

ISLE ROYALE NATIONAL PARK,
MONUMENT TO A JOURNALIST

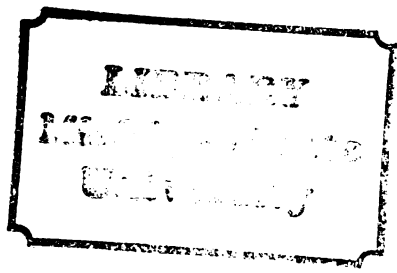
Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
John David Dupree
1966



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ABSTRACT

ISLE ROYALE NATIONAL PARK, MONUMENT TO A JOURNALIST

By John David Dupree

Albert Stoll, Jr., conservation editor of the Detroit News for more than three decades, decided in September, 1921, that he would see what he, as a newsman, could do to create a permanent park of Isle Royale, a large island in Lake Superior. This study considers the activities of Stoll and his colleagues during the twenty-five-year period at the end of which Stoll's dream became a reality, when the island was officially dedicated as a National Park.

The principal source utilized for this study was a collection of Stoll's correspondence, notes, brochures, clippings, and documents donated in 1952 to the Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Various periodicals, newspapers, contemporary social histories, and public documents were also used as sources. Interviews with members of Stoll's immediate family provided much-needed insight into the problems he encountered.

An investigation of this intensive campaign by an ambitious Michigan journalist reinforces the conclusion that Stoll did, in fact, play the instrumental role in Isle Royale's designation by the federal government as a National Park. His perseverance, more than that of any other one man, appears to have been the deciding factor in the culmination of the project. Without his persistence, the issue would probably have died during any one of the serious lulls in positive public opinion.

**ISLE ROYALE NATIONAL PARK,
MONUMENT TO A JOURNALIST**

By

John David Dupree

A THESIS

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

MASTER OF ARTS

School of Journalism

1966

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JOHN DAVID DUPREE**

1966

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Special appreciation for the successful completion of this study is gratefully offered to Mrs. Isabel Stoll, widow of Albert Stoll, Jr.; his daughters, Mrs. Betty Angelo, Mrs. Albertina Leonhard, and Mrs. Martha Murphy; the cooperative librarians of the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Dr. W. Cameron Meyers, associate professor in the School of Journalism at Michigan State University, East Lansing; Mr. and Mrs. Donald Dupree; and Mrs. Sharon A. Scott Dupree, who was never at a loss for words of encouragement.

J.D.D.

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I. INTRODUCTION

On a northeasterly point of the island that is one of thirty-one United States National Parks, a plaque has been mounted by the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior on a craggy, weather-worn rock, reminiscent of centuries of virgin isolation from the curious, probing, commercial eyes of man. The plaque, erected in 1952, reads:

Dedicated to the memory of Albert Stoll, Jr., conservation editor of the Detroit News from 1923-1950, whose untiring efforts made possible the preservation of Isle Royale as a National Park.

Located at the end of the two-and-one-third mile Albert Stoll, Jr., Memorial Trail, the monument is intended to be "a living tribute to his [Stoll's] devotion and accomplishment."¹ Because of the persistent drive manifested by this young outdoor writer, "the scenes . . . and wilderness flavor which pervades the park are unspoiled, and will remain so for all Americans, today and in the future." Thousands of visitors to the island, located in Lake Superior, hike the hundreds of miles of interwoven wilderness trails during the summer season, the park naturalist reported in September of 1965.²

¹U.S., Department of the Interior, National Park Service, in co-operation with the Isle Royale Natural History Association, A Guide to the Albert Stoll, Jr., Memorial Trail, Isle Royale National Park, written and illustrated by Robert G. Johnson (Isle Royale: Wolf's Eye Press, 1960), pp. 1-2.

²Interview with William Dummire, park naturalist, Isle Royale National Park, September 14, 1965.

The story of the island's transformation from a commercialized lumbering and mining area into a National Park encompasses a quarter century of intensive correspondence, reporting, editorializing, negotiating, and simple dogged persistence on the part of Stoll and several of his colleagues. This study will trace that story from its beginnings in the Detroit News office during September, 1921, until the dedication of Isle Royale National Park on August 27, 1946--twenty-five years later.

Many phases of the twenty-five-year Isle Royale National Park campaign, of course, cannot be completely covered here because of limitations on time, space, and available materials. For instance, many small daily or weekly newspapers in Michigan's Upper Peninsula published various news stories and editorials either verbatim from metropolitan newspapers or from other private sources, thus contributing to the popular sentiment in their particular areas. To include how each Michigan newspaper handled the Isle Royale issue during this period would be nearly impossible; hence, only coverage by the "undaunted protagonist," the Detroit News, and by its "hypercritical antagonist," the Detroit Free Press, can be considered here in depth.

Similarly, there were innumerable state and federal legislators who had active roles in achieving the end product of the campaign. Only those most instrumental in passing the necessary legislation and in helping to acquire the lands of Isle Royale can be mentioned at length. As the movement gathered momentum, many persons who formerly were opposed to the project came to the fore to receive public credit and recognition for an achievement they had little or no positive interest in prior to that time.

This study will attempt to interpret historical fact as accurately as newspaper and periodical accounts, public records, private correspondence, and personal interviews will permit.

II. THE ISLAND

Isle Royale is located in Lake Superior less than twenty miles from the Minnesota state line or Canadian border. The island is a part of Keweenaw County, Michigan, though the closest Michigan contact points, Houghton and Copper Harbor, are approximately three times that distance away. Access to the island is only possible by air or water, the latter presently being much more common because of economical considerations and undependable aircraft landing conditions.¹

Islands in the archipelago, numbering 150-160, range in size from the main island, which is forty-five miles long and nine miles wide, to Lone Tree Island, which has "barely space for the one pine that stands to face all the winds that blow."² Thirty-two "major" lakes on Isle Royale vary in size from seven-and-one-eighth miles by two-and-one-half miles (Siskowit Lake) to the few classified as "small," under one-eighth mile by one-quarter mile in area (e.g., Epidote Lake).³

The largest moose herd in the United States survives plentifully on Isle Royale, despite several thriving packs of wolves that prey upon

¹"Isle Royale," Atlantic, CCVI (September, 1960), pp. 74-78.

²Letter from William P. F. Ferguson, editor of the Franklin, Pennsylvania, News-Herald, January 25, 1922, in "Chronological History of the Isle Royale National Park Movement," a collection of newspaper clippings, correspondence, brochures, programs, and public documents, prepared by the Detroit News and donated to the Michigan Historical Collections, Rackham Hall, at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Hereinafter cited as "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

³"The Lakes of Isle Royale," a table prepared by William R. Bennets, Keweenaw County Clerk and Register of Deeds, December 6, 1921, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

the sickly and elderly moose.⁴ Both species of animal were virtually unknown to Isle Royale until the winter of 1912, when it is theorized that Lake Superior froze over to the Canadian mainland, and the moose, wolf, and caribou crossed over the ice to the island. The last-known caribou there were photographed in 1926 by James MacGillivray of Oscoda, an official photographer for the Michigan Department of Conservation,⁵ but moose and wolves have continued to flourish on the isolated wilderness island.

Consisting of 132,000 acres of barren rock, sugar maple, birch, pine, and spruce trees, Isle Royale also boasts rich deposits of copper and iron ore, besides yields of the last North American greenstone and certain other types of Thompsonite rock.⁶ Similarly, University of Michigan researchers discovered species of trout, whitefish, and herring that were peculiar to Isle Royale in 1929, while other scientists reported "hundreds of types of unusual flora and fauna" found nowhere else in the United States and reportedly in only scattered regions of Canada and Alaska.⁷

Archeologists and historians have also been intrigued by the Lake Superior island, since it is allegedly "Michigan's only link with the Stone Age."⁸ As early as 1922, a Pennsylvania newspaperman, William

⁴"Wolves vs. Moose on Isle Royale," National Geographic, CXLIII (February, 1963), pp. 200-219.

⁵Press Release from the Michigan Department of Conservation, n.d., "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

⁶Letter from William P. F. Ferguson to Albert Stoll, Jr., September 20, 1922, ibid.

⁷Detroit News, October 2, 1930, p. 7.

⁸Ibid., September 24, 1922, p. 34.

P. F. Ferguson, an Isle Royale expert and enthusiast, began conducting archeological expeditions that resulted in tales of a "vanished race" being disseminated in newspapers and periodicals throughout the nation. Journalists and historians alike delighted in delving into the mysterious past of the island. The Associated Press, a cooperative newsgathering organization, syndicated an interview with Alfred Merritt, a Duluth, Minnesota, pioneer, who recalled stories told to him by his father about Benjamin Franklin's "treaty fight to put Isle Royale in the United States."⁹ Franklin had reportedly realized the island's potential as a source of copper and other natural resources, Merritt recalled.

Because of its peculiar adaptability to scientific, historical, and recreational activities, it is understandable that immediately after the campaign to preserve the island as a park was begun, the Detroit News reported that "there has been no one found so far who is not in favor of the project."¹⁰ Though this statement could not be made realistically in the subsequent twenty-five years of the campaign, Albert Stoll, Jr., could not be convinced that it was not the will of the people to preserve Isle Royale, "a priceless relic of all the ages since the world began," for posterity.

⁹Ibid., January 8, 1923, p. 12.

¹⁰Ibid., January 22, 1922, pp. 6-8.

III. THE MAN

Albert Stoll, Jr., a professional newspaperman for more than three decades, had several nationally significant accomplishments to his credit during his lifetime. United States Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, a former Grand Rapids newspaperman, wrote to Stoll in 1936, saying that "there ought to be a monument to you on Isle Royale, although the whole National Park will be a living monument to you."¹ Mrs. Matt Farmer, chairman of the Isle Royale Protective Association, an Upper Peninsula group organized to support and promote the campaign, lauded Stoll in 1935, saying that "you, more than any other one man, are deserving of heartfelt praise for the successful culmination of the Isle Royale National Park project."²

Stoll's opponent throughout the twenty-five-year campaign, the Detroit Free Press, wrote in his obituary that "sportsmen lost a great conservation leader" when Albert Stoll, Jr., "the founder, conductor, and editor of the first outdoor page in an American newspaper," died.³ "Pete" Stoll, as the journalist was nicknamed from early pseudonymous writings on conservation under the name of "A. Peter Stowe,"

¹Letter from Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, R-Michigan, to Albert Stoll, Jr., May 11, 1936, "Chronological History of the IBNPM."

²Letter from Mrs. Bertha Farmer, hostess and owner of Rock Harbor Lodge on Isle Royale, to Albert Stoll, Jr., August 20, 1935, ibid.

³Detroit Free Press, December 12, 1950, p. 1.

was known to outdoor fans throughout the Midwest after starting his special outdoor page in November, 1923, issues of the Detroit News.⁴ Former Michigan Governor Chase S. Osborn, in a letter written to "Pete" from Texas in 1934, said that, "I consider you the best outdoor newspaper naturalist in Michigan and probably in the country."⁵ Stoll was sought as keynote speaker by sportsmen and conservation clubs throughout the Great Lakes states, Canada, and in Washington, D.C., during the last fifteen years that he worked at the News.

The Detroit News Reforestation Plan, organized and promoted by its conservation editor in 1929, served as a model for similar programs around the United States and Canada.⁶ Thus, unknown thousands of acres of forests on the North American continent are a tribute to the active mind of this veteran wildlife writer. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, one of the primary functions of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was to replant cut-over woodlands with trees, and Stoll was often consulted for his opinion on these projects.⁷

Stoll was an enthusiastic participant in activities at all levels, however, and not just at the national level. Besides being knowledgeable as a reporter and outdoorsman, he prided himself on being a dependable friend, son, grandson, father, husband, uncle, or nephew, as the situation demanded. Born into a prominent Swiss-American family in Detroit on December 29, 1883, he was the son of Albert Stoll,

⁴Detroit News, December 12, 1950, p. 20.

⁵Letter from Chase S. Osborn, former Michigan Governor, to Albert Stoll, Jr., March 1, 1934, "Chronological History of the IRNFM."

⁶Detroit News, December 12, 1950, p. 20.

⁷Ibid., August 14, 1935, p. 2.

Sr., who was Wayne County auditor and who served in public life for 29 years.⁸ "Pete's" grandfather, Julius, was justice of Detroit's first police court, and an uncle, Otto, was register of deeds in Wayne County from 1909 to 1932.

When his parents bought property near Oxford, Michigan, in northern Oakland County, young Stoll fell in love with an extensive cedar swamp there and used to roam around in it for hours, his widow, Isabel, recalls.⁹ Though he tried many different occupations after attending Central High School in Detroit and the Detroit Art Academy, "his heart was always with exploring and writing about the outdoors," she said.

He was assistant advertising manager of the Olds Motor Company from 1902 to 1904, and he held the same position with Buck's Stove and Range Company of St. Louis, Michigan, from 1905 to 1907. After being executive of Business magazine, a publication of Detroit's Bookkeeper Publishing Company, for four years, he became involved in two overlapping endeavors: he was president of the Stoll Printing Company from 1913 to 1918 and he became owner and editor of the Michigan Sportsman's Magazine in 1915. It was in 1918 that he joined the reportorial staff of the Detroit News.

Throughout his years of employment at the News, Stoll maintained active connections with federal and state wildlife agencies. He was a deputy United States game warden from 1921 until his death, and he was a Department of Agriculture bird bander for twenty-four years

⁸Ibid., December 12, 1950, p. 20.

⁹Interview with Mrs. Isabel Stoll, 691 Bloomfield Court, Birmingham, Michigan, June 28, 1966.

beginning in 1926. He was technical adviser on development of the federally-sponsored Waterloo Recreation Area near Chelsea, Michigan, from 1937 to 1943. A trustee of the Huron-Clinton Parkway Association, he was also active in Oakland County Boy Scout work, holding the title of merit examiner in outdoor and nature study subjects for several years.

Former Michigan Governor Alexander J. Groesbeck requested in 1921 that Stoll take a leave of absence from the News to assume the position of secretary to the Michigan Conservation Commission.¹⁰ He took this position for two years, but continued constant communication with the News and maintained his active role in the Isle Royale National Park project through correspondence and occasional editorial columns during these years.

