⁰ Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 217, 213.

¹⁷¹ Paul Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 6.

¹⁷² *The Wilderness Act of 1964*, Public Law 88-577, 88th Cong., 2d sess. (September 3, 1964), 1. For a copy of the Wilderness Act, as amended, see: <http://wilderness.nps.gov/document/WildernessAct.pdf>. The Wilderness Act also makes allowances for historic sites. See “Definition of Wilderness” (4)

that “even where land has been grazed, plowed, mined, or clear cut—land, in other words, that the 1964 Act would emphatically regard as “trammeled,”” could now be included in the federal wilderness preservation system.¹⁷³

The historic preservation movement gained momentum after WWII, when “massive highway ... urban renewal, and other public works projects caused enormous destruction of historic neighborhoods, architectural landmarks, and archeological sites.”¹⁷⁴ When these sites were in danger of being lost forever, more people began to take action and a large grass-roots effort formed. In 1949, Congress established the National Trust for Historic Preservation, which began to acquire and preserve historic buildings.¹⁷⁵ In 1966, Congress passed the National Historic Preservation Act. According to the act, the “spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its heritage” and the “preservation of this irreplaceable heritage is in the public interest so that its vital legacy of cultural, educational, aesthetic, inspirational, and energy benefits will be maintained and enriched for future generations.”¹⁷⁶ The act also provided federal funding for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, created the National Register of Historic Places, the National Historic Landmark program, and the criteria and methods required for

¹⁷³ William Cronon, “The Riddle of the Apostle Islands: How Do You Manage a Wilderness Full of Human Stories?” in J. Baird Callicott and Michael P. Nelson, *The Wilderness Debate Rages On: Continuing the Great New Wilderness Debate*. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2008), 637.

¹⁷⁴ Antoinette J. Lee, “Historians as Managers of the Nation’s Cultural Heritage,” *American Studies International* 42, nos. 2 & 3 (June-October 2004): 121. Lee is a Special Projects Manager with the National Center for Cultural Resources at the NPS and professor of historic preservation at Goucher College.

¹⁷⁵ “Our History,” National Trust for Historic Preservation. <http://www.preservationnation.org/who-we-are/history.html#.URLgAR0R768> (accessed, February 2013).

¹⁷⁶ *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*, Public Law 89-665, 89th Cong., 2d sess. (October 15, 1966), 1. For a copy of the NHPA of 1966, as amended, see <http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/nhpa1966.htm>.

determining the eligibility of properties.¹⁷⁷ State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPO) became responsible for handling nominations and determining eligibility before recommending listing to the Keeper of the National Register. In 1971, President Richard Nixon issued Executive Order 11593, and in so doing closed a major loop hole in the original legislation by requiring the federal government to comply with the National Historic Preservation Act. Congress incorporated most of Executive Order 11593 into amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act in 1980.¹⁷⁸

Administered by the NPS, the National Register is the “official list of the nation’s historic places worthy of preservation.” The NPS usually defines “historic” as at least fifty years old.¹⁷⁹ Individuals submit National Register nominations to their SHPOs, which then assist in determining eligibility. According to the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, “the quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling.” In addition, listing on the register requires properties to meet at least one of four criteria: (A) association with significant historic events, (B) association with historically significant persons, (C) architectural styles or methods of construction, and (D) the potential to yield important archeological information.¹⁸⁰ Properties may display local, state or national

¹⁷⁷ *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*, Public Law 89-665, 89th Cong., 2d sess. (October 15, 1966), 1. For a copy of the NHPA of 1966, as amended, see <http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/nhpa1966.htm>.

¹⁷⁸ Philip V. Scarpino, "Planning for Preservation: A Look at the Federal-State Historic Preservation Program, 1966-1986," *The Public Historian* 14 (Spring 1992): 53, and note 12.

¹⁷⁹ “National Register of Historic Places,” <http://www.nps.gov/nr/> (accessed April 2013).

¹⁸⁰ “Evaluation Properties for Listing on the National Register,” <http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/brochure/#procedures> (accessed April 2013).

significance. In order to earn recognition as a National Historic Landmark, properties must represent an “outstanding aspect of American history or culture” and are designated by the Secretary of the Interior.¹⁸¹

While all three of these grass-roots movements—environmentalism, wilderness, and historic preservation—grew and flourished at roughly the same time, environmentalism and wilderness management often overlapped but rarely intersected with historic preservation. At first the NPS was not amenable to the massive shifts in management style that resulted from the new legislation. Historian Richard West Sellars writes that “environmental activism was often unwelcome; and legislation such as the Wilderness Act or the National Environmental Policy Act should not interfere unduly with traditional management”¹⁸² In other words, the new legislation conflicted with an older NPS tradition of emphasizing the scenic qualities of parks with little or no grounding in scientific knowledge. In addition, management of cultural resources and natural resources were handled by separate divisions within the NPS that rarely communicated with each other, setting the stage for problems in the future.¹⁸³

An issue in regards to managing cultural resources on North Manitou Island may lie in the history of Sleeping Bear’s management by superintendents with natural resource management backgrounds. Sleeping Bear’s first superintendent was Julius A. Martinek, a graduate of the forestry program at Michigan State University, who worked as a back-country ranger at several national parks before moving into park

¹⁸¹ “National Historic Landmarks Program”, <http://www.nps.gov/nhl/> (accessed April 2013).

¹⁸² Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 284.

¹⁸³ Steve Ulvi, “On Common Ground: An Enduring Wilderness as Cultural Landscape and Biotic Reserve,” *Proceedings of the 11th Conference on Research and Resource Management in Parks and on Public Lands*, The 2001 George Wright Society Biennial Conference (2001): 276.

administration.¹⁸⁴ After Martinek's retirement, Professor Donald R. Brown assumed the position. Brown served as a career park ranger and as the director of the University of Michigan's School of Natural Resources "International Seminar on National Parks."¹⁸⁵ He moved on to work as the Superintendent at Isle Royale National Park in 1980 and was replaced by another career park ranger, Richard R. Peterson.¹⁸⁶ Ten years later, Ivan D. Miller, who held a degree in Forestry and previously served as Chief Ranger at Denali National Park, became Sleeping Bear's fourth superintendent.¹⁸⁷ Dusty Shultz took over from Miller in 2002. Shultz is the first Superintendent with a background in cultural resources management; she began her career with the NPS in the early 1970s in administration at parks that emphasized cultural resources including Allegheny Portage Railroad National Historic Site, the Johnstown Flood National Memorial, the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, and the Southeast Regional Office. Shultz served as the first female Superintendent at Moores Creek National Battlefield and Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial before accepting the Superintendent position at Sleeping Bear.¹⁸⁸

Sleeping Bear's administrative organization also reflects the managerial divide between cultural and natural resources and reinforces and their unequal emphasis. (See Figure 18) The Deputy Superintendent oversees five departments including interpretation, administration, facility operations, resource and visitor protection, and natural resources management. The job of managing cultural resources is split between

¹⁸⁴ Theodore J. Karamanski *A Nationalized Lakeshore* (National Park Service, 2000), 49.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 83-84.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 94.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 139.

¹⁸⁸ Floy Westermeier, "Perseverance and Caring: Cornerstones of Success," *Women in Natural Resources*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2002. <http://www.cnr.uidaho.edu/winr/shultz.htm>. (accessed, February 2013).

two divisions. A Student Trainee/Museum Technician position is included in the interpretation division and a Historic Architect position is located within facility operations in the maintenance division (see Figures 19 and 20). The interpretation division does provide interpretation of cultural resources on the mainland and South Manitou, but not on North Manitou. At the same level as the Deputy Superintendent is the park's Environmental Protection Specialist, reflecting the park's emphasis on the importance of natural resources management.

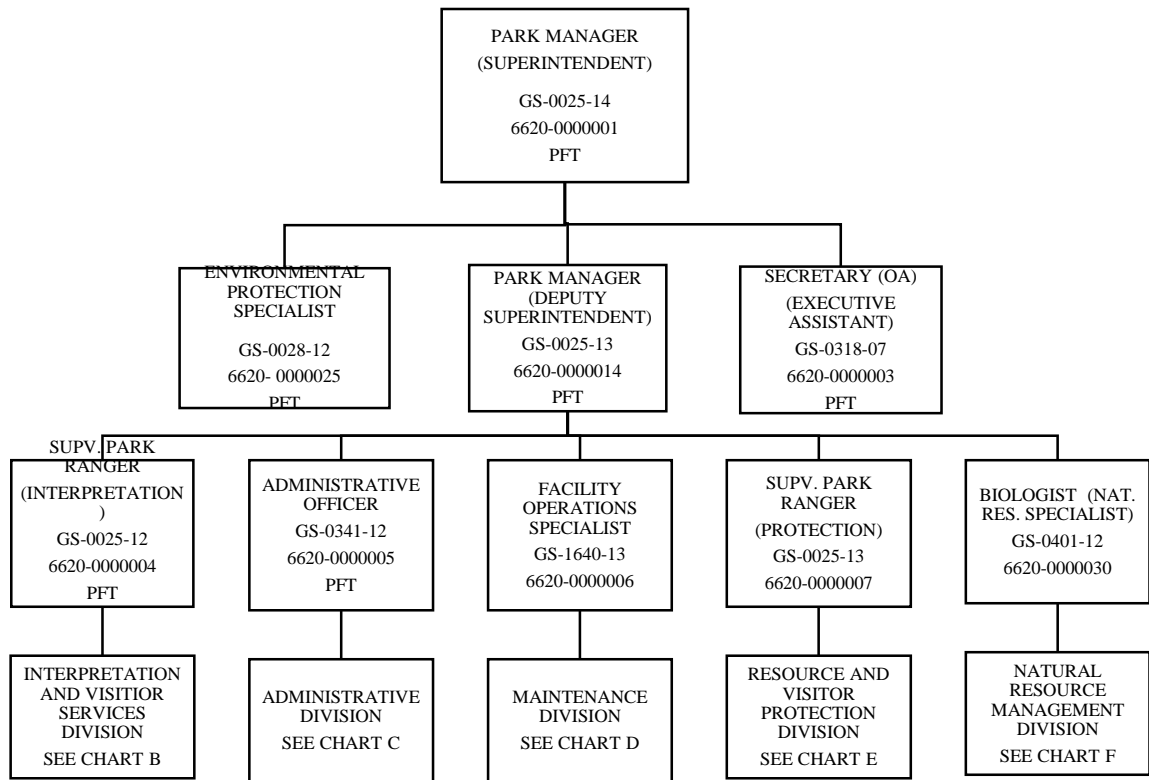


Figure 18. Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Organizational Chart, Management. Courtesy of Kimberly Mann, Historic Architect, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

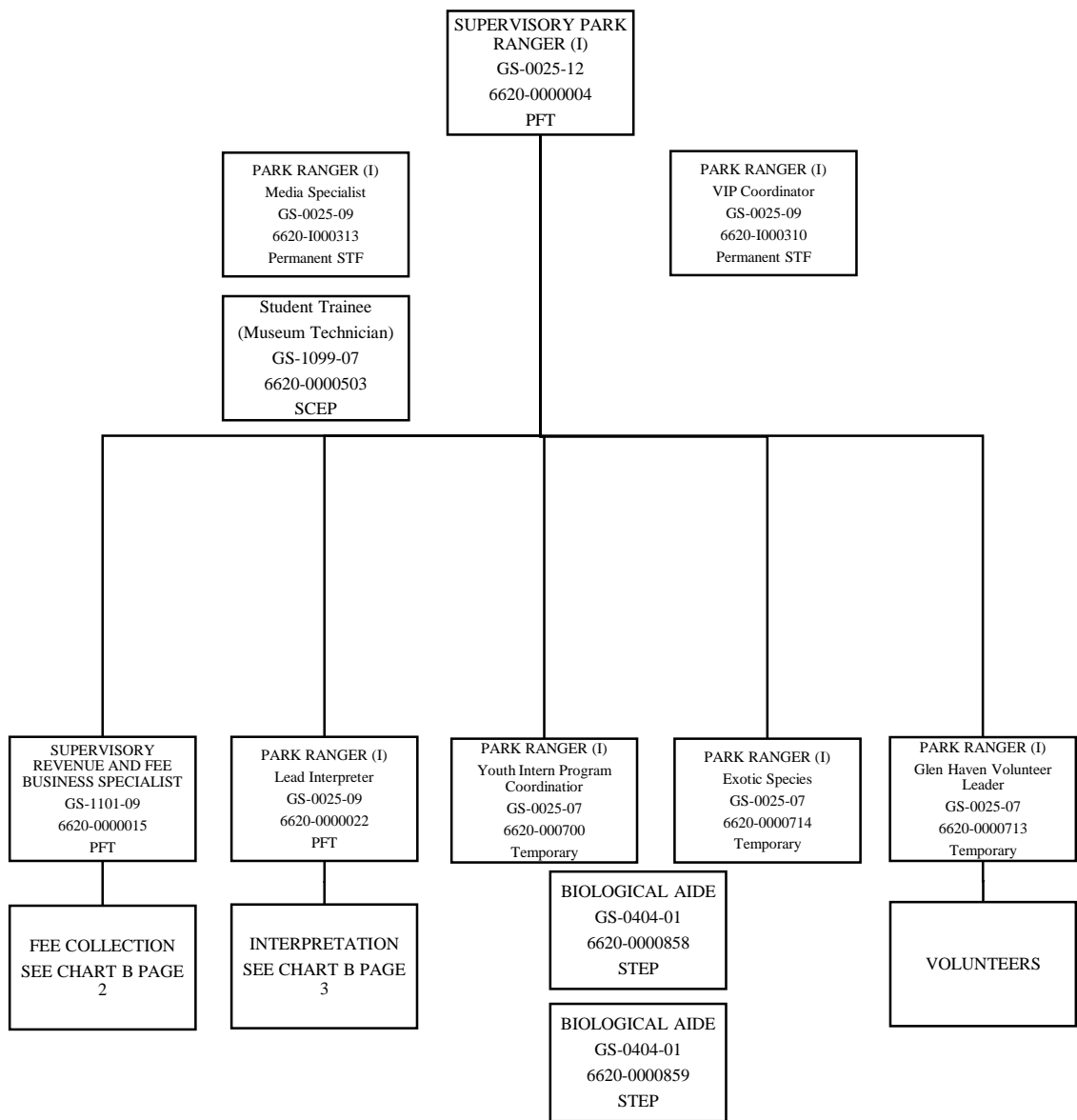


Figure 19. Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Organizational Chart, Interpretation and Visitor Services Division. Courtesy of Kimberly Mann, Historic Architect, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

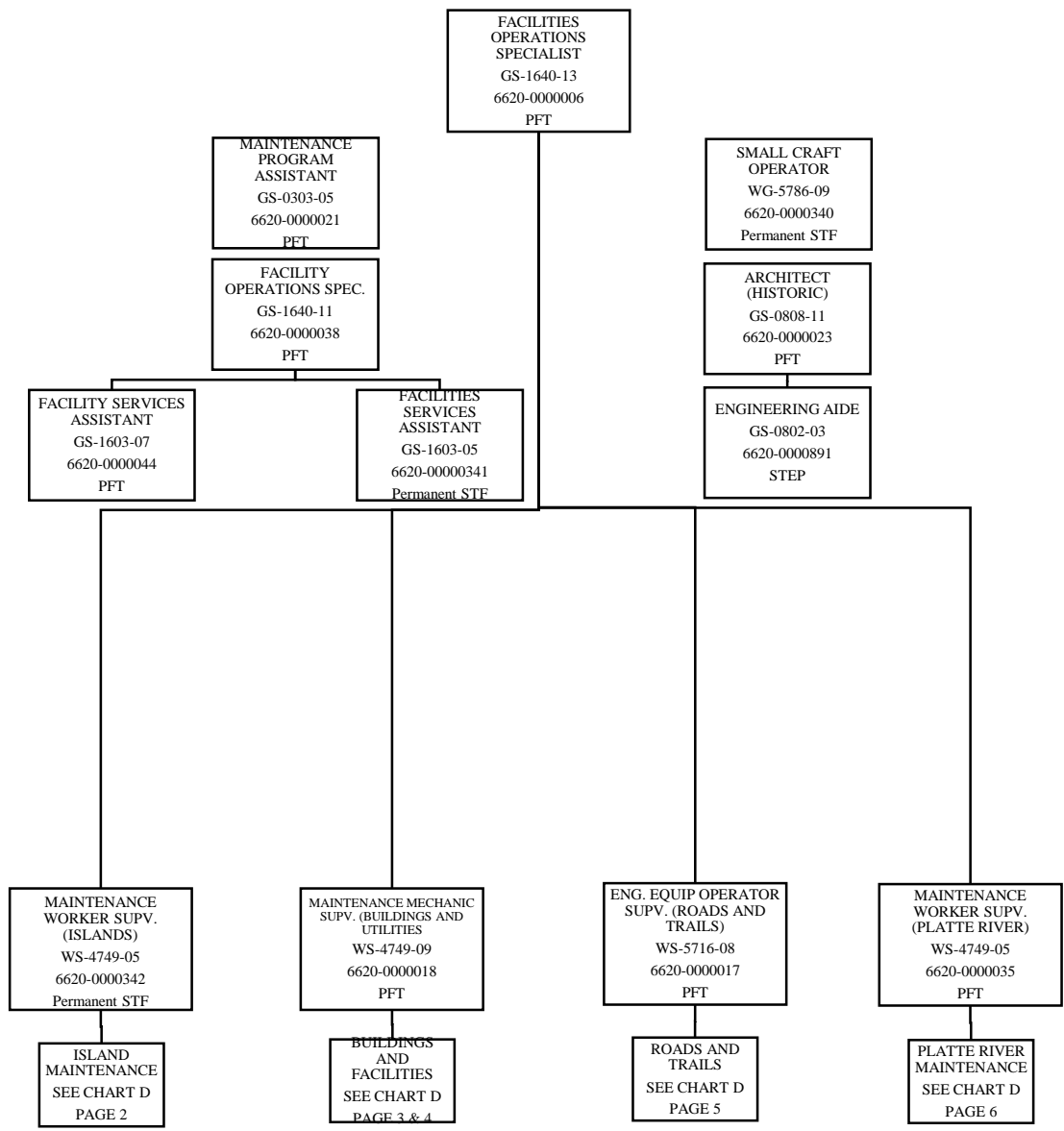


Figure 20. Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Organizational Chart, Maintenance Division. Courtesy of Kimberly Mann, Historic Architect, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

