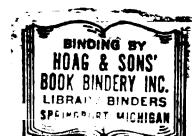


THE LUMBERMAN'S GAZETTE,
AMERICA'S FIRST LUMBER JOURNAL

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
DAVID LAURENCE ROGERS
1973



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ABSTRACT

THE LUMBERMAN'S GAZETTE: AMERICA'S FIRST LUMBER JOURNAL

By

David Laurence Rogers

Examines the first lumber trade publication in the United States, published in Bay City, Michigan, 1872-1885, and the destruction of the nation's forests, especially the valuable and irreplaceable white pine of Michigan and the midwest. The study is a history of the Gazette and an editorial analysis of the Gazette and the general press concerning the rape of the forests by lumbermen. The publishers of the Gazette, who were also daily newspaper editors, were found to have conflicts in interest because they also served as secretaries of lumbermen's associations. Despite these conflicts, however, the Gazette and the press spoke out sharply against the destruction of the timber on many occasions. The comments were muted by a lack of public concern for the environment and the fact that lumber was needed to build a growing nation and fuel the economy. Statements by lumbermen, printed in the Gazette, reveal their greed and

absence of concern for the future environment. Government, which had not yet developed a system for regulation of the use of natural resources, was operated under a theory of economics in which it was considered unpatriotic to oppose business interests.

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By

David Laurence Rogers

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

School of Journalism

1973

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DAVID LAURENCE ROGERS

1973

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Accepted by the faculty of the School of
Journalism, College of Communication Arts, Michigan State
University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
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INTRODUCTION

This study examines the pioneer lumber journal, the Lumberman's Gazette, which was born and thrived in the heyday of the Michigan lumber trade, 1872-1885. It is closely woven with the history of the Saginaw Valley, and especially Bay City, where the Gazette was published and which was one of the centers of the lumbering activity. The press of this area also receives much attention because of its comments on lumbering and because the early Gazette was the product of the part-time work of some of the earliest daily newspapermen of the cities of Bay City and Saginaw, primarily Henry S. Dow, George W. Hotchkiss, and Edwin T. Bennett. The Dow name was later to achieve greater prominence through Dow's distant relative, Herbert H. Dow, who founded the Dow Chemical Company in nearby Midland.

This special interest publication is noteworthy today because of a growing national concern for the environment and since the Gazette chronicled the era in which one of our most visible and appreciated natural resources, the forest, was systematically stripped from the land. Apparently the Gazette's comments about the slaughter of timber had little effect on the "cut and get

out" policies of the timber barons, and it will be noted that the Gazette was somewhat reserved in its approach to the subject that provided its reason for existence.

The Gazette covered, better than any publication, the industry chiefly responsible for the settlement of Michigan, now considered one of the top ten "mega-states" of the greatest industrial nation in history. Little is known of this publication, which quickly spread to nationwide circulation and which was the forerunner of many similar journals. The Gazette must be classed as a business journal, but it also must be considered a definite part of the press of that time, since most publications served special interest groups.

Apparently there is no one repository in which a complete run of the Gazette exists, but twenty-two of the twenty-six volumes are located in the Michigan Historical Collections, fifteen are in the Mid-West Inter-Library Center at Chicago, and the New York Public Library has seventeen volumes. The first three volumes are in the State of Michigan Library, Lansing; the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, has five volumes; Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, has volumes two and three, and the Library of Congress has volume four, containing twenty issues.

The papers of George W. Hotchkiss are also in the Michigan Historical Collections and provide the only

background information available in a partial typescript of his autobiography, entitled "Fifteen Years in Michigan." Hotchkiss' personal files of Gazette issues were given to the John Crerar Library, Chicago, and now are in the Midwest Inter-Library Center. The twenty-two volumes in the Michigan Historical Collections were donated by the Bay City Public Library.

The few books in the field of business journalism provide little information about this type of publication, especially since the most recent book about this field by David P. Forsyth covers only until 1865.¹ Frank Luther Mott's American Journalism gives short shrift to the business press and magazines of any kind, although he discusses mercantile newspapers briefly in a chapter mainly about political newspapers² and gives passing mention to what he calls "class" periodicals such as the Gazette.³

In his history of magazines Mott says: "Apparently the first periodicals devoted to lumbering were the Lumberman's Gazette (1871-98), of Chicago, and the Mississippi Valley Lumberman (1876-current), of Minneapolis."

¹David P. Forsyth, The Business Press in America: 1750-1865. (Philadelphia: Chilton Company, 1964).

²Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History: 1690-1960. 3rd ed. revised. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962) p. 181.

³Ibid, pp. 321-322.

Mott also mentions the Lumber Trade Journal, a semi-monthly established in 1882 at Chicago, which should be noted here because its founder was Hotchkiss.¹ He fails to mention other early lumber publications which will be discussed briefly in this thesis.

The Gazette offers an opportunity to scholars interested in early journalistic attitudes toward the environment and conservation of natural resources. It also provides insights into the history of journalism on the frontier of the Midwest. There are valuable items of information for historians in many areas and for sociologists and anthropologists and perhaps for those interested in business history or industrial safety. But foremost, the Gazette tells the story of the destruction of the pine forests of the Northwest and how the greed of the lumber barons combined with the insatiable demand for building supplies by a growing nation raped the land of its majestic, primeval woodlands. This study, therefore, examines a unique and specialized area of journalism that recorded an era in American history that was both overwhelmingly productive and destructive--an era that could occur only once in a millennium.

¹Mott, A History of American Magazines, Vol. III: 1865-1885, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1957) p. 130.

CHAPTER I

JOURNALISM IN THE LUMBER DAYS

The first press in the Saginaws sprang into existence as a result of eastern land speculation in the pine country.¹ And newspapers in the lumbering days of the Saginaws were dependent upon speculators, government "pap,"² which was a direct outgrowth of land speculation in the timber region, or upon partisan political affiliation.³

Mary Elizabeth Hetherington, in one of the few studies of lumber-era journalism, points out that the founders of two of the first three newspapers in the Saginaw Valley were promoters of the speculative movement itself and that the dates of the founding and span of life of the publications coincided, largely, with the "boom" years of the speculative era.⁴

¹Mary Elizabeth Hetherington, "A Study of the Development of Journalism During the Lumbering Days of the Saginaws, 1853-1882," (unpublished master's thesis, Northwestern University, 1933.) p. 1.

²"Pap" refers to publication of the delinquent tax list by newspapers.

³Hetherington, "Journalism During the Lumbering Days," p. 1.

⁴Ibid.

The speculative movement that marked the 1830 decade brought eastern capitalists to the state in large numbers as purchasers of government land. The . . . period of depression that followed left these lands practically valueless for the time being, their owners in many cases preferring to abandon them rather than go to the trouble and cost of keeping track of them and paying taxes. These lands were returned as delinquent for taxes each year and were advertised and sold. The publication of the delinquent tax list . . . was a bonanza to the press selected for the purpose . . . In some counties . . . the job was worth . . . \$1,500 a year. After 1842, this patronage was dispensed by the state auditor general.¹

Dr. George N. Fuller, in his Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan, also writes that many newspapers of the state . . . "were started as advertising mediums to 'boom' their localities and were widely circulated in the east by speculators."

The first newspaper published in the valley was in 1836 by Norman Little, leader of a group of eastern capitalists who purchased "the city" of Saginaw.² Just as Little's founding of the Saginaw Journal coincided with his purchase of Saginaw city, so the precarious existence of the paper must have depended upon his financial condition. How long the sheet survived in the community has never

¹S. B. McCracken, "The Press of Michigan; A Fifty Year's Review," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XVIII, (Lansing: W. S. George & Co., State Printers, 1891) p. 384.

²Douglas C. McMurtrie, Early Printing in Michigan, (Chicago: John Calhoun Club, 1931) p. 100.

been determined, but no historian has credited it with an existence longer than two years.¹

It was not until 1843 that Royal W. Jenny founded the second paper in the valley, the North Star, so named because at the time of its founding it was the most northerly newspaper in the United States.²

While eastern speculation had financed the Journal in the hope of greater expansion of Saginaw, the Star was subsidized as a result of the same movement but in a far different manner--from the publication of tax lists. Jenny was not only editor and printer of the Star, he was also town clerk, one of the superintendents of the poor, and assistant postmaster.³

Newspapers in those days were uncertain ventures and most published only irregularly. Few copies of the early weeklies remain in existence, but those that do reveal little but political editorials, some local social and news items, articles reprinted from other publications, and as many legal notices as the publishers could extract from the local governments.

¹Thomas S. Applegate, "A History of the Press of Michigan," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections (Lansing: W. S. George & Co., State Printers, 1884) VI, p. 93.

²McMurtrie, Early Printing in Michigan, p. 313.

³Hetherington, Journalism During the Lumbering Days, p. 12.

In 1861 a directory listed 141 newspapers in Michigan including three weeklies in Saginaw, the Enterprise, Republican, and Spirit of the Times, while East Saginaw had two, the Courier and Enterprise, and Bay City had just one, the Press.¹ It took nearly ten years for journalism in Bay City to grow to two weeklies, the Journal and the Signal, with another, the Herald, being published in the nearby village of Wenona.² Although two different dailies were issued for brief periods in Bay City, beginning in 1871, the Bay City Tribune, which began April 5, 1873, was the first daily to sustain continuous publication. Dow was editor and manager of the Tribune.³ The East Saginaw Enterprise, which began publication in 1853 as a weekly, also printed a daily edition which suspended in 1874. Hotchkiss was employed by the daily Courier, also of East Saginaw, which was established in 1859.⁴

Hotchkiss, in his autobiography, tells how a new reporter got started in those early days of journalism.

¹American Newspaper Directory, Daniel J. Kenny, comp. (New York: Watson & Co., 1861) pp. 33-35.

²Ibid, p. 790.

³A History of the Press of Michigan, Tom S. Applegate, comp. (Adrian: Times Steam Presses, 1876) p. 16.

⁴Ibid, p. 27.

On the 20th of January, 1870, I entered the office but as it was not advisable that the new arrangement should be known for a day or two until the legal proceeding could be commenced, it was expedient that I should be known to the force as a new acquisition to the reportorial force and Headley, the city editor, suggested that I should occupy the day in reporting the proceedings of the State Baptist Association then convening. I had never undertaken a reportorial stunt, but was assured that my shortcomings would be properly consored, and with much misgiving, I undertook the assignment. There had been no provision made for a table for the reporters and evidently it was not supposed that the local papers would take any further notice of the meeting than a short paragraph announcing the fact of the meeting. With a good supply of paper I took my seat in a front pew of the church and began my first endeavor in newspaper reporting. I had been an active church worker and Bible student for many years and was pretty well versed in the commonplaces of ministerial speech and had little difficulty in even anticipating what a speaker intended and being a rather fast writer in longhand I returned to the office at the close of the afternoon session with matter for four printed columns, supplemented in the evening by a column and a half digest of the evening sermon, to hear from my associates in the office the derisive and jocular assertions of: "Oh no, you can't report! This is a good joke on our doubts of your ability and as to how much we can look for to help us out in the morning issue." My satisfaction was greatly intensified in the morning by the compliments which came from the preachers who quickly exhausted the morning's issue. On the following evening I reported a column in length of the graduation exercises of the high school, which led to many compliments as to the author which not only added greatly to my own satisfaction and self-confidence, but gave me a most favorable introduction to the citizens of a community in which my business relations had been confined to but a small circle.¹

He also relates how his first connection with a newspaper came in managing a political weekly with the

¹George W. Hotchkiss, "Fifteen Years in Michigan," (partial typescript of autobiography, Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan) pp. 113-114.

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goal of electing a Democratic candidate to the Congress and how that successful venture led to his appointment as business manager and editor of a Democratic daily, the Saginaw Daily Courier.

His autobiography also gives a good example of the kind of competition that occurred between rival newspapers during a time when any printer with a hat full of type and a hand press could start a newspaper, and often did.