When he returned to the News, he organized and directed such activities as the annual Bird House Contest and the Detroit News Hikers. He was permanent honorary president of the Michigan Outdoor Writers' Association, a life member of the Michigan Audubon Society, former chairman of the Michigan Wildflower Legislative Committee, honorary member of the Isle Royale Protective Association, and a member of the American Ornithologists Union and the Metropolitan Detroit Council of American Youth Hostels.

Mrs. Stoll recalls that, during the twenty-five years of the Isle Royale campaign, "we had Isle Royale for breakfast, lunch, and dinner nearly every day."¹¹ Mrs. Betty Angelo, second oldest of Stoll's three daughters and a four-year member of the Detroit News

¹⁰Detroit News, December 12, 1950, p. 20.

¹¹Interview with Mrs. Isabel Stoll.

reportorial staff herself, recalls that the daily trips, commuting from Birmingham to work in Detroit, consisted largely of talk about conservation, wildlife, and, particularly, Isle Royale.¹² After a trip to the island in 1954 with her mother for the dedication of the Albert Stoll, Jr., Memorial Trail, Mrs. Angelos said she was convinced that it is one of the most beautiful spots in the world. Returning there several years later with her husband and two sons, Mrs. Angelo reported that "I can see more and more each time I see that island, why Dad loved it so much."

Mrs. Angelo's two sisters, Mrs. Martha Murphy, of Farmington, Michigan, and Mrs. Albertine Leonhard, of Birmingham, Michigan, have never visited Isle Royale, but both hope to do so in the future.¹³ Mrs. Leonhard, the youngest of the sisters, vividly recalls "how stubborn Dad was when he wanted something that might be a little difficult to get."

When asked if Stoll ever got discouraged during the many crises of the Isle Royale campaign, Mrs. Stoll commented that "he was too enthusiastic about it to ever give up, though I'm sure he was discouraged once in a while--which is pretty human."¹⁴ She said that "he made up his mind that he was going to get results and then he got them." Even after he began to have intermittent heart attacks in the mid-1940s, Stoll continued his active work in conservation projects around the state. When it was doubtful whether his doctor would let

¹³Interview with Mrs. Albertine Leonhard, youngest daughter of Albert Stoll, Jr., 691 Bloomfield Court, Birmingham, Michigan, June 28, 1966.

¹⁴Interview with Mrs. Isabel Stoll.

Stoll make the trip to Isle Royale for dedication of the park in 1946, Lee A. White, a long-time colleague of Stoll's on the Detroit News, wrote to Senator Vandenberg, "though Stoll's doctor may or may not permit him to go on the S. S. South American for the dedication, I think it would be much more detrimental to his health to miss the event."¹⁵ Mrs. Stoll agreed with this opinion, saying that her husband probably thought that he would rather die than miss the culmination of his twenty-five years of effort.¹⁶

For the last two years of his life, Stoll was an invalid in the Birmingham home he had arranged to have constructed in 1924, "when Birmingham was way out in the sticks."¹⁷ During that time, however, he continued to dictate news copy to his wife and he retained the title of conservation editor of the Detroit News until his death on December 11, 1950, at the age of 66. From the time of his birth at Hancock and Brush Streets in Detroit--the present site of Woman's Hospital--until the time of his death in suburban Birmingham, Stoll had advocated outdoorsmanship and conservation in nearly everything he did.¹⁸

Bert Stoll, a neighbor employed as a reporter on the Bay City Times at the time of Stoll's death, praised "Uncle Pete's outdoor

¹⁵Letter from Lee A. White, managing editor of the Detroit News, to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, August 8, 1946, "Chronological History of the IRNFM."

¹⁶Interview with Mrs. Isabel Stoll.

¹⁷Interview with Mrs. Albertine Leonhard.

¹⁸Interview with Mrs. Betty Angelo.

personality" in a Northern Trails column on Christmas Eve, 1950.¹⁹ Besides the "priceless personal experiences" he had shared with the elder Stoll, Bert praised his uncle's influence on the rest of the American public, saying that "he was devoted to Michigan conservation and outdoor subjects to such an extent that anybody in American can visit beautifully forested areas and Isle Royale National Park both now and in future generations."

The most honorific tribute to Stoll came several weeks after his death in an end-of-the-year issue of the Detroit Free Press, the primary opponent of his Isle Royale plan, in a section-page story headed, "Sportsmen Best Three Conservation Leaders in 1950":

Because Stoll set the pattern, the cause of conservation through newspaper writing was advanced throughout the State. Since public understanding and information accounts in no small part for Michigan conservation leadership, Stoll was a primary factor in the development of the State program.²⁰

No greater praise can be bestowed upon a man than that of an adversary who has nothing to gain from eulogizing him after his death.

¹⁹Bay City (Mich.) Times, December 24, 1950, p. 22.

²⁰Detroit Free Press, December 29, 1950, p. 28.

IV. INCEPTION OF THE CAMPAIGN

In the 1929 volume of the Bulletin, published by the Public Museum of Milwaukee, the following statement was concluded with the imperative plea, "may the powerful influence of the press be exercised to this end":

To secure Isle Royale as a National Park, it seems necessary that a new and determined start be made with a strong organization and competent leadership; that the State of Michigan, the various Isaac Walton clubs and other friends of the project co-operate.¹

The author of the report apparently was not aware that the press had begun exercising its influence at least eight years earlier in the offices of the Detroit News, and that the Isle Royale National Park movement had already met with wide acceptance around the State of Michigan and with a limited amount of nationwide success.

Following a vacation on Isle Royale with friends in the summer of 1921, Albert Stell, Jr., conservation writer for the Detroit News, presented a plan to George E. Miller, his editor-in-chief, whereby the News would launch a campaign to have the island preserved as a park.² Miller, "who fully appreciated the recreational advantages of the island for public use," suggested at that time--in September, 1921,

¹City of Milwaukee, Public Museum, Bulletin 1929, Vol. X, prepared by George A. West, "Copper: Its Mining and Uses by the Aborigines of the Lake Superior Region," pp. 40-41.

²Detroit News, December 12, 1950, p. 20.

that the campaign be directed at making Isle Royale a National Park rather than a state game preserve, as Stoll had proposed.³ It was agreed by both men, however, that the status that would best insure the permanent preservation of the island would be most acceptable to both of them.

For the first several months of the campaign, most of the support for the park plan was directed at acquisition of Isle Royale by the State of Michigan, rather than by the United States National Park Service or the federal Department of Agriculture. One of the most encouraging letters received by Stoll in late 1921, from Emerson Hough, well-known Chicago writer and conservationist, conceded that Isle Royale "would be of great value" as a state park.⁴ In response to an inquiry from Stoll, Hough expressed his opinion about the island's status:

It would not be my belief that it should be made a national park, however, as we have more national parks now than we are properly taking care of, and because Isle Royale would hardly be accessible and extensive enough for Federal use.

He suggested that a "Michigan Citizens' Fund" be organized by Stoll, since a similar plan initiated in Wisconsin in the past had resulted in the Northern Lakes being acquired for the people by the state.

A more optimistic letter of response was received by Stoll from Enos Mills, a Longs Peak, Colorado, educator and naturalist who had long been familiar with Isle Royale. Obviously a poetic and

³Detroit News, January 22, 1922, p. 6.

⁴Letter from Emerson Hough, 208 South LaSalle, Chicago, Illinois, to Albert Stoll, Jr., December 1, 1921, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

idealistic person, Mills described the beauties of the island, on which the "waves of five inland seas merrily play, as though these were young and new."⁵ Concerning his opinions on possible park status for Isle Royale, he concluded his letter with: "My guess is that every man, woman, and child in Michigan is now thinking of Isle Royale as a state park."

Seeking United States government approval of his plan, Stoll wrote to the Forestry Service Division of the United States Department of Agriculture, inquiring into the possibility of Isle Royale being set aside as a National Forest. L. Z. Kneipp, assistant forester of the Forestry Service, promptly disheartened the Detroit News reporter by referring to two pieces of legislation recently introduced in the U. S. House of Representatives, which would "extinguish" any little interest that the federal government then held in Isle Royale.⁶ As a consolation, he appended a hand-written postscript:

It would, however, be wholly feasible for the State to establish such a refuge and I should judge that action looking toward the creation of a State Game Preserve or Refuge is what the situation demands.⁷

Despite the generally discouraging tone of the opinions offered by "those who matter," Stoll continued his inquiries as to the potential public support of the park project. After being appointed by Governor Alexander J. Groesbeck to the position of secretary to the Michigan Conservation Commission in late December, 1921, Stoll carried

⁵Letter from Enos Mills of Longs Peak, Colorado, to Albert Stoll, Jr., December 24, 1921, ibid.

⁶Letter from L. Z. Kneipp, assistant forester of the United States Forestry Service, to Albert Stoll, Jr., December 9, 1921, ibid.

⁷Ibid.

on voluminous correspondence with political and conservation leaders from his post in Lansing, attempting to determine public reaction to the plan. William B. Marshon, vice-president of the American Game Protective Association and prominent Saginaw, Michigan, ornithologist, wrote that "the time to do anything of this kind is right now."⁸ W. T. Hornaday, a trustee of New York City's Permanent Wild Life Protection Fund, argued that an island makes a poor game reserve and that, "ere long, a game preserve on Isle Royale might become embarrassing." Warning that it "would be well" for Stoll to consider his undertaking, Hornaday expressed the opinion of many sportsmen, when he wrote that he "would rather establish a preserve in the heart of a forest on some mainland district where legitimate hunting is allowable."⁹

The epistolary battle between hunting enthusiasts and avid conservationists encountered another point-of-view from Robert H. Rayburn of the Island Mill Lumber Company at Alpena. Rayburn, an active Northern Michigan lumberman and sports enthusiast, suggested that Isle Royale would be a "first-class game sanctuary," because it was well protected and eventually could be used to stock the rest of the state with game "as settlers encroach and hunters increase."¹⁰ This idea, when publicized, served to create amity between the two fronts, at least temporarily. These and other signs of progress revitalized Stoll as he was preparing to assume his position on the State Conservation Commission. A letter from a Michigan pioneer, George

⁸Letter from William B. Marshon of Saginaw, Michigan, to Albert Stoll, Jr., December 1, 1921, "Chronological History of the ARNPM."

⁹Letter from W. T. Hornaday of New York, New York, to Albert Stoll, Jr., December 5, 1921, ibid.

¹⁰Letter from Robert H. Rayburn of Alpena, Michigan, to Albert Stoll, Jr., December 7, 1921, ibid.

Shiras III, living in Washington, D.C., may have provided the inspiration that kept Stoll's interest alive throughout his two-year term on the commission. After stating his support for the Isle Royale park plan as "the most practical solution for the perpetuation of certain species of large game," Shiras played an important role as crusader by offering the obviously encouraging words:

I have always found that one active organization or a publication of standing can accomplish more by a systematic campaign than where a popular movement lacks a permanent and well-known medium. The Detroit News will achieve a well-merited honor if it can successfully father this project.¹¹

Public and private groups of individuals began expressing support for the proposal of acquiring Isle Royale as a state park or game preserve soon after the News gave opening publicity to the idea. George L. Lusk, secretary of the Michigan Department of Conservation, sent a copy of the following resolution, passed at a December 20, 1921, board meeting, to Stoll:

Whereas, the Detroit News has begun a campaign of publicity with the object of making Isle Royale a State Park, Resolved that the Commission on Conservation heartily indorses this enterprise and pledges its earnest co-operation in every way possible to bring about the desired result.

Resolved further, that the thanks of the commission are due and hereby tendered the Detroit News for its initiative and public spirit in urging this splendid enterprise.¹²

During the following year, while Stoll performed his duties as secretary of the Michigan Conservation Commission, several more groups of apparently influential people voiced approval of the state park plan. Letters sent to Stoll and to Governor Groesbeck by the Citizens Association of Chicago in August, 1922, warned of impending lumbering operations

¹¹Letter from George Shiras III, Stoneleigh Court, Washington D.C., to Albert Stoll, Jr., December 9, 1921, ibid.

¹²Letter from George L. Lusk, December 22, 1921, ibid.

that were allegedly to begin on Isle Royale the following summer. Explaining that a force of forty-five timber cruisers had explored the island in June, the group cautioned against the possible consequences of such exploitation of the island's natural resources:

It would be nothing less than a crime for the State of Michigan to permit that wonderful domain to be spoiled in such a manner, when it can be purchased by the State for less than \$2 an acre.¹³

A similar plea came ten days later from the newly-formed Citizens Committee of Isle Royale, composed of "the cottage owners and annual summer residents of Isle Royale living on the northeast half of the island."¹⁴ Writing to Stoll, the Detroit News, and the State Department of Conservation, Ralph W. Emerson, secretary of the committee, reported that the islanders adamantly opposed cutting of timber, which "invariably" results in fires and great damage to the uncut timber, plus loss of moose and caribou. A motion was unanimous adopted, Emerson wrote, advocating that Isle Royale "be taken over by the State of Michigan as a Timber and Game Reserve."

These and many other widely-publicized statements made regarding the proposed Isle Royale project created an impetus during the first year of the campaign--an impetus that was to rise and fall many times during the next twenty-five years. A number of the persons involved in the movement would change their respective positions during that time; some would associate themselves with "the cause," either temporarily or permanently, while still others would completely lose interest

¹³Letter from Shelby M. Singleton of the Citizens Association of Chicago, August 8, 1922, ibid.

¹⁴Letter from Ralph W. Emerson, secretary of the Citizens Committee of Isle Royale, August 18, 1922, ibid.

in the idea. But Stoll, interviewed by several of Michigan's Upper Peninsula newspapers at the end of that first year, expressed the viewpoint that he maintained throughout the quarter-century campaign. Appearing in the Houghton Mining Journal under the headline, "Stoll Enthuses Over Isle Royale's Beauty, Says State Should Take Over Region For Park Purposes," the story quoted Stoll, secretary of the Conservation Commission, who had just returned to the mainland from Isle Royale:

"If the people of Michigan permit the remainder of this island to slip away from them, two hundred years from now they will be bitterly blamed by those generations cheated of their rightful heritage," Stoll said.¹⁵

The only facet of this opinion that was to be altered during the difficult years ahead was that Stoll's campaign changed from state-wide to nation-wide in character.