Establishment of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore

The Sleeping Bear area was already a popular tourist destination before the federal government took notice. D.H. Day campground, one of Michigan’s first state parks, was established in 1920 near the town of Glen Haven on land donated by the

entrepreneur, D.H. Day.¹⁸⁹ In 1923, the State of Michigan established Benzie State Park near the mouth of the Platte River.¹⁹⁰ Historic Glen Haven and both State parks were eventually included within the boundaries of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

After WWII, tourism in the area steadily increased and by 1961, more than one thousand people lived in the Sleeping Bear area during the summer months.¹⁹¹ Visitation saw a dramatic spike after the Michigan Department of Natural Resources planted Coho salmon in the Platte River in 1965 in an attempt to deal with an overabundant alewife population.¹⁹² William Robinson, a long-time Benzie County resident and former owner of a canoe livery on the Platte River, described what happened when the salmon, which grew to “unheard of” size returned to the river to spawn in 1967: “People just went crazy...they wanted to catch those fish, that’s all there was to it...they were wild...they’d back their cars right into the water...people were threatening each other. If somebody’s car stalled they just shoved them aside and left them there.”¹⁹³ While “Coho fever” or “Coho madness” was at its height, local land owners were in the midst of a battle to keep the federal government out of the area.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ George Weeks, *Sleeping Bear Yesterday and Today* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1990), 78. D.H. Day campground and the former town of Glen Haven are a part of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

¹⁹⁰ Theodore J. Karamanski, *A Nationalized Lakeshore* (National Park Service, 2000), 9.

¹⁹¹ Brian C. Kalt, *Sixties Sandstorm* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001), 2.

¹⁹² Theodore J. Karamanski, *A Nationalized Lakeshore* (National Park Service, 2000), 41.

¹⁹³ Interview, Katelyn Fredericks, Oral History Intern, with William “Bill” Robinson, Lake Township, Benzie County, MI, Township Board Supervisor, “Birth of the Park” Oral History Project, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, June 12, 2012. Here after “Fredericks and Robinson.” Robinson owned a canoe livery near the mouth of the Platte River and eventually sold his property to Sleeping Bear.

¹⁹⁴ Brian C. Kalt, *Sixties Sandstorm* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001) 67, 86. For more information about the impact of “Coho madness” on the fight to establish Sleeping Bear, see chapter 4, “The Green Tide.”

The NPS had launched a shoreline program during the 1930s and after establishing several National Seashores on the Atlantic coast, decided to evaluate the Great Lakes region. The NPS first took notice of the Sleeping Bear area as a result of the 1957 Great Lakes Shoreline Survey.¹⁹⁵ The Sleeping Bear area had features recognized as worthy of preservation and protection from development, including sand dunes, forests, inland lakes, and the sugar-sand beaches of Lake Michigan. From 1959 to 1969, a number of Congressmen and Senators introduced fifteen bills in an attempt to add Sleeping Bear to the national parks system.¹⁹⁶ According to historian Brian Kalt, “The most decisive factor in the Dunes park fight was Phillip Hart. The senator never questioned that the area needed to be preserved...and never doubted that an addition to the national park system was the best way to accomplish these goals.”¹⁹⁷ Much of the land in the proposed park boundary was owned by private individuals, both year-round residents and summer cottagers. Hart, the Democratic Senator from Michigan, and his supporters quickly learned that there was a major difference between creating a park out of the public domain and private property. Many local residents, terrified of losing their land and

¹⁹⁵ Theodore J. Karamanski, *A Nationalized Lakeshore* (National Park Service, 2000), Ch. 1, “The Great Lakes Shoreline Survey.” For a copy of this online book, see: http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/slbe/index.htm. Karamanski provides an in-depth look at the creation of Sleeping Bear. He states that NPS director, Conrad Wirth, made shoreline conservation a priority. Wirth enlisted NPS employee, Allen T. Edmunds to head the operation and it was during this survey that the NPS became interested in Sleeping Bear as a “new type of national park.” Other National Lakeshores established as a result of the Great Lakes Shoreline Survey include Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore (authorized in 1966), Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (authorized in 1966), and Apostle Islands National Lakeshore (authorized in 1970).

¹⁹⁶ Brian C. Kalt, *Sixties Sandstorm: The Fight over the Establishment of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 1961-1970* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001), 103-106. While Karamanski offers a comprehensive study of the legislation, proponents and opponents of the creation of SLBE, and the history of the Park’s administration, Kalt provides an in-depth look at the period from 1961 to 1970, especially the leadership of Senator Phillip Hart.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 36.

angered by the belief that the government might have the power to seize it, fiercely opposed the park. Others saw the merits of preserving the landscape and providing public access to Lake Michigan's sandy beaches as well as the added benefit of the economic boost increased tourism would most likely bring.¹⁹⁸

Senator Hart and park proponents were unable to succeed until they enlisted the support of the rest of the Michigan delegation; the tide finally turned in their favor once Republican Congressman Guy Vander Jagt became involved. As a state senator, Vander Jagt opposed the creation of a national park and instead introduced measures to expand the two state parks, D.H. Day and Benzie, already in existence in the area.¹⁹⁹ According to former Vander Jagt legislative assistant Jonathan Hawley, "the people who were opposed initially, for the most part believed that they would be able to preserve the place just fine without the help of Uncle Sam. But I do not believe they could have done it...no way would they have been able to withstand the pressures from development...without the protection that the park provides."²⁰⁰ By the late 1960s, the legislative battle "was like an albatross hanging over the area. It had been the subject of this enormous debate and intense feeling" and Vander Jagt was ready to compromise.²⁰¹ Vander Jagt rewrote and

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 93-95.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 77, 83.

²⁰⁰ Interview, Katelyn Fredericks, Oral History Intern, with Jonathan Hawley, former legislative assistant for Congressman Guy Vander Jagt, "Birth of the Park" Oral History Project, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, June 20, 2012. Hereafter cited as "Fredericks and Hawley." Hawley won a Congressional Fellowship in 1968-1969 and was a natural fit to work with Vander Jagt because he was well aware of the Sleeping Bear issues, having vacationed in the area with his family for many years. Hawley was well versed in the history of the area and the history of conservation and public policy; his 1968 Ph.D. dissertation is entitled "The Politics of National Park System Expansion: A Comparative Study of the Authorization of the Ozark National Scenic River Ways in Missouri and the Proposed Authorization of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in Michigan." Hawley returned to work as Vander Jagt's legislative assistant from 1970 to 1975.

²⁰¹ Fredericks and Hawley.

added provisions to the bill, which created several categories of land designed to help with the acquisition process, changed boundaries to leave over 1,000 private land-owners out of the park, and emphasized preservation of natural features.²⁰² Compromise within the Michigan delegation proved to be the key to success.

Finally, in 1970 Congress passed Public Law 91-479 establishing Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore. The founding legislation declared that “Congress finds that certain outstanding natural features...along the mainland shore of Lake Michigan and on certain nearby islands...ought to be preserved in their natural setting and protected from the developments and uses which would destroy the scenic beauty and natural character of the area.”²⁰³ Land acquisition then began in earnest. According to Sleeping Bear’s founding legislation, private land owners of “improved property” could retain their land (with the exception of lake-front property) until their death or sell their land to the park and take out a twenty-five year lease on their former homes or cottages.²⁰⁴ Lack of funding to purchase the land, hard feelings left over from the history of local opposition to the park, and three confusing categories of land created by the Park’s legislation made the acquisition process a long one. It took ten years for Sleeping Bear to purchase the majority of the property within its boundaries.²⁰⁵ And although private land owners were

²⁰² Brian Kalt, *Sixties Sandstorm: The Fight over the Establishment of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 1961-1970* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001), 89-91.

²⁰³ *An Act to Establish in the State of Michigan the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore*, Public Law 91-479, 91st Cong., 2d sess. (October 21, 1970). For a copy of the act, see: http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/slbe/adhi_appendix4.htm.

²⁰⁴ *An Act to Establish in the State of Michigan the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore*, Public Law 91-479, 91st Cong., 2d sess. (October 21, 1970), see Section 10, Section 11. Improved property is defined in the act as a detached, single-family dwelling constructed before December 31, 1964.

²⁰⁵ Theodore J. Karamanski *A Nationalized Lakeshore* (National Park Service, 2000), 96. Karamanski states that there were 1400 tracts of land within the park’s boundaries; by 1980, the park had purchased all but 143.

compensated, negative feelings toward the NPS lingered for years. In 1980 when the area's Land Acquisition Office closed, some property within Sleeping Bear's boundaries remained in the hands of private land owners, including the land on North Manitou Island owned by the Angell Foundation.²⁰⁶

History of Resource Management on North Manitou Island

Once Sleeping Bear purchased the majority of the land within its mainland boundaries, the park turned to the islands. By 1974, Sleeping Bear acquired the land on South Manitou.²⁰⁷ In 1977, Sleeping Bear offered the Angell Foundation \$4.5 million for their land on North Manitou. The Angell Foundation and Sleeping Bear battled over the cost of the island until a federal court finally resolved the matter in 1984. After almost a decade of price negotiations, the park paid \$12.5 million to the Angell Foundation for North Manitou and opened up the island to visitors.²⁰⁸

Although Sleeping Bear's administrators did not purchase North Manitou from the Angell Foundation until 1984, they included plans for management of the island in the first two general management plans from 1970 and 1979. In order to comply with the Wilderness Act of 1964, Sleeping Bear completed a preliminary wilderness study in 1974 in which administrators identified 14,400 acres of land on North Manitou as potential wilderness. In 1980, the acreage was increased by 326 acres. The acreage proposed in

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 58-60, 143.

²⁰⁷ Brenda Wheeler Williams with Arnold R. Alanen and William H. Tishler, *Coming Through with Rye: An Historic Agricultural Landscape Study of South Manitou Island* (Omaha, NE: National Field Area, National Park Service, 1996), 78.

²⁰⁸ Theodore J. Karamanski *A Nationalized Lakeshore* (National Park Service, 2000), 59.

1980 on North Manitou made up almost 50 percent of the total proposed wilderness in the entire lakeshore.²⁰⁹

In 1987 the park published a Development Concept Plan/Interpretive Prospectus (DCP/IP) specifically for North Manitou; the 1987 DCP/IP informed the park's management decisions regarding the island for over twenty years. In 2008, the park published its first updated general management plan (GMP) since 1979. The 2008 GMP includes management recommendations for North Manitou. The content of these plans reflects how the environmental movement impacted the choices made by Sleeping Bear's administrators regarding cultural and natural resources management.

In 1970, Congress passed the National Environmental Policy Act, established the Environmental Protection Agency, amended the Clean Air Act, and the U.S. celebrated the first Earth Day.²¹⁰ National Parks created in this era were born at the height of the environmental movement in America. Karamanski writes that "In the end it was a curious alignment of environmental activists and business people in favor of economic development that formed the local impetus for the Sleeping Bear Lakeshore."²¹¹ Sleeping Bear's first management plan indicates the effects of the environmental movement on the NPS. The 1970 Master Plan includes basic information about the history (natural and human), population, and economy of the region, the details of the plan, and a priority of

²⁰⁹ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, "Wilderness Recommendation," 1980, 6.

²¹⁰ Chris J. Magoc, *Chronology of Americans and the Environment* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2011), 114-120. According to Magoc, NEPA required federal agencies to produce a statement of environmental impact before completing any projects; the EPA was created in order to enforce laws about the health of both humans and the environment; the Clean Air Act created standards in order to control air pollution; the first Earth Day was the "largest outpouring of citizen activism on any single issue in American History."

²¹¹ Theodore Karamanski, *A Nationalized Lakeshore* (National Park Service, 2000), 42.

needs. In the summary, the author refers to the Sleeping Bear area as “one of the most scenic portions of the Lake Michigan shoreline. It contains an unusual combination of natural features possessing outstanding scientific and recreational values.” The author also recognizes the Manitou islands as “integral parts of the total recreation picture.”²¹² The summary section makes no mention of cultural resources.

The 1970 Master Plan also reflects the precedent of national parks as playgrounds that had been in place since the late nineteenth century. According to historian Richard West Sellars, “in an effort to ensure public enjoyment, nature itself would be manipulated in the national parks; to a large extent, natural resource management would serve tourism purposes.”²¹³ Tourism has been linked almost inextricably with the NPS since 1872 with the creation of Yellowstone, the first national park, where park staff often encouraged a zoo-like atmosphere by feeding bears to attract large numbers of sightseers.²¹⁴ While Sleeping Bear’s managers created a natural resource management division that utilized science in decision-making, providing a variety of recreational opportunities for the visitors was one of the park’s main goals at the time of its establishment.

According to the 1970 Master plan, the interpretive theme of Sleeping Bear should be the story of “the geological and ecological processes that created the Lakeshore landscape, and of the continuing natural changes occurring there.” This interpretation “will help the visitor understand why the landforms and vegetation he sees are where they

²¹² United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, “Master Plan,” Dated February 18, 1970, 1.

²¹³ Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 11.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 22-26.

are.”²¹⁵ The plan did not include the history of human impact on shaping the landscape. Humans logged and farmed, built roads, homes, and towns in the Sleeping Bear area, both on the mainland and the islands. Settlers marked the landscape with the undeniable traces of their presence: re-planted forests, overgrown orchards, abandoned farm fields, barns, cottages and cemeteries, all of which the park inherited. In an era when natural resources management was top priority, the park’s administrators chose to interpret natural history and chose not include an interpretation of the role of human action in shaping the landscape.

In the evaluation of the park’s resources, park administrators determined that “no events of great historical importance have taken place within the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore” and that the human history of the area was “not particularly significant.”²¹⁶ The plan did acknowledge that “the broad sweep of human activity taking place within the area . . . is inherently interesting, and should be interpreted as opportunities occur” and suggested that the “outlines of this story should be sketched in the interpretive center.”²¹⁷ The 1970 Master Plan did not include plans for preservation of historic sites or cultural landscapes on the mainland or the islands. The plans for limited on-site interpretation included only the natural history of the area. Because a constituency involved in the environmental movement helped establish Sleeping Bear, natural resources management became the priority of park managers. In addition, Karamanski writes that “one of the nagging problems facing Superintendent Martinek

²¹⁵ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, “Master Plan,” Dated February 18, 1970 26.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 21, 28.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 21, 28.

and his staff was the lack of development funds for historic preservation, transportation, interpretation, and resource protection.”²¹⁸ In the park’s early years, the Superintendents dealt with continued land acquisition issues, limited budget, and a culture born out of the environmental movement of focusing on natural resources management rather than cultural resources management.²¹⁹

As of 1970, Sleeping Bear’s administrators had not conducted studies of the historic resources within the park’s boundaries. However, Sleeping Bear’s 1970 Master Plan did contain a map of known historical resources including fourteen sites/buildings, three of which were located on North Manitou.²²⁰ The North Manitou Island sites include two docks and a cemetery (See Figure 21). During the 1970s the NPS defined the importance of the Sleeping Bear area mainly in terms of its natural resources and the recreational opportunities available because of those resources. The NPS solidified Sleeping Bear’s commitment to natural resources management and recreation in the park’s enabling legislation, which called for the park to provide “recreational opportunities consistent with the maximum protection of the natural environment.”²²¹ The struggle to purchase privately-owned land consumed the rest of the decade and by the time Sleeping Bear’s administrators produced the next management plan in 1979, North Manitou remained in the hands of private landowners.²²²

²¹⁸ Theodore Karamanski, *A Nationalized Lakeshore* (National Park Service, 2000), 65.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 65.

²²⁰ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, “Master Plan,” Dated February 18, 1970, 15. “History” map.

²²¹ *An Act to Establish in the State of Michigan the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore*, Public Law 91-479, 91st Cong., 2d sess. (October 21, 1970), 1.

²²² Theodore Karamanski, *A Nationalized Lakeshore* (National Park Service, 2000), 58.