Upon the death in a neighboring city of an ex-governor of the state, I decided not to send a reporter but to do my own reporting of the obsequies having personal acquaintance with some of the leading men in charge of the funeral, through whom I succeeded in obtaining the manuscript of some of the speakers while the reporters on the other paper of our community obtained others, a combination of both being necessary to round out a full and complete report. As the feeling between the two offices was not of the most friendly character, I was much pleased during the ride home to be approached by my opponent with a proposition that each should set up the speeches at the earliest hour and then exchange printed proofs so that each paper would have complete reports, to which I gladly assented and when about ten o'clock a messenger appeared to get my portion, I readily assented upon his assurance that their galley proofs should reach me within a half hour. The half hour expired and an hour, and no proofs came. At eleven o'clock I went over to the competitor's office where the coolness of my reception soon convinced me that I had been victimized and that there was no intention of carrying out the agreement. I at once called my force to my office and laid the situation before them with a proposition that if they would stand by me I would take them to a midnight supper at a nearby restaurant where I had made an arrangement, and would allow them double pay if they would stand by me to the end, even if our issue should be late, and I would find some means to obtain the copy so that our report would be complete. Every man consented; we had a good supper and waited developments. The press of the other journal was on the ground floor and I paced the street watching until with the first breaking of the morning light I had the

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satisfaction of seeing the forms adjusted upon their press. Holding myself until I saw a half dozen sheets thrown off, I unconcernedly slipped into the press room and before the pressman could open his mouth in protest, I had seized a sheet and was on my way to our office a block away, where the needful article was soon cut into small "takes" and every man in the office had his portion. Needless to say our issue was delayed a couple of hours, but when between seven and eight o'clock the paper appeared upon the street, I was assured that no portion was scanned by the public with greater avidity than the editorial roast and explanation of the cupidity of our contemporary and the ground work of his assertion of "the only full and correct report." Such are sometimes the trials which compass the preparation of the daily press, with which the casual reader is unacquainted.¹

Hotchkiss was not only a man who believed in hard work but was also a teetotaler and was highly religious. He may have been an exception among the newspapermen and printers of the times, noting in his autobiography that "the ranks of newspaper men and especially compositors are filled with men who learned to work under the inspiration of strong drink and have suffered the inevitable consequences." He describes an example:

There was, however, one thing about the morning paper to which I did not take kindly. It is a long "hike" from supper at six o'clock through long hours of writing and proof reading until two and three o'clock in the morning, and the wise compositor or editor did wisely to carry with him a midnight luncheon, but where all night saloons are available it is too much the habit to patronize them with their attractive luncheon and seductive beer or other liquors. I fortunately never acquired the habit, but I have seen many good men succumb to the habit, with most disastrous consequences. I remember entering an office to which I was no stranger one evening and

¹Hotchkiss, "Fifteen Years In Michigan," pp.117-118.

seeing a young man with whom I held a warm friendship, sitting at his desk, his head resting upon the right hand of an extended arm. There was no one else in the room and I thought him asleep at his desk and saluted him with a: "Wake up Jim," touching him on the shoulder only to notice a pistol which had fallen to the desk by the side of a sheet of paper on which he had written: "Goodby Boys," before he fired the fatal shot. This at once recalled a conversation I had had with him the preceding afternoon in which he told me certain things which I have never related to any one, of his engagement to a young lady of whom he felt himself utterly unworthy and would kill himself sooner than expose his condition to her. I, of course, had no thought of it being more than an idle statement of the moment, until I realized the full extent of the tragedy. He was one of the best-hearted fellows I have ever known, and so fully realized the consequences of a life of dissipation and his inability to muster a manhood sufficient to reform, but he was, at the bottom, too noble minded to permit the woman whom he loved to know or to share in the depths of the degradation which he had reached.¹

The difficulty in reporting news of lumbering was indicated in a note in 1856 in a Saginaw newspaper, which stated: "When our lumbermen are desirous of presenting to the world a statement of the product of their mills and pineries, they find the Enterprise ready and willing to do it"2

Another problem the newspapers of the valley had to face was mentioned by an early writer: "Long before lumber's heyday, the pioneer newspapermen of the Saginaws recognized that "the valley's leading business . . .

¹Ibid, pp. 126-127.

²Saginaw Enterprise, new series, June 20, 1856, p. 1.

. . . lumber . . . required far less of it [advertising] than the average varieties of business"1

Newspapers were also in the printing business, however, and the facts of lumbering were desired by outsiders.

Nothing, perhaps, was done or said that accomplished so much in setting forth the advantages of the Saginaw Valley to the outside world as the annual lumber statements published, first through the columns of the Enterprise, the Courier, and the Saginawian, and then circulated all over the world in pamphlets by the compilers, first of whom was Perry Joslin of the Enterprise; and most famous of whom were George Frederick Lewis of the Enterprise, the Courier and the Saginawian; C. B. Headley of the Enterprise and the Courier; and Edward Cowles of the Courier. In the beginning, the chief object of their publication was to induce, if possible, the belief among wary outsiders that the great valley was habitable--that there were resources here that could be developed profitably. Time changed. The valley became a power. Her resources, manufacturers, wealth, commerce, commanded attention. She had no further need of bringing legislatures and press excursions to establish her identity or to correct misrepresentations. How this change was brought about--with what rapidity or by what process it was effected is explained in the fascinating details of these annual lumber statements. Within the district of which the compilers wrote was the largest and most valuable body of pine timber upon the American continent. They had no purpose to exaggerate or to minimize--but to record a reliable history of an industry that has developed sources of untold wealth to the nation.²

Even though the compiling of statistics was started, some lumbermen never co-operated with the

¹George Frederick Lewis, writing in the Saginawian, June 13, 1874, p. 1.

²Hetherington, Journalism During the Lumbering Days, p. 59.

reporters and the accuracy of the statistics should be open to question.

Hotchkiss later commented in his book:

It is unfortunately true that during the period of denudation, a great majority of the operators to whom has fallen the lot of converting the great bodies of white pine which were found in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, into the dwellings of a treeless prairie or the more pretentious mansions of a myriad of cities, should fail to grasp the extent and importance of the work in which they were engaged, and have left but little or no concerted record for the information of those who in future generations will feel interested to know of past conditions.¹

The Gazette's statistics and information about regions other than the Saginaw Valley were sketchy and sporadically published, and reports were probably nonexistent in some areas.

Hetherington noted that extreme pains were taken by the Saginaw Valley compilers to get an accurate report, however, although the report was subject to the vagaries of the lumbermen themselves. The Enterprise commented in 1866:

. . . It may be relied upon as complete . . . every mill of every importance of the valley is included. We do not hesitate to say that no exhibit of the lumber business of this valley has ever been made so near the actual facts as the one below It is estimated that it will take over 20 years to exhaust the pine at the present rate of consumption.²

¹George W. Hotchkiss, History of the Lumber and Forest Industry of the Northwest, (Chicago: George W. Hotchkiss and Company, 1898) preface.

²Daily Enterprise, Dec. 20, 1866, p. 1.

"The declaration was not exaggeration," Hetherington noted. "C. B. Headley, of the local department of the Enterprise, had been placed in charge of the work. He visited every mill in the valley personally--some he visited many times."¹

¹Hetherington, Journalism During the Lumbering Days, p. 65.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDING AND EARLY YEARS OF THE GAZETTE

Frank Luther Mott, historian of the American Press, estimates that between 1865 and 1885 almost 9,000 periodicals (excluding papers) had publishing starts.¹ The period following the Civil War was a flourishing one for business and industry and for the business papers that served those activities. Until the Civil War (1861-1865) about 160 business papers came into existence, but the last thirty years of the nineteenth century were the formative years of the American business press.²

Among the vast number of new business papers founded in that period one of the earliest was the Lumberman's Gazette, which came into existence in 1872 in Bay City, Michigan. Interestingly, the Gazette, according to George W. Hotchkiss, its first editorial employe, was intended not to report the activities of lumbering itself, but to report on inventions in sawmill machinery.

¹Mott, History of American Magazines, p. 5.

²Julien Elfenfein, Business Journalism, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), p. 160.

It was while engaged in the management of the Courier¹ that I was one day approached by a gentleman bearing excellent letters from a prominent Chicago lawyer and other Chicago friends, who opened up to me the project of the publication of a journal devoted exclusively to the lumber industry, of which he had no personal knowledge, but had been urged by friends to enlist my cooperation as the best man he could find to assist him in the enterprise.

His proposition was that I take the editorial and practical side of the enterprise while he would manage the business end. The Courier was at that time recognized as the only paper in the country which paid any particular attention to the wants of the lumber fraternity² and then only in the matter of local statistics of the Saginaw Valley to which its circulation was mainly confined. Mr. Henry S. Dow was the gentleman who laid before me the fact that while the country was full of inventors whose attention was largely devoted to improvements in sawmill machinery which was greatly needed, they had no means of communicating except individually with those who stood the most in need of their inventions, while the whole country was interested and daily becoming more so, in the statements of production in all sections, and of means for the more economical manufacture.³

The compact formed by Dow and Hotchkiss united two of the Saginaw Valley's foremost daily newspapermen, Dow being managing editor of the Bay City Tribune and Hotchkiss business manager and associate editor of the Saginaw Daily Courier. It also brought together two divergent political philosophies, as Dow was a Republican and Hotchkiss a

¹Saginaw Daily Courier, Saginaw, Michigan.

²The term "lumberjack" is never used in the Gazette, being of later derivation. Capitalists in the field were called "lumbermen," a name sometimes applied to workers, more often called "laborers," "mill operatives," "men," "shanty boys" or merely, "boys."

³Hotchkiss, "Fifteen Years in Michigan," pp. 118-119.

staunch Democrat. Their product, although staid and extremely business-like, was destined to be maligned by a later writer, Stewart H. Holbrook, in popularizing the times with a romantic account of the activities of lumber-jacks.

Bay City wasn't so large as Saginaw, but it was far more literary. Here was published the Bay City Growler, a scandal rag that kept one posted on the "sporting life" of town and often printed items revealing the notable sex life of some of Bay City's lusty timber barons. Another lively paper was the Lumberman's Gazette, which printed less about lumber than it did about hell-raising.¹

Holbrook was far off the mark in his description of the Gazette, as the publication began and continued to concentrate on lumbering production notes and statistics, lumber and salt markets, mill notes, editorials, occasional literary articles and, of course, advertising. The first issue was typical of others in the thirteen years the Gazette was issued in Bay City. On the cover was an advertisement by Whitman, Townley and Company, wholesale dealers in lumber, lath and shingles, of Wenona, (later Bay City) Michigan, and one for Beach's Patent steam lumber seasoning process, of Buffalo, New York. In all there were twenty-eight pages with advertisements of sixteen and two-thirds pages for lumber, logs, shingles,

¹Stewart H. Holbrook, Holy Old Mackinaw: A Natural History of the American Lumberjack (New York: Macmillan Co., 1943) p. 89.

steamships, hardware, machinery, groceries, banks, harnesses and saddles, hotels, the Detroit Tribune, builders, clothing, salt, jewelry, insurance, drugs, dry goods, pipe, flour and feed, boots and shoes, and pile driving.

Hotchkiss' memory failed him in connection with the first issue, as he later reported "the first number appeared as a sixteen page quarto,¹ starting with three pages of advertising which it had taken several weeks of hard canvassing to obtain at anything but remunerative rates."²

Dow gave Hotchkiss no credit in the publication of the Gazette, listing in the masthead of the first issue as follows: "The Lumberman's Gazette: published at The Saginaws³ and Bay City, Mich., July, 1872: A Monthly Journal: Devoted to the Interests of Lumbermen. Published by Henry S. Dow, Editor and Proprietor: Office at Bay City, Michigan." The Gazette was a quarto, measuring eleven inches by eight inches wide, and was set in agate type with bold face headlines. Advertisements were located on every left hand page, with news on facing pages. Included among the information about lumbering in the early issues were reviews of current literature

¹Ten to twelve inches in height.

²Hotchkiss, "Fifteen Years in Michigan," p. 119.

³East Saginaw and Saginaw City (on the west bank of the Saginaw River) were referred to as the Saginaws. Bay City had earlier been known as Lower Saginaw.

from Scribner's, Harper's, the Phrenological Journal, and other popular magazines of the time.

Dow stated in the lead article that the Gazette "will be independent, but not necessarily neutral," but he followed with an article entitled "The Strike and Strikers," which set the pro-management tone of the journal, obviously intended to ingratiate those whom he wished to have as subscribers and advertisers. "The only legitimate result of the late strike was reached in almost the shortest time possible. This was largely owing to what we choose to call the superior intelligence of the saw mill operatives, for strikes in their worst forms are only experienced where the strikers are of the most ignorant class." He went on to state that all those in sympathy with the strike "are not friends of humanity," continuing: "Wiser and truer by far are those who have by dint of hard toil for long years been successful in obtaining wealth and standing."¹

Other publications, even some newspapers from larger cities, commented on the Gazette, which reprinted the best of the comments as an early form of in-house advertising. These comments revealed more than just praise for the Gazette.

¹Ibid.

Detroit Daily Post: "It is rather strange that no exponent exclusively devoted to the interests it represents has appeared before in this state."

East Saginaw Daily Enterprise: "But we confess surprise at the unusual excellence of the number before us."

East Saginaw Daily Courier: "The publication meets a demand that we wonder has not been supplied long before."

Coal and Iron Record, New York: "We know of no other paper of its class in the country."

Bay City Daily Journal: "In every respect par excellence. It is a quarto magazine of thirty pages, three columns on a page and is replete with valuable and interesting reading matter pertaining to the two great interests of the Saginaw Valley. It fills a want among us that has long been felt by every businessman."

Baltimore, (Md.) Journal: "We welcome to our exchange list the Lumberman's Gazette. While prima facie a "class" journal and devoted to the special interests of the manufacturers and consumers of lumber and salt, the Gazette contains a variety of interesting and instructive reading for the million, and a neater and more attractive monthly we have not seen and we recommend it to the masses--lumbermen in particular."¹

The issuance of such a journal by no means put Dow into a crowded field, since a newspaper directory issued two years before publication of the Gazette listed just 235 class publications in the nation, including only four in Michigan. These were described as newspapers and periodicals devoted to commerce and finance, insurance,

¹Lumberman's Gazette, Feb., 1873, p. 32.

real estate, science and mechanics, sporting, music and women's suffrage.¹

Dow had chosen his field well, however, and success was nearly immediate for the world's first lumber trade journal.

Although it served the lumber interests especially, the Gazette was considered a part of the general press of the time and was so included in newspaper directories such as Alden's² and in various press histories.

The editors of the Gazette apparently worked closely with the local newspapers in the Saginaws. "For numerous favors we are indebted to the East Saginaw Daily Courier and Daily Enterprise, to the Bay City Journal and Chronicle, to the Saginawian and Republican of Saginaw City, and several other papers," the editors wrote in the initial issue. "As opportunity may present itself we shall take pleasure in reciprocating to the fullest extent possible."

Dow stated the purpose of the Gazette in the first issue as follows:

It is our object to make the Lumberman's Gazette a periodical devoted especially to the interests of

¹George P. Rowell and Company's American Newspaper Directory (New York: Nelson Chesman, 1870) pp. 843-845.