¹⁵Houghton Mining Journal, August 22, 1922, p. 1.

V. NEWS AND FEATURE STORIES, 1921-1931

During the first year of the Isle Royale campaign, American newspaper readers were fed regular doses of post-war prosperity, the controversial Versailles Treaty, the Pacific treaty system, the rebel ideas of T. S. Eliot and other "expatriates," the Eighteenth Amendment prohibiting manufacture or sale of liquor in the United States, and the small-town editor from Ohio, Warren G. Harding, described by newspaper columnist Walter Lippmann as a man "distinguished by the fact that nothing distinguishes him,"¹ a "do-nothing" president who flaunted Prohibition publicly by serving whiskey at his frequent White House poker parties.² The observant subscriber to the Detroit News would have noticed, besides regular local coverage and interpretation of the effects of national events, a definite pervading undercurrent of "Isle Royalism," especially in the Sunday feature and rotogravure sections.

Twelve photographs and two maps on the front page of the picture section, plus a three-page story under the headline, "Michigan's Last Bit of Untouched Nature," appeared with the by-line of Albert Stoll, Jr., on January 22, 1922, indicating that public attention was being sought for the park project and that the campaign was underway in full

¹Richard W. Leopold, Growth of American Foreign Policy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 406.

²Charles R. Adrian and Charles Press, The American Political Process (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), pp. 128-129.

force. In his feature story on the island, Stoll traced the evolution of the "primeval wildernesses" of Michigan that were much more common to the state fifty years earlier than they were then. Making a plea for action, he predicted that in another fifty years, there would be no such beauty spots, "unless we make it our task now to acquire by purchase, condemnation or gift such areas as may lie within our boundaries."⁴ A bit of "journalistic evangelism" lauded the mysterious history and magnificence of the island, concluding with the following promotive paragraph:

It is not too much to expect the acquisition of this island by gift. It would be a magnificent act upon the part of the present owners to give this land to the people of Michigan for all time to come, with the express understanding that the island shall always be preserved in its natural state and become a public park and recreation ground.

Scores of letters were received in the Detroit News office following the appearance of Stoll's feature. Writers of the letters ranged in character from an eight-year-old Boise, Idaho, girl who had visited the island the previous two summers, to an eighty-eight-year-old Milwaukee, Wisconsin, man who was born on Isle Royale before Michigan was admitted to the Union.⁵ Encouraging letters from persons like these, personal conversations, and an innate sense of optimism bolstered Stoll's conviction that the public wanted to hear more about the possible acquisition of Isle Royale by the state.

The next major feature stories about the island began running little more than a month later in the form of a four-part series by

⁴Detroit News, January 22, 1922, pp. 6-8, p. 1E.

⁵Letters of response to Detroit News stories, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

Stoll's friend and colleague, William P. F. Ferguson, editor of the Franklin, Pennsylvania, News-Herald. In the opening lines of the series, headlined "On Isle Royale with the Isle Royalists," Ferguson made a plea for the preservation of the island:

The island is about to be plundered and nobody but the people of Michigan can prevent it. Forests and big game will be lost for all eternity if the axe is allowed into the virgin timber.⁶

This was the general tone of the descriptive and intriguing accounts written exclusively for Stoll and the Detroit News by Ferguson, who already had visited and studied the island for nearly twenty years. Concluding his series in late spring, the Pennsylvania newsmen began making plans for an archaeological expedition to Isle Royale in the autumn of 1922. He wrote several letter to the Detroit News seeking financial backing for the undertaking, but was told by Lee A. White, Stoll's replacement while he was serving on the Michigan Conservation Commission, that the News would be glad to buy articles on the results of the expedition, but that no financial aid could be proffered beforehand.⁷ A second series by Ferguson began running in the Detroit News on September 20, 1922, linking Michigan to the Stone Age after discovery of a pre-historic village on Isle Royale.⁸ Newspapers and syndicates around the country reported historical accounts based on Ferguson's findings and journalists like Detroit News correspondent,

⁶Detroit News, March 5, 1922, p. 4.

⁷Letter from Lee A. White of the Detroit News, to William P. F. Ferguson, August 1, 1922, "Chronological History of the IRNFM."

⁸Detroit News, September 20, 1922, p. 1.

George B. Catlin, cited the importance of the discovery to archaeological history and even to the history of Detroit.⁹

In the winter of 1922, Stoll arranged to have Laurie York Erskine, a young Detroit News staff member, sent to Isle Royale to write another series of articles about the island. The seven-part sequence of adventure-filled stories first appeared in the Sunday magazine section on December 3, under the headline, "Ring of Ax Threatens Isle Royale, Virgin Paradise of the Great Lakes."¹⁰ The two-page feature, which included several scenic photographs, marked the beginning of the Isle Royale National Park movement, since it was the first time federal government acquisition was mentioned, rather than acquisition by the State of Michigan. Erskine editorialized somewhat, after a conference with Stoll and Miller, the News editor-in-chief, in the following manner:

Isle Royale should be preserved in all its primeval loveliness by the Federal Government as a resort for the people of America. It is the only spot in the entire Great Lakes region which remains as the glaciers left it.

The government should take the island over, or, this failing to be done--and done immediately--the State of Michigan should preserve it until such an act should be brought about.¹¹

The third story in the series by Erskine, headlined "Isle Royale Invasion Threatens Kingdom of the Moose," warned that the United States was in danger of losing its largest moose sanctuary:

If Isle Royale and the timber on it is preserved, the United States will continue in the possession of this unique sanctuary for moose and caribou. If lumbering is allowed, they will all be driven off Isle Royale forever.¹²

¹⁰Ibid., December 3, 1922, p. 1E.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., December 7, 1922, p. 4.

Erskine's articles resulted in an immensely promising chain of events in the administration of the State of Michigan before the series even had run its complete course.

A front-page story on Christmas Eve, 1922, reported that John Baird, commissioner of the Michigan Department of Conservation, would prefer that Isle Royale be made a National Park rather than a state preserve.¹³ The three-column article, headlined "Wants Isle Royale as a U. S. Park," included a suggestion by Baird that all "public-spirited citizens" should donate either money or land toward the park plan. He concluded his statement to the press with:

This does not mean that the state government has lost interest in Isle Royale. On the contrary, we believe this marvelous beauty spot should be made accessible to all the people on the best possible terms.

Three days later, Governor Groesbeck remarked that, since the News had started promoting the purchase of the Lake Superior island, he had investigated the possibility and found that most of the area had been sold to lumber firms. He said he was and always had been in favor of having the people purchase the island, "a treasure that should be retained by the State."¹⁴ The governor suggested that, if the cost was deemed to be reasonable, he would personally support the introduction of a legislative bill that would condemn that part of the island not owned by the government.

Early the next year, two prominent Michigan authors, James Oliver Curwood of Grosse, and Orrin A. Demoss of Detroit, were interviewed by the Detroit News after they had accused Stoll and Baird of

¹³ Ibid., December 24, 1922, p. 1.

¹⁴ Ibid., December 27, 1922, p. 1.

attempting to spend millions of the taxpayers' dollars on the Isle Royale project. Curwood and Demoss, authors of outdoor novels and poetry, respectively, had requested immediate comment from Stoll and Baird at a Michigan Game Association banquet, where they had made their charges. The News story, headlined "Baird Meets His Accusers," indicated that Stoll's arguments had convinced both authors of the practicality of the project. Stoll was quoted as saying that, "at maximum, it would cost the State less than \$1 million and Gov. Alex J. Groesbeck has plans that may get it for practically nothing."¹⁵ Letters of support from both Curwood and Demoss to Stoll during the next several months were evidence of the effectiveness of the latter's arguments, as well as of the authors' open-mindedness.

Captain Robert Ellsworth, chairman of the Commercial Fishing Bureau in the Michigan Department of Conservation, was the subject of a Detroit News story, "Save Royale's Timber Is Plea," on January 13, 1923. Ellsworth described in vivid terms what the probable results would be if lumbering were allowed to begin on the island:

The State ought to make a park out of Isle Royale, if for no other reason than to preserve the cover for wild life. If the island was cut over there would be sure to be a fire that would sweep the island. The island is solid rock with a comparatively thin coating of dirt that has taken centuries to build up. A devastating fire would burn that earth so badly that it would take centuries more to produce the natural cover the island has now. It would certainly be a crying shame to let that island be robbed of its timber, as it will be if the State does not stop it this year.¹⁶

Following the appearance of that story, the News received nearly one hundred letters from fishermen, hunters, and sportsmen's groups around the state, supporting the proposed Isle Royale park project.

¹⁵Ibid., January 10, 1923, p. 12.

¹⁶Ibid., January 13, 1923, p. 3.

The intermittent flurry of Isle Royale park promotion stories in the Detroit News continued through the second month of 1923. The principal topic of the stories stemmed from a statement by Arno B. Cammerer, acting director of the National Park Service, published in the News on February 2, with the headline, "U. S. Eyes Long on Isle Royale." Cammerer admonished the opening of Isle Royale to commercial exploitation, saying that it would be "an irreparable disaster not only to Michigan but to the United States."¹⁷ He praised the beauties and location of the island, which would be only the second National Park east of the Mississippi, if it were so designated. Stating that "the principal criticism that can be made of our national park system is that it is confined almost wholly to the far west," Cammerer encouraged the people of Michigan to "do their duty by the rest of us and take steps to conserve this beauty, which has been conserved for Michigan in the past by accident." A statement of this nature from a federal official resulted in hundreds of "Letters to the Editor" and private correspondence with Stell, both approving and opposing the plan.

Except for routine feature stories and scenic photographs of the island, there was little further news of progress in the project reported in the News until September 12, 1923, when it was announced that "State Gets Big Gift on Royale." An "unnamed donor" reportedly had agreed to donate 45,000 acres toward making Isle Royale a public park, with the only stipulation being retention of the mineral rights

¹⁷Ibid., February 2, 1923, p. 1

¹⁸Ibid., September 12, 1923, p. 1.

by the owner. Citing that "one-third of the island is now in the hands of the people," the story offered the opinion that "the State now possesses the finest part of the island scenically."¹⁸ Stoll, concluding his second year as secretary of the Michigan Conservation Commission, was quoted as saying that predicted lumber operations on Isle Royale "would probably not be carried out," since past ventures of this nature on the rocky shores of Lake Superior "Had not been financially successful."

At this point, the News began printing more feature stories by Pennsylvania newsman, William P. F. Ferguson, who had returned to the island that summer to explore the village discovered there the summer before. The concluding story in this series, appearing under the headline, "Deserted 1,000 Years, Ruins of Isle Royale Village Keep Secret of Ancient Race That Came for Copper," pleaded for the preservation of the island for recreational purposes, but more particularly, for "further archeological, historical, and other scientific study of the virgin Lake Superior wilderness."¹⁹

After his return to the full-time reportorial staff of the Detroit News, Stoll began publicizing the campaign more than ever before, through such articles as "Icebound on Isle Royale All Winter, Couple Haven't Time to be Lonesome."²⁰ This interview with Mr. and Mrs. Bill Lively, guardians of the island after the boating season, apparently was intended to illustrate the year-round qualities of Isle Royale, which "could be a popular tourist spot in winter as well as in summer."²¹

¹⁹Detroit News, October 21, 1923, p. 22.

²⁰Ibid., December 16, 1923, p. 1E.

²¹Ibid.

As the third year of the Isle Royale campaign was beginning at the Detroit News in late 1923, the nation was reading more about Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, and about Calvin Coolidge, who had been named President of the United States after the death of Warren G. Harding on August 2. The administration had finally proclaimed officially that the League of Nations "is not for us,"²² and xenophobia, especially regarding orientals, was prevalent among the prosperous and Prohibition-defying public.

The Isle Royale campaign took a giant step forward two days after Valentine's Day, 1924. Three-quarters of the front page of the Saturday, February 16, issue of the Detroit News was devoted to a story written by Stoll under a three-column headline, "Government Wants Isle Royale for Park." The report reproduced a letter from Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work, who expounded on the need for more National Parks east of the Mississippi. In a letter to Stoll, Work wrote that Stephen T. Mather, director of the National Park Service, would more than likely visit the island "as soon as possible" to help determine the desirability of Isle Royale as a National Park.²³ Included in the nearly full-page spread on the island were nine pictures ranging from rocky Scoville Point to moose drinking on the shores of Siskowit Bay. In the Sunday edition the following day, Stoll made the rather premature prediction that "Isle Royale's Fight to Live Nears Success." Listing the names of several men who were "instrumental in

²²Leopold, p. 451.

²³Detroit News, February 16, 1924, p. 1.

the park campaign," Stoll quoted A. F. Demaray, director of the National Park Travel Bureau, who said it was difficult for him to visualize a national monument or park accessible only by boat, since the United States possessed no such area at that time. The story concluded with a "commercial" on Isle Royale by Demaray:

The idea and thought of an island park is unique in the establishment of national parks. Visiting tourists and vacationists desiring to avail themselves of the appealing beauties of Isle Royale should find no difficulty or experience no inconvenience in reaching the island by steamer, for I understand that boats from Duluth and Houghton make regular trips to the island ports.²⁴

Stoll's personal opinion was reflected in the closing line of the story, noting that "if the island becomes a National Park, the sight-seeing public will have an opportunity to travel the greatest of our inland lakes to view a natural wonder."²⁵

Leading off the next day's follow-up story, headed "Isle Royale's Praises Sung," Stoll wrote: "National Park officials are not the only persons interested in the acquisition of Isle Royale as a National Park."²⁶ Following quotations by Work, Mather, and other state and federal officials who had corresponded with Stoll on the issue, the forty-inch story then cited Colonel William B. Greely, chief forester of the U. S. Forestry Service, as a source of further approval of the park plan. Greely had expressed surprise "that an area as extensive as Isle Royale covered with virgin growth of timber remained within the boundaries of Michigan" and urged that "every means should be taken to preserve this unparalleled stand of virgin timber."²⁷

²⁴Ibid., February 17, 1924, p. 1.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid., February 18, 1924, p. 2.

²⁷Ibid.