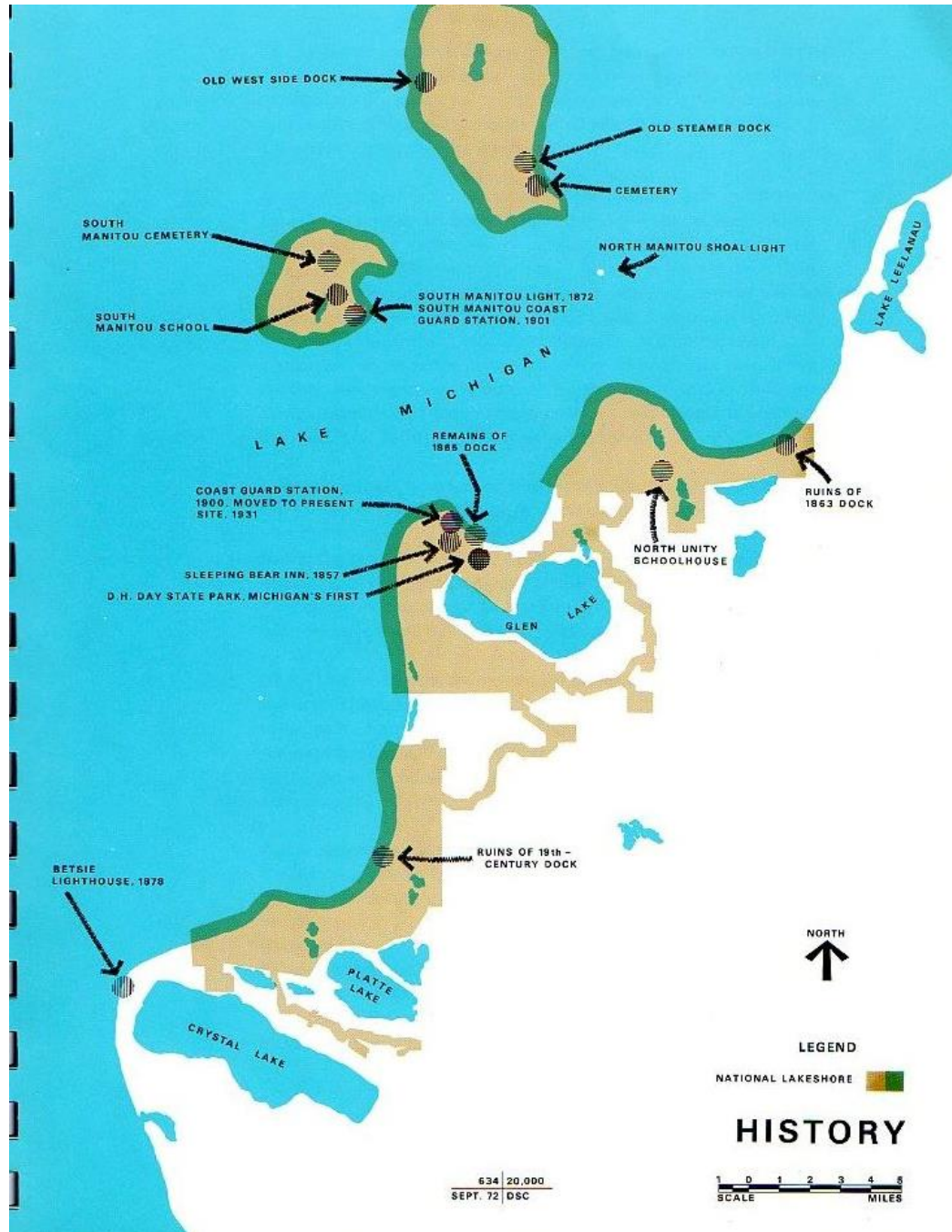


Figure 21. History Map, 1970 General Management Plan, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

The environmental movement continued to pick up speed during the Nixon administration (1969-1974) when Congress passed the National Environmental Policy Act (1969), the Clean Air Act (1970), the Clean Water Act (1972), and the Endangered

Species Act (1973), and when the federal government entered into the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement (1972) and banned the use of DDT (1972).²²³ The National Environmental Policy Act created new policies regarding environmental protection which “requires the federal government to use all practicable means to create and maintain conditions under which man and nature can exist in productive harmony.”²²⁴ The Clean Air Act helped regulate the emission of air pollutants and established air quality standards.²²⁵ The Clean Water Act attempted to control water pollution by requiring permits for the expulsion of pollutants into a water source and the Endangered Species Act established a list of endangered and threatened species, made it illegal to kill or harm them, and encouraged conservation of habitat.²²⁶ The U.S. and Canada entered into the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement in order to take responsibility for cleaning up their shared border.²²⁷ Additionally, the federal government also banned the use of DDT, an insecticide initially developed in the 1940s as a means of combating insect-borne diseases such as malaria and as a form of insect control in agriculture. Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* played an instrumental role in stirring up wide-spread public concern with DDT’s

²²³ Chris J. Magoc, *Chronology of Americans and the Environment* (Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2011), 118-120. DDT, a powerful insecticide that had been in use in the US for thirty years before it was banned, was responsible for the near extinction of the bald eagle and many other species of bird.

²²⁴ “NEPA Requirements,” <http://www.epa.gov/compliance/basics/nepa.html>, (Accessed October 2013).

²²⁵ “Summary of the Clean Air Act, <http://www2.epa.gov/laws-regulations/summary-clean-air-act>, (accessed February 2014).

²²⁶ “NEPA Requirements,” <http://www.epa.gov/compliance/basics/nepa.html>, (Accessed October 2013).

²²⁷ Chris J. Magoc, *Chronology of Americans and the Environment* (Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2011), 118-120.

adverse impact on wildlife, the environment, and human health that ultimately led to its ban.²²⁸

This impressive array of legislation demonstrates the political effectiveness of the popular, ecology-based environmental movement. Due to the new legislation, the NPS was required to adjust its management policies. In 1979, Sleeping Bear’s administrators produced a general management plan in order to take new environmental legislation into account. The 1979 General Management Plan (1979 GMP) gives an overview of natural and cultural resources, and describes visitor use, resources management, management zoning, and general development. The 1979 GMP focuses heavily on natural resources; however, the effects of the National Historic Preservation Act are evident as well.

The new interest in historic preservation expressed in the 1979 GMP reflects the continued growth of the historic preservation movement at a national level and the rise of local historic preservation groups. The authors of the 1979 GMP suggested more interpretation of cultural resources than in the 1970 plan. In 1979, park administrators believed that the “natural history and human history are inseparable parts of the interpretive story ... a story of human adaptation to and influence on the natural environment.”²²⁹ This acknowledgement of the relationship between human and natural history represents a rare overlap in the historic preservation and environmental movements. The management and interpretation plans from 1987 and 2008 do not acknowledge the importance of the interaction between humans and the environment in

²²⁸ “DDT-A Brief History and Status,” <http://www.epa.gov/pesticides/factsheets/chemicals/ddt-brief-history-status.htm> (accessed February 2014).

²²⁹ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, “General Management Plan,” Dated October, 1979, 5.

shaping the land within the park's boundaries. Once Sleeping Bear decided to manage North Manitou as a wilderness, focusing on natural resources may have simplified management decisions. What William Cronon writes about the Apostle Islands can also be applied to Sleeping Bear's management of North Manitou: "A wilderness without evidence of human use is easier to manage. A clean, pristine wilderness is more legible than a messy, storied one."²³⁰

The 1979 plan reiterates the earlier beliefs that the public would visit Sleeping Bear primarily for its recreational opportunities, but differs from the 1970 plan in its acknowledgement of sites and landscapes of historical and cultural value and calls for their interpretation. However, the plan for North Manitou varies greatly from the plans for the mainland and South Manitou. The 1979 GMP emphasizes the "primitive character...inaccessibility, lack of development, and relatively large size" of North Manitou and provides for "limited orientation and interpretive aids," and in so doing overlooks profound human impact on the landscape and abundant surviving material evidence of land use.²³¹ The park administrators believed that visitors traveled to the island seeking a different kind of experience than what the mainland had to offer: wilderness. A supplement to the 1979 GMP, the Assessment of Alternatives, provides a more in-depth look at what Sleeping Bear's administrators envisioned for its eventual management of North Manitou.

The 1979 Assessment of Alternatives provides two alternatives for the management of North Manitou Island. Both alternatives function under the assumption

²³⁰ William Cronon, "Foreword: Irrevocable Lessons of Vanishing Fields" in James W. Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness: Rewilding the Apostle Islands* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 14.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

that on the island, “essential aspects of the visitor experience will be a high degree of solitude, a feeling of self-reliance, and a sense of exploration.”²³² Alternative 1 suggests emphasizing “natural conditions,” by removing the white-tailed deer population, allowing visitors the opportunity to explore the island without any interpretation or visitor facilities, and calling for the park to “remove all or allow all structures to deteriorate from natural conditions” in order to manage the island as a wilderness area. Under Alternative 2 (the alternative ultimately chosen by park administration), the park would maintain the white-tailed deer population, provide limited interpretation, use some of the existing buildings for administrative purposes and remove the others or allow them to fall into ruin, and manage most of the island as wilderness.²³³

According to the Assessment of Alternatives, both of these management options would improve the islands’ “wilderness character” as “evidence of man’s habitation would eventually disappear” thereby creating a “true wilderness.”²³⁴ Therefore, according to the descriptions of the wilderness planned by Sleeping Bear in 1979, a “true” wilderness should be devoid of all physical evidence that people lived, worked, or played in that area. Ironically, park administrators choose to keep a non-native species that would not have been found naturally on North Manitou Island prior to man’s habitation there—the introduced white-tailed deer population. What the park acquired when it purchased NMI was one large cultural landscape, an entire island transformed by the people who lived there. Visitors encountered abandoned cottages and farmhouses,

²³² United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, “Assessment of Alternatives, General Management Plan,” 1979, 5.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 8.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 13, 15.

overgrown fields and orchards, a forest understory transformed by white-tailed deer introduced by humans, rusty farm equipment, roads, and old automobiles, not a primeval, virgin oasis. Sleeping Bear's administrators planned to re-shape North Manitou Island in order to fit their definition of wilderness, which did not include restoring completely "natural" conditions as it did not include removing introduced species.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, an effort to preserve historic resources on the mainland at Sleeping Bear slowly began to take root. When historic properties were in danger of being lost forever, local citizens armed with preservation legislation like the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 came together in an attempt to save cultural resources. At Sleeping Bear, preservation groups did not form until the 1990s when word that the park planned to demolish hundreds of historic structures spread through the local community.²³⁵ In 1971, President Nixon closed a major loophole in the original National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 when he issued Executive Order 11593. Executive Order 11593 was incorporated into the 1966 act by amendment; federal agencies were directed to "undertake surveys that might yield additional nominations and to exercise caution when considering actions affecting potentially eligible properties."²³⁶ In addition, grass-roots historic preservation expanded during the 1970s as a result of Bicentennial celebrations and federal tax legislation which offered incentives for rehabilitating historic properties.²³⁷ Maritime history also began to grow in national popularity, which led Sleeping Bear's interpretive rangers to nominate the Sleeping Bear Inn and the Sleeping

²³⁵ About Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear, "Our History," <http://www.phsb.org/welcome>, (accessed March 2013).

²³⁶ Robert Stipe, *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 71.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

Bear Point Life Saving Station to the National Register in 1979 and the Glen Haven Village Historic District and the South Manitou Island Lighthouse Complex and Life-Saving Station Historical District in 1983.²³⁸

During the 1980s, the NPS began a service-wide landscape preservation initiative and began to include historic rural landscape districts on the National Register. The NPS defines historic rural landscape districts as “a geographically definable area, possessing a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of landscape components which are united by human use and past events” and that include “cultural material landscape components that clearly show the results of human occupancy and modification of the landscape.”²³⁹ At Sleeping Bear, the administration struggled with the growing interest in preservation and the lack of sufficient funds to complete projects. In 1987, Sleeping Bear’s Superintendent Peterson said “We’ve got three hundred vacant and abandoned buildings in this park. What do we do with them?”²⁴⁰ The answer to the Peterson’s question became evident a decade later when the park announced its plans to demolish hundreds of historic structures on the mainland.

In 1997, the NPS added the Port Oneida Rural Historic District to the National Register of Historic Places. However, Sleeping Bear did not have the money to restore and preserve all of the buildings and planned to demolish some historic structures and let

²³⁸ William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (Pittstown, NJ: The Main Street Press, 1988) 114. Murtagh writes that maritime preservation grew out of the tall-ship celebrations that were a part of the Bicentennial; Theodore Karamanski, *A Nationalized Lakeshore* (National Park Service, 2000) 128. Karamanski also points to the growing popularity of maritime history as the impetus for preserving Sleeping Bear’s maritime-related structures and landscapes. He also writes that interpretive rangers William Herd and Charles Parkinson were instrumental in establishing the Maritime Museum located at Sleeping Bear Point.

²³⁹ Robert Z. Melnick, *Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System* (Washington, D.C.: US Department of the Interior, 1984), 7-8.

²⁴⁰ Theodore Karamanski, *A Nationalized Lakeshore* (National Park Service, 2000) 132.

others molder.²⁴¹ The threat of the loss of these historic structures served as the impetus for creating a constituency dedicated to raising the funds necessary for preservation. A local non-profit organization, Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear was formed in 1998, when “the public was alerted to the park’s intent to demolish over 200 of the 366 historic structures” and a group of “local residents founded Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear...to advocate for, and assist the Park in saving these priceless historic resources.”²⁴² Historic preservation thus began on the mainland led by park partners. However, attempts at historic preservation on North Manitou were complicated by the island’s categorization as a wilderness area.

Three years after Sleeping Bear purchased the island from the Angell Foundation, Sleeping Bear’s administrators published the 1987 Development Concept Plan/Interpretive Prospectus (DCP/IP), which they intended to utilize for at least fifteen years. The DCP/IP demonstrates that the park complied with the legislation passed during the 1960s and 1970s, including the National Environmental Policy Act, the Endangered Species Act, and the National Historic Preservation Act.²⁴³ The DCP/IP also states that due to amendments to Sleeping Bear’s enabling act in 1982, the island would be managed as if it were a wilderness area (except for a twenty-seven acre exclusion, see Figure 22) until Congress officially included North Manitou in the federal wilderness

²⁴¹ “Fighting for Dunes History,” *Traverse City Record Eagle*, 1998, <http://i1093.photobucket.com/albums/i438/phennig/fightingforduneshistory.jpg>. (accessed, April 2013).

²⁴² About Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear, “Our History,” <http://www.phsb.org/welcome>, (accessed March 2013).

²⁴³ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Development Concept Plan/Interpretive Prospectus, North Manitou Island, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” 1987, 28. “Legal Compliance and Consultation.” In this section, the park administrators state that the suggested plans would have minor environmental impact, that measures would be taken to protect the island’s endangered Piping Plover population, and that the park would consult the MI SHPO concerning the remaining historic sites.

preservation system.²⁴⁴ The authors of the DCP/IP provided an evaluation of forty-two of the more than fifty structures located on NMI.²⁴⁵ According to the DCP/IP, “prior to this study, their eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places was undetermined, which caused uncertainty about management of the buildings.”²⁴⁶ Out of the forty-two structures, twelve were already ruins. The authors considered eleven structures potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register, with six of those structures a part of the USLSS/USGC complex.²⁴⁷ While the DCP/IP recognizes that historic structures related to the agricultural, maritime, and recreational history of North Manitou existed, preservation would only occur concurrent with National Register listing. Similar to the 1970 GMP, all structures not considered eligible for nomination to the National Register were to be removed or “allowed to deteriorate naturally.”²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 1-2.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 37. The Core Planning Team for the DCP/IP included an NPS landscape architect, historian, interpretive planner, Sleeping Bear’s Superintendent, and the Chief of Division Planning and Environmental Quality from the Midwest Regional Office. In addition, an environmental compliance specialist, Sleeping Bear’s Chief of Interpretation and Cultural Resource Management Specialist, a civil engineer, and the Deputy Michigan State Historic Preservation Officer served as consultants.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 2.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 15. This information is listed in “Table 1: North Manitou Island Historic Structures.” The table includes construction date, theme association, size in square footage, condition, potential for National Register eligibility, and current use.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., ii.