²Edwin Alden and Brothers' American Newspaper Catalogue (Cincinnati: Edwin Alden and Brothers' Advertising Agency, 1882) p. 124.

lumbermen. While it will have much valuable matter of a general character, interesting alike to manufacturer and dealer, it will be the aim to make it a medium of communication between lumbermen which will be at once concise, unique and useful.

At the same time he both boasted and apologized in advance for his new editorial product:

Owing to the many unforeseen obstacles in the way of making a new publication from the start all that it is designed to be we have simply to say that the first number of the Lumberman's Gazette has some imperfections that will be apparent, and that it is not up to the standard fixed for future attainment. And still it possesses so much that is good in the way of contents and arrangement that we feel a degree of pride in it, and cannot but think many of our friends and readers will pardon us for the mention while they admit its justice.

A notation on the flag of the Gazette indicated that Dow was proud enough of his new publication to enter it in the office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington, D. C.

He also forecast an immediate growth of the journal, projecting a subscription of several thousands.

Every publication is influential with the public and valuable as a medium for reaching the people in proportion to its circulation, other things being equal. The three thousand copies of the first number will be read by more than ten times that number, and we warrant to our patrons that there shall be fully three thousand copies of the second edition published. We expect to have that number of subscribers within sixty days, and will venture to convince any sensible person of the reasonableness of our expectations if they will make the inquiry.

Dow also stated the political philosophy he was to follow in publication of the Gazette:

Politically, the Lumberman's Gazette will be independent, but not necessarily neutral. It will

say whatever it deems wise and for the best interests of those to whom it is particularly devoted, but will not meddle with unimportant matters. Every good citizen should take an interest in politics but he need not be a politician, according to the modern meaning of the term.

He also announced his immediate intention to publish a weekly report of lumber and salt markets, a service not offered by the daily or weekly press. "The indications are that such a regular report, in form convenient for mailing, would meet with general favor among manufacturers and dealers, and when convinced that such is the case, we shall seek to supply the demand," the Gazette reported.¹

At the end of eight months of publication, Dow was reporting a circulation of almost 4,000 for the Gazette, at one dollar a year for each subscription. Most were being circulated in the lumber centers of Michigan, but others were going in substantial numbers to the cities of Chicago, New York, Albany, Williamsport, Boston, Toledo, and Cincinnati, and the states of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Florida, Canada, and Maine.²

Hotchkiss recalled the success of the Gazette:

With the preparation of the first number of the Gazette I became so greatly interested in the subject

¹The Bay City Observer, on Oct. 25, 1877, was carrying an item headed "Lumber Markets listed from Lumberman's Gazette Office," which included a summary of the past week's prices, a forecast, and salt prices.

²Gazette, February, 1873, p. 33.

that the addition to my labors became more of a pastime than a labor, and my interest increased with the later development of the fact that the venture was most timely, for while the expenses of the first year exceeded the income by fully a thousand dollars, the constant accretion of our subscription list, and of the favor shown by advertisers, gave fair promise of the ultimate results which were very satisfactory, and have finally culminated in the publication of lumber journals in many sections of the nation.¹

Advertising rates were not exactly cheap for those days, running thirty dollars a page, with editorial notices going at the rate of twenty-five cents a line.²

The enterprising Dow was not hesitant in branching out in the publishing business he had just entered, announcing in December, 1872: "In a few days we shall issue an Annual Review of the Lumber Trade and Manufacture of Michigan, 10,000 copies in octavo pamphlet form of about seventy pages each."³ In March, 1873, he announced publication of a Weekly Market Reporter, to be issued every Saturday morning in season in connection with the Gazette, for two dollars a year.⁴ The report featured the latest lumber and salt markets. He also published the History, Commercial Advantages and Future Prospects of Bay City, Michigan in 1875.

¹Hotchkiss, Fifteen Years in Michigan, p. 119.

²Gazette, June, 1873, p. 173.

³Ibid, December, 1872, p. 1

⁴Ibid, March, 1873, p. 67.

The Detroit Free Press also noticed the Gazette and commented:

The Lumberman's Gazette--This is the title of a handsome monthly published by H. S. Dow at Bay City. It is specially devoted to the lumber interest, and contains many original articles upon topics that are of particular importance to all engaged in the buying, selling or manufacturing of lumber. Some of these articles have been widely copied, and the Gazette, by the ability with which it is edited, and its special means of obtaining information, is entitled to rank among the first publications of its kind.¹

As the second volume of the Gazette began,² Dow apparently found that he had sold even the file copies of some of the early issues for he asked: "Back Numbers Wanted--Persons having copies of the Gazette for September or October may exchange them for other numbers or receive full remuneration for them on presentation at our office in Bay City."³

He also noted in the same issue: "Those who wish to buy or sell saw mill property or timber lands in any part of the country, cannot possibly do better than use the columns of the Gazette for the purpose of reaching the parties desired;" and: "We want a reliable correspondent

¹Gazette, January, 1873, p. 5.

²Each volume was comprised of the issues for six months, but each issue was numbered consecutively from one through twelve by the year.

³Gazette, January, 1873, p. 1.

in every lumbering town or section of the United States and Canada. Liberal remuneration will be allowed to suitable parties."¹

Typical of the kinds of news published in the early Gazette were the following:

Messrs. Tiff, Jerome and Company of Saginaw City will run only two camps during the coming winter. Last winter they ran eight.

George F. Williams and Brothers had an exhibition at the Saginaw Central Fair, two pine planks, measuring respectively 197 and 224 feet board measure. Both were perfectly clear lumber, not a sign of a knot, shake or sap.

Pond and Sopers planing mill, Chicago, was burned recently. Loss \$22,000. An adjoining mill, belonging to Hair and Odovine, was also burned. Loss \$12,000. Fully insured.²

Not all the content was confined to news of lumbering, however, as another early article was entitled: "University Lands--Sketch of the History of the Granting of Government Lands to the State University."³

In the early issues, Dow was constantly apologizing for the lateness of the issue or some other imperfection.

It is said that misfortunes never come singly. This we say by way of premising an apology we owe our readers for the delay in getting out this issue of the Gazette. The new dress was received fully two weeks later than we had confidently expected, and portions of it came more than three weeks late. Then most a

¹Ibid.

²Gazette, October, 1873, p. 171.

³Ibid, July, 1873, p. 11.

whole week was lost on account of a failure to get the press work done promptly. But if our readers will excuse this tardiness we feel justified in assuring them that the like shall not occur again. Work on the next issue is already being pushed forward so as not to be behind the time at which it has usually been completed.¹

But two months later he apologized again for the lateness of the issue, noting that he had taken over the editorial management of the Bay City Tribune, a daily, and that an assistant had been hired for the Gazette. He also noted that subscribers were increasing more than he had anticipated.²

Hotchkiss noted the addition to the Gazette staff later in his autobiography and how that later resulted in the formation of another, competing, lumber journal.

Of course it was but a short time before it became needful to increase our office force and William B. Judson who at the time was doing an insurance business entered our employ as a reporter, but after several months was so impressed with the breadth of the field in which we were operating, that he established another lumber journal at Muskegon, Michigan,³ which after one or two issues he removed to Chicago and the Northwestern Lumberman made its bow to the public . . .⁴

Dow at first apparently was flattered that his embryo journal was to be copied, stating:

¹Ibid, February, 1873, p. 1

²Gazette, May, 1873, p. 139.

³The Michigan Lumberman was founded in February, 1873.

⁴Hotchkiss, "Fifteen Years in Michigan," p. 120.

Mr. B. Wait and W. B. Judson announce that they are about to commence the publication of a new monthly journal at Grand Rapids, to be called the Michigan Lumberman. For some months past Mr. Wait has been an occasional contributor to the Gazette, and Mr. Judson has been employed as an assistant on the Gazette. In size and style the Lumberman will imitate the Gazette, but it will be devoted to miscellaneous interests. The new periodical will secure a liberal local support undoubtedly, and if conducted with skill and ability, cannot fail of excellent success. We take it as decidedly complimentary to the Lumberman's Gazette that several parties in different sections have projected publications devoted to the lumber interests since the Gazette first appeared in July last. And while always striving to maintain a foremost rank among class journals, we can greet cordially all newcomers at the lists.¹

His comments carried the same tone after the new publication was issued, but a sarcastic note was included:

We are in receipt of the Michigan Lumberman published by Messrs. B. Wait and W. B. Judson, formerly employed as agents for the Gazette. In almost every particular the Lumberman is an imitation of the Gazette, and as such we admire its style. We wish this new candidate for patronage the most substantial success.²

Three months later his rancor was growing as the Gazette stated: "Imitations and perversions have entered the field, but they have none of them come up to the standard of the Gazette, and certainly none have attained a circulation nearly as large."³

¹Gazette, January, 1873, p. 7.

²Gazette, February, 1873, p. 1

³Ibid, May, 1873, p. 139. Dow was claiming a circulation of more than 4,500 that year and two years later claimed 6,000-plus.

In the same issue Dow noted another competitor and chastized its editors for plagiarism:

The Lumber Trade still lives but is surprised that anything which ever appeared in its columns should have appeared in the Gazette. We doubt not that the Trade will continue to thrive if it feeds on such healthy diet, as three or four columns per week, from the Gazette every week the way it did, during the cold months of last winter. It was ungrateful though to accept so much without saying so much as "thank you."¹

Later he mocked the publication of Wait and Judson: "The Michigan Lumberman reviews the business prospect in an article of such extraordinary English that we cannot refrain from giving our readers a specimen."²

Later that same year, Dow felt compelled to establish in print the Gazette's pre-eminence in the field.

As early as June, 1872, the Lumberman's Gazette prospectus was issued, and in July following the first issue appeared. Subsequently the Lumber Trade appeared as a semi-monthly publication. The Gazette was the first journal ever issued in the interest of the lumber trade and manufacture. The Lumber Trade was second, and then came the Michigan Lumberman, a close imitation of the Lumberman's Gazette. The publishers of the Lumberman had both had some months experience on the Gazette, and they deserve credit for the zeal and energy displayed in their enterprise. Recently the Wisconsin Lumberman made its appearance at Milwaukee. The Lumberman's Gazette is therefore the "pioneer" lumberman's paper.³

As Wait moved on, Dow became even more caustic in his comments.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid, August, 1873, p. 41.

³Gazette, October, 1873, p. 129.

That celebrated lumberman, whose only knowledge of either lumber or journalism was gained during the two or three months we employed him on the Lumberman's Gazette, has, to the infinite amusement of those who know him best, set himself up in connection with the Northwestern Lumberman and Railway Journal, as "editor and manager." He has the assurance to assume to be an instructor in matters of which he knows as little as he does about editing any kind of a journal.¹

After ten months as publisher and editor of the Bay City Tribune in addition to the Gazette, Dow retired from the daily publication and announced the fact in a front page "Editorial Personal" in the Gazette. The article included an item from the Detroit Daily Post that read: "The Tribune is now the property of an incorporated company, and is to be published daily as heretofore, under the editorial supervision, we believe, of Mr. George K. Shaw, late of Minneapolis."²

He further explained that the management of both publications was too much of a burden.

During the most of the time for the past twelve months the publisher of the Lumberman's Gazette has devoted a large amount of his attention to the work of editing the Bay City Daily Tribune, and as a consequence the Gazette has been a good deal neglected. Recently the Tribune editorship has been transferred to other hands, and we expect to be able to devote more time to the Gazette.³

The battles with his competitors and former employees continued to be aired in the pages of the Gazette.

¹Ibid, March, 1874, p. 71.

²Ibid, February, 1874, p. 33.

³Gazette, February, 1874, p. 33.

The Bay City Tribune, the Boston Lumber Trade, the Farwell Register, as well as ourselves, are in anguish because of the displeasure expressed by the Northwestern Lumberman. Won't the fledgling publication tell its few readers what it knows about any particular branch of the lumber trade or manufacture instead of arrogating to itself knowledge it never possessed.¹

The January number of the Lumberman's Gazette contained an article entitled 'In the Lumber Woods,' from the pen of Mr. B. Wait. The article, though prepared for another publication, was purchased of Mr. Wait by the publisher of the Gazette. It had not previously appeared elsewhere as the editor of the Northwestern Lumberman well knows, his statements to the contrary notwithstanding. We can conceive of no other motive than pure malice that induced the Northwestern Lumberman to make the incorrect statement it contains in the last issue (February).²

Dow must have been held in good standing by the lumbermen of the area because they chose him secretary of the Michigan Timber Land Association at a meeting April 15, 1874, in East Saginaw.³ He held several offices in lumbermen's associations, as did many of the lumber paper editors.

The following month Dow changed the Gazette to a weekly in quarto form because of the demand for fresher news. But he was to enjoy the success of his new publication for less than a year until his death, perhaps hastened by his arduous labors in the newspaper business and on the pioneer lumber journal.

¹Ibid, March, 1874, p. 71.

²Ibid, p. 66.

³Ibid, April, 1874, p. 103.

Some of the history of the Gazette is told in an article by the man who was destined to become its publisher in Bay City until 1885, Edwin T. Bennett.

In February, 1875 the lamented death of its founder caused the Gazette to pass into the hands of W. R. Bates and E. T. Bennett, who did all in their power to maintain the excellent reputation gained for the paper by its former proprietor.

The Gazette now enters upon its seventh volume with a larger advertising and subscription patronage, and with better and brighter prospects than it has ever enjoyed. Its circulation extends into every state and territory in the United States and the provinces of Canada. It is quoted by every journal of influence in the world, in connection with the lumber business. It now has but one competitor in the United States, of the many which have from time to time sprang up. We have obtained the services of a man who has had thirty years experience in the manufacture and sale of lumber to aid us in the editorial department of the paper, and we guarantee our readers that we will spare neither time, labor or expense to make the Gazette better than it has ever been before.¹

Bennett made a few changes, using artwork as a flag with the name formed from trees, ships, and lumber. He raised the subscription price from two dollars to three dollars a year and noted in the masthead that it was "devoted to the lumber and industrial interests of the country." The size was increased from eight and one-half by eleven inches to ten by thirteen and one-half inches and from three columns of type to four on each page, averaging twenty pages an issue.