During the following month, the News--in response to the many Isle Royale stories--was flooded with increasing numbers of suggestions, objections, and "Letters to the Editor" concerning the campaign. When the Detroit Board of Commerce announced its support of the park plan and plans for a tour of the island as its annual summer excursion, letters to the News from the Detroit area increased in volume. When Stoll reported the announcement in the News on March 18, he wrote that "inasmuch as the project of securing Isle Royale as a National Park has the backing of the board, it was considered fitting that its members be given a chance to learn something of the island."²⁸ Another breakthrough occurred on the federal level on March 22, when President Coolidge issued an Executive Order withdrawing all public lands on Isle Royale from sale "pending determination as to the advisability of including such lands in a national monument."²⁹ This event was reported by Stoll on April 10 as a sidebar to the story that announced plans of "certain Washington officials" to make an inspection tour of Isle Royale "sometime during the coming season."³⁰ The decision finally was made to have William H. Wallace, chairman of the Michigan Conservation Commission, lead "the official party" to the island on June 14, the News announced. Included in the official party would be Secretary of the Interior Work, National Park Service Director Mather and "other Washington officials," the story reported.³¹

²⁸Ibid., March 18, 1924, p. 1.

²⁹U. S., President, 1923-1929 (Coolidge), Executive Order (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1924).

³⁰Detroit News, April 10, 1924, p. 1.

³¹Ibid., May 24, 1924, p. 1.

The five hundred participants in the Board of Commerce cruise to Isle Royale brought back with them "a recommendation to the directors of the board that they approve the movement that the Federal Government conserve the island as a national park and game refuge," the News reported on June 16. In the story, headed "Cruisers Won by Isle Royale," Stoll reported interviews with several prominent voyagers, all of whom "thought there was too short a time on the Lake Superior island."³² More significant for the park plan, however, was an interview two days later with National Park Service Director Stephen T. Mather, who said he would recommend it as a national monument as soon as he returned to Washington from the island. Asserting that Isle Royale "measures admirably up to National Park standards," Mather praised the island for its beauty and for its location as a prospective National Park:

We need national parks east of the Mississippi River, since we have but one now of 5,000 acres in Maine. If Isle Royale could be added to this group, the East could equal the West in park attractions.³³

A final story in this phase of the campaign appeared in the News eight days later, again quoting the National Park Service Director, in "Mather O.K.'s Isle as Park." Stoll obtained most of the information for this story from a press release issued by the Department of the Interior after Mather's return to Washington, in which the director said he "was very enthusiastic over the possibilities of this virgin, untouched island wilderness for National Monument purposes."³⁴ The concluding paragraph of this story would be considered, by 1966 standards,

³²Ibid., June 16, 1924, p. 2.

³³Ibid., June 18, 1924, p. 1.

³⁴Ibid., June 26, 1924, p. 1.

to be "propaganda," since its contents were true in only a relative sense:

The easy accessibility of the island is one of its foremost features. The director's party left Chicago in the evening and the next evening was on Isle Royale, making the combination train and boat trip in less than 24 hours.³⁵

While it is true that Mather and his party did arrive at Isle Royale within twenty-four hours, the island's "easy accessibility" was a virtue which could be, and was, disputed at that time.

The first period of inactivity in the Isle Royale National Park movement began in the summer of 1924 and lasted through the summer of 1928. While all stories written during this intervening period referred to the island as "our proposed national park" or "soon to become the nation's second National Park east of the Mississippi River," little newsworthy action took place on either the state or the federal level. By autumn of 1925, stories began appearing in the News that indicated the island might never become a park. On September 6, 1925, Stoll wrote, in "State Taps Isle Royale for New Trout Supply," that the Michigan Department of Conservation was planning to stock state streams with native Isle Royale trout instead of importing them.³⁶ It was even suggested on October 18, that the island should be set aside as a "partridge sanctuary," if nothing else.³⁷ John N. Lowe, chairman of the Department of Natural Science at Marquette State Normal School, had proposed that the conservation department designate

³⁵Ibid., June 26, 1924, p. 2.

³⁶Ibid., September 6, 1925, p. 11.

³⁷Ibid., October 18, 1925, p. 34.

the island for this purpose as soon as possible and begin trapping and exporting partridge there immediately, Stoll reported. But beneath this example of objective reporting, Stoll's optimistic and adventuresome spirit knew "that the park plan will materialize,"³⁸ because he was working practically full-time attempting to make arrangements for acquisition of the lands on the island for National Park purposes.

In July of 1928, the News published running accounts of the McDonald-Massee expedition, organized by Eugene F. McDonald, Chicago yachtsman and explorer, to make a two-month study of the Isle Royale archipelago. Inspired by this opportunity for new human interest stories about the island, Stoll rarely missed a day without reporting some background information on "Michigan's Proposed National Park."³⁹ After the three-ship expedition left Chicago, encountered a menacing water spout that damaged one ship, and finally arrived at Isle Royale, the News continued to follow the activities of the group, emphasizing the National Park aspect at all times. The two stories receiving the greatest play during this two-month period appeared on July 31 and on August 12. The former, headlined "Coolidge Is Invited to Isle Royale," gave an account of a letter sent by leaders of the expedition to President Coolidge, asking him to visit and observe "the island of pre-historic man."⁴⁰ The second story was given a four-column front page headline, "Isle Royale Park Plea Sent Coolidge." Stoll reported in

³⁸Letter from Albert Stoll, Jr., to Stephen T. Mather, National Park Service Director, December 18, 1926, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

³⁹Detroit News, July 19, 1928, p. 2.

⁴⁰Ibid., July 31, 1928, p. 1.

this story that the expedition had sent a "wireless petition" to the President after receiving no response to the letter sent two weeks earlier. A portion of the wireless message was included in the account: "President Coolidge, something must be done to preserve forever this northern land of woods and waters for the people of this country."⁴¹ A third plea sent by the expedition to Coolidge was publicized in the News on August 15, but the only new persuasion introduced by the group was that Isle Royale was "easily accessible by steamship from Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Houghton, and Duluth."⁴² Further reports, discoveries, and theories of the McDonald-Massee explorations appeared in the News until the end of the year. The final story of the seventh year of the campaign quoted M. W. Stirling, new chief of the bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, who conjectured that "Michigan's proposed National Park" may have been the source of all the copper used north of Mexico previous to the "invasion of the white man."⁴³

Meanwhile, on the national scene, many changes had been taking place. War had been "outlawed" by the Kellogg-Briand Pact, described as a "quixotic gesture of pure idealism"; the "Coolidge prosperity," though kept in Republican hands, was taken over by Herbert Hoover, the "poor Iowa farm boy"; and big city syndicates had cornered the tremendous liquor-smuggling market through "gangland tactics" across the nation in response to Prohibition.⁴⁴ Stoll was convinced, however, that the

⁴¹Ibid., August 12, 1928, p. 1.

⁴²Ibid., August 15, 1928, p. 20.

⁴³Ibid., December 29, 1928, p. 1.

⁴⁴Leopold, pp. 458-468, passim.

reading public wanted to see more than accounts of post-war conferences, the booming economy, and racketeering, and he fought to keep his conservation page and the Isle Royale National Park movement alive, both through actions in his private and public life. He made countless speeches before conservation and sportsmen's clubs, besides filling his columns with material of interest to the outdoor enthusiast.

The Hartman Bill, the contents of which were proposed to the Michigan Conservation Commission by Stoll in early 1929,⁴⁵ was passed by the Michigan Legislature in the spring and signed by Governor Fred W. Green on May 23, 1929. This bill, which appropriated \$15,000 to finance a survey of Isle Royale by the University of Michigan, was intended to "expedite the acceptance of the island by the Federal Government as a National Park," the Detroit News reported.⁴⁶ A second-day story following the signing of the bill quoted Alexander G. Ruthven, chairman of the Department of Zoology, director of the University Museum, and Dean of Administration at the University of Michigan, as saying that the survey would "center national attention on the historic and scientific wonders of the big island."⁴⁷ Stoll followed Ruthven's statement with a brief progress report on the Isle Royale park project:

A movement is on foot to make Isle Royale a national park. The only major progress thus far is that the owner of a large part of the land which is not held by the government is said to be willing to dedicate his property for this purpose, and the sponsors of the national park movement are confident that money to purchase the remainder could be raised by private subscription.⁴⁸

Stories with datelines from Isle Royale were frequent during the summer

⁴⁵Letter from Albert Stoll, Jr., to Michigan Conservation Commission, January 28, 1929, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

⁴⁶Detroit News, May 23, 1929, p. 1.

⁴⁷Ibid., May 24, 1929, p. 1.

⁴⁸Ibid., May 24, 1929, p. 2.

of 1929, a period overflowing with feature and background materials. Two typical examples of the summer's offerings appeared in the News on June 30 and August 21. The first, "Isle Royale's Mysteries Lure U. of M. Scientists," besides reporting the proposed staff of the expedition, volunteered several paragraphs of information regarding the National Park movement:

Government officials have signified their eagerness to accept the island as a national park site, thus insuring for all time the preservation of its natural beauties and objects of scientific interest. The owners of more than half of the island already have tendered their holdings to the Federal Government free of cost for this purpose.⁴⁹

The second story, which gave the first major account of the newly expanded eleven-member Michigan Conservation Commission, reported on a trip taken to the island by the commission. Headlined "Board Is 'Sold' on Isle Royale," the story quoted W. H. Loutit, chairman of the commission, who said:

"I give the people of the State of Michigan my assurance that anything I can do, as chairman of Michigan's Conservation Commission, toward the definite and all-time preservation of this island for the future enjoyment of all Americans. I resolve to help obtain land in every way, by private purchase, condemnation, or gift. "Isle Royale must be a National Park," Loutit concluded.⁵⁰

The remainder of the summer's reportage on the expedition generally followed this pattern and recounted the activities of the various scientists working with the expedition.

The next significant occurrence in the campaign was related in the September 15 issue of the News--an issue filled with news of Isle

⁴⁹Ibid., June 30, 1929, p. 33.

⁵⁰Ibid., August 21, 1939, p. 12.

Royale. Frank M. Costler, a member of the Government Advisory Committee on National Parks, visited the island and spoke about potential development of tourist facilities on the island:

Never have I seen a spot where there is so much virgin forest, such wildness and natural beauty, together with accessible, comfortable living accommodations. There are other places to be found where nature is as unspoiled by the hand of man, but most of these places are accessible only by pack horse or afoot, and living conditions are necessarily of the crudest sort. On the other hand, in most places where comfortable camps have been established, the wild life has been destroyed.⁵¹

This promotional story was written by Florence Davies, a hostess at Isle Royale's Rock Harbor Lodge, a rustic tourist hotel, and was accompanied by six scenic photographs.

Intriguing accounts of archeological and scientific discoveries or theories reported in the Detroit News continued to result in frequent spontaneous letters to Stoll or "Letters to the Editor." One such report was a two-page feature with four pictures, four diagrams, and a map, all of which were intended to support a theory of Isle Royale's history. It was proposed that the early miners of the island were "part of the Lost Ten Tribes who left Palestine, crossed over the Behring Straits and colonized a part of the North American continent in 700 B.C."⁵² A University of Michigan ichthyologist, Walter N. Koels, who discovered two new species of fish on Isle Royale, failed to get as much response from readers as those who had released their findings earlier, probably because the stock market crash of late September and early October stole the limelight from him. Koels introduced

⁵¹Ibid., September 15, 1929, p. 3.

⁵²Ibid., September 23, 1929, p. 28.

⁵³Ibid., October 22, 1929, p. 2.

several points about the proposed park in late October:

It is true that many of the lakes are rather inaccessible for the average tourist or visitor, but there is not a single lake of the chain that could not be connected with the resorts on the coast by a series of easily followed trails.⁵³

The first six months of 1930 found an increasing number of stories about measures being taken to offset the economic problems of the nation than about conservation, the outdoors, or the Isle Royale campaign, though Stoll continued his intensive correspondence in an effort to keep the issue alive. An emotional argument by Saginaw archeologist, Fred Dustin, a member of the University of Michigan expedition, was publicized by the News--the first story on the issue in 1930--on January 25. Pleading for the preservation of "Isle Royale's manifold charms," Dustin said that the "virgin wilderness must be preserved, not only by the artist's pencil and the archeologists pick, but intact."⁵⁴ The State Department of Conservation announced plans several weeks later to create greater interest in the island: "two new motion picture films will provide a glimpse of the natural wonders of Michigan's proposed national park to school children and conservation groups all over the state," a department spokesman said.⁵⁵

Further interest in Isle Royale was indicated by the fact that the state arranged to have the island surveyed by a Lansing aerial survey firm, Talbert Abrams, Incorporated, in the late summer of 1930.⁵⁶ Abrams' survey created several new mysteries with the discovery of

⁵³Ibid., October 22, 1929, p. 2.

⁵⁴Ibid., January 25, 1930, p. 13.

⁵⁵Ibid., March 19, 1930, p. 28.

⁵⁶Ibid., August 12, 1930, p. 1.

twenty-five previously uncharted lakes, scores of uncharted rivers and streams, and three "curious bowl-shaped depressions, each ten feet in diameter, lined with rocks and pebbles to a depth of fourteen inches, with several inches of charcoal underlying all."⁵⁷ Seeking the opinion of Carl Guthe, head of the University of Michigan Department of Anthropology, the News reported that no explanation for the latter phenomena had yet been advanced, though it was obvious "that they were built with extreme care and once served a definite purpose."⁵⁸

As the nation entered the second year of the Great Depression, the Isle Royale campaign received a boost from Frank M. Castler, a member of the Government Advisory Committee on National Parks, who told the News that the island should be preserved immediately as a game refuge, "with no hunting seasons, since the moose herd is not that large and may be completely extinguished if the federal government doesn't take over."⁵⁹

After Americans had celebrated a bleak and meagre "Hoover Christmas" and New Year's, the campaign to achieve national park status for the island quickened as never before. On February 11, 1931, the News reported pending Congressional legislation introduced into the U. S. House of Representatives by Michigan Representative Louis C. Cramton. Cramton, who was due to retire from Congress on March 4, had introduced the bill to "provide for dedication of the island as a national park whenever, in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior,

⁵⁷Ibid., August 31, 1930, p. 2.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid., October 26, 1930, p. 6.

a sufficient part of the land comprised in it shall have been donated to the U. S. Government."⁶⁰ The following day, the News quoted Cramton as saying his bill probably would not get passed during that session of Congress, "but it could bring lots of publicity to the island."⁶¹ This opinion was not shared by Stoll, however, because he was convinced that the legislation would pass "Because it is the will of the people."⁶²

At this point, the Grand Rapids Press and reporter Ben East in particular began playing an important role in publicizing Isle Royale and the National Park movement. Though the Press had strongly opposed the plan in earlier years, the Booth newspaper was one of Michigan's major proponents of the project beginning in 1931.⁶³ East organized a winter camping excursion on the island and began to write stories for various Michigan newspapers and for National Geographic magazine.⁶⁴

The Public Lands Committee of the U. S. House of Representatives favorably approved the Cramton Bill that would authorize establishment of a national park on Isle Royale on February 25, 1931. The News story, headlined "Isle Royale Park Bill Is Approved," quoted the committee report, as delivered by Michigan Representative Joseph L. Hooper, promising that "an effort will be made to obtain the bill's passage by the

⁶⁰Ibid., February 11, 1931, p. 1.