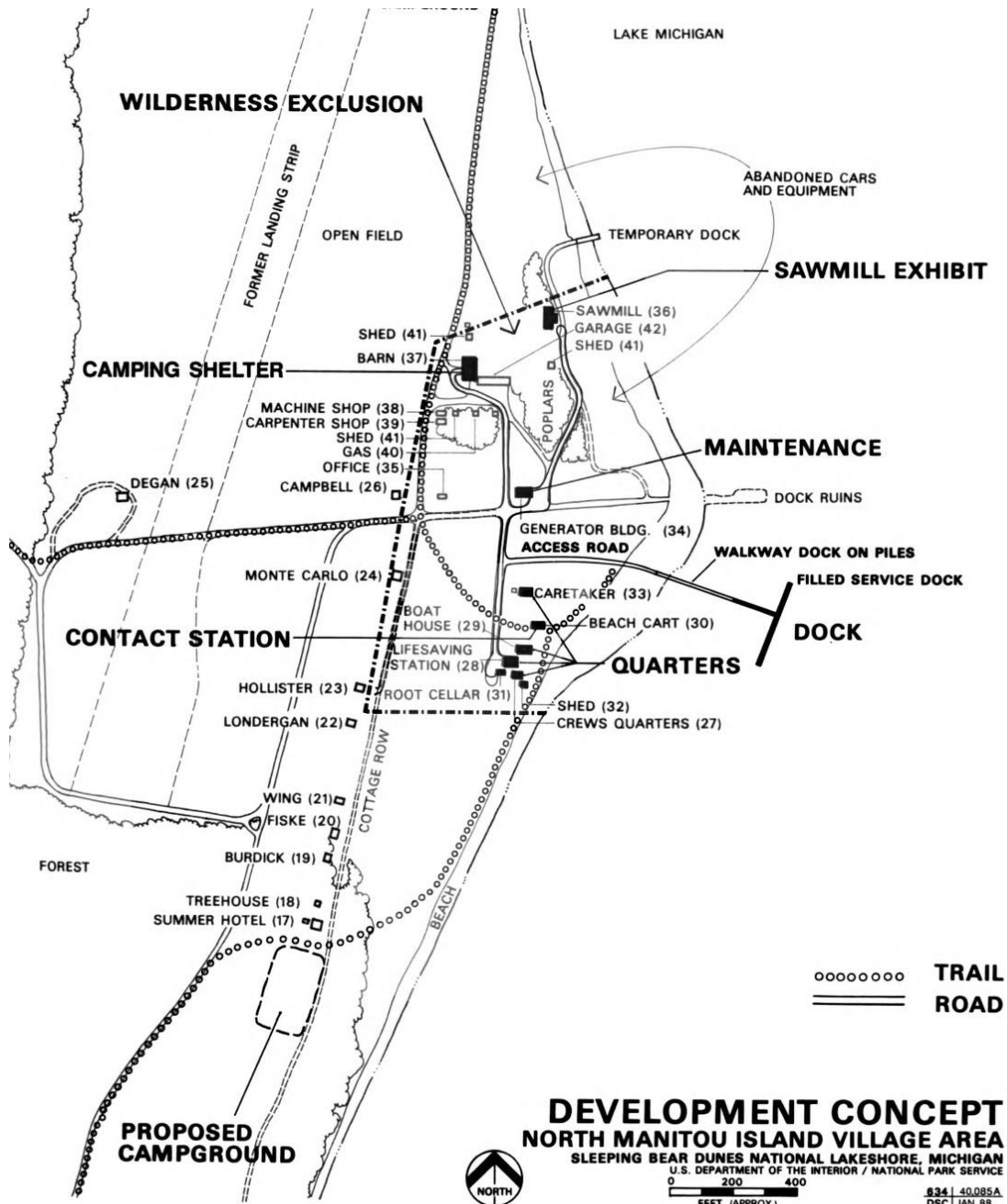


Figure 22. North Manitou Island Wilderness Exclusion Map, 1987 DCP/IP, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

Sleeping Bear’s administrators listed several other reasons for the lack of preservation and interpretation of cultural resources on North Manitou. According to the DCP/IP, “to preserve the primitive, wilderness character of North Manitou Island, no on-

site interpretive center is proposed.”²⁴⁹ If structures located within the twenty-seven acre wilderness exclusion did earn listing on the National Register, as many as three “simple way-side exhibits” could be erected in the village to provide some limited interpretation.²⁵⁰ Unless listed on the National Register, the park did not plan to provide interpretation. The park’s administrators did not believe that an authentic wilderness experience included the interpretation of cultural resources. However, North Manitou Island was not an authentic wilderness. The park’s administrators decided to advertise the island as such, much as the MIA had done during its tenure, in order to attract visitors who desired a wilderness experience.

According to the DCP/IP, “the natural and cultural resources and history story are largely similar on North and South Manitou islands.”²⁵¹ More recent research disproves this statement. According to MacDonald and Alanen, “in contrast to South Manitou and the mainland, agriculture on North Manitou was characteristically large-scale and highly-organized.”²⁵² In 1894, North Manitou became the site of an orchard owned by the Stark Brothers Nursery; Stark Brothers developed the Red and Golden Delicious variety of apples, some of which were planted on North Manitou Island.²⁵³ This orchard,

²⁴⁹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Development Concept Plan/Interpretive Prospectus, North Manitou Island, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” 1987, 20.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 20; According to Sleeping Bear’s Historic Architect, Kim Mann, way-side exhibits and signage concerning history never materialized on NMI.

²⁵¹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Development Concept Plan/Interpretive Prospectus, North Manitou Island, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” 1987, 20.

²⁵² MacDonald, 255.

²⁵³ Susan Dolan, “A Fruitful Legacy: A Historic Context of Fruit Trees and Orchards in the United States, from 1600 to the Present, Draft,” United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service January 2007, 281.

approximately 180 acres, was much larger than the small, family-owned orchards on South Manitou Island.

Tourism also took different forms on each island. As previously established, the Manitou Island Association and the Angell Foundation made North Manitou Island into an exclusive retreat. According to retired Sleeping Bear ranger Pete LaValley, “You weren’t allowed to just go on North Manitou, it was closed up.” South Manitou however was much more accessible to the public and boasted a three-room hotel, cottages on the inland lake, a general store, and a public marina with a restaurant. Ranger LaValley estimated there were 30 summer residents on South Manitou when he began working there in 1972. The management plans written in the 1970s and 1980s call for preservation and interpretation of some of the cultural resources on South Manitou as well as a small wilderness area. Preservation of cultural resources on North Manitou gained some ground in 1994 when the North Manitou Island USLSS/USCG station received National Historic Landmark designation. National Historic Landmark designation is the federal government’s highest level of preservation distinction.²⁵⁴

During the 1990s and early 2000s, Sleeping Bear’s administrators continued to focus their energy on natural resources management. In 1999, the park increased efforts at controlling nonnative invasive plants such as garlic mustard, baby’s breath, and purple loosestrife.²⁵⁵ In 2001, Sleeping Bear teamed up with the Michigan Department of

²⁵⁴ “About NHL Program,” <http://www.nps.gov/nhl/tutorial/About/About1.htm> (accessed, October 2013).

²⁵⁵ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Final General Management Plan/Wilderness Study/Environmental Impact Statement for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” October, 2008, Ch. 4: Affected Environment, “Invasive Species,” 106. Over 150 nonnative plants have been identified at SLBE. The park began aggressive efforts at controlling nine of these plants and weeds in 1999. In 2006, SLBE developed an Invasive Species Control Plan and Environmental Assessment which also included aquatic invasive species.

Natural Resources and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in order to develop a plan for monitoring and protecting the piping plover, a small shorebird, which was placed on the Federal endangered species list in 1986.²⁵⁶ As of summer 2013, piping plover nests were located on North Manitou Island.²⁵⁷ Sleeping Bear’s administrators referred to the 1987 DCP/IP to guide their management decisions concerning North Manitou until undertaking the planning process for a new general management plan in 2006. The final draft of that plan, which is the plan currently in use by Sleeping Bear, was published in 2008.

The 2008 General Management Plan (2008 GMP) provides “five alternatives for managing the entire National Lakeshore for the next 20 years or more. It also analyzes the impacts of implementing each of the alternatives.”²⁵⁸ The alternatives include: No Action, Preferred Alternative, Alternative A, Alternative B, and Alternative C. The 2008 GMP also establishes four management zones, including “High Use,” “Recreation,” “Experience Nature” and “Experience History.”²⁵⁹ Sleeping Bear’s administrators instituted priorities in each zone concerning the management of natural resources, cultural resources, possible wilderness designation, and visitor use.

²⁵⁶ “Breeding Biology and Management of the Great Lakes Piping Plover Population,” (2001), 1. For a copy of this research proposal, see <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/naturescience/upload/plover.pdf>.

²⁵⁷ Katelyn Fredericks, field work. As an employee of Sleeping Bear Dunes in summer 2013, I received weekly updates from park biological technicians about the status of piping plover nesting areas throughout the lakeshore.

²⁵⁸ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Final General Management Plan/Wilderness Study/Environmental Impact Statement for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” October, 2008, Letter from Dusty Shultz, Superintendent. Superintendent Shultz explains the planning process for the 2008 GMP in this letter: it began in 2006 and involved meeting with over 2500 people in 90 informational meetings where the park received more than three hundred comments on GMP drafts.

²⁵⁹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Final General Management Plan/Wilderness Study/Environmental Impact Statement for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” October, 2008, 40.

The High Use zone contains Sleeping Bear’s administrative facilities and provides a location for structured activities such as educational programs and ranger-led tours. The Recreation Zone provides areas for multiple recreational activities and includes Lake Michigan beaches. The Experience Nature Zone is the “wildest, most natural management zone” where “low numbers of visitors enjoy primitive recreation.”²⁶⁰ In addition, the Experience Nature zone is the only zone in which wilderness occurs. The Experience History zone is “managed primarily to preserve historic structures and landscapes” and “Wilderness does not occur in this zone.”²⁶¹ However, the 2008 GMP also states that “wilderness designation does not prevent the National Park Service from protecting and maintaining historic and other cultural resources located within wilderness areas.”²⁶² These contradictory statements allowed for the creation of separate management plans for natural and cultural resources within each of the four zones.

On North Manitou, Sleeping Bear’s administrators do not acknowledge the interconnectedness between the human history of the area and the land. This artificial divide may explain the lack of historic preservation and interpretation of sites that exist within areas managed as wilderness on North Manitou. In fact, none of the four alternatives make any mention of providing interpretation on North Manitou Island. Each alternative does provide for limited preservation of cultural resources, however.

The 2008 GMP acknowledges that Sleeping Bear must adhere to the mandates of the National Historic Preservation Act and that “cultural resources, including historic

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 41.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid., 90.

properties, are non-renewable.”²⁶³ Sleeping Bear came under scrutiny in 1995 when the National Advisory Council on Historic Preservation found that the park had not met standards established by the National Historic Preservation Act in the case of the park’s attempt to demolish a historic shed on North Manitou. The issue was resolved when the park agreed to adaptively reuse the structure.²⁶⁴ Park administrators may have remembered this incident when preparing the 2008 GMP. Each of the proposed alternatives states that on North Manitou the USLSS/USCG station, Cottage Row, and “historic structures and landscapes elsewhere on the island” will be preserved.²⁶⁵ Even though the park states that it will protect cultural resources, the 2008 GMP does not include an inventory of potential historically significant sites that may be eligible for listing on the National Register in this GMP. This may become problematic for the park in the future because 1970s-era amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act require parks to conduct surveys of historic properties in order to determine eligibility for

²⁶³ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Final General Management Plan/Wilderness Study/Environmental Impact Statement for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” October, 2008, section titled “Impacts to Cultural Resources and Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act.” Section 106 states that “prior to the approval of the expenditure of any Federal funds...take into account the effect of the undertaking on any district, site, building, structure, or object that is included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register.” For a copy of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, see <http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/nhpa1966.htm>.

²⁶⁴ Theodore Karamanski, *A Nationalized Lakeshore* (National Park Service, 2000) 136; John M. Fowler, “The Federal Preservation Program,” in Richard E. Stipe, *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 38. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation was created by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. It is made up of twenty officers and presidential appointees whose task is to “bring a balanced view to preservation issues confronting the federal government.”

²⁶⁵ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Final General Management Plan/Wilderness Study/Environmental Impact Statement for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” October, 2008. See Chapter 5, “Environmental Impact,” which assesses the impacts of the alternatives, including impact of cultural resources on NMI.

the National Register.²⁶⁶ The 2008 GMP does not indicate specific historic sites nor does it call for any interpretation or specific plans for preservation or adaptive reuse of these sites even though reuse of historic buildings at the park has succeed in the past, such as the current function of USLSS/USCG buildings as housing for seasonal rangers.

When visitors arrive on North Manitou, the first sight they see is the USLSS/USGC station and Cottage Row, tangible evidence of human history that clashes with the park's portrayal of the island as a primeval wilderness. Sleeping Bear's administrators lose out on a prime opportunity to interpret the local and state significance of North Manitou as well as the chance to tie in to broader national themes, such as the ways in which changing ideas about wilderness guided human decisions about the best use of land. The definition of wilderness laid out in the 2008 GMP may be a main cause of confusion with regards to the management of cultural resources on North Manitou.

The 2008 GMP states that the new wilderness recommendation "improves upon the 1981 'Wilderness Recommendation'" which "never formally reached Congress" but resulted in amendments to Sleeping Bear's enabling legislation that required the park to manage the proposed area as wilderness until formal designation occurs.²⁶⁷ According to the 2008 GMP, wilderness areas "are affected primarily by the forces of nature, and signs of people remain substantially unnoticeable."²⁶⁸ Wilderness areas within Sleeping Bear are also supposed to "retain their undeveloped primeval character and influence, protect and preserve natural conditions, leave the imprint of man's work substantially

²⁶⁶ Robert Stipe, *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 71.

²⁶⁷ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Final General Management Plan/Wilderness Study/Environmental Impact Statement for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore," October, 2008, 7.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.

unnoticeable, provide outstanding opportunities for solitude or primitive and unconfined types of recreation, and preserve wilderness in an unimpaired condition.”²⁶⁹ “Natural” is defined in the GMP as “areas that are largely free from effects of modern civilization” and “evidence of human manipulation.”²⁷⁰ In the case of North Manitou, historic buildings, sites, and landscapes exist on the island and are very noticeable. Evidence of “modern civilization” and “human manipulation,” such as old roads, farm fields, orchards, and farm equipment remain on the island. North Manitou Island, the location of the majority of the park’s proposed wilderness, does not fit the park’s own definition of what a wilderness should be. Some cultural resources such as those located within in the North Manitou Island village (USLSS/USCG, Cottage Row, some Manitou Island Association buildings), are a part of the wilderness area exclusion and may be eligible for listing on the National Register.

Additionally, the term “natural” as defined in the “Wilderness Character” section of the 2008 GMP also “refers to maintenance of natural ecological relationships and processes” and “continued existence of native wildlife and plants in largely natural conditions.”²⁷¹ According to this definition, maintaining the unnatural white-tailed herd would not add to North Manitou’s wilderness character. However, the 2008 GMP does provide the park administrators’ reasons for allowing the deer to remain on the island. According to the Wilderness Act of 1964, wilderness areas should provide opportunities

²⁶⁹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Final General Management Plan/Wilderness Study/Environmental Impact Statement for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” October, 2008, from Chapter 3, “Wilderness Study and Proposal,” 89-90.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 177-178.

²⁷¹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Final General Management Plan/Wilderness Study/Environmental Impact Statement for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” October, 2008, 177.

for a “primitive and unconfined type of recreation.”²⁷² The 2008 GMP lists hunting as a type of primitive, unconfined recreation available at Sleeping Bear Dunes, including on North Manitou Island.²⁷³ In this case, recreational opportunity trumps re-establishing truly natural ecological conditions on the island. Naturalness and wilderness do not necessarily go hand in hand.

Another factor contributing to the state of cultural resource management on North Manitou is the park administration’s unwillingness to amend their enabling legislation and purpose statement to include cultural resources. According to the 2008 GMP, a “park unit’s purpose statement, simply stated, is the reason a specific park was designated by Congress.”²⁷⁴ The reason for the designation of Sleeping Bear as identified in the purpose statement is “to preserve this portion of Lake Michigan Shoreline for the inspiration, education, and recreational use and enjoyment of the American people”²⁷⁵ It does not specifically mention the management of cultural or natural resources. Jonathan Hawley, who worked as a Congressional fellow during the last critical years in the struggle to authorize the park and helped craft the language of Sleeping Bear’s enabling legislation stated: “I believe the legislation is broad enough in its definitions to embrace those concerns” and that “the mission is much stronger for embracing those things than

²⁷² *The Wilderness Act of 1964*, Public Law 88-577, 88th Cong., 2d sess. (September 3, 1964), 1. For a copy of the Wilderness Act, as amended, see: <http://wilderness.nps.gov/document/WildernessAct.pdf>.

²⁷³ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Final General Management Plan/Wilderness Study/Environmental Impact Statement for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” October, 2008, 135.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 301.

²⁷⁵ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, “Master Plan,” Dated February 18, 1970, 8.

ignoring them or letting all those cultural things just sort of evaporate.”²⁷⁶ However, at least one park partner group, Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear, feels that leaving cultural resources out of the important documents that guide Sleeping Bear’s management puts them at risk, whether or not they are embraced by the spirit of the legislation.

In a 2008 letter to Sleeping Bear Superintendent Dusty Shultz, Preserve’s president, Susan Pocklington, called for “equal priority of the Park’s historic and natural resources” and states that the enabling legislation and purpose are out of date.²⁷⁷ In the letter, Pocklington cites the NPS Organic Act of 1916, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, and the reports on Sleeping Bear’s cultural resources commissioned by the NPS as justification for making the amendments. She states that Preserve worries that not making the suggested changes could lead future managers to “misinterpret, due to lack of clarity...the stated intent [in the GMP] to save all of the cultural resources.” Pocklington also points out that the park “may be at a disadvantage, and consequently be less successful at competing for Federal dollars for cultural resources if these policies do not indicate the preservation of these resources as an important aspect of this Park.”²⁷⁸ In the 2008 GMP, Sleeping Bear’s administrators responded to Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear’s concerns.