¹Gazette, Jan. 6, 1876, p. 1

Bennett published the Gazette in Bay City until the depletion of the pine forests resulted in its demise. That story and the Gazette's editorial posture during those crucial times for our environment will be told in later chapters.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPERS OF THE GAZETTE

In addition to working long, arduous hours on daily newspapers, the developers of the Lumberman's Gazette somehow found time to edit and publish that trade journal as a sideline. Certainly, these were men of amazing energy, but their efforts soon took a physical and mental toll.

Henry S. Dow was a native of New Hampshire, though a greater portion of his life was spent in what was then known as the West, now considered the Midwest. He served nearly four years in the Union Army, and was mustered out with the rank of captain. At the end of the Civil War, he came to Michigan and studied law for a time and then purchased an interest in the Saginaw Advertiser. Six months later he sold out and went to Oil City, Pennsylvania. After remaining there for a short time he again went West, and was graduated from the law department of what was then known as Michigan University, now the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. From that time until 1871 he was in Chicago, New York, and Plainfield, New Jersey. In 1871 he went to Bay City and took a position on the

editorial staff of the Bay City Journal, a Republican weekly newspaper of about 700 circulation, and subsequently was publisher and managing editor of the Bay City Daily Tribune, forerunner of the current Bay City Times. In 1872 he was a candidate on the Republican ticket for clerk of Bay County, but was defeated. In September, 1874, he was elected corresponding secretary of the National Lumberman's Association, which office he held at the time of his death, February 5, 1875.¹

Hotchkiss describes the circumstances of Dow's death, as he recalled, in his partial autobiography, but is in error about the date: "In 1873 Mr. Dow, who became engaged to a young lady in New Hampshire, started to fulfill his engagement with her but was taken sick on reaching Detroit and died suddenly while being shaved in a barber's chair."²

The Dows of New Hampshire traced their origins to Henry Dowe (Dow, Doue) a husbandman of Ormsby, England, and his wife, Margaret, (Cole), who had five sons, Henry, Joseph, Daniel, Thomas, and Jeromiah; and two daughters, Mary and Hannah. Listed as taxpayers in Hampton, New Hampshire in May, 1680, were Henry, Joseph and Daniel Dow.

¹Portrait and Biographical Record of Saginaw and Bay Counties, Michigan, (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1892) p. 294.

²Hotchkiss, Fifteen Years In Michigan, p. 121.

A Henry Dow was mentioned as an assistant to Lieutenant Governor Partridge and as representative at the General Court at Boston during the union with Massachusetts.¹

Hotchkiss was born in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1831. When he was seventeen he made a boat journey of 154 days around Cape Horn to the California coast, seeking gold. "Of the thousands of youths who toiled for weary months panning sand scooped out of the bottoms of mountain creeks, Hotchkiss was among the few who made a strike," his obituary said.

Later, he was involved in the lumber trade in Canada for ten years, apparently failing in that business, and then he moved to Buffalo, New York, where he tried his hand unsuccessfully as a salesman for a patent medicine house. He went to Bay City in 1862 as manager for a lumber shipping business operated by John Noyes, of Buffalo.²

By Hotchkiss' own account, his activities and accomplishments of the next fifteen years were prodigious. In his partial autobiography, he claims to have been involved in the first steam shipping of lumber on the Great Lakes, helped to finance the first bank in Bay City (1862); to have fitted out a dog train for starving persons

¹John N. McClintock, History of New Hampshire (Boston: B. B. Russell Cornhill, 1888) pp. 98, 130.

²Hotchkiss, Fifteen Years In Michigan, p. 99.

on the west shore of Lake Huron to Mackinaw (1863); to have entered the shipping business himself, along with being a lumber inspector and being engaged in logging (1864) and in the business of rafting logs; to have served as senior alderman of the First Ward of Bay City (1865); to have headed a firm that built a plank road from Bay City to Midland (1866); to have entered the weekly newspaper business and helped to elect a Democrat to Congress (1867); and to have been a candidate for state senate (1869). After becoming associate editor and business manager of the Saginaw Daily Courier in 1870, Hotchkiss then writes that he went into lumbering and mill management; was editor of the Lumberman's Gazette; worked on the Bay City Tribune; started the first Sunday newspaper in the Saginaw Valley at Saginaw; was postmaster; and organized Edwards Township, Iosco County, Michigan, also serving as supervisor and a member of the county board; and then went into the steel boiler business, all from 1872 to 1878, when he became a member of the editorial staff of the Northwestern Lumberman in Chicago.¹

The strain of these numerous labors had its effect on Hotchkiss, who describes his newspaper work as follows: "My connection with the Saginaw Daily Courier continued for about eighteen months, when with an experience of an

¹Hotchkiss, "Fifteen Years In Michigan," pp. 99-133.

average of about eighteen hours a day during the entire period my health began to fail and it became quite apparent that I was on the eve of a nervous breakdown such as afflicted me twice during the past years, with an enforced idleness of from one to three years"¹

He further described how he left the Courier:

My connection with the Courier being jeopardized by my mill operations where in the employment of an average of eighty to 100 men I found that in the care of the Gazette and of the mill, I resigned from the management of the Courier, and truth to tell I am somewhat hazy in recalling the events of the period between 1872 and 1875 during which time I was connected not only with the Courier and the Lumberman's Gazette but also with the Bay City Tribune, daily evening paper, in fact there was no apparent limit to my energies.²

The Library of Congress lists R. L. Kimberly as an editor of the Gazette in 1874, along with Dow, but no further information on Kimberly can be found.

After Dow's death, Hotchkiss recalled: "Soon after the Gazette and Tribune passed into the hands of Mr. Amos Switzer, with whom I collaborated in the editorial management of both journals until my physical breakdown in the winter of 1874-1875."³ Nowhere in the Gazette, or in any press history, is Switzer mentioned in connection with the Gazette, although W. H. Gustin, an editor of the Bay City

¹Hotchkiss, "Fifteen Years in Michigan," p. 114.

²Ibid, p. 121.

³Ibid.

Times, wrote in a history of the press of Bay City that Switzer, a lumber salesman, was co-publisher of the Bay City Tribune with Dow shortly after its founding.¹ Bennett stated that he became sole owner after buying out Bates in October, 1875.²

Hotchkiss later wrote involving his connection with the Gazette, noting that "during the period 1872 to 1877 [I] was more or less intimately associated with the editorial management of the journal, combining for a year or more the charge of the Bay City Journal, an evening daily paper."³ The Journal had been founded in 1864 as a Republican weekly and became a daily in 1871, lasting for two years. After suffering his third attack of nervous prostration in a career of some twenty years at that point, Hotchkiss moved to the Tawas area of Michigan to attend to his lumber business and then traveled throughout the Midwest selling a machine, designed to remove sediment from steel boilers, which he wrote led to "a much improved condition of bodily health." However, his physical and mental trials in the field of journalism left him with what he described as a "very pessimistic anxiety as regarded

¹Bay City Times, Dec. 2, 1923, p. 2.

²Tom S. Applegate, A History of the Press of Michigan (Adrian: Adrian Times, 1876) pp. 16-17.

³Hotchkiss, History of the Lumber and Forest Industry, p. 12.

my brain power which did not appear to me as strong and reliable as before my sickness, so that when my friend Judson urged me in the spring of 1878 to join his editorial force, I hesitated from sheer doubt as to my ability to place my thoughts on paper, and finally consented only upon condition that for a certain period at least, my lucubrations should pass under his censorship. As a preliminary experiment, however, I, at his request, undertook a job for which he thought me eminently qualified, but of which I felt great doubt."¹

Hotchkiss was mentioned as secretary of the Chicago Lumberman's Exchange, which was started in 1881,² and in 1888 he was editor of the Lumber Trade Journal, a semi-monthly of 4,250 circulation.³ The Library of Congress lists Hotchkiss as author of a book, Chicago Yard Grading: Also Rules of the Lumberman's Exchange of Chicago, published in 1888 by the Lumber Trade Journal. His obituary also noted that he was statistician and secretary of the Illinois Lumber and Material Dealers' Association.⁴

¹Hotchkiss, "Fifteen Years in Michigan," pp. 132-133.

²Gazette, June 13, 1883, p. 2.

³N. W. Ayer and Sons American Newspaper Annual (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Son, 1888) p. 329.

⁴Chicago Herald and Examiner, March 2, 1926 (unpaged clipping in Michigan Historical Collections).

Despite the physical and mental problems suffered in his early life as a result of overwork, Hotchkiss proved remarkably durable. When he died at his Evanston, Illinois, home at the age of ninety-five, the Chicago Herald and Examiner headlined the story: "Last of the Forty-Niners is Dead at 95: George W. Hotchkiss, Adventurer, Business Man, Writer, Sailed Around Horn When 17."¹

Another Bay City newspaperman who was associated with the Gazette was Archibald McMillan, who was mentioned after 1878 as an editorial writer. McMillan was editor and publisher of the Bay City Evening Press, established in 1879, and in 1892 was president of the Bay City Times Company, after merger of the Times with the Press.

Bennett, who also became editor of the Bay City Tribune, as Dow had been, bought the Bay City Evening Press in 1880 and the Tribune in 1881. He was born in Clayton, Jefferson County, New York, April 8, 1853. His boyhood was spent near the St. Lawrence River, where he lost an eye and his left arm when a marine torpedo exploded in 1864. Two years later he moved with his parents to Bay City, where he took an interest in printing and drifted into newspaper work.²

¹Ibid.

²Portrait and Biographical Record of Saginaw and Bay Counties, p. 296.

Bennett was the sole publisher of the Gazette for several years, until July, 1878, when Charles B. Headley retired after eight years as business manager of the Saginaw Daily Courier and became co-publisher of the Gazette. Bennett states in the Gazette that Headley was one of the projectors and early contributors to the lumber journal, and: "It was through his representations and encouragement that Mr. Dow started the Gazette in 1872." Headley and George Frederick Lewis, one of the founders of the Courier and the Bay City daily Morning Call, compiled and published the first statistics of the lumber business of the Saginaw Valley in 1866, "which are regarded as standard authority by the lumber trade of the northwest," wrote Bennett.

Separate offices of the Gazette were established in 1878, with Bennett remaining in Bay City and Headley running a new Saginaw office. The Gazette was published for five months from East Saginaw, with that dateline beginning with the issue of Sept. 3, 1878. The place of publication, however, was moved back to Bay City with the February 12, 1879, issue and Headley's name no longer appeared as co-publisher.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROLE OF THE GAZETTE

While the newspapers of the Saginaws gave some coverage to the activities of the lumbermen and began compiling statistics of the lumber trade, the role of the Gazette was to extend and expand those functions.

Hotchkiss recounted how his editorial efforts were received initially:

The original venture was not at first met with great cordiality by the lumbermen generally as it had from the commencement of the trade been held as a competitive business in which a man's success was based upon keeping his business to himself and finding out all he could about his neighbor. The collector of statistics was met with a cold shoulder, "that's prying into my business," was the non unusual response for figures of manufacture. One of my brother aldermen of the city council was a manufacturer who was greatly annoyed because one whom he esteemed his friend tried to pry into his private business and turned a deaf ear to all my questions. One day, however, he told me of the extensive repairs he was making to his mill in taking out old machinery and putting in other and improved and in a friendly way invited me to visit his mill. As we had not had any discussion for some months he did not dream of what the invitation included, but seizing a timely opportunity I visited him and he courteously and proudly took me through the mill and explained to me the increased facilities which he expected to result from the improvements. I carefully avoided any questions which might make him suspicious, but noted carefully the changes and his optimism. Soon after, my statistical report appeared and his mill and operations received due notice. Meeting me on the street a short time after he berated me and wanted to know where I got the figures which he

said he had always refused to give me. "Why," I replied, "you gave them to me yourself," which he denied until I called his attention to my visit and his courteous attentions, asking if the figures were not correct. In reply he said: "It is evident that if I refuse to give the information you want, you will get it somehow, and hereafter you shall have all the information you may ask for." I mention this case as only one evidence of the difficulty we experienced in obtaining what we thought to be valuable and necessary information for the guidance of the trade.

It was not long, however, before the value of facts and figures began to impress investors and they began to take this new opportunity for laying their practical thoughts before the manufacturers who on their part recognized the value of improvements of which they had never before heard and our clientage both among manufacturers and retailers rapidly increased.¹

The Gazette not only covered lumbering in the Saginaw Valley, but it also became a truly national publication and included news of lumbering in Canada, which was so closely allied to that occurring in the United States.

"The Lumberman's Gazette is not local or sectional in character. It is ever the ready exponent of the true interests of any section and all sections," the Gazette said in 1874.

The publication lived up to that statement throughout the time it was published in Bay City.

Articles printed in 1872 included those with the following headlines: "Lumbering in Florida," from the Palatka Herald; "The Season in Minnesota," "Sheboygan,"

¹Hotchkiss, "Fifteen Years in Michigan," p. 119.