⁶¹Ibid., February 11, 1931, p. 1.

⁶²Letter from Albert Stoll, Jr., to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, February 20, 1931, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

⁶³Grand Rapids Press, September 15, 1923, p. 4.

⁶⁴Ben East, "Winter Sky Roads to Isle Royale," National Geographic, LX (December, 1931), pp. 759-774.

House this week."⁶⁵ A News Washington correspondent, Karl L. Miller, related on February 26 that Stoll had been successful in interesting Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, former Grand Rapids newspaperman, in the Isle Royale project. The Republican U. S. Senator had enthusiastically endorsed the plan, Miller reported, and a companion bill had been introduced in the Senate by Vandenberg who would "seek immediate consideration of it by the Senate Committee on Public Lands."⁶⁶ The newly appointed director of the National Park Service, Horace M. Albright, attended a "most productive session" of the Senate committee the next day, Miller reported. His news story related that the group had "promptly voted in favor of the Cramton-Vandenberg Bill" that would provide for "acceptance of Isle Royale as a national park as soon as sufficient acreage is offered."⁶⁷ Senator Key Pittmann of Nevada offered Miller a completely optimistic opinion on the future of the bill:

"There ought not to be any argument over that proposition," Pittmann, a "key" member of the committee said after the session. "I visited Isle Royale last summer and it is the finest site for a public park in America. It is the most interesting scenic place I have ever visited."

And Pittmann's prediction was followed through by Congress within four days.

When Public Act Number 835 of the 71st Congress of the United States of America was enacted into law on March 3, 1931, Stoll felt like "the coach of a down-and-out football team after a startling upset,"⁶⁸

⁶⁵Detroit News, February 25, 1931, p. 1.

⁶⁶Ibid., February 26, 1931, p. 1.

⁶⁷Ibid., February 27, 1931, p. 1.

⁶⁸Letter from Albert Stoll, Jr., to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, March 5, 1931, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

as congratulatory telegrams poured into his office from all over the nation. But, as a telegram from National Park Service Director Albright indicated, Isle Royale was still a long way from being a national park:

The act requires that all lands on Isle Royale and such of the immediately surrounding islands as the Secretary considers desirable must be turned over to the government and exclusive jurisdiction over same shall have been ceded by the State of Michigan to the U. S. before a national park can be established.

Your early efforts behalf this park proposal now bearing fruit and trust we may have continuation same hearty support until park is actuality.⁶⁹

After President Hoover signed the bill, Stoll began another intensive phase of the land acquisition campaign.

Nevertheless, one of Stoll's immediate goals, outlined in 1922, had been achieved--federal recognition of Isle Royale's potential as a permanent national park. In a summary story, "Isle Royale Park Sure after 10-Year Struggle," Stoll recounted modestly the actions taken between September, 1921, and President Hoover's signature of the bill in March, 1931. Taking little credit for himself, the Detroit News conservation editor lauded the Congressional action:

Inasmuch as the national park standards are exceedingly high and preclude the possibility of embracing within the park system any areas except those of outstanding scenic, physical and historical interest, Congress' acceptance and President Hoover's approval of the Cramton-Vandenberg Act is taken to mean that Isle Royale is of such unusual interest that the officials of the National Park Service did not hesitate to recommend its acceptance without the usual investigation involved.⁷⁰

A sidebar to this nearly full-page story reported that, though the National Park Service would be unable to accept it as yet, Governor Wilber M. Brucker had authorized that the 2,300 acres of Michigan-owned

⁶⁹Telegram from Horace M. Albright, National Park Service Director, to Albert Stoll, Jr., March 5, 1931, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

⁷⁰Detroit News, March 5, 1931, p. 1.

property be donated to the federal government as "the first gift of land to be put on record."⁷¹

The following Sunday's rotogravure section was devoted entirely to "Scenes on Isle Royale, Which Now Becomes a National Park."⁷²

Throughout the summer of 1931, feature stories and photographs were published frequently, intended to keep Detroit News readers familiar with the island and with the project. An eight-part series by S.L.A. Marshall began running on Independence Day with the following editor's note appended:

Because both Isle Royale and Keweenaw County, natural gateway to the great national park that is to be, are so rich in the very features that caused Isle Royale to be made the nation's property, the News assigned Marshall, already familiar to readers of this newspaper, the agreeable task of visiting them. In the series of articles, of tales beginning today, he tells what he found there.⁷³

The remainder of the articles appearing in the momentous year of 1931 dealt with measures being taken by the State of Michigan to acquire the lands of Isle Royale. One final statement, made by Arno B. Cammerer, acting director of the National Park Service, gave the Detroit News public praise:

It will be seen that Isle Royale as a national park is the only one available to the Middle West and it is probable that it will maintain this distinction without competition through all time. Accessible to some 90 million people of the East by motor and boat, the only island park of the system, its healthful climate, its wealth of flora and fauna, and good fishing, it cannot fail but to be one of the most popular major national parks of the system.

The perseverence of the Detroit News has raised in the State of Michigan hopes that Isle Royale will become the 23rd in the chain of national parks, if it acquires its land before Mammoth Cave or the Shenandoah area of Virginia.⁷⁴

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid., March 8, 1931, pp. 1E-8E.

⁷³Ibid., July 4, 1931, p. 18.

⁷⁴Ibid., July 16, 1931, p. 1.

Among the most treasured letters of congratulations sent personally to Stoll following the successful culmination of this phase of the campaign was received from Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, who had also been instrumental in its success:

Pete, you have played the major part in this whole adventure from the very beginning and I think you will continue to be the most useful adviser upon whom the State Commission can lean, both before and after actual designation of the park.⁷⁵

A letter to a University of Michigan student, J. Leo Aikman, on July 18, 1935, from Vandenberg, however, reversed the roles of Stoll and Vandenberg. He said, in response to an inquiry from Aikman, that:

I feel that I may take credit for the instigation of this movement to make Isle Royale a National Park. It was my legislation which provided for the acceptance by the Government of this area for national park purposes. Since 1931, I have discussed the matter in the Senate.

Mr. Albert Stoll of the Detroit News has been prominently identified with this project, also. I am sure he will be glad to give you the benefit of any information he may have if you write to him about it.⁷⁶

Stoll apparently was not aware of this opinion on the part of the many-faceted Vandenberg, but was more than willing to bestow the credit upon anyone but himself, as evidenced in the campaign summary on March 5, 1931, that listed dozens of men besides himself.⁷⁷

⁷⁵Letter from Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg to Albert Stoll, Jr., September 4, 1931, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

⁷⁶Letter from Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg to J. Leo Aikman, July 18, 1935, in Aikman file, Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

⁷⁷Detroit News, March 5, 1931, p. 1.

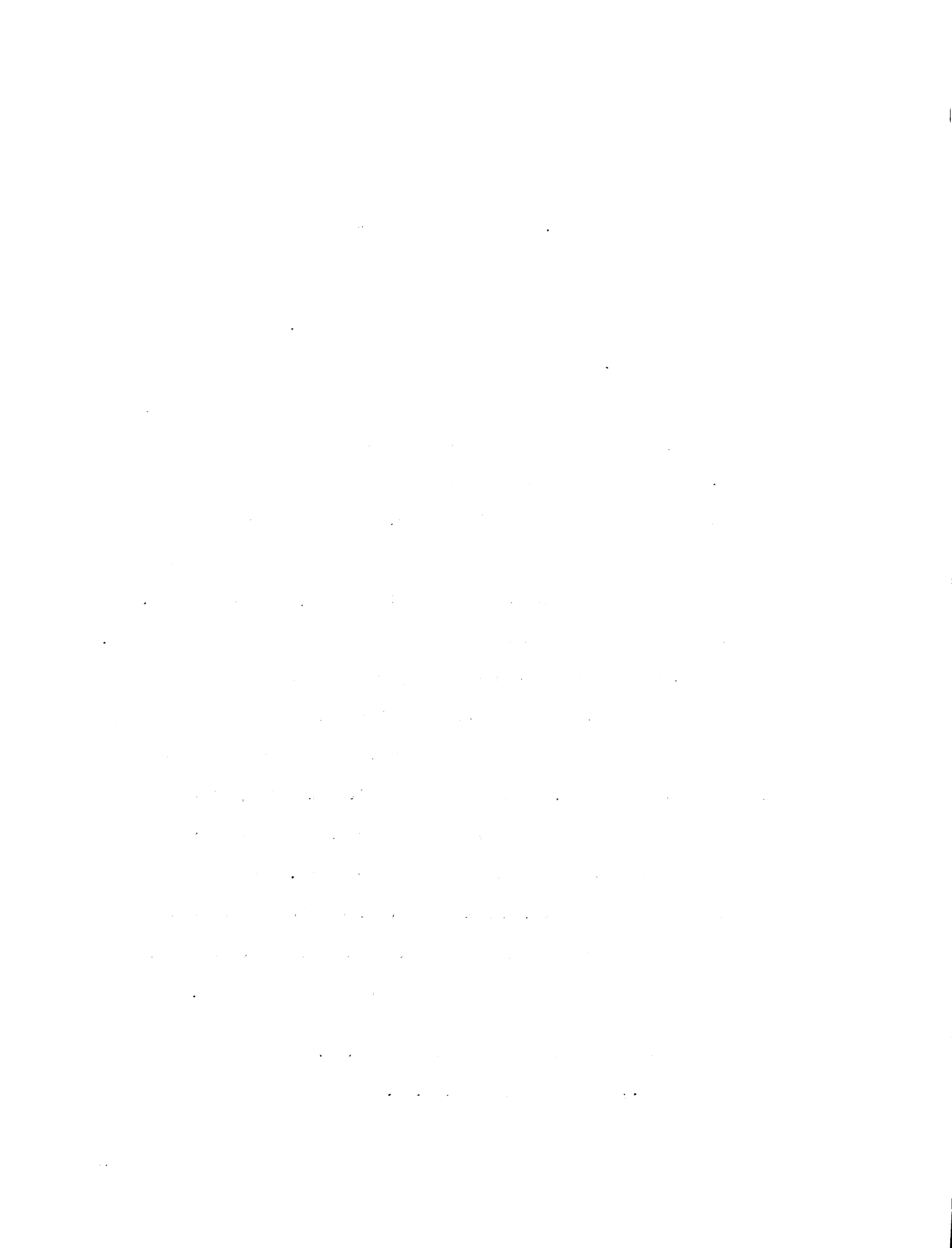
VI. EDITORIALS, 1921-1931

The first Detroit News editorial after the inception of the Isle Royale campaign, signed by Albert Stoll, Jr., appeared on December 3, 1921. Under the simple headline, "Isle Royale," Stoll outlined and reviewed the beauties of the island, that "is today practically the only bit of unspoiled nature east of the Mississippi River,"¹ Commenting that "the State of Michigan is now facing an opportunity to preserve this bit of nature's wonderland for its children," the 37-year-old conservation editor concluded that "it is up to the State Legislature at its next session, and our present Conservation Commission, to act upon this project before it is too late."

It was not until exactly one year later that Stoll wrote the second editorial on the subject, since his duties as secretary of the Michigan Conservation Commission restricted the amount of time he had to write for the News. Titled "A Jewel Without Price," the second editorial was an effectively written appeal for the preservation of Isle Royale as either a state or a national park. He challenged the state and federal governments to rescue "from the unconscious vandalism of commerce the last remnant of nature east of the Rockies remaining as God has left it inviolate, Isle Royale in Lake Superior."² The story

¹Detroit News, December 3, 1921, p. 6.

²Ibid., December 3, 1922, p. 6.



of the recent history of the island was followed by the conclusion:

Here is a priceless relic of all the ages since the world began, unchanged, unspoiled. Once destroyed it can never be replaced. Destroying it would be the supreme sacrilege. If taken over by the government it would become the only park comparable to the far western reservations within easy access of the population east of the Mississippi River--three-quarters of the population of America.

Stoll took a rather philosophical approach to editorializing the next day in "Preserve Isle Royale," a brief but effective commentary on the situation. The entire editorial read:

Man set out to conquer nature and, having conquered, reviews his victory. He discovers, now that his needs are supplied, that the thing he wants most to supplement what he has made for himself is the thing he destroyed in making it.

That commerce, possessing so complete a power over so much, should be permitted to erase Michigan's last wilderness from the map, to extinguish the bloom, to convert Isle Royale into a mill-yard, is unthinkable.

The state cannot permit it. The federal government itself can do no less than throw over it the mantle of national authority. The preservation of Isle Royale is an immediate duty, not only to posterity, but to ourselves.³

Promoting the national park plan, as opposed to state acquisition in an editorial on December 17, Stoll deplored the idea that there are "few creative artists" and too many persons "engaged in tearing down divine art." He urged that the "divine beauty" of Isle Royale be immediately preserved, preferably by the federal government:

Perhaps Michigan only can save this beautiful island to posterity, but Isle Royale is too fine and too big for Michigan to keep to herself. It should be a national park. But Congress and public sentiment move slowly. The Michigan legislature alone may have to preserve the State's finest possession until such time as the Government perceives clearly that Isle Royale is a jewel for a national setting.⁴

³Ibid., December 4, 1922, p. 6.

⁴Ibid., December 17, 1922, p. 8.