Chapter 6 of the 2008 GMP, “Consultation and Coordination,” includes a sampling of public comments on the various drafts of the GMP. In response to Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear’s call for amendments to Sleeping Bear’s enabling legislation

²⁷⁶ Fredericks and Hawley.

²⁷⁷ Susan Pocklington, President, Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear to Dusty Shultz, Superintendent, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, June 16, 2008. For a copy of this letter, see <http://www.phsb.org/files.preserve/176.pdf>

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

Sleeping Bear’s administrators stated: “A park unit’s purpose statement...is the reason a specific park was designated by Congress. The purpose of Sleeping Bear...was clearly specified by Congress in the 1970 legislation...that purpose does not include cultural resources.”²⁷⁹ In response to the hope that the park might alter its purpose statement, the park explained that a purpose statement “does not replace or lessen the impact of the National Park Service’s mission. Rather, it focuses the agency’s management role” and that not including cultural resources in the statement would not “permit the National Lakeshore to ignore the requirements of federal legislation.”²⁸⁰ The response also included that “adding cultural resources to the National Lakeshore’s purpose would offer no additional protection or funding for cultural resources beyond what is currently provided.”²⁸¹ The park’s refusal to include cultural resources in the enabling legislation and purpose statement further demonstrates the managerial divide between natural and cultural resources management at Sleeping Bear.

In the absence of a commitment on the part of Park managers to preserve cultural resources on North Manitou, local preservation partners emerged to fill the void. Their organization represents a response to threats to cultural resources that in many cases symbolized ways of life that had flourished before the establishment of the National Lakeshore. They also benefitted from a growing interest among preservationists

²⁷⁹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Final General Management Plan/Wilderness Study/Environmental Impact Statement for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” October, 2008, 301.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid

nationally in the kinds of vernacular resources included in the park.²⁸² Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear's past projects on North Manitou include stabilization and preservation of the Katie Shepard Hotel and three cottages located within Cottage Row. The Manitou Island Memorial Society has also contributed to preservation of cultural resources on North Manitou including taking charge of cemetery maintenance in 2005. This organization began in 1970 as an annual reunion for South Manitou residents and expanded to include former North Manitou Island residents in 2003.²⁸³ Restoration of the Katie Shepard Hotel continued in the summers of 2011 and 2012. The efforts of park partners in preservation on North Manitou demonstrates that there is a constituency concerned with protecting the cultural resources on the island, educating the public about the island's history, and preserving the legacy of former island residents, some of whom are still living. The 2008 GMP does not give any indication that Sleeping Bear plans to acknowledge the significance of North Manitou's human history by increasing preservation or providing interpretation in the future.

²⁸² Robert Stipe, *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), "Historic Preservation as a Mainstream Activity," 12-15.

²⁸³ "About Us," Manitou Islands Memorial Society, <http://www.manitouislandsmemorialsociety.org/about%20us.html>, (accessed April 2013); According to a pocket guide for South Manitou Island published in 2004 by the Manitou Islands Memorial Society (formerly the South Manitou Island Memorial Society established in 1989 and reorganized as MIMS in 2004) the group was established to "preserve the history and cultural traditions of Michigan's Manitou Islands, provide educational and interpretive materials and resources, and support the Park Service financially and as volunteers on the islands;" Manitou Islands Memorial Society Newsletter, Fall/Winter 2005. For a copy of this newsletter, see http://www.manitouislandsarchives.org/archives/newsletters/nl_archives/v16n3/v16n3.html.

Managing and Interpreting Wilderness on North Manitou Island

Sleeping Bear’s administrators continue to promote North Manitou Island as a “true wilderness experience” with an emphasis on “solitude and self-reliance.”²⁸⁴ The park’s website briefly acknowledges the human history of the island and provides visitors with a link to a study of the island’s cultural resources.²⁸⁵ On North Manitou, the park created some interpretive signage within the wilderness exclusion describing back-country camping regulations, Sleeping Bear’s natural resources programs on the island, and information about the solar panels that provide power for the NPS maintenance shop and housing used by law enforcement rangers.²⁸⁶ From data collected between 2001 and 2010, Master of Science candidate Danielle Dreikich calculated that an average of just over three thousand back-country campers stay on North Manitou per year.²⁸⁷ Sleeping Bear does not provide signs, wayside exhibits, ranger-led programs or hikes in order to interpret the significance of North Manitou’s cultural resources, such as the National Historic Landmark (the USLSS/USCG station) and other structures potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register, to the thousands of people who visit the island each year.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁴ Sleeping Bear National Lakeshore, 2009 Visitor Guide, “North Manitou Island.”

²⁸⁵ Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, “Plan Your Visit,” “North Manitou Island,” <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/planyourvisit/northmanitouisland.htm>, (accessed April 2013).

²⁸⁶ Kimberly Mann, Historic Architect, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, email message to author, March, 8, 2012.

²⁸⁷ Danielle Dreikich, “Assessing Visitor Use Impacts to Natural Resources and Creating Restoration Recommendations for North Manitou Island, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” A project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science (Natural Resources and Environment) at the University of Michigan, April 2012, 5.

²⁸⁸ In the summer of 2012, SLBE interpretation rangers provided Leave No Trace education on North Manitou Island. For detailed information see: <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/supportyourpark/leavenotrace.htm>, (accessed April 2013).

In 2012, landscape historians, staff of Sleeping Bear, and the Michigan State Historic Preservation Office completed a Cultural Landscapes Inventory (CLI) for Cottage Row. According to this CLI, “The Cottage Row Historic District has been identified as contributing to the proposed Manitou Passage Maritime Landscape National Historic District, which encompasses multiple shoreline properties along the Michigan mainland and the Manitou Islands.”²⁸⁹ Since these sites are located within the wilderness exclusion, increased efforts at preservation, creative re-use of buildings, signage, and occasional ranger-led hikes or interpretive programs would be appropriate.

Because Sleeping Bear’s current system of organization places more emphasis on natural resources management and has no actual cultural resources management division, it is challenging for those responsible for the stewardship of these resources to reach across the managerial divide and work together. Striking a balance between natural and cultural resources management on North Manitou would allow visitors to better understand the island they explore as a cultural artifact, shaped by over a century of natural and human processes and not as a wilderness devoid of human history.

²⁸⁹ National Park Service, Cultural Landscape Inventory, North Manitou Island-Cottage Row, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 2012, 2.

Chapter 3: A Historical Wilderness

What is wilderness? Why do we preserve wild areas? How do we decide what tracts of land are worthy of federal wilderness designation? Historians are still engaged in an ongoing wilderness debate, struggling to answer these questions. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) provides several definitions of the word “wild:” “living in a state of nature; not tame, not domesticated,” “uncultivated or uninhabited,” “uncivilized, savage,” “not under, or submitting to, control or restraint,” and “unconfined, unrestricted.”²⁹⁰ “Wild” most commonly functions as an adjective used to describe animals, plants, people, and places. The OED defines “wilderness” as: “wild or uncultivated land,” “inhabited only by wild animals,” and “a waste or desolate region of any kind.”²⁹¹ The Wilderness Act of 1964 provides the following definition of wilderness:

A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain...retaining its primeval character and influence, without permanent improvements or human habitation...which generally appears to have been affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man's work substantially unnoticeable...²⁹²

While historians, scientists, and park managers oftentimes cannot agree on the meaning and value of wilderness and best practices for wilderness management, they can

²⁹⁰ "wild, adj. and n.". Oxford English Dictionary Online, <http://www.oed.com.proxy2.ulib.iupui.edu/view/Entry/228988?rskey=utOXip&result=1&isAdvanced=false>, (accessed January 23, 2013).

²⁹¹ "wilderness, n." Oxford English Dictionary Online, <http://www.oed.com.proxy2.ulib.iupui.edu/view/Entry/229003?redirectedFrom=wilderness>, (accessed January 23, 2013).

²⁹²*The Wilderness Act of 1964*, Public Law 88-577, 88th Cong., 2d sess. (September 3, 1964), 1. For a copy of the Wilderness Act, as amended, see: <http://wilderness.nps.gov/document/WildernessAct.pdf>.

at least look to the past and recognize the motivations of their forbearers in preserving wild areas. Environmental historian Roderick Nash discusses shifting notions of wilderness in the seminal *Wilderness and the American Mind*. Nash focuses on the beliefs that shaped attitudes about wilderness from the earliest origin of the word to John Muir and Gifford Pinchot, to Aldo Leopold, and Howard Zahniser. By the early 1960s, a constituency devoted to preserving wild areas and reinforced by the ecology-based environmental movement convinced Congress to pass the Wilderness Act of 1964. At that point, designation of wilderness areas became a Federal responsibility. Decades later, historians like William Cronon began to debate the meaning of wilderness and question the methods used by the NPS to manage it. Cronon believes that “there is nothing natural about the concept of wilderness. It is entirely a creation of the culture that holds it dear.”²⁹³ One method used by the NPS to manage wilderness areas is called “rewilding.” Historian James Feldman uses the term “rewilding” to describe “places where wild nature has returned after long periods of intensive human use” that serve as “examples of the ongoing impact of human choices on natural processes and of natural conditions on human history.”²⁹⁴ Rewilding also resulted in managerial strategies that led to the “erasure” of the material culture evidence of human history.

The ongoing struggle to define wilderness continues at Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore. The park manages North Manitou Island, where humans with many beliefs and motivations once logged, farmed, fished, drove their automobiles, landed their

²⁹³ William Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness, or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature,” in J. Baird Callicott and Michael P. Nelson, *The Great New Wilderness Debate* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 483.

²⁹⁴ James Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness: Rewilding the Apostle Islands* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 9.

airplanes, and vacationed, as if it were a federally designated wilderness area. The common thread woven throughout North Manitou Island's human and natural history is the story of wilderness and its many meanings. Natural resources drew humans to the island and determined the types of activities they performed there. Beliefs about wilderness influenced human choices; beliefs that evolved over time and seriously impacted the way that humans shaped the environment in which they lived. The cultural landscape that exists on North Manitou Island serves as the physical manifestation of the multiple meanings people have assigned to nature and wilderness. This chapter focuses on the views of wilderness laid out by Nelson, Nash, Cronon, and others, specifically applied to North Manitou including wilderness as a commodity, as a place for relaxation and recreation, an area requiring federal wilderness designation, a place where re-wilding occurs, and an example of the ongoing debate about what wilderness means today.

Wilderness as a Commodity

According to Roderick Nash, for the first European settlers in America, “wilderness became the unknown, the disordered, the dangerous” and they directed their energy at “conquering wildness in nature.” Nash continues: “from the raw materials of the physical wilderness, Americans built a civilization.”²⁹⁵ Environmental historian Michael Frome echoes Nash's ideas about early views of wilderness: “The American earth was becoming not simply a place to live on but a commodity with a price tag . . .

²⁹⁵ Roderick Frazier Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), xi-xii. First published in 1967 and now in its fourth edition, environmental historians consider Nash's work a classic in the discussion about “wilderness.”

wilderness destruction was profitable and prestigious.”²⁹⁶ Historian Philip Scarpino writes that “our ancestors struggled mightily to conquer and tame and eliminate wilderness in the belief that productive nature best served human society and that agriculture was the highest use of land.”²⁹⁷ Armed with these beliefs—and axes, saws, plows, and fishing nets—lumberjacks, farmers, and fishermen crossed Lake Michigan and arrived on North Manitou’s shore.

During the 1840s, schooners and steamers sailing on Lake Michigan required wood for fuel and found North Manitou Island a convenient place to replenish their cordwood supply. In addition, the island offered one of just a few safe harbors on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. The earliest documentation that provides clues to the island’s environmental history is an 1847 survey carried out by the Federal government. The surveyor, Orange Risdon, noted land that had already been cleared, a large wood yard and dock, and several buildings including a “boarding house for wood choppers.”²⁹⁸ In the 1860s, wood cutting on the island expanded with the construction of sawmills where lumber was produced. The industry hit its peak with hardwood logging around 1910 when A.J. White’s sawmill and shingle mill employed men and women to work not only in the mills, but also at lumber camps as wood cutters, team drivers, blacksmiths, and cooks, and as clerks at the company store and managers at the loading docks.²⁹⁹ The

²⁹⁶ Michael Frome, *Battle for the Wilderness* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), 30.

²⁹⁷ Philip V. Scarpino, “Isle Royal National Park: Balancing Human and Natural History in a Maritime Park,” *The George Wright Forum*, vol. 28, no. 2 (2011): 193.

²⁹⁸ Orange Risdon, *Survey of Islands, 1847*, 224-247. To view the original survey notes and plat map, see the Bureau of Land Management’s General Land Record online database, http://www.glorecords.blm.gov/details/survey/default.aspx?dm_id=31024&sid=rhmd0th4.imd#surveyDetailsTabIndex=0, (accessed November, 2012).

²⁹⁹ MacDonald, 381-386. Transcription of 1910 Federal Population Census.

town of Crescent City on the island's west side, which only existed for a decade, flourished during its short life-span from about 1909 to 1915; it boasted a post office, hotel, school, stores, and electricity powered by the mill. After the decline of hardwood logging, Crescent City became a ghost town and the lumber industry disappeared from the island's economy until the 1950s when the Manitou Island Association (MIA) hired a mainland firm to begin cutting wood again. According to Forest W. Stearns, ecologist and forest diversity expert, industrial forestry began during the 1920s and continued post WWII when the Pulpwood Era began. Pulpwood was used to make paper, plywood, packing material, boxes, and pallets. Stearns writes that "few, if any, pulp and paper mills developed in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan" however, many of these mills existed in the Upper Peninsula, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.³⁰⁰ MIA records do not specify if trees were cut on North Manitou to produce pulpwood. Logging continued on North Manitou through the 1970s.

In addition to cordwood and lumber, settlers extracted other commodities from the wilderness on North Manitou. Evidence of a small fishing industry on the island exists in the Federal population census; between 1860 and 1920, thirty-six men listed fisherman as their occupation.³⁰¹ Commercial fishermen fished mainly for whitefish, trout, and herring and by the end of the nineteenth century, due to "the stresses of

³⁰⁰ Forest W. Stearns, "History of the Lake States Forests: Natural and Human Impacts," 16, www.ncrs.fs.fed.us/gla/reports/history.PDF, (accessed October 2013). Stearns originally prepared this manuscript in October 1995 for the Lake States Regional Forest Resources Assessment, Lake States Forestry Alliance.

³⁰¹ MacDonald, 365-372. Transcription of 1860 Federal Population Census; MacDonald 373-375. Transcription of 1870 Federal Population Census; MacDonald, 376-378. Transcription of 1880 Federal Population Census; David L. Fritz, "History Data Report on North Manitou Island," (Denver: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1986), 10; MacDonald, 379-380. Transcription of 1900 Federal Population Census; MacDonald, 381-386. Transcription of 1910 Federal Population Census; MacDonald, 387-389. Transcription of 1920 Federal Population Census.

overfishing, habitat destruction, and pollution, the fish population of the Great Lakes changed markedly.”³⁰² Settlers also farmed land cleared during the logging boom and grew crops such as potatoes, corn, wheat, barley, and rye. In addition to crops, islanders also introduced over forty varieties of non-native plants, like lilac and lily-of-the-valley and ornamental trees such as Norway maple, American chestnut, Lombardy poplar, and black locust.³⁰³ Islanders also brought domesticated animals including poultry, cattle, and horses to the island, as well as a range of non-native fruit trees such as apricot, cherry, plum, and apple.³⁰⁴

In just a few decades, woodcutters, farmers, and fisherman carved a home out of wilderness and created lasting impacts to maritime and terrestrial ecology. Today, Sleeping Bear’s administrators make choices about how to manage many non-native terrestrial and aquatic species introduced to the island by North Manitou’s early settlers. Sleeping Bear’s biological technicians fight each year to prevent spotted knapweed, baby’s breath, purple loosestrife, garlic mustard, and myrtle from choking out native plants.³⁰⁵ Non-native aquatic invaders also negatively impacted Lake Michigan, which in turn affected the livelihood of North Manitou’s fishermen. The alewife, sea lamprey, and zebra mussels all arrived via bilge water and waterway improvements constructed to

³⁰² Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History, 1783-1933*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 162.

³⁰³ Ibid, 362. Table C-1 “Culturally Significant Non-native Plant Species on North Manitou Island 1996,” For each plant, this table provides the common name, Latin name, cultural use (including agricultural, domestic garden/orchard, ornamental, and weed), and location on the island.

³⁰⁴ “Aquatic Invaders,” <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/naturescience/nonnativespecies.htm>; “Fish,” <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/naturescience/fish.htm>, (accessed, October 2013).

³⁰⁵ For more information about Sleeping Bear’s non-native plant removal and reduction program see <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/naturescience/nonnativespecies.htm>, (accessed, January 2013).

connect the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean.³⁰⁶ Alewives competed for the same food source as the native fish; sea lamprey, a non-native parasitic lamprey, decimated many native species of fish upon arrival in Lake Michigan in 1936, putting many Great Lakes fisheries out of business; zebra mussels attach themselves to rocks and pilings, and compete with the native freshwater mussel population.