"Curiosities of the Brazilian Forest," from the Anglo-Brazilian Times, and also included comment from the Lemars, Iowa, Sentinel.¹

In January, 1874, the Gazette printed articles dealing with: "Wisconsin River Lumbering," "How Lumbermen Live in Camp," and "Patents and Improvements in the Lumber Trade."²

Other articles in that same issue included: "St. Louis Lumber Trade for 1873," "Lumber Inspected on White Lake," "Wisconsin Lumber Notes," "The Lumber Product of Western Michigan," "Indianapolis," "A Ride on a Raft," "Ottawa Lumber Region," "Review of the Lumber Trade of Canada," "Chippewa Valley in Wisconsin," "The Trade of Tonawanda for 1873," "Southern Lumber Regions," "Williamsport Lumber Exchange," "Cincinnati Lumber," "Minnesota Lumber Trade," and "In the Lumber Woods: Graphic Description of Logging Operations--The Advance of Civilization Into Primeval Pine Forests."

An editorial in the January, 1874, issue was concerned with the Michigan lumber inspection law and pointed out discrepancies because of imperfect knowledge of some

¹Gazette, October, 1872, pp. 1-3.

²Ibid, January, 1874, pp. 1-16, passim.

inspectors.¹ Other items dealt with prices of lumber, amount of lumber cut, lumber shipments, prices of land, prices of salt, contracts for lumber work, business news regarding agents and firms, boom company reports, magazine reviews and a report on Saginaw Valley lumbering for 1873.

Various issues during 1873 included articles reprinted from the Philadelphia Ledger, Detroit Free Press, Chicago Inter Ocean, Boston Globe, Detroit Post, American Agriculturist, American Builder, American Manufacturer, Real Estate Record, and Scientific American.

Such diverse subject matter as iron ore statistics from Marquette and marine operation reviews also were printed by the Gazette.

The issues of the Gazette were scattered with miscellaneous news items concerning the mills, the situation in the lumber camps, patents and improvements in the lumber trade, accidents and fires, and notes of various kinds containing information of general interest to lumbermen.

Typical of these was the following item, printed on the first page of the first issue:

Messrs. Wetmore & English, of St. Charles, have sold, to Mr. H. J. Bentley, of the firm of Bentley & Chapman, of Chesaning, a half interest in their saw

¹Hotchkiss was well acquainted with the subject, having been a lumber inspector in Canada for ten years.

mill. The mill is to be moved to Pine Grove, about three miles from Chesaning.

Although the Gazette was serving a specialized field, and was circulated in a wide area of the country, it still retained an editorial attitude that boosted local development, showing considerable foresight in the following statement: "The present and permanent advancement of Saginaw lies in manufactures. Lumber and salt came to us naturally. We must now encourage other enterprises, such as will further prepare these staples for various uses."¹

¹Gazette, March, 1873, p. 69.

CHAPTER V

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASPECTS

The editorial content of the Gazette included numerous articles of literary and historical merit and items of cultural interest from humorous, ecological, and other aspects.

The early issues consistently printed reviews of popular magazines, such as one brief note in the January, 1873, issue which stated: "Harper's Magazine for February¹ comes to hand with a table of rare contents. The serial stories, editorial departments, and all the short stories are fully maintained in their excellence."

Poetry was also occasionally published, especially when it had some connection with the lumber industry such as verse published in June, 1873, entitled "The Timber Cutter."

Articles contributed by free-lance writers were often used, including one in the April, 1873, issue by Henry David Thoreau, entitled "The Maine Woods."

¹The Gazette for January, 1873, apparently was again published late.

Another article, published in November, 1873, was entitled: "Pioneer Lumbering: Jeff Davis, the first Lumberman in Wisconsin--An Interesting Sketch."

A series of articles was run in the Gazette on Michigan pioneer lumbermen and was written by one of the earliest lumbermen, Albert Miller, a probate judge of Saginaw County. It provides invaluable local history.

General notes on lumbering printed in the Gazette would be of interest and value to historical researchers, including one in the January, 1873, issue detailing aspects of Canadian lumber camps and a note concerning the first steam sawmill in Michigan, at Detroit.

Mr. B. Wight, father of Messrs. H. A. and G. S. Wight, of Detroit, bought out in 1836 the original owners of the first steam sawmill in Michigan. By remodeling and improving this mill, which was located at Detroit, Mr. Wight led the way to the present state of perfection in the manufacture of lumber. In 1854 the sons, under the firm name given above, built the largest and best mill then in the state. The plan of it was followed extensively by many builders of saw-mills. Both father and sons have been among the most enterprising of that large class of substantial businessmen who are engaged in the trade and manufacture of lumber in the West.

Under the column heading "Saw Mill Notes," in the same issue, the Gazette published details of the operations of a typical mill, the Moore, Smith and Co. mill located in Banks, an area that later became part of Bay City. The account noted that the mill employed fifty-five men and boys whose pay averaged \$2.50 a day, the highest being four dollars and the lowest one dollar. The working day was

eleven and one-half hours. Capacity of the mill was 60,000 board feet per day and ten million board feet of lumber and 200,000 staves for the season. The mill shipped by water principally to eastern markets. Invested capital was \$100,000 and the mill controlled fifty million board feet of pine on the Cedar and Tobacco rivers and the Saginaw Bay shore. It also manufactured 6,000 barrels of salt per season.

In the May, 1873, issue of the Gazette was reprinted an article from the New York World that summarized the lumber business of the nation. It noted that shipments of lumber were being made from the United States to the West Indies, South America, and Europe. It listed total annual U. S. production at six billion feet and predicted exhaustion of the white pine forests in fifteen years. Some 300 to 400 square miles of timber lands were being cut annually to meet the demands of the Chicago market alone and \$120 million in lumber was consumed in the country in 1872, according to the article. The total annual crop in Michigan was listed at two billion feet and the Canadian crop was half that amount, of which 600 million feet was shipped to the United States and the remainder to Europe.

In some cases the Gazette picked up lumbering notes from other newspapers, as in the following: "The Pontiac Bill Poster says: "We are credibly informed that

Dr. D. Ward, of this city, has been offered and refused \$5,000,000 for his timber lands in this state.'"¹ Ward became one of the most famous, and wealthiest, of the lumber barons.

In others it made widely ranging statements without quoting a source: "The lumber trade of the northern Pacific shore is reported growing rapidly and western Washington and Oregon are looking forward to making large exportations of timber,"² and "Entire townships were being sold in Maine for lumbering for about \$50,000."³

Gazette advertising also provided information of possible historical value, such as the advertisement in the January, 1873, issue noting that the Flint and Pere Marquette railway lands, "the entire land grant of this company, 280,000 acres," were being offered for sale. Another advertisement informed readers that the Valley Iron Works of Smalley Brothers and Company, located on Saginaw between tenth and eleventh streets in Bay City, manufactured steam engines, gang and circular saw mills, salt works machinery, and brass and iron castings.

Advertising, in fact, made up the greater part of one of the early issues of the Gazette, comprising the

¹Gazette, February, 1873, p. 29.

²Ibid, January, 1873, p. 29.

³Ibid, p. 23.

equivalent of twenty-four pages in the thirty-eight page issue of February, 1873. Advertisements included those for a saw gummer and sharpener, from the Tanite Company, Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania; the Empire Saw Works, St. Louis, Missouri; for dry goods, groceries, boots and shoes, from the H. W. Sage and Company, of Wenona; for hemlock extract machinery, from Johnson, Goodell and Company, East Saginaw; and for lumber, lath and salt, from Albert Miller, of Portsmouth. Other advertisements in that issue were for hardware, livery, land, insurance, ship stores, hoop and lath machines, pumps, real estate, wooden ware, edgers, saws, kerosene oil, emery wheels, steam engines, crockery, cant hooks, sign painting, steam, gas and water fittings, tools and machinery, flour, feed and grain, attorneys, druggists, physicians, banks, engineers and surveyors, newspapers, carriage works, cistern and tank makers, manufacturers of gang, circular and upright mills, jewelry, hats, caps and furnishing goods, fire extinguishers, boilers, railroad time tables, magazines, boarding stables, and chemicals. In all the issue contained ninety-two advertisements.

The same issue also contained several notes on the history of the local press.

There was occasional mention of blacks in the columns of the Gazette, also, and although there was no

apparent prejudice on the part of the editors, racial attitudes of the times were revealed.

One article, from Georgia correspondence of the Rochester Union and Advertiser, described field hands' work in lumbering and their songs, one of which starts: "Come, oh come an' help we niggars; Here am one we cannot tote; Massa you must pass de lickers; An' for our dinner gib us shoat."¹

Another mentioned that colored workmen had struck at Jacksonville, Florida, lumber mills, seeking a ten-hour day. The article noted that the colored workers were replaced with white men "who prove quite as good, if not better laborers than the negroes who struck." It also mentioned that the sheriff and a fifteen-man posse broke up a riot at the mills.²

An article in the January, 1874, issue stated that, at an industrial exposition in Indianapolis, Indiana, "a colored man, Hillry Chavans, of Union City, Ind., showed a working model of a double-acting engine, possessing elements of novelty and value."

Another item noted: "A handsome young woman is the captain of a Texas lumber schooner."³

¹Gazette, April, 1873, p. 115.

²Ibid, June, 1873, p. 197.

³Gazette, August, 1873, p. 49.

Several examples of lumbermen's humor were printed in the Gazette.

The editor of the Midland Times was recently journeying by stage along the river near that city, when observing a rollway where the logs were piled almost across the stream he remarked to the driver, "The river there is nearly damned." "Damned nearly," was his laconic response.¹

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Tom, during his last tour to Niagara, in company with Smash, saw an Indian hewing a small piece of timber, with a view to making canes. "Pray, sir," said Smash, "to what tribe do you belong?" "The Chip-a-way tribe," replied the Indian, without looking to give his interrogator a smile.²

Another small article noted a unique feature of a saw mill at Manistee--a six-chime whistle on a new engine house.

It wakes the men up with "Yankee Doodle," sets them to work at 6 a.m. with "Pop Goes the Weasel," calls them off for dinner with "Over the Water Charley," asks them to commence at 1 p.m. with "Hail Columbia," and quit for supper with "Rally Round the Flag Boys."³

An item about an injury in the lumber business, one of many published by the Gazette, nevertheless contained an element of humor:

A San Francisco man, who was so badly injured by a pile of lumber falling upon him that he was compelled to amputate a leg, has sued the owners of the lumber

¹Ibid, February, 1873, p. 33.

²Ibid.

³Ibid, April, 1873, p. 105.

for \$50,000 damages. They have offered to give him¹ enough to make a wooden leg, but he won't look at it.

A number of notes in the Gazette revealed the dangers of the business and the fact that few precautions were taken in the mills against accidents. There were reports of fire casualties, drownings, boiler explosions, saw mishaps, dismemberments, falls, and of a raftsmen who was "electrified," being struck by lightning but not killed.

But attacks of wild beasts in these great forests are not the only trial of the hardy loggers. No time of their stay in the woods is exempt from peril. Wounds are accidentally received from the axe; limbs are torn from falling trees, and branches broken by them from other trees, made brittle by intense frost, flying in all directions, threaten injury and endanger life. Their career is all hardship and danger, while their occupation is of immense importance to the lumber trade.²

Another item reported that "since the erection of Clint's Dam, below Grand Rapids, on the Wisconsin, over forty men have been drowned."³

The hazards of working in the mills were revealed in these two notes in the Gazette:

George Rozelle, employed in Peters' saw mill at Bay City, was literally pierced through and through with a flying board on the 1st inst. The sharp point entered at one side of his back and protruded at the other, leaving a hole four inches wide at the entrance

¹Ibid, August, 1873, p. 49.

²Gazette, October, 1873, p. 113.

³Ibid, May, 1873, p. 159.

and two at the exit. Strange to say, the man did not die, but is now almost entirely recovered.¹

A shocking accident occurred at Truckee, California, recently, in a saw mill. One of the men had his hand caught so that the saw struck the tip of his fingers. He called to another man to help him, and in running forward that man slipped, fell across the saw, and was cut in two in no time. The other one lost three fingers.²

¹Ibid, August, 1873, p. 33.

²Ibid, April, 1873, p. 131.

CHAPTER VI

THE LUMBERING ERA

Practically the whole of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan was covered with a dense forest growth in the early 1800s. Hardwoods grew mainly in the southern two or three tiers of counties. But a large portion of the Lower Peninsula and practically the whole of the Upper Peninsula were densely covered with pine, the most valuable of all woods for building purposes.¹

The Saginaw Valley was the first region in which large scale exploitation of the pine forests was undertaken. It comprises the largest drainage basin in Michigan, some 6,260 square miles, or more than 10 per cent of the total state land area of 56,451 square miles.² From its main stream, the Saginaw River, numerous tributaries flowed into the very heart of the heavily timbered districts, providing abundant avenues for the easy

¹Henry M. Utley and Byron M. Cutcheon, Michigan: As a Province, Territory and State (Lansing: Publishing Society of Michigan, 1906) pp. 276-277.

²Fred Dustin, "Saginaw County as a Center of Aboriginal Population," Michigan Historical Collections (Lansing: Michigan Historical Society, 1915) Vol. XXXIX, p. 251.

transportation of logs in rafts and floats to the mills. One advantage that the Saginaw Valley had over many timber sections was that shipments of lumber could be made directly to all parts of the world through the navigational system of the Great Lakes. It was an appropriate headquarters from which to report the activities of the lumber trade of the world.

De Tocqueville, who visited the Saginaw region in 1831, predicted what was to occur when the lumbering began in earnest.

In a few years the impenetrable forests will have fallen; the sons of civilization will break the silence of the Saginaw; the banks will be imprisoned by quays; its current, which now flows on unnoticed and tranquil through a nameless waste, will be stemmed by the prows of vessels. We are perhaps the last travelers allowed to see the primitive grandeur of this solitude.¹

It was not until about 1848 that the Saginaw Valley came to be considered a lumbering region and only after 1850 did much lumbering actually begin.² The value of lumber was not immediately realized.