Rumors that lumbering operations might begin the following summer on Isle Royale prompted Stoll to write "Save That Island," an appeal for the postponement of these operations. Citing the fact that Lansing is nearer than Washington, D.C., to the island, he wrote that:

The responsibility is entirely Michigan's to preserve the island's perfect beauty from the outrages of commerce. Looting of nature cannot be prevented by the U. S. Congress, since it won't meet again until after the vandalism has begun.

Therefore, action must be taken on a state level to preserve Isle Royale until the U. S. Government wakes up.⁵

An end-of-the-year editorial on December 31, "To Save Isle Royale," declared that "it has been the privilege of the News" to present an account of the Isle Royale problem to the people of the State of Michigan. The comment concluded with an open statement to Michigan legislators:

Rarely has a matter of public concern received so prompt a response or aroused such patent concern for immediate action.

It would be a blind public servant who did not take into consideration the awakened consciousness of Michigan citizens in the pride of possession. The voice of the public is quite clear on this matter

Isle Royale is more than a symbol of a park; rather it is an index to the character of the state; whether all things must yield to commerce or whether out of the first abundance, a slight but precious fragment shall be preserved as Michigan's share of nature's bounty.⁶

One of the most eloquent editorials written by Stoll on the campaign was included in the January 3, 1923, issue of the News, and was headlined "The Rescue of Isle Royale." Describing the opposition

⁵Detroit News, December 22, 1922, p. 6.

⁶Ibid., December 31, 1922, p. 6.

to "the rescue of the nearest thing to Paradise afforded in the middle west" as "not merely pusillanimous and wrong, but almost unthinkable." Stoll proceeded to refute arguments raised by "certain state officials" against the plan. The "versatile argument" that "it will cost too much" was invalid, Stoll remarked, just as similar objections to the purchase of Belle Isle in Detroit had been proved invalid. This "specious objection" was disputed by the fact that the original \$200,000 price paid for Belle Isle City Park could be dwarfed by the sale of "any insignificant corner of one of the finest municipal parks in America." Disavowing the island's alleged inaccessibility, Stoll predicted that, "if it became a park, no lake line would overlook the opportunity to provide transportation to it." He continued by stating that "distances will shorten" as the years pass, making that objection "increasingly ridiculous," and commented that no national park project would have been undertaken if this argument were ever sound, "since all of them are less accessible than Isle Royale, which is within a few hundred miles of the population center of the country."⁷

One year later, Governor Alexander Groesbeck was quoted in an editorial. Groesbeck had outlined a plan whereby the island could add much to Michigan's park system, "a fitting climax to the efforts of those who have interested themselves in providing public recreational advantages." The editorial praised Groesbeck's closing statement as "evidence of his sound judgment."⁸ The Governor gave approval to the

⁷Ibid., January 3, 1923, p. 8.

⁸Ibid., January 4, 1923, p. 10.

following tentative plan for acquiring Isle Royale:

Legislation to prevent the destruction of its wonderful forests and to preserve it as a future game refuge should be enacted. The Conservation Commission could well be vested with authority to condemn this island and pay the cost thereof on a basis that will not be too burdensome.

A second editorial on Groesbeck's speech appeared the next day, headlined "The Legislature and Isle Royale." Stoll recalled that the Governor had based his campaign for re-election on "cool, hard-headed, thrifty judgment and method" and could, therefore, be considered as a "calculating, sensible man." Stoll attempted to make his point as follows:

Yet this essentially calculating Governor places heavy emphasis on the need of acquiring Isle Royale.

In this matter, the Governor echoes the public voice, with the difference that as an official, jealous of the financial record he must exhibit to his constituents throughout the state, he weighs the cost and returns from Isle Royale and finds the former vastly outweighed by the latter.

The Legislature, thus encouraged by the Governor to respond to the earnest wish of public opinion, has a grateful task before it; its duty no less than its privilege is to keep for the people forever this jewel among parks.⁹

To keep public interest alive among its readers, the News ran another promotional editorial on January 13, titled "Isle Royale Purchase." The island, described as "the only original stand of virgin timber available for park purposes in the confines of the State of Michigan" was invaluable because of the abounding wildlife and the innumerable beauties that have been preserved there, the editorial asserted. Predicting that "it will not cost the state more than \$600,000 and may not cost a cent," the editorial concluded that "the Conservation Commission should buy Isle Royale and the people of Michigan will someday appreciate their wisdom and foresight even more than they would now."¹⁰

⁹Ibid., January 5, 1923, p. 6.

¹⁰Ibid., January 13, 1923, p. 8.

An editorial on February 4, 1923, quoted a recent "Letter to the Editor," that had criticized "noisy obstructionists" for using "obscure reasoning" in opposing the Isle Royale project. The editorial drew the rather immodest conclusion that "the fight for Isle Royale is being supported by informed, honest, and reasonable citizens,"¹¹ which was probably meant to include those supporters outside the Detroit News offices.

The anonymous donation of a large tract of Isle Royale land to the State of Michigan in early September, 1923, inspired the next editorial devoted exclusively to the Isle Royale project. The editorial advocated ceding of additional land on the island and appealed to "other public-spirited citizens to see that the entire island is restored to the public to become a perpetual remembrance and treasure-house in which the natural beauties of pristine America may be preserved." The editors expressed the hope that the gift would establish a precedent and stated that "appreciation seems an inadequate quality when the attempt is made to apply it to such a gift as the recent one." The argument terminated with that year's final plea:

The gift by which a part of Isle Royale is made the property of the public is the beginning. The island must become a reservation, if not of the state, of the nation. Men of small brains may affect to see a few dollars of cost to the public. But the public as a whole will realize that the value of such a great natural park, stocked with faunal and floral treasures of the continent, is beyond estimation.¹²

¹¹Ibid., February 4, 1923, p. 8.

¹²Ibid., September 16, 1923, p. 6.

Five months passed before another Detroit News editorial appeared on the Isle Royale campaign. Extolling the land owners who had donated their property to the government for a park, Stoll cited statistics on how much land had been acquired and the proportion that yet needed to be ceded to the government. The transfer of land as a gift to the nation, the editorial stated, "requires a high type of patriotism in its owners." Expressing confidence in the character of the American citizenry, Stoll continued:

We believe that this patriotism exists and that no single owner will try to block this magnificent scheme by holding back in the expectation of securing, in the long run, a high price for his acreage, to come from those more public-spirited citizens who will not permit this wonderful opportunity to be lost.¹⁴

The Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, Horace M. Albright, who later became National Park Service Director, was the source for editorial comment on February 28, 1924. After visiting Isle Royale, Albright said the island was "one of its kind," since its location and ideal climate for moose and caribou made it "unique in the United States." Crediting Albright as being a good source because of his many years in the National Park Service, the editorial said:

This argues well for the future of Isle Royale as a tourist's attraction. In addition, what other national monument or park can boast of the superb and romantic setting of Isle Royale in the most magnificent of all of our inland seas? It stands without a peer.¹⁵

Several months later, when Stephen T. Mather, National Park Service Director, visited Isle Royale, the News published a lengthy

¹⁴Ibid., February 19, 1924, p. 8.

¹⁵Ibid., February 28, 1924, p. 6.

editorial headlined, appropriately enough, "Mather on Isle Royale." A brief account of Mather's career, "dedicated to exploring and preserving the natural beauties of the land in which he lives," was reviewed, followed by his reaction to the island. Mather declared that the size and grandeur of Isle Royale "surpassed his expectations" and that the island was the "finest water and trail park of his experience." The highlight of Mather's statements came when he insisted that "the miniature continent which is set like a jewel in the waters of Lake Superior should be a national park, a refuge and playground for all time, owned by the citizens of the United States." The editorial concluded:

The people of Michigan are proud that it is within their own State that this splendid natural possession is found, and will welcome the day when by formal action it becomes certified as the heritage forever of the American people.¹⁶

When Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work made a tour of the existing National Parks nearly one year later, the News commented on some of his statements in "It Fits Isle Royale." The editorial remarked on the applicability of one of Work's speeches to the Lake Superior island. Work had said that "the whole national park movement is based on the desire of man to commune with nature" and that there are only a "few areas, each of absorbing interest to the naturalists, and financial assets of great possibilities" left in the United States. A final comment by the editors related that efforts were being made to make Isle Royale a park of this nature and that "if Mr. Work brings it to fruition he will add to the national park system a region of beauty that cannot be duplicated anywhere else in the world."¹⁷

¹⁶Ibid., June 19, 1924, p. 10.

¹⁷Ibid., May 28, 1925, p. 8.

The National Park Service Director, an outspoken proponent of the Isle Royale National Park plan, was the subject of a second News editorial after he visited the Detroit area in August, 1925. Stephen T. Mather had commended the island for its "extraordinary scenery," its "beautiful camping potential," and its "ideal qualifications for a great national park." He had related the story of a man who recently rode a refrigerator car out to the coolness of the island because of a heart condition and hay fever, and had cited health conditions as "one of the many attractions of Isle Royale." Mather, predicting national park status for the island, said "the Great Lakes region ought to possess just such a place as Isle Royale, then make it a magnet and advertise it. Lovers of the outdoors will do the rest." The editorial noted these comments as evidence of "increasing federal interest in the island."¹⁸

The final editorial to support the Isle Royale project before the three-year lull began was published in the Detroit News on August 18, 1925, and had little to do with the movement itself. Headed "To Save the Grayling," the editorial suggested that Isle Royale, "Michigan's proposed national park," should be used to build up the native trout and grayling populations in the state. The News proposed that Isle Royale's lakes be stocked, "if the State is desirous of utilizing the finest waters it possesses for fish propagation and really wants to save from complete extermination the few remaining grayling now confined to the Otter River in Upper Michigan." Presence of an abundance of

¹⁸Ibid., August 5, 1925, p. 8.

these fish in the inland lakes of Isle Royale would "prove to be another one of the hundreds of tourist and scientific attractions in Michigan's proposed national park."¹⁹

When it was announced that Eugene F. McDonald, Chicago yachtsman and explorer, would sponsor a two-month expedition to the island nearly two-and-one-half years after that editorial, the Detroit News again resumed editorializing on the proposed park project. On January 20, 1928, in an editorial titled "Eyes on Isle Royale," the island was described as "that bit of fairyland in Lake Superior that the Government should make a national park." A summary of previous excursions and surveys made of the island was followed by the hopeful comment that "the investigation this July will increase the interest in Isle Royale and perhaps hasten its reservation and dedication as a playground for all the people."²⁰

Three days later, Stoll wrote an editorial, "Pitiless Superior," which commended the bravery of a young man who had rowed a boat across ice-ridden Lake Superior from Isle Royale to the mainland of Minnesota to take a sick man for medical care. Intended primarily as a publicity and human interest editorial column, the seven paragraphs of commendation also cited a story of three "experienced trappers" who stayed on the island during the winter of 1918 for three months without communication with civilization. The story became more intriguing when it was related that one of the men had to have an emergency "jack-knife appendectomy," and was nursed successfully through the winter by his two

¹⁹Ibid., August 18, 1925, p. 8.

²⁰Ibid., January 20, 1928, p. 10.

friends. These and many other stories "are part of the lore which abounds in Michigan's proposed national park," the editorial said.²¹

When the McDonald-Massee Isle Royale Archeological Expedition actually began in July, 1928, the News praised the island editorially in "Secrets of Isle Royale," stating that "no more fertile field could have been chosen for the expedition." Predicting that "this survey might provide the added publicity needed to achieve final national park status for the island," the editorial offered the opinion that "the island possesses everything that is dear to the heart of those who revel in ancient history, mystery and the study of nature at her best." Various theories on the island's history, estimating the arrival of the Indians on Isle Royale, were also included in the editorial.²²

The expedition sent several pleas to President Calvin Coolidge during the month of August, urging the preservation of Isle Royale as a national park. In "Safeguard Isle Royale," the Detroit News expressed the hope that Coolidge would act to save the island, because it "is improperly protected" under state control. Noting that "only two conservation officers are stationed on the entire island," the editorial admonished both the state and federal governments for "leaving the island at the mercy of the forest fire and the illegal hunter." A forest fire reported to the Conservation Commission prompted the concluding admonition, that "should a fire be allowed to destroy the timber growth upon Isle Royale, it will have taken away the finest and rarest wilderness possession in the United States." The editorial also provided

²¹Ibid., January 23, 1928, p. 12.

²²Ibid., July 21, 1928, p. 12.

examples of "extremely poor equipment and inadequate patrolling methods" that would continue to threaten the island until either the state or federal government took "an active interest in this irreplaceable island."²³

Isle Royale's unlimited potential for mystery and intrigue was described by the News in "The Records of Ancient Peoples," which pleaded for the preservation of the island, if for nothing else than that "Isle Royale, for the historian as well as the archeologist, is a book--precious beyond price and containing perhaps the revelation of the ancient arcana." Estimates were made in the editorial that the "area of the 132,000-acre book possibly have never been completely explored by white men and remain today as they were ages ago."²⁴

The Michigan Legislature began debate in April, 1929, over whether the State should finance a University of Michigan expedition to study and publicize Isle Royale. An editorial, "Our Proposed National Park," quoted William S. Birk, state representative from Baraga, who had "displayed a good deal of vision in statesmanship when he swung his influence to the support of the survey bill." The possible results of Birk's action were outlined by the News:

If the measure succeeds, as is part of its purpose, in influencing the Government to make Isle Royale a part of the National Park system, large benefits will come to the Upper Peninsula and to the district which Mr. Birk represents. The tourists attracted to the island park will not miss the unique scenic splendor of the UP and of Keweenaw Point whose rugged grandeur is of a piece with that of Isle Royale itself.²⁵

When eleven members of the Michigan Conservation Commission visited Isle Royale in August, 1929, an editorial, "Isle Royale Sold Itself,"

²³Ibid., August 19, 1928, p. 6.

²⁴Ibid., August 24, 1928, p. 6.