Wilderness as Place for Relaxation and Recreation

By the middle of the nineteenth century, as a result of the industrial revolution and increasing urbanization, some Americans living in more heavily settled areas began to seek respite in wild areas once considered uncivilized and only useful as producers of valuable materials. Transcendental philosophers like Henry David Thoreau wrote about the physical and spiritual aspects of nature. Thoreau believed that most of the trappings of civilization were “all external and superficial” and that people needed to simplify their lives; the wilderness provided a place to “live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life.”³⁰⁷ By the late nineteenth century, early conservationists like John Muir, inspired by the Transcendentalist view of nature, extolled the benefits of leaving disease-ridden cities to take advantage of the healing properties of the wilderness. In 1898, Muir wrote that “thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that . . . wildness is a necessity, and that mountain parks and reservations are useful

³⁰⁶ Ibid., “Aquatic Invaders”; For a comprehensive look at the effects of sea lamprey alewives on the Great Lakes, see Phillip V. Scarpino, “Great Lakes Fisheries: International Response to the Decline of the Fisheries and the Lamprey/Alewife Invasion,” in Terje Tvedt and Richard Coopey, Editors, *A History of Water, Volume II: The Political Economy of Water* (I.B. Tauris, 2006).

³⁰⁷ Henry David Thoreau, quoted in Chris J. Magoc, *So Glorious a Landscape: Nature and the Environment in American History and Culture* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2002), 74-75.

not only as fountains of timber . . . but as fountains of life.”³⁰⁸ Muir called for the need to preserve wilderness, co-founded the Sierra Club in 1892, and helped popularize travel to wild areas.

At the same time popular views about wilderness began to shift from an uncivilized wasteland to a place where one could experience the sublime, wages increased, working hours decreased, and the middle class acquired more leisure time; vacationing was no longer for the upper-class. Middle-class Americans started to vacation as well and they chose locations close to home, easily accessible by steamship, railroad, and later by automobile.³⁰⁹ North Manitou’s location in the Manitou Passage, easily accessible by steamships from ports like Chicago and Milwaukee, proved advantageous once again. Vacationing became a part of North Manitou’s economy in 1893, when Chicagoan Silas Boardman began selling lots to his family and friends; the construction of summer cottages began that same year. The area became known as Cottage Row and eventually included seven cottages, a hotel, and a dining hall. Wooden sidewalks lined with gaslights traversed the length of Cottage Row with views of a park, Lake Michigan, and the mainland shore in the distance.³¹⁰ As farming and commercial fishing slowly began to decline, vacationing and recreation flourished and eventually became the main source of revenue for North Manitou’s remaining year-round residents.

³⁰⁸ John Muir, “The Wild Parks and Forest Reservations of the West,” as quoted by historian and National Park Service guide, Alfred Runte in *National Parks: The American Experience* 2nd ed. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 82.

³⁰⁹ Cindy Aron, *Working At Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3-4.

³¹⁰ NPS Cultural Landscape Inventory 2012, North Manitou Island-Cottage Row, 24-25. See section on “Chronology and Physical History” for more details.

During the 1920s, William Angell began purchasing land on the island and transforming tourism into a lucrative business. Angell enjoyed the recreational opportunities available on the island, such as fishing and hiking, as well as the island's relative isolation.³¹¹ Under the aegis of his Manitou Island Association (MIA), he purchased the majority of the land on the island, hired a staff, and transformed one of the cottages on Cottage Row into a rustic lodge. In order to attract sportsmen as clientele, Angell decided to create opportunities for more exciting hunting on the island, which at that time only had a population of small mammals such as rabbits. The MIA brought white-tailed deer to the island in 1926.³¹² The MIA also attempted to introduce turkey, raccoon, fox squirrel, and brown trout. The deer population exploded, and in order to decrease the number of deer that died from starvation caused by overgrazing, the MIA built over thirty feeding stations across the island. During the winter, MIA staff delivered feed to the stations using a bulldozer up to four times a week.³¹³ Most likely due to the deer-feeding policy, many of the animals became used to close contact with people. In Figure 23 (below) William Angell opens the front door of his cottage as a deer climbs the steps and in Figure 24 (below) a deer with a bell around its neck eats out of the hands of

³¹¹ "The Story of William R. Angell and North Manitou Island," SLBE Archives, Manitou Island Association, Box One, ASB-0009.

³¹² Manitou Island Association Application for Game Breeder's License, State of Michigan, Department of Natural Resources, May 28, 1981. SLBE Archives, MIA Box 3. The application shows that they MIA obtained a game breeder's license for white-tailed deer and raccoon in 1926.

³¹³ Gordon Charles, "Secret for More Deer: Don't Let Them Yard Up," *Traverse City Record Eagle*, January 18, 1975, p. 17.



Figure 23. Mr. Angell welcomes a white-tailed deer into his cottage on North Manitou Island in 1944. Small envelope “NMI-1944,” Fldr. “Photographs-North Manitou Island (Mainly Lumbering Photos), Randa Frederickson Photo Collection, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.



Figure 24. Mrs. Fred Samuelson feeds a deer on North Manitou Island, MI, 1944. According to writing on the back of the photo, the Samuelson’s worked as caretakers for the MIA. Small envelope “NMI-1944,” Fldr. “Photographs-North Manitou Island (Mainly Lumbering Photos), Randa Frederickson Photo Collection, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

Mrs. Samuelson. The animals brought to the island in order to enhance guest's wilderness experiences became more like pets and less like wild animals.

Beginning in the 1920s and continuing into the 1970s, the MIA attempted to attract sportsmen, businessmen, and families to the island. One brochure paints a picture of North Manitou as a "comfortable wilderness, where hunting, fishing, and nature are still as they used to be...nothing to do but hunt, fish, jeep, hike, snapshot, swim, eat, sleep...relax!"³¹⁴ Like the NPS would do years later, the MIA overlooked human impact and tried to "sell" wilderness using a measure in nostalgia in which wilderness was "as it used to be." A particular perception of isolation and contact with nature became one more marketable commodity. The MIA also promoted their services to business executives, touting the island as "an ideal spot for customer entertainment or intra-company conferences. A quiet place for uninterrupted discussions."³¹⁵ For "memorable family vacations," the MIA had lodges "newly furnished with comfortable beds...bathrooms with showers" and provided "hearty, excellent north woods meals."³¹⁶ Children, according to the MIA brochure, would be "thrilled with the fishing as well as a veritable zoology laboratory any way they turn."³¹⁷ Parents would be pleased with the safe and wholesome location, "just like it used to be. No bars, no stores, no drive-ins, no

³¹⁴ "You are welcome at North Manitou Island," Manitou Island Association Brochure, no date, PR Publications folder, Manitou Island Association Collection, Sleeping Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

³¹⁵ "Welcome to North Manitou Island," Manitou Island Association Brochure, no date, PR Publications folder, Manitou Island Association Collection, Sleeping Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

³¹⁶ "You are welcome at North Manitou Island," Manitou Island Association Brochure, no date, PR Publications folder, Manitou Island Association Collection, Sleeping Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

³¹⁷ "Fishermen's Paradise," Manitou Island Association Brochure, no date, PR Publications folder, Manitou Island Association Collection, Sleeping Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

highways. At North Manitou, you are back to the land and all its beauty.”³¹⁸ The MIA advertised wilderness as comfortable, safe, and family-friendly, quite a departure from earlier definitions of wilderness as savage and uncivilized. The natural beauty of the island, and the nearby mainland shore, began to attract the attention of the National Park Service during the 1950s.

The Drive for Federal Wilderness Preservation

Aldo Leopold wrote in what became the classic *A Sand County Almanac*, “Like the winds and sunsets, wild things were taken for granted until progress began to do away with them. Now we face the question whether a still higher ‘standard of living’ is worth its cost in things wild, natural, and free.”³¹⁹ As a younger man, Leopold enjoyed roughing it and hunting large game, but he later came to enjoy the subtler side of wilderness. He developed an “ecological conscience,” which encouraged a whole new way of thinking about the wilderness: “That land is a community is the basic concept of ecology, but that land is to be loved and respected is an extension of ethics.”³²⁰ Environmental historian Donald Worster states that Leopold’s land ethic was the “single most important new idea about land we have had since we created the institution of private property.”³²¹ Leopold planted the seeds for an environmental movement with a large grass-roots constituency inspired by his land ethic that would take wilderness preservation to the next level.

³¹⁸ “Welcome to North Manitou Island,” ,” Manitou Island Association Brochure, no date, PR Publications folder, Manitou Island Association Collection, Sleeping Dunes National Lakeshore Archives, Empire, MI.

³¹⁹ Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac and Sketches Here and There* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949), vii.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Donald Worster, *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 108.

In 1935, Aldo Leopold and seven other founding members created the Wilderness Society “for the purpose of fighting off invasion of the wilderness and stimulating...an appreciation of its multiform emotional, intellectual, and scientific values,” and began to lobby for the creation of a federal wilderness preservation system.³²² In *A Sand County Almanac* (1949), Leopold called for the “preservation of some tag-ends of wilderness, as museum pieces, for the edification of those who may one day wish to see, feel, or study the origins of their cultural inheritance,” because “many of the diverse wildernesses out of which we have hammered America are already gone.”³²³ Another crucial member of the Wilderness Society was Howard Zahniser of the Department of Agriculture’s Bureau of Biological Survey. In 1945, Zahniser accepted the position of executive secretary with The Wilderness Society. According to his biographer Mark Harvey, Zahniser networked with other environmental groups, cultivated a constituency in favor of wilderness preservation with what he wrote and edited for the society’s journal *Living Wilderness*, and became “one of the nation’s leading wilderness lobbyists.”³²⁴ About the battle to pass the Wilderness Act, Nash writes: “Congress lavished more time and effort on the wilderness bill than any other measure in American conservation history. From June 1957 to May 1964 there were nine separate hearings on the proposal, collecting over six thousand pages of testimony. The bill itself was modified and rewritten or resubmitted

³²² Harold C. Anderson, et al., *The Wilderness Society* (Washington, D.C., 1935), 4 as quoted by Roderick Frazier Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind 4th ed.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 207.

³²³ Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac and Sketches Here and There* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949), 188-189.

³²⁴ Mark Harvey, *Wilderness Forever: Howard Zahniser and the Path to the Wilderness Act* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 137. Harvey chronicles the long battle to legislate the Wilderness Act of 1964 with an emphasis on the work and writing done by Zahniser.

sixty-six different times.”³²⁵ Congress finally passed the Wilderness Act in 1964, pushed along by a popular constituency from the environmental movement. Much of the language in the act had been crafted by Zahniser, including the oft-quoted description of wilderness as “untrammeled by man.”³²⁶

At the time Congress enacted the Wilderness Act of 1964, the Sleeping Bear Dunes area and the Manitou Islands were already popular tourist destinations, but they were not yet a part of the National Park System. After a decade-long struggle, Congress finally established Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in 1970, but at the time of its establishment, it did not contain any federally designated wilderness areas. Three other National Lakeshores had been established on the Great Lakes during the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the efforts to establish the lakeshores were driven by the environmental movement constituency.³²⁷ In 1974, in order to comply with the Wilderness Act, newly established Sleeping Bear completed a preliminary wilderness study of the mainland and the Manitou Islands and in 1981, the park completed an additional wilderness study.³²⁸

³²⁵ Roderick Frazier Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind 4th ed.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 222-223. Nash explains that “one reason for the extraordinary delay in reaching a decision was the vigorous opposition to the permanent preservation of wilderness from wood-using, oil, grazing, and mining interests, most professional foresters, some government bureaus, and proponents of mass recreation with plans for mechanized access to outdoor areas.

³²⁶*The Wilderness Act of 1964*, Public Law 88-577, 88th Cong., 2d sess. (September 3, 1964), 1.

³²⁷ Brian Kalt, *Sixties Sandstorm: The Fight Over the Establishment of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 1961-1970*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001), 68-73. See Chapter 4, “The Green Tide,” in which Kalt explores the role of environmentalists as constituents for the establishment of new parks, specifically national lakeshores including Sleeping Bear. The other Lakeshores established during the 1960s and 1970s include Apostle Islands National Lakeshore (1970), Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore (1966), and Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (1966).

³²⁸ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, “Wilderness Recommendation,” 1980, 6.

In 1982, amendments to Sleeping Bear’s enabling legislation required that all areas deemed potential for inclusion in the federal wilderness system “shall, until Congress determines otherwise, be administered by the Secretary so as to maintain their presently existing wilderness character.”³²⁹ However, by the time Congress amended Sleeping Bear’s enabling legislation, North Manitou Island did not actually meet the 1964 definition of wilderness as “untrammelled...with the imprint of man’s work substantially unnoticeable.”³³⁰ At this point, the NPS placed more value on the natural aspects of wilderness than the cultural aspects despite another important piece of legislation enacted by Congress just two years after the Wilderness Act, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Both acts “share similar reasons for protecting wilderness and cultural resources,” mainly, protecting natural and cultural resources from the threat of modern developments.³³¹ And while “neither law states that it trumps the other, and thus federal agencies must equally uphold both laws and the values they embody,” this has not been the case at many National Parks.³³² In fact, many park managers viewed the evidence of human history in their parks as degrading the wilderness and making the experiences of visitors in these areas somehow less authentically wild despite fact that the Wilderness Act stipulated that wilderness areas “may also contain...other features of scientific, educational, scenic, or historical

³²⁹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Final General Management Plan/Wilderness Study/Environmental Impact Statement for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” October, 2008, 7.

³³⁰ *The Wilderness Act of 1964*, Public Law 88-577, 88th Cong., 2d sess. (September 3, 1964), 1.

³³¹ Jill Cowley et al, “Integrating Cultural Resources and Wilderness Character,” *Park Science* v. 28, no. 3, (Winter 2011-2012): 3.

³³² *Ibid.*

value.”³³³ Part of the issue may lie in the organizational divide within the structure of the NPS itself, which has separate divisions for the management of natural resources and cultural resources and where, at many parks, little collaboration across divisions occurs.

The view of an ideal wilderness as devoid of human history began to show its influence in NPS management plans during the 1970s. Historian James Feldman writes that a 1975 edition of *National Park Service Management Policies* “provided guidance for the administration of areas with evidence of logging, grazing, and farming: ‘Where such uses have impaired wilderness qualities, management will be directed toward restoration of wilderness character.’” By “removing non-conforming conditions and segregating different uses of nature” park managers “brought NPS policy in line with an emerging ideal that emphasized wilderness as a place without people.”³³⁴ Similarly, on North Manitou Island, park managers decided that in order to improve wilderness character, historic sites and structures would be removed or allowed to decay so that as “evidence of man’s habitation would eventually disappear” a “true wilderness” would emerge.³³⁵ Sleeping Bear’s managers did not preserve sites located outside of the 27 acre wilderness exclusion on North Manitou. Limited historic preservation occurred within the exclusion, but did not begin until the early 1990s.

The Ongoing Wilderness Debate and Rewilding North Manitou Island

According to historian David W. Orr, the debate between historians about the meaning of wilderness “went public in 1995 with the publication of an excerpt from

³³³ *The Wilderness Act of 1964*, Public Law 88-577, 88th Cong., 2d sess. (September 3, 1964), 1.

³³⁴ James Feldman, “The Need for Legible Landscapes: Environmental History and NPS Management at Apostle Islands National Lakeshore.” *The George Wright Forum*, vol. 28, no.2 (2011): 152.

³³⁵ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, “Assessment of Alternatives, General Management Plan,” (1979), 13, 15.

William Cronon's essay "The Trouble with Wilderness, or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature" in the *New York Times Magazine*.³³⁶ In the article, Cronon wrote that wilderness is a human creation, not "a pristine sanctuary where the last remnant of an untouched, endangered, but still transcendent nature can...be encountered without the contaminating taint of civilization. Instead, it is a product of that civilization" and it "hides its naturalness behind a mask that is all the more beguiling because it seems so natural."³³⁷ Historians like Cronon and Orr debate the meaning of wilderness, think about the relationships between humans and their environment, explore the idea that our view of wilderness is ethnocentric and exclusive, and even question the point of the "great wilderness debate."³³⁸

At heavily humanized parks managing wilderness areas, like Sleeping Bear, the NPS often uses rewilding as a managerial tool. In *A Storied Wilderness: Rewilding the Apostle Islands*, James Feldman writes about the "oft-held view that history intrudes on the ecological integrity and significance of places valued for their natural characteristics" that sometimes leads to the decision to erase human history.³³⁹ Rewilding is an active process on the part of the NPS and it involves more than just stepping back and allowing nature to take over. Park managers remove non-native species of plants and animals

³³⁶ David W. Orr, "The Not-So-Great Wilderness Debate...Continued," in Michael P. Nelson and J. Baird Callicott, *The Wilderness Debate Rages On: Continuing the Great New Wilderness Debate* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2008), 427.

³³⁷ William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness, or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in J. Baird Callicott, *The Great New Wilderness Debate* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 471-472.

³³⁸ David W. Orr, "The Not-So-Great Wilderness Debate...Continued," in Michael P. Nelson and J. Baird Callicott, *The Wilderness Debate Rages On: Continuing the Great New Wilderness Debate* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2008), 426-430.