The early settlers found the tasks of clearing this heavy timber from the land to make it ready for agricultural purposes a difficult and arduous one. In the beginning they simply slashed the huge trees and burned them where they fell. This was a

¹George N. Fuller, Michigan: A Centennial History of the State and Its People (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1939) Vol. I, p. 511.

²Indian and Pioneer History of the Saginaw Valley, (East Saginaw, Mich.: Thomas Galatian, 1866) p. 51.

destructive process, but it seemed the only thing to do, if the land was to be laid bare for cultivation. Fortunately, most of the pioneers left large timber tracts, uncovering no more land than essential for growing crops. Later the farmer found the timber land more valuable than the cleared land.¹

A great wave of migration was beginning to move westward, only slightly checked by the Black Hawk War of 1832, and the rapid development of the region around the southern end of the Great Lakes and as far west as the Mississippi called for immense quantities of building material. This was among the factors that stimulated the first great onset upon the pine resources of Michigan.²

A sawmill was built by Rufus Stevens at the crossing of the Thread River near Flint in Genesee County about 1830. Judge Albert Miller of Bay City mentioned seeing that mill on his first visit to Saginaw. Although this was probably the first mill on a Saginaw River tributary, the first steam sawmill was built in Saginaw in 1834 by Harvey and Gardner Williams.³ That mill and others built by Harvey Williams marked the start of the lumbering boom in the Saginaw Valley.

The first cargo of clear lumber ever shipped from the Saginaw Valley was loaded at the Emerson mill in 1847. It was the first lot of clear cork pine to

¹Utley and Cutcheon, p. 276.

²Fuller, Michigan, p. 511.

³Hotchkiss, History of the Lumber and Forest Industry, pp. 39, 94.

reach the market at Albany, where it came in competition with the pine lumber of Maine, which for years had been judged the standard of excellence. An immediate demand was created for Saginaw pine lumber, and from that time mills of constantly increasing capacity were constructed.¹

By 1854 there were twenty-nine mills on the river, with others being built. The cutting capacity of the mills was estimated at 100 million board-feet a year.² Saginaw became the chief seat of the lumber industry of eastern Michigan for nearly thirty years.³

In 1861 a quantity of lumber was shipped to Quebec and it was of such a quality as to draw this comment from the Montreal Gazette: "The deals that have reached Quebec this season from the district of country known as the Saginaw Valley, in Michigan, are allowed to be the best quality that has been placed on the market."⁴

Eastern timbermen, as well as speculators from Detroit, Saginaw, Muskegon, and Chicago began to buy pine lands in whole sections, quarter sections or in choice forties in the 1840's and 1850's. Besides, land grants to railroads and to canal and road companies by the federal government tied up vast tracts of pine land for later sale

¹Fuller, p. 513.

²A board-foot of lumber is a piece of wood one foot long, one foot wide and one inch thick.

³Fuller, p. 513.

⁴Indian and Pioneer History, p. 48.

to lumbermen and to settlers. Early prices seldom exceeded \$1.25 an acre. Laws loosely drawn and inadequately enforced, together with the utter lack of a timber land policy, favored the speculator and often invited fraud against either government or private absentee land owners.¹

The profits made in the business were immense, much depending upon obtaining title to tracts where the best timber stood.

Timber "cruisers," or "land lookers," spotting a particularly choice tract, would hurry to the nearest land office to "enter" the land, often racing their rivals. Millions of acres of land designated as "swampy" were donated to the states by the federal government about 1850, and in 1856 the state was given lands to grant to companies that would build railroads through the undeveloped sections.²

Hotchkiss, who moved to the Saginaw Valley about the time of the end of the Civil War, describes the principal towns and the situation with regard to the lumber industry at the time:

Bay City, at the mouth of the Saginaw River, was a young town of about 500 inhabitants supported by

¹Lewis Beeson, ed., This is Michigan: A Sketch of These Times and Times Gone By (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1953) p. 55.

²Willis F. Dunbar, Michigan Through the Centuries, I (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1955) p. 293.

about a dozen fair-sized sawmills with a production of about one hundred and fifty million feet of lumber per year and was looked upon more as an adjunct to the cities of East Saginaw and Saginaw City with populations of about 3,000 and 2,000 respectively, each the seat of a large lumber production financed by wealthy eastern capitalists and former manufacturers of the retrograding lumber industry of the state of Maine, attracted hither by the enormous and rich white pine forests upon the banks and adjacent regions of several rivers and centering in and finally forming the Saginaw River. The timber of these river sources was of the highest possible character, unexcelled by the timber supply of any other section of the nation in the production of the higher and more valuable quantities, which with the increasing growth of the nation were yearly becoming of increased demand in the East, while a rapidly developing western country gave increasing demand for the coarser qualities of manufacture. With the Civil War at this time in its more acute condition, and business conditions generally throughout the nation in a most depressed state, yet notwithstanding the scarcity of transportation facilities and the high rates of freightage, the excellent quality of Saginaw lumber created a considerable demand at the seductive prices of \$14 to \$16 per thousand for the upper grades, \$7 for the "fourths" and \$3.50 to \$4 for the common, while yielding but small profit to the manufacturer was a tempting bait for eastern dealers handling the better grades of stock.¹

Dow later listed the 1865 lumber production of Bay City at about 154 million board-feet, according to custom house figures,² and Hotchkiss noted in his book "it is safe to add 50 per cent to the given statement of log or lumber production."³

¹Hotchkiss, "Fifteen Years in Michigan," pp. 101-102.

²Dow, The History, Commercial Advantages and Future Prospects of Bay City, Michigan (Bay City: Henry S. Dow, 1875) p. 13.

³Hotchkiss, History of the Lumber and Forest, p. 29.

Following the Civil War came the great period of expansion in the lumbering industry as the nation began moving westward in greater numbers.

Michigan's logging days and expansion of railroads in the late 1860's and 1870's brought thousands of people to the sparsely populated counties of the northern lower peninsula. Most of the newcomers did not consider themselves residents. Their only thought was to "cut and get out." Very few lumbermen purchased the land upon which the timber grew. They purchased rights to a certain number of acres or entered into a contract with another company to "get out" a specified quantity of pine logs or timber, usually several million feet. Most of the land was owned by railroad companies who sold their timber rights much the same as landowners today sell oil or mineral rights but retained the land. As each section, township and county was cleared of its prime timber, the railroad companies set up offices to sell the land.¹

After 1863, it was common for a group of men to take up contiguous tracts of land under the Homestead Law, with no intention at all of complying with the provisions of the act making land available under its terms only to bona fide settlers.²

An advertisement in the Gazette early in 1873 revealed the tremendous extent of the railroad lands and the opportunities available to lumbermen. It noted that 500,000 acres of pine and farming lands were being offered for sale by the Jackson, Lansing, and Saginaw railroad.

¹Roy L. Dodge, Michigan Ghost Towns (Oscoda, Mich.: Amateur Treasure Hunters Association, Inc., 1971) p. 1.

²Dunbar, "Michigan," p. 302.

The lands were situated along the line of the road mainly north of the Saginaw River and "contains exceedingly large and valuable tracts of pine on the Tittabawassee, Rifle, Muskegon, Manistee, Au Sable and Cheboygan Rivers." The timber was white pine, Norway pine, beech and maple. Purchasers could pay one fourth down and the remainder in three equal annual installments with interest at 7 per cent. A. S. Gaylord, whose name was to become that of a northern Michigan resort city, was the assistant land commissioner offering the sale.¹

Early estimates of the amount of pine available in Michigan were too small, because some areas not on major streams were thought to be inaccessible. "Railways are fast changing this and adding every season new and valuable tracts of pine to the general stock available for harvest," said the Gazette in the February, 1873 issue.

Several important rivers in the Saginaw Valley--the Saginaw, the Tittabawassee, the Flint, the Cass, the Shiawassee, and several smaller streams--were ready-made thoroughfares for the transportation of the logs to the mills, many of which were located on the largest river, the Saginaw. A vast amount of lumber was produced there.

Hon. Albert Miller, in his address before the first annual meeting of the Saginaw Valley Pioneer Society, said that last year there was manufactured in the

¹Gazette, January, 1873, p. 14.

valley over six hundred and nineteen million feet of lumber, which in order to give some idea of the magnitude of the business, said that if the lumber had all been cut into one and one half inch plank, there would be sufficient to lay a walk three feet wide around the circumference of the earth and have twenty-five million feet left.¹

The Gazette reported in August, 1873, that there were seventy-nine sawmills located along the Saginaw River between Saginaw City and Essexville (downstream from Bay City) and that the mills were employing 1,976 men and cutting about four million feet of lumber daily.

According to a Gazette report in May, 1873, the largest shipment of lumber from the Saginaw River made up to that time was made on Saturday, May 10, 1873, from Bay City. "It went out in 34 vessels, and consisted of 7,000,000 feet of lumber, 156,000 staves, 70,190 feet of timber, 5,600 barrels of salt, besides lath. The aggregate valuation of the shipment was \$139,923."²

Bay City also boasted what the Gazette called the world's largest sawmill, the John McGraw and Company mill, built for \$430,000 on the ruins of an old mill, which had burned in August, 1872, and was fired up for the first time June 12, 1873. The McGraw mill consisted of a slate-roofed building 181 feet by 163 feet, a boiler house

¹Gazette, Feb., 1874, p. 36.

²Ibid, May, 1873, p. 159.

66 feet by 75 feet, four salt wells with a salt block¹
203 feet square and docks more than a mile in length.²

The construction of the immense McGraw mill typified the growth of the lumber industry and the area.³ Bay City grew from a village of 700 in 1859 to a population of 27,000 in 1880, when it was the third city in population in Michigan. It was claimed in an 1884 report that during the decade from 1870 to 1880 only two cities in the United States exceeded the rate of increase for Bay City--they were Minneapolis and Denver.⁴

In Michigan in 1873, the lumber business amounted to \$50 million yearly, with the Saginaw Valley accounting for \$16 million of that total.⁵

Bay City and Saginaw firms made many and varied products besides finished lumber. These included woodenware, barrels, sash, doors, blinds, flooring, moulding, lath, shingles, siding, pickets, telegraph poles, fence posts, cord wood, hoops and pails and tubs.

¹The building in which salt was produced.

²Gazette, May, 1873, p. 143. (This issue must have been more than a month late since it reported the opening of the mill in June.

³Later, the H. W. Sage mill in West Bay City was even larger.

⁴Michigan State Gazeteer and Business Directory (Detroit: R. L. Polk and Company, 1884) pp. 185-186.

⁵Gazette, April, 1873, p. 125.

Lumber was shipped principally to Milwaukee, Chicago, and eastern markets, although some went to European and other countries.

Direct shipments have been made from Saginaw to nearly every eastern, central and southern state, to California, Liverpool, London, France, the Sandwich Islands, Australia, Valparaiso and many other foreign ports and everywhere it stands unrivaled as to quality.¹

The American Lumberman was later to comment on the quantity of timber produced in the Saginaw Valley:

The lumber manufacturing district of the Saginaw River, a strip of territory eighteen miles long and a little over the width of the river it traverses, has produced more pine lumber than any other lumber manufacturing district in the United States. The first sawmill was erected on the river in 1836, but it was not until about 1850 that the production assumed noteworthy proportions, and the statistics of the output extend back only to 1850. From that date to the close of 1898 there had been produced by the Saginaw River mills a grand total of 23,247,527,022 feet of lumber. No other single lumber producing district in the world can equal this.²

¹Indian and Pioneer History, p. 49.

²American Lumberman, Jan. 21, 1899, p. 45.

CHAPTER VII

TIMBER!--WHAT THE GAZETTE AND THE PRESS SAID

The press has been criticized for not speaking out when the precious pine resources were so recklessly being destroyed. This study has found such criticism to be generally unfounded. The press did speak, and apparently many readers wagged their heads in assent but were powerless to act. The lumbermen were in firm control of the government at the local and state level, there apparently were no outcries from academic circles and, in almost every way, the business of America was business.

The country was too busy growing up to be concerned with trees in the far off forests. Few had even seen their beauty and those who had quickly tempered their admiration by the knowledge of the financial rewards the destruction of those trees would bring. Besides, the trees were needed to build the country.

The press was not without blame, however, since it could be charged that the lumber paper editors were in a situation of conflicting interests. Any moral obligation they might have seen toward protecting the natural resources for American society was opposed by personal and

material interests. They were inextricably bound up with the lumbermen, for both derived their incomes from the same source. The lumbermen got theirs from cutting down the trees and the lumber journalists from reporting about lumbering.

It was through the compiling of lumbering statistics, which also became an important function of the Gazette, that the press was able to determine the extent of the depletion of forest resources and warn against it--although futilely.

The first lumber report appeared February 22, 1856, in the Enterprise, and was Joslin's work. It recognized no limit to the available pine.

The most that has yet been done by way of using up the pineries has been to cut the best timber from a portion of the lands within a mile or a mile and a half from the banks of the rivers. Even within this distance there is yet much untouched, and beyond it are vast recesses of the staple timber, which the lumbermen will continue to penetrate, farther and farther, for years to come.¹

No further attempt was made to compile statistics until January 1, 1863, when Joslin issued a summary of "The Saginaw Valley--Its Salt, Lumber and other Resources for 1862." Joslin had explained the hiatus in an editorial in the Enterprise which blamed uncooperative lumbermen,

¹Enterprise, Feb. 22, 1856, p. 1.

the lack of much additional business as a result of publishing the figures and the failure of public officials to assist the press.¹

The most important information contained in the report for 1862 was that "most of the lumbering operations are now carried on up the various rivers from 25 to 100 miles above East Saginaw," and that most of the pine within 25 miles had been cut away . . . that pine lands are mostly held by lumbermen and speculators²

By 1866 the Enterprise was publishing actual reports of the business of the mill owners during the season and was predicting exhaustion of the pine in about twenty years.³

The local press began to sound the warning early, but, unfortunately, perhaps not vociferously enough.