²⁵Ibid., April 19, 1929, p. 12.

appeared in the Detroit News. All of the commission members interviewed by the News had indicated their approval of the national park plan, and the editorial attempted to demonstrate how easily the island would "sell itself to all those who visit its shores":

Each one who has ever basked in the luxurious beauty of Isle Royale always leaves this natural wonderland with thoughts of returning to the ancient island as it was--preserved for future generations to enjoy. And this is certain to come about through its acquisition as a National Park.²⁶

As University of Michigan scientists returned from Isle Royale and released news of their discoveries, the News discussed them on its editorial page regularly. On October 15, 1929, the editors wrote about the "Mystery Island," that had yielded volumes of "most unusual and interesting data" during one summer's study. The editorial predicted that, as more of the returning scientists released their discoveries, more attention would be drawn to "the desirability of forever preserving this island as a National Park."²⁷

The first editorial eulogy on the Isle Royale campaign was written by Albert Stoll, Jr., News conservation editor, following the death of Stephen T. Mather, the first director of the National Park Service. Following the suggestion by the Stephen T. Mather Appreciation Committee that Isle Royale be acquired as a National Park bearing Mather's name, Stoll wrote "He Appreciated Isle Royale." Mather, "if alive and assured that neither 'Isle Royale' nor 'Benjamin Franklin' were acceptable as names for the park, would prefer that the park be named in honor of

²⁶Ibid., August 26, 1929, p. 10.

²⁷Ibid., October 15, 1929, p. 8.

Thomas F. Cole,"²⁸ a man who had volunteered to donate a large share of his holdings on the island to the federal government for park purposes, Stoll wrote.

The proposal that Isle Royale be surveyed by a Lansing aerial mapping crew received Detroit News approval in "Isle Royale from the Air." The survey, being discussed by Michigan legislators and University of Michigan scientists, was hailed as "a valuable and welcome addition to the fund of knowledge now being gathered by our scientists there." It was intimated that the mapping project "might provide much-needed impetus" in the Isle Royale park project and would give the world "the first accurate and authentic picture of this island of mysteries."²⁹

When U.S. Representative Louis C. Cranton of Michigan introduced a bill into the House of Representatives in February, 1931, the News expectantly published "Isle Royale Should Be a National Park." The goal that Stoll had been seeking so intensively was "almost a reality." The editorial urged that Cranton's bill, which stipulated that the island be designated a National Park as soon as enough of the private lands had been acquired, should be passed "to put the people of the U. S. on record through their representatives." If this legislation were enacted, the News deemed it "rather difficult" for private owners of property on Isle Royale to "defy the expressed sentiment of the people by doing anything to impair the natural advantages and re-

²⁸Ibid., February 21, 1930, p. 8.

²⁹Ibid., May 7, 1930, p. 10.

sources of the island." The editorial declared that only one thing would then be needed for Isle Royale to become a National Park:

An angel, some one or some group who will purchase most of the remaining land in private hands and present it to the Government, is all that would be necessary if this bill passes. The National Park Service will do the rest.³⁰

The Detroit News expressed no surprise on February 27, 1931, after National Park Service Director Horace M. Albright testified before the House Committee on Public Lands regarding the proposed Isle Royale project. An editorial indicated that Albright's testimony on the Lake Superior island almost had to be favorable, since "Isle Royale is ideally suited in every way to be included in our system of National Parks." Quoting excerpts from Albright's speeches before the committee, the News included such statements as, "Isle Royale has everything, and possibly a bit more, than the Service demands for entrance into this select circle" and "America possesses nothing else quite like this beautiful Lake Superior island."³¹

The first editorial to be published after the Vandenberg-Cramton Bill was passed by Congress and signed by President Hoover on March 3, 1931, appeared three days later, under the long-sought yet highly premature headline, "Isle Royale National Park." The congratulatory editorial was directed at the people of Michigan for the "consummation of an enterprise which enhances the State's reputation for exceptional recreational advantages." A list of the "innumerable attractions for tourists, scientists, students, etc.," was followed by

³⁰Ibid., February 2, 1931, p. 8.

³¹Ibid., February 27, 1931, p. 6.

a statement that indicated how relieved the campaigners were after the ten years of pressure involved in achieving that goal:

That now this wealth is reserved in perpetuity under protection of the Government of the United States for the benefit of all people, is matter for congratulation not only on the part of the people of Michigan and the people involved in the project, but also of the entire nation.³²

When a five-man Isle Royale National Park Commission was appointed by Governor Wilber M. Brucker in early July, 1931, Stoll wrote a favorable editorial, "A Splendid Commission." The commission would be vested with the power to acquire lands on Isle Royale for donation by the State of Michigan to the National Park Service and the News agreed with the Governor's selection:

The personnel of the Isle Royale National Park Commission just appointed by Governor Brucker is such that the island will become operative as a national park within a very short time. It would be difficult for the Governor to select a more outstanding commission or one more representative of the finest business minds in the State.

What is more gratifying is that no attempt was made in the selection of the members of this commission to pay off any political obligations, which in itself is an indication of the importance Governor Brucker attaches to this National Park project, which is bound to benefit Michigan from a tourist-drawing standpoint more than any other recreation project every conceived.³³

The estimated value of the Isle Royale project was elaborated again in an editorial quoting Michigan's U. S. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg in "Michigan's Greatest Single Outdoor Asset." The Senator, who "played a leading role in having Congress declare Isle Royale a national park," made this statement in a recent conversation with Stoll, the editorial said:

The importance of this project to Michigan simply cannot be over-emphasized. This will be our first national park. It is destined

³²Ibid., March 6, 1931, p. 6.

³³Ibid., July 3, 1931, p. 8.

to be one of the greatest, if not the greatest, and most popular of all of our national parks. I expect to see the Isle Royale National Park become Michigan's greatest single outdoor asset and one of America's most popular objectives.³⁴

The editorial then proceeded to list several persons who were also instrumental in "achieving the goal thus far." The closing paragraph was a tribute to Stephen T. Mather, first National Park Service Director, who died the year before: "To him will go a great share of the credit for Isle Royale's absorption into our national park system."³⁵

The last Detroit News editorial on the Isle Royale project to appear in 1931 was headed "Isle Royale." Arno Cammerer, acting director of the National Park Service, was quoted as saying that Isle Royale was one of the most desirable areas for a park that he was acquainted with. Cammerer noted, also, that of the nearly one hundred sites east of the Mississippi River suggested as national recreational areas in the "past few years" only five had survived investigation--"the Smoky Mountains, Shenandoah Valley, Everglades, Mammoth Cave and Isle Royale." He said that he considered the latter "to be the better." The editorial concluded Cammerer's statements with the complimentary comment: "that is a high government official's sensible appraisal of this charming Lake Superior island which has been eagerly sought as a national park since the late Stephen T. Mather, our first national park director, laid eyes on it."³⁶

During the first ten years of the Isle Royale National Park campaign, the Detroit News had consistently supported it editorially. The next fifteen years were to find more participation in activities privately on the part of News reporters than in editorial comment intended to persuade, but the backing was still there "behind the scenes."

³⁴Ibid., July 12, 1931, p. 12.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid., July 17, 1931, p. 8.

VII. OPPOSITION

Opinion was far from unanimous on the desirability of making Michigan's Isle Royale a National Park during the decade between the beginnings of the campaign until its legal conclusion in 1931. Albert Stoll, Jr., Detroit News conservation editor and the primary moving force behind the campaign, was prematurely optimistic in a feature story published January 22, 1922, when he wrote:

Little did the writer think when this project was first suggested that it would meet with such instant approval. So far there has been no one found who is not in favor of making Isle Royale a State Park."¹

As the movement wore on, these words probably flashed before him many times as he discovered that there were adamant opponents to the project on all sides of him.

Probably the most influential and most verbose opponent of the Isle Royale National Park movement was located within walking distance of the News--the Detroit Free Press. Stoll was aware of the opinion of the outspoken opposition newspaper and had many conversations about it with his colleague and fellow News reporter, Lee A. White. In a letter from White to William F. F. Ferguson, editor of the Franklin, Pennsylvania, News-Herald, on January 30, 1923, White related a recent

¹Detroit News, January 22, 1922, p. 6.

conversation he had shared with Stoll about the Free Press and concluded:

The Free Press has gradually quieted down, having said more than it had to say. From time to time, it interviews nonentities and unknowns to further substantiate its conviction that nobody wants the island made a park; but that is all the thrill it can get out of its ill-favored war.²

One of the "nonentities" that White might have been referring to was Professor Russell Watson of the University of Michigan forestry department, who was interviewed by the Free Press on January 13--two weeks before White's letter. The interview, headlined "Raps Proposal to Buy Royale," a typical Free Press story on the subject during that period, quoted Russell Watson as saying that money could be spent by the State for much more worthwhile projects than the acquisition of Isle Royale. Emphasizing that "a timber famine will take place in the United States within the next 50 years," Russell Watson continued:

Relative to the proposed purchase by the state of Isle Royale, I believe that the \$4 million might be put to better use in the upbuilding of Michigan forests, though the acquisition of the Superior island might be valuable from the standpoint of biology and research.³

On February 3, 1923, the Free Press carried a front-page story, headlined "Opposes Park at Isle Royale." George H. Bishop of Marquette, secretary-manager of the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau, "the association which put 'Cloverland' on the map," was a news source highly critical of the park plan:

Northern Michigan now has four state parks, the fuller development of which would be far more practical than the acquisition of Isle Royale for park purposes.

²Letter from Lee A. White to William P. F. Ferguson, January 30, 1923, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

³Detroit Free Press, January 13, 1923, p. 1.

Only a small fraction of the state's citizens ever would find it possible to visit Isle Royale. It is a more expensive undertaking than the average citizen can afford in his vacation period. Use of Isle Royale is and always will be restricted largely to the owners of yachts and other means of conveyance.

Grand Island in Munising Bay should be acquired for a park, since it is also 'unmarred by man' and is much more accessible.

Practically nothing has been done to preserve or develop the four existing state parks. If the state wants to undertake practical conservation and park development, it can do so without a large expenditure and can make these parks invaluable to the average citizen who has little present or future hope of ever visiting Isle Royale.⁴

An editorial in the Detroit News the next day, referring to "noisy obstructionists who for some obscure reason choose to describe Isle Royale as an inaccessible waste without being hampered by personal experience or reliable information in the matter," was a public reply to the "unknowledgeable harassment" of the Free Press and other public critics of the park project. The daring editorial listed several reasons why readers could "discount the imaginings of any opponent of the project who patently desires no acquaintance with the truth"-- a statement made in a recent "Letter to the Editor." The editorial comment concluded with these two paragraphs from the "Letter to the Editor," one of many "animated by the spirit of the movement":

The proposition that the state must sink some fabulous sum into Isle Royale is a straw man being kicked up and down the state. No such expedient is necessary.

The fight for Isle Royale is being supported by informed, honest and reasonable citizens. There are no indications that reason, information or interestedness enter into the case of those who oppose the salvage of this truly glorious natural heritage.⁵

⁴Ibid., February 3, 1923, p. 1.

⁵Detroit News, February 4, 1923, p. 8.

On May 5, 1923, the Free Press leveled some serious accusations at the "mysterious agitators" who were "instigating" the Isle Royale park project. An editorial, "That Isle Royale Scheme," suggested that in "getting to the meat of the agitation," there were probably many interested parties who "stand to gain a considerable profit from this sale to the state." Frank A. Osborn, a former state representative, was quoted in the editorial as opposing Governor Alexander J. Groesbeck's endorsement of the park project. Asking, "What do we want Isle Royale for?" the editorial suggested that "Mr. Osborn and the taxpaying public are entitled to an answer from Governor Groesbeck or the mysterious motivating force back of the agitation for using the people's money to make a park out of an isolated inaccessible island in Lake Superior 45 miles from the closest Michigan mainland and only 12 miles from Canada." The editorial then listed reasons why Isle Royale would be a poor choice for a park:

Granted Isle Royale's 132,000 acres of swamp and forest have a primeval woodland charm, why should tax money of the Detroit factory worker or Kalamazoo County farmer, be it federal or state tax, be expended to create there a playground for a highly privileged few, who alone will be able to reach it?

The island, "unmarred by man," has hardly more than one-fourth mile of bathing beach, and they are hardy souls indeed, who relish a plunge, even in midsummer, in Lake Superior's icy depths.

Altogether, the pressure for an Isle Royale state or national park, in the face of national and state efforts toward tax reductions, is, in fact, a request for public expenditure which can only be catalogued as extravagance.⁶

One of the most violent editorials published by the Free Press during the campaign period appeared early in April, 1924. Written after Calvin Coolidge's Executive Order had withdrawn Isle Royale lands from public

⁶Detroit Free Press, May 5, 1923, p. 6.

sale, the editorial charged that "somebody in the midst of all this agitation and opportunity for generosity, is sitting tight, waiting to put the deal over." Arguments that the island was generally inaccessible and, for the most part, useless land, were expounded upon throughout this lead editorial which was nearly twelve inches long:

The persistent propaganda for the transformation of Isle Royale into a state, or failing that, into a national park, is a mysterious movement without any apparently adequate cause.) For regardless of what may be the natural beauties of the island, it is a highly inaccessible spot except for a very few people during a very short season. At the most, it must always remain a transient playground for a limited, privileged class. It never can be a general resort for the people, as a public park maintained at public expense ought to be.

Nevertheless, those who are pushing the Isle Royale plan go doggedly ahead with their program for putting the deal over. They now have persuaded the national government to withdraw federal land on the island from sale, and the Michigan Conservation Commission to do the same with regard to state lands.

Though one-half of the island has allegedly been acquired for the project, what about the other half of the island? It presumably will be purchased by either the United States or Michigan. The land, however, is practically worthless. Those who bought it were "stuck."

Is somebody trying to put over a public park scheme for somebody because it is the only visible way in which this worthless land that bears only taxes, can be made to acquire market value?⁷

"Cruise Is So Much Fun, Some Miss Boat Back" was the Free Press headline above David B. Stewart's story on the Detroit Board of Commerce cruise to Isle Royale by five hundred members in June, 1924. The story criticized the cruise and its purposes:

Some of the statements made by the lecturers afforded much amusement to the summer residents of Isle Royale. It was stated that there was a herd of 500 caribou on the island, and the islanders laughed when they heard of it.

⁷Ibid., April 2, 1924, p. 8.