³³⁹ James Feldman, *A Storied Wilderness: Rewilding the Apostle Islands* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 211-212.

(except the white-tailed deer) and reintroduce native species, allow cultural resources to decay, and encourage park visitors to imagine the places they visit are pristine.

Complicating the issue of rewilding on North Manitou Island is the presence of the non-native white-tailed deer herd. By 1981, the herd had grown in size to an estimated two thousand. In an attempt to control the size of the herd, the park instituted an annual deer hunt in 1985.³⁴⁰ In the park's most recent management plan from 2008, park managers decided to continue to allow the white-tailed deer to remain on North Manitou. According to the 2008 GMP, qualities that contribute to wilderness character include "outstanding opportunities for primitive, unconfined recreation," including the opportunity to hunt.³⁴¹ In 2013, hunters could apply for a North Manitou deer-hunting permit, pay the \$25 application fee, purchase a ferry ticket, and enjoy the fact that deer taken on North Manitou do not count against a hunter's bag limit.³⁴² In this way, hunters limit the size of the herd with little cost to Sleeping Bear Dunes. Even though the deer are not natural, park administrators believe that they add to the island's wilderness character. However, the continued presence of deer on the island means that park managers cannot restore an actual pre-1920s wilderness on North Manitou.

Largely due to the influence of local historic preservation groups, the preservation of cultural resources within the wilderness exclusion on North Manitou improved during the 1990s and 2000s. The United States Life-Saving Service Station achieved National

³⁴⁰"Deer Hunting on North Manitou Island," <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/planyourvisit/nmihunting.htm> (accessed April 2013).

³⁴¹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Final General Management Plan/Wilderness Study/Environmental Impact Statement for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore," October, 2008, 130-135.

³⁴² "North Manitou Island Hunting," <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/planyourvisit/nmihunting.htm>, (accessed, October 2013).

Historic Landmark status in 1994; the associated buildings were preserved and are currently in use as seasonal employee housing. Preserve Historic Sleeping Bear and the Manitou Islands Memorial Society have restored several cottages and the Katie Shepard Hotel on Cottage Row, however the park is currently not using the buildings or providing interpretation. Again, preservation is restricted to non-wilderness areas. Historian Philip Scarpino writes that “preservation of wilderness and of cultural resources both result from present-day people making choices about value and significance” and that “we preserve things not because they are intrinsically important, but because we assign value and meaning to surviving fragments of our natural and cultural heritage.”³⁴³

At Sleeping Bear, born at a time when park managers assigned more meaning to natural resources than to cultural resources, historic preservation sat on a back-burner. On North Manitou Island, the sequestration of maintained historic resources to one small enclave and lack of interpretation of cultural resources perpetuates the myth that the wilderness visitors experience is devoid of human history and human impact. In “disturbed lands,” Sleeping Bear’s biological technicians “restore the former home sites to natural conditions” and “completely remove the human impacts from the land.”³⁴⁴ Similarly, the park’s managers continually groom North Manitou Island so that it has the appearance of being untouched and unaffected by the presence of human beings.³⁴⁵ In the park’s 2012 Visitor Guide, North Manitou is described as a “true wilderness” where “visitors pass through the historic Coast Guard village before entering nearly 15,000

³⁴³ Philip V. Scarpino, “Isle Royal National Park: Balancing Human and Natural History in a Maritime Park,” *The George Wright Forum*, vol. 28, no. 2 (2011): 193.

³⁴⁴ “Disturbed Lands,” Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, <http://www.nps.gov/slbe/naturescience/disturbedlands.htm> (accessed January 2013).

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

acres of undeveloped forests, fields, and beaches” and where park managers emphasize “solitude and self-reliance.”³⁴⁶ However, when viewed both from the ground and from above, material culture evidence and the imprint of human activity remain clearly visible across the face of the land. (See Appendix, Figures 25-38)

Backpacking and hiking are the main activities occurring on the island in the twenty first century. These activities overlook the long human history of North Manitou and also diminish the essence and uniqueness of the place—a maritime site, an island in a lake where both the natural and human history evolved at the meeting of land and water. Water becomes an obstacle to cross on the way to a place to backpack and hike. According to Sleeping Bear’s administrators, the freedom to choose where to camp (“300’ from any water body, historical structure, or other camp and 100’ from any main trail”) enhances visitors’ wilderness experience because it provides the opportunity for solitude.³⁴⁷ In addition, “the lack of established campgrounds or campsites allows the area to appear more natural and ‘untrammelled by man’”³⁴⁸ Where campers have trampled native plants, and made social trails and campsites that are too visible, Sleeping Bear’s biological technicians restore the land back to more natural conditions. Many “natural” conditions on the island did not occur naturally, but were in fact managed by park administrators to appear that way. Park managers play an active role in creating the kind of wilderness they want to exist in the process of rewilding North Manitou Island. What

³⁴⁶2012 Visitor Guide, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 14.
http://www.nps.gov/slbe/planyourvisit/upload/2012_visitorsguide_web.pdf (accessed January 2013).

³⁴⁷ Danielle Dreikich, “Assessing Visitor Use Impacts to Natural Resources and Creating Restoration Recommendations for North Manitou Island, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” A project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science (Natural Resources and Environment) at the University of Michigan, April 2012, 3.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 3.

actually exists on the ground however more closely resembles a cultural landscape than a wilderness as defined in the Wilderness Act of 1964.

Wilderness Areas as Cultural Landscapes

William Cronon writes of Apostle Islands National Lakeshore: “Nature alone cannot explain this landscape. You need history too.”³⁴⁹ Historians Anne Whisnant, Marla Miller, Gary Nash and David Thelen reiterate this idea in their report *Imperiled Promise: The State of History in the National Park Service*: “at two-thirds of the nearly 400 national parks, history is at the heart of the visitor experience, and human activity has profoundly shaped all of them.”³⁵⁰ *Imperiled Promise* resulted from a collaboration between the NPS and the Organization of American Historians; the authors distributed a survey regarding history and interpretation to 1,500 NPS employees, visited sites, and made recommendations based on their findings. The authors “found that the agency’s ability to manage its sites ‘unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations’—let alone achieve its highest aspirations to become the nation’s largest outdoor history classroom—has been imperiled by the agency’s weak support for its history workforce, by agency structures that confine history in isolated silos, by long-standing funding deficiencies, by often narrow and static conceptions of history’s scope, and by timid interpretation.”³⁵¹ In order to remedy this situation, the authors suggest “twelve basic approaches to historical

³⁴⁹ William Cronon, “The Riddle of the Apostle Islands: How Do You Manage a Wilderness Full of Human Stories?” in Michael P. Nelson and J. Baird Callicott’s *The Wilderness Debate Rages on: Continuing the Great New Wilderness Debate* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 636.

³⁵⁰ Anne Whisnat et al., “Imperiled Promise: The State of History in the National Park Service—Opening the Discussion,” *The George Wright Forum*, vol. 29, no. 2 (2012): 247.

³⁵¹ Anne Whisnat, et al., *Imperiled Promise: The State of History in the National Park Service* (Bloomington, IN: The Organization of American Historians, 2011), 5.

research and interpretation” including two approaches that are particularly relevant to North Manitou Island:

3. Highlight the effects of human activity on natural areas.

NPS should integrate nature and culture more fully, taking every opportunity to highlight the histories of supposed natural areas, which, as recent scholarship in environmental history has amply demonstrated, have all been shaped by human activity and by evolving (and thus historically shaped) ideas about nature.

5. Recognize NPS’s role in shaping every park’s history.

The NPS should always and everywhere acknowledge that the agency as a whole and each particular park or unit within it have themselves become actors in the past that have shaped communities, lands, and the historical resources NPS stewards. NPS history should always be ready to acknowledge and reflect both the agency’s actions at any site and how that park’s own history has shaped it.³⁵²

Sleeping Bear can rise to meet these challenges by interpreting wilderness areas as cultural landscapes, which would allow for the acknowledgement of the natural and human forces that shaped those areas. The NPS defines cultural landscapes as places that “reflect human adaptation and use of natural resources and are often expressed in the way land is organized and divided, patterns of settlement, land use, systems of circulation, and the types of structures that are built.”³⁵³

Several historians, landscape architects, and NPS employees suggest that the NPS begin to manage wilderness areas as cultural landscapes and argue that balancing natural and cultural resources management would facilitate the transition in managerial style. Steve Ulvi acknowledges that “organizational subcultures, program separation, and the quasi-military structure of the NPS have created serious barriers” in balancing natural and

³⁵² Ibid., 27-28.

³⁵³ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Final General Management Plan/Wilderness Study/Environmental Impact Statement for Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,” October, 2008, 20.

cultural resources management within wilderness areas and that “thinking of wilderness as a cultural landscape would reduce the organizational barriers.”³⁵⁴ James Feldman writes that the segregation of natural and cultural resources management “obscures the human stories buried in the wilderness, making it much harder to see the connections between nature and culture that created so many wild places.”³⁵⁵ Similarly, Jill Cowley, a historical landscape architect, and her co-authors state that “cultural resources are a part of wilderness and wilderness character.” Cowley and her co-authors also write that “in addition to preserving ecosystems, wilderness helps us understand human use and value of the land over time. One of the fundamental purposes of cultural resources is to promote multiple views of history, and wilderness can also be valued from multiple viewpoints.”³⁵⁶ The process of rewilding put in place on North Manitou after the establishment of Sleeping Bear Dunes reflects just one of many viewpoints about wilderness.

What Cronon writes about the Apostle Islands, that “these islands could be regarded almost as classrooms for historical wilderness, where visitors can learn about the long-term cultural processes that have in fact shaped” all of the land, then “when they visit the designated wilderness where less interpretation is permitted, their eyes will be trained to see the rewilding process they will witness there” could easily be applied to

³⁵⁴ Steve Ulvi, “On Common Ground: An Enduring Wilderness as Cultural Landscape and Biotic Reserve,” *Proceedings of the 11th Conference on Research and Resource Management in Parks and on Public Lands*, The 2001 George Wright Society Biennial Conference (2001): 276.

³⁵⁵ James Feldman, “The Need for Legible Landscapes: Environmental History and NPS Management at Apostle Islands National Lakeshore.” *The George Wright Forum*, vol. 28, no.2 (2011): 153.

³⁵⁶ Jill Cowley et al, “Integrating Cultural Resources and Wilderness Character,” *Park Science* v. 28, no. 3 (Winter 2011-2012): 1.

North Manitou Island.³⁵⁷ Park managers do not need to restore every building or erect signs marking every historic site, nor should they. However, Sleeping Bear’s managers should consider acknowledging the practice of rewilding established on North Manitou Island in order to make the island fit the definition of wilderness laid out in the Wilderness Act of 1964 and should also consider acknowledging the almost 200 years of human activity that created the perceived need for rewilding in the first place. To do so would not diminish a visitors’ wilderness experience, rather it would make for a more meaningful experience in which visitors would become more appreciative of “primitive, unconfined” recreation in a place that was once truly pristine and would have fit the 1964 definition of wilderness, was tamed, and is now “wild” again.

³⁵⁷ William Cronon, “The Riddle of the Apostle Islands: How Do You Manage a Wilderness Full of Human Stories?” in Michael P. Nelson and J. Baird Callicott’s *The Wilderness Debate Rages on: Continuing the Great New Wilderness Debate* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 643.

Chapter 3 Appendix



Figure 25. Upon arrival to North Manitou Island, visitors see the USLSS/USCG Station and Cottage Row. Photograph by Katelyn Fredericks, 2010.



Figure 26. Ruins of a cottage on Cottage Row, located within the wilderness exclusion. Photograph by Katelyn Fredericks, 2010.



Figure 27. The Katie Shepard Hotel, an example of historic preservation on Cottage Row. Photograph by Kimberly Mann, Historic Architect, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, 2011.



Figure 28. Backpackers on North Manitou Island often encounter evidence of former human occupation such as this over-grown apple orchard.



Figure 29. North Manitou Island Cemetery. Photo courtesy of Kimberly Mann, Historic Architect, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.



Figure 30. North Manitou Island Cemetery Register. Photo by Kimberly Mann, Historic Architect, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

Figures 31-37. The following GIS Maps were created using NPScape Metric Viewer (<http://science.nature.nps.gov/im/monitor/npscape/viewer/>) and the historical data came from Figure 4.1, “North Manitou Island Sites Associated with Historic Agricultural Activities,” in Eric MacDonald with Arnold R. Alanen, “*Tending a ‘Comfortable Wilderness’: A History of Agricultural Landscapes on North Manitou Island* (National Park Service, Midwest Field Office, 2000), 112.