As early as Aug. 1, 1861, George Frederick Lewis, writing in his Courier, suggested, somewhat apologetically, that "it does seem to us that cutting . . . timber when it will bring no more in market than it does at this time, is suicidal to all concerned and a downright waste of the legitimate capital of the soil. It is to be supposed, however, that lumbermen know their own business best, and as we don't own 'ary a stick, we shall not make much of a fuss at present⁴

Hetherington points out that no stronger protests were voiced by any of the newspapers of the Saginaws until

¹Hetherington, Journalism During the Lumbering Days, pp. 62-63.

²Ibid, p. 64.

³Hetherington, Journalism During the Lumbering Days, p. 64.

⁴Courier, Aug. 1, 1861, p. 1.

1868, when the Enterprise began to publish in its annual report for 1867 not just the amount of timber cut but also an estimate of the timber still on the ground in the district.¹

That there was more truth than poetry in this report, the Enterprise, which had gone to great pains to secure it, knew. That it was the misfortune of the Saginaw Valley that a large share of the men engaged in its lumber business could only see the end of a saw log and never look beyond it, it likewise knew.²

It was probably not coincidence that the paper published, a few weeks later, excerpts from "The Lumber Regions of America," written for North American Review by the Reverend C. W. Brigham of Ann Arbor:

There is no reason to think that the consumption will die off while the facilities for getting lumber to market are so great, and so many markets are calling for a supply. The waste will go on. The owners of the land will use their opportunity and will let the future take care of itself. They would not be American if they should voluntarily curtail a profitable business, in view of spreading it over a longer succession of years. It is more probable that new mills will be built, than that those already built will reduce their production or their capacity.³

Although neither overproduction nor the resulting low prices were curbing the destruction of pine, Saginaw newspapers hailed two other factors which they believed would. The first was an act of the state legislature in

¹Hetherington, Journalism During the Lumbering Days, p. 66.

²Ibid, p. 67.

³Enterprise, July 30, 1868, p. 1.

1869, raising the price of Michigan pine lands from \$1.25 to \$8.00 an acre. The other was that a greater portion of the lands were "going into the hands of capitalists, men who can afford to buy largely and hang onto the land. When the pine is so controlled, then it will find its true value and the lumber becomes profitable."¹

But neither factor served to delay the decimation as the newspapers had so fervently hoped. Lewis and Headley's annual reports showed steady increases in the amount of pine cut.

The nonsense of young forests growing with sufficient rapidity to meet any material fraction the yearly augmenting demand was incontinently brushed aside, and the simple question of how best to prolong the supply of timber then standing, and how it might be worked so as to yield the greatest revenue, were really the only issues seriously promoted by the editors. They had come to recognize that, like every other great manufacturing specialty, lumbering was intrinsically selfish and egotistical--that it was to a great measure nomadic and transient.²

In some of its early issues, the Gazette apparently tended to support the point of view of the lumbermen that there was an adequate supply and that it would be supplemented by new growth.

It may strike some people as curious that it should be called waste when a man brings a valuable commodity into market and obtains a profit with which he is satisfied. So it has always appeared to us a

¹Ibid, Sept. 23, 1869, p. 1.

²Hetherington, Journalism During the Lumbering Days, p. 72.

mistake to point to our yearly increase of the lumber product as a waste or a reckless slaughter of other resources; and constant suggestions of the early end of the pine certainly tend to belittle our business in the eyes of strangers.¹

The article suggested that lumber operators should look to the young pines for future supplies, noting, however, that pine is propagated from seed and that stumps and roots never send up sprouts. It further noted: "The pine now standing in our forests is by no means the necessary limit of our supply;" and, "The only real waste of pine is the destruction of the young trees." The article cautioned: "The owner of the land should scrupulously abstain from the destruction of the young pines, unless he has determined to clear the land entirely for purposes of cultivation."

In the same issue the editors commented along the same lines:

The prophecies of early exhaustion of the pine supply, which were old in the east a score of years ago, came to us here in Michigan, and have been repeated again and again by editors and publishers of all kinds of books and papers. Even as soon as the great lumber regions of the state had fairly entered upon the development of their resources these prophecies began to be dinned in our ears from almost every side, and it has come in some sections to be considered somewhat in the light of a patriotic local duty to constantly reiterate these warnings of an approaching end to the vast pine forests which are such mines of wealth to our people.²

¹Gazette, February, 1873, p. 39.

²Ibid.

Another article, "The Waste of Timber," in the same issue, was reprinted from the Philadelphia Press. It called for establishment of forest laws, including one to provide for the planting of a tree where one is felled. In seventy five years a new crop of timber would be ready. The article declared that three years stocking of the eastern market would completely exhaust the standing timber in Pennsylvania. A statement to that effect was purportedly signed by the leading lumbermen of Pennsylvania, the article said. The Gazette noted, however, that the Williamsport Register "proceeds to show that the document is concocted for sinister purposes inimical to the best interests of Williamsport in particular." It stated further that the lumbermen never authorized their signatures to be used on the statement and speculated that it was a scheme to create a rise in the price of timber by declaring its scarcity.

The same tone was followed a few months later, in an article reprinted from the Buffalo Express:

But the so-called "wood famine," of which we begin to hear prophecies is not so desperate a matter as an exhaustion of the coal supply in England, for the reason that with care and time the forests will grow up again.¹

At the same time as it down-graded the reports of the decimation of the pine, the Gazette was reprinting an

¹Gazette, May, 1873, p. 169.

article from the Leffel Mechanical News, which was outlining the problem:

There appears to be no effectual check possible to the steady reduction of that part of our national wealth which consists of its pine forests, once regarded as well nigh boundless and practically inexhaustible. It is extremely difficult to reach by any legislative enactments a matter so peculiarly under the control of commercial and industrial requirements as the cutting of timber; and there has been no satisfactory scheme as yet devised by government officials for promoting the production of timber so as to keep pace with its consumption. It would be deemed arbitrary in this country to forbid the cutting down of forests by their lawful owners; and the encouragement of planting is, on the other hand, a slow and uncertain remedy. But to one or the other, or both, of these alternatives, the problem would seem destined to be finally brought, if it is ever to be solved.¹

By June, 1873, some four months later, however, the Gazette was mentioning "the mistaken idea prevalent in regard to the inexhaustibility of our timber."

In October, 1873, the change in attitude became even more apparent, as the Gazette suggested that more attention should be given to the propagation and preservation of forests. It noted that there was a great concern about the decimation of forests in the general press also. An accompanying article stated:

About 7,000 acres are cleared of timber each week day in this country. Of the annual crop \$75,000,000 worth goes to fuel and twice as much to fencing. The locomotives in this country consume no less than 700,000 cords, or 500 acres a year.

¹Gazette, February, 1873, p. 43.

In November of the same year the Gazette reprinted an article from the Chicago Inter Ocean, entitled "The Approaching Timber Famine," which noted that substitutes for timber were being sought and asked for congressional action.

From the Chicago Times a month later came another similar report, stating: "'Woodmen spare that tree' has very little effect on the apparently unpoetic souls of the Michigan lumbermen," and noting that statistics showed that they annually strip 300,000 acres, or 468 square miles, of pine timber land to supply the numerous saw mills of the state.

"It matters little whose guess (regarding the amount of standing pine left) is correct," George Frederick Lewis declared.

All must agree on one point, that the present mode and manner of devastating our pine forests without sense, sentiment, or system is slaughter . . . wanton butchery The average supply of timber in the hands of lumbermen in the Saginaw Valley is not more than six year's stock. If the supply of timber be double what we have estimated it in the Saginaw district . . . and the increase in manufacture and the production of shingles, square and long timber is in any reasonable ratio proportionate to the increase since 1863--and there never yet has been a season without a material increase in the manufactured product--taking into account the average destruction by fires, of which there is a yearly increasing ratio of risk as the territory is encroached upon by woods and mill operations, it is not adequate to a fifteen year's stock¹

¹Saginawian, Feb. 14, 1874, p. 1.

The Saginawian later lashed out against lumbermen who met to form a "Michigan Society for the Protection of Timber" in 1874, but aimed the organization mainly at protecting the pine owners from unjust and unequal taxation.

The men who own and control the pine timber of Michigan are mainly "well-fixed" millionaires . . . yet they do not all take the world gracefully, joyful at the prosperous situation into which they have worked . . . and rather than exercise their brains to devise means of making the most of their vulgar fraction of God's acres, and making it in a way that shall also yield the greatest benefit to the localities where their timber is located, they worry about the evils to which they are subjected, and, in their recent gathering, upon mature deliberation for ever so many hours, bring out this one puny proposition, that the only bond of sympathy between owners of timber in Michigan is the necessity for 'protection' against "barbarious" taxation. It is nothing that by aiding and developing collateral interests, this, the sponsor for the leading manufacturing interest, may do the state much good; . . . it is nothing that it is the part of prudence to obtain correct statistics that wise calculations thereon may be made for the future; it is nothing that by the interchange of facts and opinions, and a thorough business investigation of this most beneficent endowment, waste and destruction may be prevented, its value materially enhanced, and the time of its continuance largely protracted; nothing that it is part and parcel of the resources of the commonwealth of Michigan, and ought, in justice, to be managed when it can be done so without detriment to the owner's interests, to promote the interests of the whole people; nothing to nobody but a big fifty million dollar baby that will have some sort of soothing syrup or fight. Something should be done to preserve and develop as well as merely to protect timber.¹

"For the moment, a disillusioned Saginaw press lost sight of the fact that it was this very monopoly of pine by a few capitalists that it had been advocating for years."

¹Saginawian, March 14, 1874, p. 1.

The reduction in lumber cut from 619,867,021 feet in 1873 to 574,632,771 feet in 1874 was more a result of the Jay Cooke crash of 1873 than a reaction to the vigorous protests of the Saginaw press.¹

Whether it was disgust at their ineffectiveness, or hard times, the compilers did not issue the annual statement in pamphlet form in 1875.

"Notwithstanding there is a reduction in the number of mills," the Courier said in part, "there is no reduction in the number of saws . . . the champion mill, of course, is McGraw's, it being the largest in the world"²

A mild winter in 1876 caused lumbermen difficulty in getting the logs out of the woods and the Gazette took occasion to comment: "The desired curtailment which lumbermen plead for, but are unwilling to plan for, kind nature seems disposed to bring about."³

The Gazette's comments on the waste of timber began to be more moderate, as the nation was in the midst of an economic depression that followed the crash of 1873 and its columns indicated that the lumber business was greatly affected.

¹Hetherington, Journalism During the Lumbering Days, p. 127.

²Daily Courier, March 13, 1875, p. 3.

³Gazette, Jan. 13, 1876, p. 37.

It occasionally reprinted articles, however, such as one which ran February 10, 1876, from the Scientific American, entitled: "Timber Waste a National Suicide."

The Gazette noted the problems the compilers of statistics had encountered in gathering lumber business information and, somewhat hopefully, forecast better relations. It was indicated that economic conditions were causing lumbermen to be more wary.

There used to be a class of mill men, who were very suspicious of everything and everybody, but now it is becoming beautifully less. They were not afraid to have their season's cut and stock on hand put down in black and white, so far as that is concerned, but they were skeptical lest someone would be putting up a job on them, as the saying runs. Visions of the tax assessors went flitting through their heads like bats through a mill loft, while the statistician didn't look altogether lovely in their eyes. But such prejudices are passing away and such persons are coming to learn more and more that these lumber journals are issued only to protect and properly represent their great industry.¹

For the first time, however, the compilers met with opposition from the manufacturers in securing information. "The objection came principally from three--and based mainly on the idea that the publication of the details of their business would be injurious to the trade; though two subsequently gave the information. There was

¹Ibid, Nov. 16, 1876, p. 355.

no protest regarding any of the details except the column headed 'Stock on Hand'"¹

Perhaps it was from this protest that the compilers conceived of a new idea--the publication of a complete resume of the year within a week after the final closing of navigation, to give lumber operators indications of the necessities of the trade for the coming winter, "so that whatever lessons were to be learned from the figures of 1876 might be availed of by operators in time for the business of the winter's crop cut."²

And that winter, 640,166,231 feet, a record for the valley, were cut in the Saginaws.³

An angry debate arose among lumbermen when it was proposed that the federal government give bonuses for importation of Canadian timber, so that the supply of the United States would be prolonged.

The debate was touched off when Bates had moved at the convention of the National Association of Lumbermen in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, that the association secretary be required to furnish the lumber papers with official statistics.⁴ It grew hotter when the Gazette printed an

¹Hetherington, Journalism During the Lumbering Days, p. 75.

²Courier, Dec. 9, 1876, p. 2.

³Ibid, Dec. 22, 1877, p. 1.

⁴Gazette, Nov. 16, 1876, p. 355.

open letter from a lumberman, James Little, of Montreal, quoting John McGraw, the owner of the world's largest mill, as saying:

Some mode or manner should be devised to ascertain how much standing pine there is today. We must not dream that there is a never-ending quantity of timber and come to almost the last tree before we know where we are. Let us see what we have got, and see the wisdom of preventing the continuance of the wild destruction of timber without profit or results¹

Arthur Hill, of Saginaw, one of the most powerful of the lumbermen, answered for those opposed to the removal of the tariff on Canadian lumber.