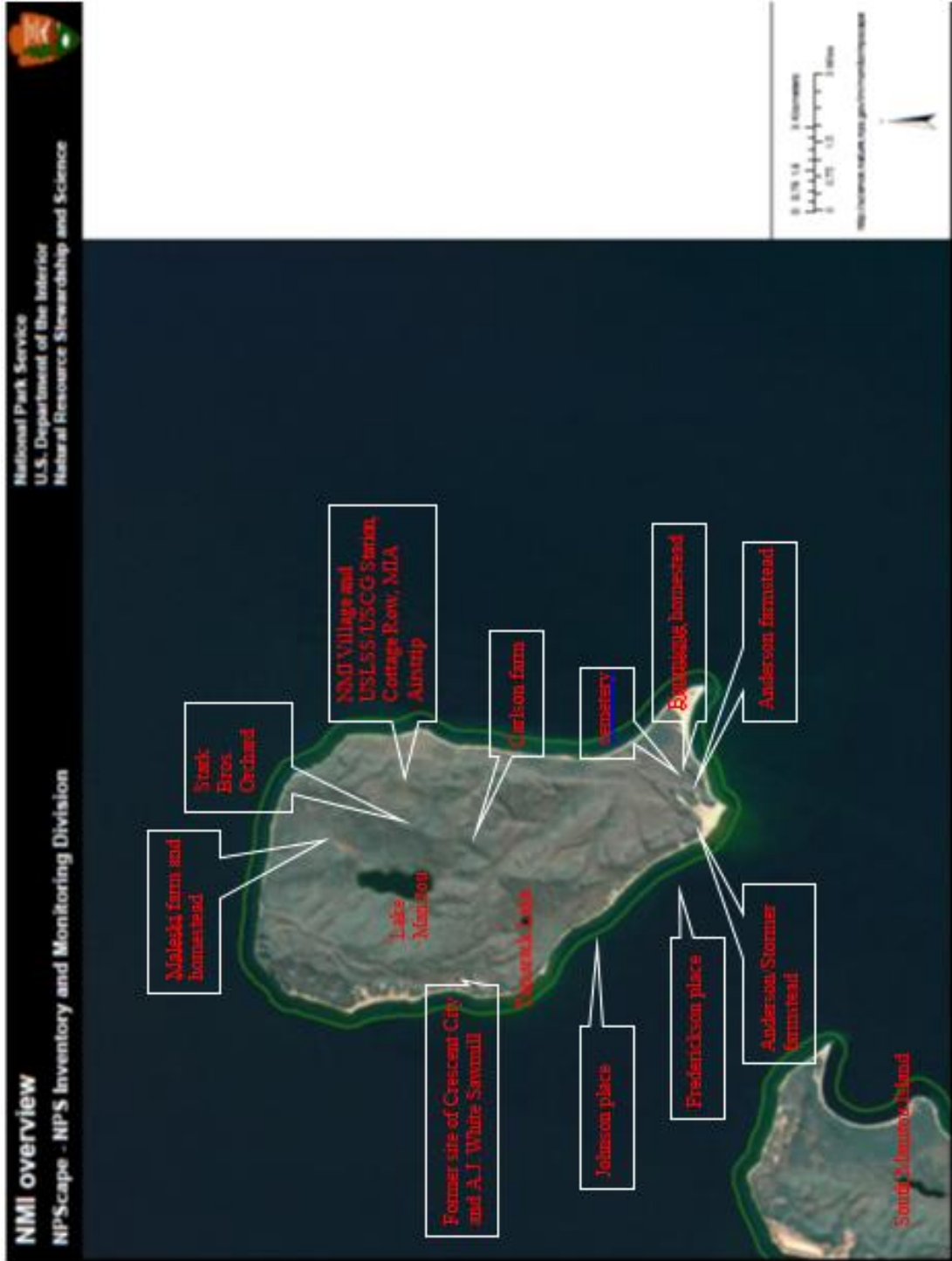


Figure 31

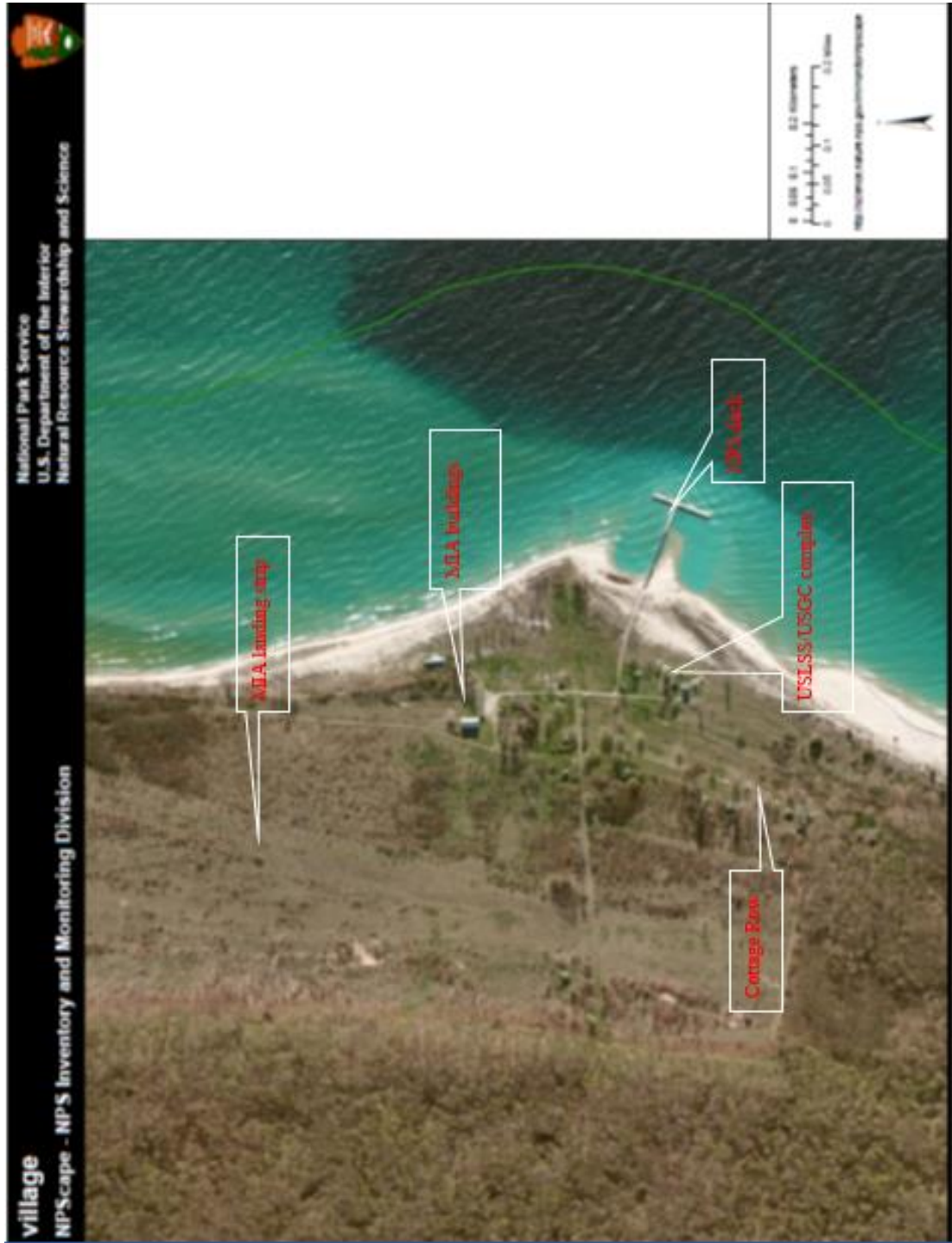


Figure 32

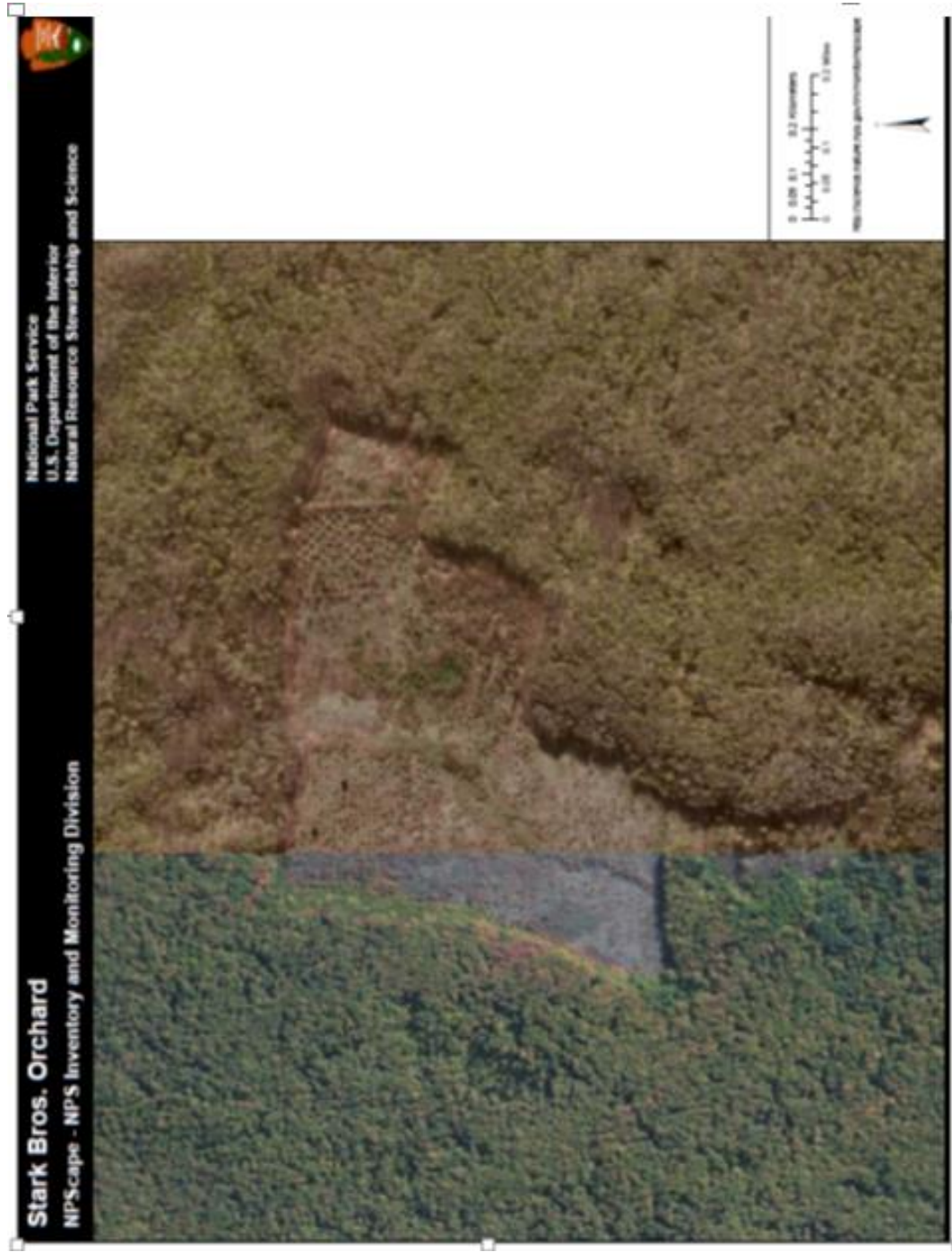


Figure 33



Figure 34

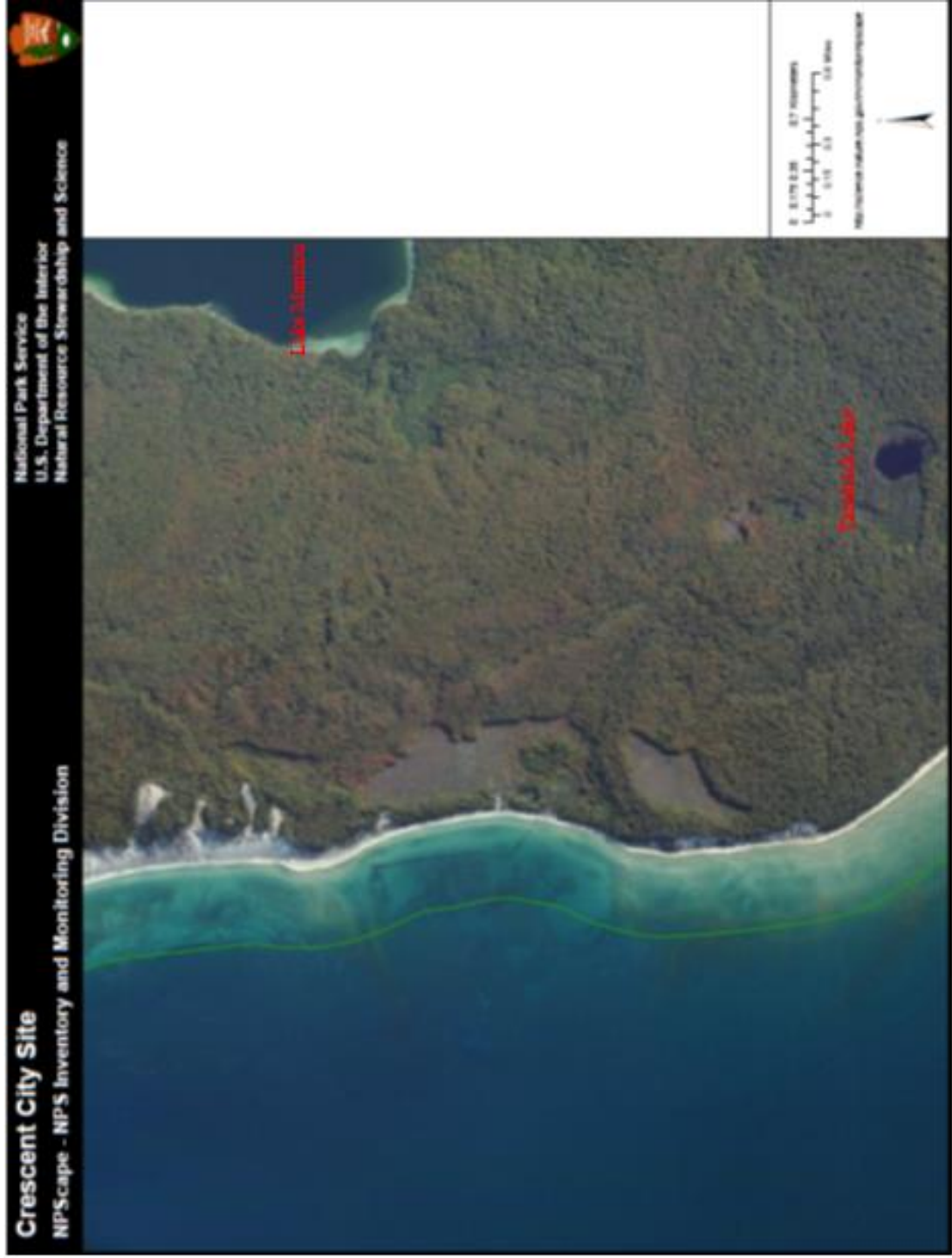


Figure 35



Figure 37

Conclusion: Managing Wilderness as a Cultural Landscape on North Manitou Island

When literally viewed from above, the “imprint of man’s work” is clearly visible on North Manitou Island.³⁵⁸ On the ground, the island’s visitors encounter old roads, over-grown orchards, ruins of farmhouses, and a few well preserved cottages and buildings related to maritime history intermingled with forests, beaches, dunes, water, and wildlife. In the historical record, researchers discover that Native Americans intermittently used the island for hundreds of years. Their history plays little role in current interpretation offered by the NPS, with the exception of the vaguely documented “myth” associated with the name “Sleeping Bear.” Euro-Americans began trammeling North Manitou Island in the 1830s and continue to do so to a varying degree in the twenty-first century. Human action regarding land-use changed over time, facilitated by evolving beliefs about wilderness, conservation, historic preservation, and the environment. Historians debate the meaning of wilderness and the role that cultural resources—the artifacts and landscapes left behind by humans that lived, worked and played on the land—have to play in federally designated wilderness areas.

Although amendments to the enabling legislation of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore require the park to manage North Manitou Island as if it were a designated wilderness area, the island has yet to receive formal federal wilderness designation. In April 2013, the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources recommended that the Senate pass S. 23, the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Conservation and Recreation Act. The act was then placed on the Senate Legislative Calendar no. 45 under General Orders. In June, S. 23 passed unanimously without

³⁵⁸*The Wilderness Act of 1964*, Public Law 88-577, 88th Cong., 2d sess. (September 3, 1964). See “Definition of Wilderness,” (1) “Generally appears to have been affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man’s work substantially unnoticeable.”

amendments and was referred to the House Subcommittee on Natural Resources and then to the Subcommittee on Public Lands and Environmental Regulation.³⁵⁹ The subcommittee held its hearing in July 2013, however as of October 2013 no other action was reported.³⁶⁰ If enacted, Congress will create the Sleeping Bear Dunes Wilderness, which will be comprised of “32,557 acres along the mainland shore of Lake Michigan and on certain nearby islands.” According to Senate Report 113-014, “permanent wilderness designation will ensure protection of these significant...cultural and historical resources.”³⁶¹ If Congress does grant North Manitou formal designation, park managers should take a hard look at the landscape they have inherited and have also played a role in shaping—such as making choices about what species of plants and animals are allowed to remain on the island and allowing for the moldering of cultural resources in order to reinforce the image of the island as pristine— before moving ahead with any new wilderness management plans.

North Manitou’s maritime location creates a degree of isolation and solitude not generally available on the mainland and does provide some “opportunities for solitude or a primitive, unconfined type of recreation.”³⁶² However, Lake Michigan itself fits the

³⁵⁹ “Bill Summary & Status, 113th Congress (2013 - 2014), S.23, All Information,” <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/D?d113:2:./temp/~bdAm9e:@@L&summ2=m&/home/LegislativeData.php>, (accessed, October 2013).

³⁶⁰ “Bill Summary & Status, 113th Congress (2013 - 2014), H.R.163, All Information,” [http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/D?d113:1:./temp/~bdAm9e:@@L&summ2=m&/home/LegislativeData.php|#major actions](http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/D?d113:1:./temp/~bdAm9e:@@L&summ2=m&/home/LegislativeData.php|#major%20actions), (accessed, October 2013).

³⁶¹ *The Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Conservation and Recreation Act*, S.23, 113th Congress, 1st Sess., (January 22, 2012). http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/cpquery/?&sid=cp113yi67F&r_n=sr014.113&dbname=cp113&sel=DOC& (accessed April 2013).

³⁶² *The Wilderness Act of 1964*, Public Law 88-577, 88th Cong., 2d sess. (September 3, 1964).

definition of wilderness as “not tame, not domesticated” and “not under, or submitting to, control or restraint” more so than North Manitou.³⁶³ Even so, in most other aspects, the island does not fit the definition of wilderness laid out in the Wilderness Act of 1964. North Manitou Island is not “untrammelled,” it does not “retain its primeval character,” and it does not appear “to have been affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man’s work substantially unnoticeable.”³⁶⁴ The actual wilderness that exists on the ground is a cultural landscape and a place where rewilding occurs. This rewilding landscape reflects a history of human action based on beliefs about nature and the meaning of wilderness which created lasting impacts on the environment.

Many National Park Service managers tend to view the wilderness areas they are charged with stewarding as ahistorical and oftentimes manage wilderness areas with little-to-no-regard for the human history that did in fact occur in those places. Robert Melnick, landscape architecture and preservation expert, believes that the root of this issue lies in the tendency to view nature and culture as “opposite ends of a spectrum.”³⁶⁵ Melnick states that the tendency of park managers to view landscapes as either historical resources or natural resources leads to “the desire to reduce complex history to attractive simplicities;” this viewpoint limits management, protection, and interpretation.³⁶⁶

³⁶³ "wild, adj. and n.". Oxford English Dictionary Online, <http://www.oed.com.proxy2.ulib.iupui.edu/view/Entry/228988?rskey=utOXip&result=1&isAdvanced=false>, (accessed January 23, 2013).

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Robert Z. Melnick, “Considering Nature and Culture in Historic Landscape Preservation,” In Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, eds. *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 24.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 25, 28.

However, the NPS has the responsibility—both at its headquarters office in Washington, D.C., at the seven regional offices, and at individual National Park units across the country—for historic preservation and natural and cultural resources management.³⁶⁷

North Manitou Island is not wild and it is not natural. It is a place made unique by its maritime location and it is a product of the interplay between human and natural history. Rewilding landscapes like North Manitou Island require a balanced management and interpretation of the natural and cultural resources that make them testaments to the history of—and the ongoing human relationship with—the environment.

³⁶⁷ “Organization,” <http://www.nps.gov/aboutus/organization.htm> (accessed April 2013).

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Randa Frederickson Photograph collection, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

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LaValley, Pete and Beth. Interviewed Katelyn Fredericks, Oral History Intern, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, “Birth of the Park” Oral History Project, June 29, 2011.

Payment, Louis and Leigh. Interviewed by Nancy Hayes and Katelyn Fredericks, Oral History Interns, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, “Voices of the Manitous” Oral History Project, July 19, 2010.

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Bachelor of Science in History, Grand Valley State University, 2009

Professional Experience

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Indiana Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, Intern, 2012-2013
Indiana State Museum, Cultural Collections Intern, 2011-2012
Indiana Medical History Museum, Intern, 2010-2011
Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, Oral History Intern, 2009-2012
Mackinac State Historic Parks, Collections Intern and Historical Interpreter, 2008

Professional Organizations

Graduate Student History Association, IUPUI
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