I do not claim that the timber supply is unlimited, nor seek to excuse the present reckless waste of standing pine. I am simply striving to show how shadowy is the domain of facts from which your magic pen summons forth the gaunt spectre of a timber famine to dance before the eyes of the authorities at Washington.²

Hill advised Little in a stinging series of comments that were sure to haunt him in later years when the timber ran out:

1. Don't fret about a timber famine within ten years, for it won't come off.
2. Don't worry about posterity's suffering from a timber famine, for posterity develops a surprising capacity for taking care of itself.
3. Lumber a reasonable amount of your Michigan pine each year, cutting that which is burned or most exposed to fire.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid, Nov. 30, 1876, p. 389.

4. Sell it where you can get the most money for it, even if it be in the streets of Montreal.

5. If you wish to 'save' timber, let it be your Canada pine where the risk and expense of holding are lighter.

6. Don't agitate the removal of the lumber tariff, for then, so long as you are the 'only individual who has mooted' the subject, your Michigan interests will not be imperiled.

7. Lastly, if you really in your heart believe in a timber famine in the next decade, advise all your Canadian friends to hold their timber, showing them what prices they will soon get from Yankees hungry for it. Advise the Canadian, instead of the American government, to put bonuses on importations.¹

Other lumbermen also wrote letters that were re-printed in the Gazette in subsequent issues, but Hill had summed up their obstinate and foolhardy point of view.

An article in the Gazette a year and one-half later indicated that there was a movement toward conservation of forest resources, but that the lumbermen were the biggest roadblock to progress in that area.

The matter of forest tree culture and preservation is in rather an anomalous state in this country. At one end of the national domain, people are planting trees and studying every means to turn denuded lands back into forests, at the other, woods are being felled and a small war is in progress against the government on account of its preventive efforts.²

The lumbermen were quickly discovering methods to cut the timber from all sections more quickly and more

¹Gazette, Nov. 30, 1876, p. 389.

²Ibid, April 6, 1878, p. 300.

efficiently. A notable article in the Gazette, written by a Farwell newspaperman, described how the onslaught was hastened by the railroad. It was entitled: "A Visit to the Largest Pine Forest in Michigan: The First Logging Railroad in Existence and the Most Extensive Logging Operations in the World." The article described the work of twenty lumber camps, fourteen of them owned by W. S. Gerrish. The camps, all located in a four-square-mile area, employed from twenty to seventy-five men each. The writer commented:

What a fearful destruction of pine forest. In no part of the world on the same extent of territory, are such gigantic lumber operations going on. It is estimated that at the close of this season's operations at least 100,000,000 feet of logs will have been removed from this section, and this work is expected to continue for at least ten years, with timber still left.¹

In another issue two weeks later the Gazette reprinted an article from the Eau Claire Free Press, which carried the headline: "Destruction of Pine Forests in Wisconsin." That article down-played the effects of the cutting of timber and cited the commonly believed idea that the removal of timber caused diminished rainfall and unfavorable climate changes. "The most extensive pine timber belt in the United States, that of Michigan,

¹Gazette, July 16, 1878, p. 54.

Wisconsin and Minnesota is in danger of destruction, not so much from the axe of the lumbermen as from other causes."¹

A number of Gazette articles about this time began to blame destruction of the forests more and more on fire and on the settlers efforts to clear land than on lumbermen.

But another noteworthy article, indicating its continuing concern about the problem, although not proposing any remedies, was published August 6, 1878. It was entitled: "Saginaw Pine: A Review of the History of Pine in the Saginaw Valley: And Some Speculations Regarding its Latter End: Some Facts and Figures that Saginaw Lumbermen would do well to ponder over." The article commented:

The maximum has been reached so far as the quantity manufactured is concerned, and Saginaw will never make the showing it has in the past.²

.
The immense amounts of pine that annually goes to the mills cannot be a perpetual supply. While we do not apprehend that it will be necessary to open Canadian markets to protect or perpetuate our own lumber trade, we do think if our lumbermen had a higher appreciation of the value of their pine lands, and made a reasonable economical effort in husbanding the supply, they would make more money as individuals, and the country would be better off.³

¹Ibid, July 30, 1878, p. 76.

²Gazette, Aug. 6, 1878, p. 83.

³Ibid, p. 87.

The article noted that the size of logs being taken from the woods was being reduced each year. It presented figures showing a reduction from 243 feet average per log in 1864 to an average of 180 feet per log in 1877. It noted further that "nine thousand million feet of pine timber has been swept from the Saginaw district alone, denuding thousands and thousands of acres."

The Gazette reported further:

In 1853 there were but sixty one mills in all the territory embraced within Saginaw, Bay, Shiawassee and Genesee counties, and none north of this point. The total included twenty three mills on the Saginaw River. There are now over 300 mills with capacity of manufacturing over one billion feet.¹

It noted that the cutting of the pine had reduced the numbers of mills in the southern part of the state and that only one or two mills were running in Detroit, one of eight mills was running in Port Huron and that the number of mills in Flint had been reduced from seven to three in the past four years. The Gazette's comments concluded with the following:

. . . if our lumbermen who own large tracts--and the pine is gradually drifting into the hands of a few--would realize that the country is just recuperating from a panic, that the stock of standing pine in the country is rapidly decreasing, that standing pine will increase in value more rapidly than money at compound interest, then they would make more haste to go slow at wiping out the whole business in a year or two.²

¹Ibid.

²Gazette, Aug. 6, 1878, p. 83.

The Gazette later commented that the waste was much greater than was apparent: "The maker of square timber in the pine forests has been the most reckless destroyer of the trees, cutting down and leaving on the ground probably two cubic feet for every one that has floated down the rivers and taken to market."¹

That waste was compounded in the manufacturing of lumber, according to Hotchkiss' son, recalling his father's experience in the field: "In those days most of the logs were white pine and my father, in writing for the lumber journal, showed statistics of 50 per cent waste of white pine lumber from stump to retailer."²

If those estimates were correct, and we must assume they were since they were made by those with actual knowledge of lumbering, that would mean that only one quarter of the standing timber that was cut was ever available for use by the American public.

The Gazette, meanwhile, had become more and more a trade journal rather than a newspaper in editorial content and in attitude. Even the advertising was reflecting this trend, being mainly for sawmill machinery and other equipment. Some pine lands were still being offered for sale,

¹Ibid, Aug. 27, 1878, p. 5.

²Everitt S. Hotchkiss, "Reminiscences," unpublished autobiography, typescript, in Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

however. Articles in one issue were headlined: "Miller's Improved Saw Sharpener," "The Railroads of the United States," "Spark Arresters in Saw Mills," "Fine American Cutlery," and "Preventing Rust on Iron,"¹

Hetherington points out that the situation was becoming desperate for the lumbermen, faced more and more with the reality that the timber of Michigan was disappearing.

And there was no point in the world where the prosperity of the individual mill owner depended so directly on the continuance of the log supply as in the Saginaws. Owners were now seeking a reserve of timber to back up their investments; every firm was trying to buy as much each year as it had cut.

The aggregate transactions in pine land for the year 1879 reached a figure at least five times greater than that of any previous year, the change in every instance tending to concentrate the body of the timber in the hands of a few owners.²

Bennett set the tone the Gazette was to follow in the future on July 2, 1879, as he remarked on the first seven years of the publication's history in an editorial stating:

Having reached a firm foundation, the Gazette proposes to stay by the trade for another seven years, at least, or until the expiration of the time allowed by the estimators for the destruction of the pine forests, and it expects to grow in usefulness as it grows in years and experience.

¹Gazette, July 16, 1878, p. 22.

²Hetherington, Journalism During the Lumbering Days, p. 77.

Obviously, Bennett was resigned to the fact that there was nothing his prattle could do to stop the waste of the forests and he would ride out the time remaining. The Gazette's comments turned more toward matter-of-fact reporting of the dire predictions of others, as this one:

The wanton destruction of the pine forests of Nevada has called forth an energetic protest from Mr. Charles E. Sargent, in the American Journal of Science. He says that the forests of Nevada consist chiefly of a few hardy species, which have reached their present maturity and extent only after centuries of exceeding slow growth and a severe struggle with the adverse conditions of the soil and climate. Once destroyed, he adds, the want of moisture will forever prevent their restoration, either by natural or artificial means; he urges legislative action in the matter.¹

The lumbermen were beginning to look more and more toward Canada, and Bennett began to recognize it, despite his statement of less than a year previous.

"What will the children do for lumber when the fathers have destroyed the forests?" is often asked. When the forests of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota shall have disappeared before the insatiable ax of the lumberman, there will still stretch away to the north, toward the regions of perpetual snow, a virgin forest²

Inevitably, there had to come the time when journalists of the valley were not alone in their regard for the lesson of figures--the hereafter in the lumber business," wrote Hetherington. "There was general assent when the Saginawian, in its annual review of 1880, announced

¹Gazette, July 23, 1879, p. 6.

²Gazette, June 11, 1879, p. 6.

that the 'Lapeer pinery and the Flint River supply is exhausted, and three years will close out all the Bad River and Beaver stock.'"¹

Bennett turned to rationalizing about the situation, stating: " . . . so that by the time lumbering shall cease to be a great industry, agricultural and manufacturing will take its place."²

In the Courier's review of 1882, issued under the auspices of the Saginaw Board of Trade, but compiled by Cowles, it was announced that the quantity of lumber manufactured was 971,320,317 feet, exceeding in magnitude the product of any previous year. The "boom" in all branches of industry throughout the country, coupled with an easy money market, stimulated manufacturers to their utmost.³

Buyers were in the market to purchase at least a thousand million feet, the annual cut. But it was believed there was not enough pine for sale in the Saginaw region to total five hundred million feet. The craze for pine lands became phenomenal; never before was there such a speculative mania in the business. In the latter part of 1881, a Saginaw speculator purchased a tract of land for

¹Hetherington, Journalism During the Lumbering Days, p. 77.

²Gazette, June 15, 1881, p. 2

³Courier, Jan. 14, 1882, p. 1

\$10,900. Six weeks later he sold it for \$25,500. Another sale of 200 acres of pine land brought \$2,400.¹

The Gazette noted that there had been four and one half billion feet cut in Michigan in 1881 and that the cut of 1882 was estimated to be six billion feet. It called the cutting of a billion feet of lumber from forests tributary to the Saginaw "a drain on our resources."² It was the industry's all-time peak in the Saginaw Valley.

The following year Bennett was weekly advising: "With the rapid consumption of timber now going on, tree production is sure to prove profitable, and nobody can start too soon in that line."³

For a few desperate years the shortage of pine drove the Saginaw lumbermen to Canadian markets. Huge rafts of logs were towed to the mills of the Saginaw River from Georgian Bay, about 250 miles across Lake Huron.

Soon there was no more pine to be purchased in the Saginaws.

The half-hearted crusade of the press to curb the reckless destruction of precious pine had failed.

¹Courier, March 2, 1882, p. 1.

²Gazette, August 6, 1882, p. 2.

³Ibid, June 20, 1883, p. 1.

CHAPTER VIII

THE AFTERMATH

As the pine forests began to disappear, the Lumberman's Gazette also faded, as Bennett had so accurately predicted about ten years previously. While it had been reporting a circulation of about 4,000 for years, press directories in the mid-1880s began listing the Gazette's circulation at about 2,000 copies. After 1885 no record of the Gazette can be found in Bay City, although there are indications that it was published as late as May, 1887.

Gustin wrote concerning the fate of the Gazette: "In the summer of 1887 it was sold the Timberman of Chicago, and it moved to that city and strangled. The Gazette was the oldest lumber journal in the world, and had an international circulation, but as the lumber industry of the Saginaw Valley began to wane, Mr. Bennett concluded it wise to get from under."¹

¹Bay City Times Tribune, Dec. 2, 1923, p. 2.

The Gazette was merged into the Timberman, which later was united with the Northwestern Lumberman to form American Lumberman.¹

As the lumbermen moved westward with the available timber, so the lumber publications followed them. Perhaps the lessons of Michigan and the midwest regarding timber were not lost, for steps were taken in the west to preserve and prolong the use of the forests.

But it was too late for Michigan. The industry that built a state died quickly when Ontario decreed in 1898 that "all logs cut on crown lands must be manufactured within Canada," in retaliation for the 1897 import duty that the United States had restored on white pine lumber. The log rafting stopped, almost over night.²

The forests were gone, and now the industry followed into oblivion. A Bay City newspaper writer recalled in 1935:

The crash of the majestic pine tree, felled by the rhythmic blows of the woodsman's axe, the whine of the gang saw as it sped through the heart of the great pine timber, rivers choked with logs, lumber piles, sawdust piles, peavies, and dock wollopers--gone, just memories now.³

¹Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada, Winifred Gregory, ed. (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1943) p. 329.

²Harold M. Foehl and Irene M. Hargreaves, Logging the White Pine in the Saginaw Valley (Bay City: Red Keg Press, 1964) p. 53.

³Bay City Times, Feb. 23, 1935, sec. 5, p. 1.

"The Michigan lumbering boom netted four billion dollars, one billion dollars more than all the gold taken out of California during the same years, 1848-1898."¹

There are only a few remaining stands of the original white pine growth that once covered most of the state. One is Hartwick Pines, near Grayling, perhaps the best known and now a state park. Other stands are in Gogebic and Ontonagon counties and near Copper Harbor, in Keweenaw County. The rest of the remaining forest is mainly good for little else but pulpwood. The state owns vast quantities of scrub timber on "cut-over land," acquired because the former owners, fat from the wealth of the trees, abandoned them for the delinquent taxes.

DeTocqueville was right. He was one of the last "to see the primitive grandeur of this solitude."

¹Detroit News, April 9, 1972, p. 1-B.

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