The propagandist was insistent, even to the point of trying to get the cruisers to declare themselves in favor of the national park scheme, but it met with little success. The disadvantages of the island, like impossibility of road, bad winters, and innumerable others, had such weight with the Detroit men that the majority of them refused to give their support to the scheme, even after pressure was brought to bear on them by the hospitable summer people.⁸

This general tone persisted in the Free Press editorials and news columns throughout the remainder of the campaign. When the Cramton-Vandenberg Bill was enacted into law in 1931, enabling Isle Royale to become a National Park when enough land was acquired for the government, the Free Press did not comment on it editorially, and ran the Associated Press story on President Hoover's signing of the bill on March 3, 1931. The editors remained relatively quiet on the subject, as did the Detroit News, for the next four years, during which time the nation had elected a new president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in an attempt to overcome the Great Depression.

When it was suggested that Roosevelt might appropriate \$700,000 of Public Works Administration (PWA) money for the acquisition of lands on Isle Royale in July, 1935, the Free Press took its last long stand against the project. A story headlined "Roosevelt Gets Protest on Isle," appeared in the Free Press on July 17. Democratic Representative Frank E. Hook of Ironwood commented that many Michigan people were objecting to the proposal. Hook said that "the money should be spent to get the people in my area off relief, rather than on Isle Royale." He said he would "protest vigorously the allocation of these funds."⁹

The Keweenaw County Board of Supervisors created material for many Free Press stories and editorials in late July, when it came out

⁸Ibid., June 17, 1924, p. 1.

⁹Ibid., July 17, 1935, p. 1.

publicly against the park plan. Charging that the county would lose money if Isle Royale were made federal property and taken off the county tax rolls, Will T. King, chairman of the board, stated there were "hints of sinister influences." King related the board's fear that "wealthy Isle Royale land owners hope to unload the land at the Federal Government's expense, retaining by leases control of the resort advantages of the island."¹⁰

A Free Press editorial the next day, "A Railway to the Moon," characterized the proposed federal purchase of Isle Royale as "wasteful absurdity." The editorial, supporting the Keweenaw County supervisors, listed the "many disadvantages" of the plan, such as the island's inaccessibility, the cold Lake Superior water, rocky shores, and potential injury to parks and resorts already developed on the mainland. The criticism concluded:

The expenditure of \$700,000 on a railway to the moon would be no sillier than the same amount spent on the Isle Royale project, whose benefits, if any, according to the Keweenaw Supervisors, would redound to absentee property owners on the island rather than to the public.

Senator Vandenberg, who has recently loaned his name to the project, appears to have allowed a politician's eagerness to make new friends or retain old ones, to lure him into indorsing a pork-barrel scheme, about the merits of which he seems to be completely ignorant.¹¹

After receiving a caustic letter of response from Vandenberg, the Free Press published a second editorial about the plan on July 31. Headlined "We're Still Unconvinced," the editorial criticized Vandenberg and the park plan, noting that "we cannot justify the expenditure of

¹⁰Ibid., July 25, 1935, p. 4.

¹¹Ibid., July 26, 1935, p. 8.

\$700,000 to create a National Park on remote and inaccessible Isle Royale." Charging that there were definite errors in Vandenberg's reasoning, the editorial concluded:

If the gentlemen who own the timber and other natural resources on Isle Royale and can't work them profitably because of remoteness and the cost of bridging the ravines that make the island so picturesque, would develop it as a park and then present it to the National Government, that would be quite a different thing from their unloading a WHITE ELEPHANT onto the taxpayers.

And if those who want a National Park on Isle Royale will restrain their impatient enthusiasm a little longer, taxation may induce these gentlemen to do something of the sort.¹²

When the Keweenaw County Board of Supervisors publicly retracted its opposition to the park plan, the Free Press ran a front-page story headlined "Politics Played on Isle Royale." The editorialized news story asserted that James "Big Jim" McNaughton, president of the Calumet and Hecla Copper Company, had pressured the supervisors because "his affiliate companies are the key to future mining employment in the area." The cease fire resolution, as it was called, was prompted entirely by McNaughton, the story said, "as evidenced by the fact that none of the still objecting individuals will brook his ire by public opposition." Charging that "convincing economic logic" had little or nothing to do with the board's counter-decision, the editorial concluded:

The political pork note was sounded by McNaughton in addressing the Supervisors, since he said essentially that area residents should grab the money now while it is being offered.

McNaughton held a trump card, however, in spite of earlier resolutions and objections--his companies pay 60 per cent of taxes on mainland properties.

The pressure finally had its effect, however, and it was decided to "play ball" and take advantage of the \$700,000 handout. Many members refrained from voting when the about-face resolution was put to the test.¹³

¹²Ibid., July 31, 1935, p. 8.

¹³Ibid., August 3, 1935, p. 1.

One week later, however, after Roosevelt had signed the executive edict appropriating the money for Isle Royale, the Free Press published a last vehement argument of opposition, headed "Just Another Example." The terse editorial was aimed at the Roosevelt administration more than at the park project:

An executive edict sets apart \$705,000 of unexpended FWA funds for the purchase of Isle Royale as a National Park. And millions of dollars will have to be expended on the improvement of this remote and inaccessible island if it is to attract tourists and create any revenue.

The money given the FWA by Congress was never intended to finance any such chimerical project.

The purchase of Isle Royale at this time is just another illustration of the recklessness with which the New Dealers are wasting public money and of their lack of honesty in obtaining funds for one purpose, then spending them for another purpose.¹⁴

The Detroit News, of course, was not standing idly by, reading the Free Press criticisms and not answering them. After supporting and encouraging Vandenberg's request to Roosevelt for Isle Royale money in "That Isle Royale Project" on May 5, 1935, the News continued to back the Republican senator after the Free Press attack. On July 24, in "Vandenberg Is Right," the editors lauded the senator's reply to the Keweenaw supervisors and Representative Hook, who had been "short-sighted and inimical to the best welfare of their own community." The editorial agreed with Vandenberg that within a year, the National Park would "create a tourist revenue so much in excess of the small amount of tax money now received that the supervisors will wonder why they ever were opposed to the idea." The editorial then proceeded to cite a series

¹⁴Ibid., August 10, 1935, p. 8.

of "facts" and theories applicable to the supervisors' opposition:

Tax revenue annually amounts to approximately \$10,000 from Isle Royale lands. If the island is a National Park and won't bring in 10 times that amount annually within a few years, then National Park administrators don't know what they are talking about; and their guess is based on the experience of every community where National Parks have been created.

To find a community in Michigan as tourist-hungry as Keweenaw County objecting to exchanging a mere pittance in tax money for hundreds of thousands of tourist dollars, is beyond understanding.¹⁵

When the supervisors withdrew their objections to the project, the News countered the Free Press admonition with an editorial full of praise for the move. In "Keweenaw Supervisors Change Views," the editorial applauded the reversal as "evidence that these men have the best interests of that peninsula and county at heart." A final bit of approval for the supervisors' action was expressed as follows:

Their protests to the President were based solely on a misunderstanding and they now realize, after mature investigation and thought, that the creation of this National Park in Lake Superior will eventually mean a revenue from tourist traffic that will far offset any tax revenue that might accrue from the land owners on the island.

By their action they have assured Keweenaw County a future tourist industry that will make the community one of the most proper and prosperous in the state, and which will bring to Michigan a National Park with possibilities unequalled in continental United States.¹⁶

Thus the most violent phase of opposition between two different philosophies and value systems had come to a close. Though by no means a comprehensive account of all active opposition to the Detroit News plan, the Free Press was intended to be representative of the dissenting voice of the American public.

¹⁵Detroit News, July 24, 1935, p. 6.

¹⁶Ibid., August 1, 1935, p. 6.

VIII. LAND ACQUISITION

As early as November 25, 1921, Albert Stoll, Jr., was making inquiries into the ownership of lands on Isle Royale in Lake Superior. It was not until April 5, 1940, that Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes accepted the title to these lands from the State of Michigan, and it was August 28, 1946, before Isle Royale was actually dedicated and officially opened as a National Park. During this twenty-five-year period, Stoll wrote hundreds of letters, sent scores of telegrams, traveled thousands of miles, and carried on innumerable conversations in an attempt to have Isle Royale designated as a National Park. Not the least of these endeavors was the acquisition of land to be donated to the federal government--an activity in which Stoll played a most instrumental role.

The first known correspondence carried on by Stoll was with C. V. R. Townsend, land agent of the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company of Negaunee, Michigan, on November 25, 1921. In response to Stoll's inquiry, Townsend replied three days later that he had no list of ownership on Isle Royale, but listed an Emmet H. Scott of LaPorte, Indiana, to whom Stoll might write for more information.¹ Thus began a seemingly endless chain of correspondence to various persons who would possibly have been knowledgeable on the subject.

¹Letter from C. V. R. Townsend to Albert Stoll, Jr., November 28, 1921, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

A letter from Stoll to Scott on December 1, 1921, was answered the next day by the elderly LaPorte, Indiana, man who had "only visited Isle Royale once since the 1880s" and who owned "about 1,800 acres of the island."² Scott also listed several other possibilities for prospective owners to whom Stoll also sent letters of inquiry. The first positive information received by Stoll, however, came from William R. Bennets, Keweenaw County Clerk and Register of Deeds, and F.W. Nichols of the Island Copper Company, Houghton, who both provided itemized lists of ownership on the island in early December. Nichols, speaking for his company, which owned 92,000 acres of the island, was optimistic about possible cession of the company's holdings in a letter to Stoll on January 6, 1922:

Regarding your inquiry as to what our company would expect from the State of Michigan for our 92,000 acres of land, I will say that I have no authority to make a statement of the value placed upon it, although I have reason to believe that our holdings could be purchased, with mineral and mining reservations, at less than half a million dollars.³

After nearly two years of persistent investigation of ownership by Stoll with little positive response, the Citizens' Committee of Isle Royale wrote him on August 24, 1923, offering to do "anything in our power" to accomplish federal control of the island and to prevent an invasion of timber cutters, "who will mar and eventually destroy the natural beauties and animal life of the forests and gradually increase the risks from destruction of life and property by the ravages of fire."

²Letter from Emmet Scott to Albert Stoll, Jr., December 2, 1921, ibid.

³Letter from F. W. Nichols to Albert Stoll, Jr., January 6, 1922, ibid.

The committee, "owning all the land on the northeasterly portion of the main island" had consented to give "to the United States all that part of the island east of said line for a park or park purposes."⁴

With this bit of information as inspiration, Stoll continued to search for official information on how much land was owned by the state and federal governments and on who owned the private lands. A letter from George C. Jackman of the U. S. Land Office, Marquette, on September 27, 1923, indicated that the federal government owned 9,121 acres of the island, while state-owned lands totaled about 3,000 acres.⁵

When Thomas F. Cole of the Island Copper Company wrote on October 3 that his company would donate a total of 21,243 acres, "excluding mineral rights which may have to be exploited at some time in the future when the U. S. runs out of copper," Stoll undoubtedly had several moments of ecstasy. Cole also wrote that his company had sold more than 66,556 acres recently to George Rupley of Duluth, Minnesota, a representative of the Minnesota Forest Products Company. This was the man who would cause Stoll more heartache and frustration than anyone else during the entire campaign, though Cole described him as "a true conservationist who could persuade his associates to be reasonable."⁶

Further incentive for Stoll's personal motivation was provided by a letter from E. B. Tinney, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, on November 6, 1923. By not making an outright negative reply to Stoll's

⁴Letter from the Citizens' Committee of Isle Royale to Albert Stoll, Jr., August 24, 1923, ibid.

⁵Letter from George C. Jackman to Albert Stoll, Jr., September 27, 1923, ibid.

⁶Letter from Thomas F. Cole to Albert Stoll, Jr., October 3, 1923, ibid.

inquiry, Tinney had thus encouraged him:

The fact that such a large part of the island is over private ownership practically precludes its reservation as a National Park or National Monument as Congress has consistently refused up to the present to appropriate funds for the acquisition of lands for park purposes. However, your letter will be brought to the attention of the appropriate authorities who will communicate with you directly on the matter.⁷

A letter from Arno B. Cammerer, Acting Director of the National Park Service, on December 23, was written in the same helpless tone:

Conceding for the sake of argument that the island's scenic possibilities might justify its study for National Park purposes, the problem of so many private holdings would seem to bar its consideration altogether for National Park purposes.⁸

Not discouraged by the disheartening character of these letters, Stoll arranged with the Mass Washington correspondent, Jay C. Hayden, for attempts to be made to arrange a federal excursion to the island, including possible Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work and National Park Service Director Stephen T. Mather. Meanwhile, Stoll was working in Michigan to convince Governor Alexander J. Greenbeck "and/or Henry Ford" to extend a formal invitation to federal officials.

The Detroit Mass conservation editor displayed a degree of impatience with the Secretary of the Interior, after the former made a trip to Washington, D. C. in early February, 1924, to discuss the project with Work and Mather. In a letter to Work on February 17, Stoll pleaded for "a sign, either of interest or disinterest" in Isle Royale from the federal authorities. Explaining that "56,361 acres of the total 132,000 acres are available to the federal government

⁷Letter from E. B. Tinney to Albert Stoll, Jr., November 5, 1923, ibid.

⁸Letter from Arno B. Cammerer to Albert Stoll, Jr., December 23, 1923, ibid.

1. The first part of the unit covers the basic concepts of algebra, including the use of variables and the order of operations. This is followed by a section on linear equations and functions, which introduces the concept of a straight line and how to graph it. The next section deals with quadratic equations and functions, showing how to solve for the roots of a quadratic equation and how to graph a parabola. The final part of the unit covers the basics of trigonometry, including the use of the sine, cosine, and tangent functions to solve problems involving triangles.

2. The second part of the unit focuses on the geometry of circles and polygons. It starts with a review of the properties of circles, such as the circumference and area, and then moves on to the properties of polygons, including the sum of interior angles and the classification of different types of polygons. This section also introduces the concept of similar figures and how to use them to solve problems involving lengths and areas.

3. The third part of the unit covers the basics of probability and statistics. It starts with a review of the basic concepts of probability, such as the probability of an event occurring and the probability of two events occurring together. This is followed by a section on statistics, which introduces the concepts of mean, median, and mode, and shows how to use these measures to describe a distribution of data. The final part of the unit covers the basics of combinatorics, including the use of permutations and combinations to count the number of ways to arrange objects.

4. The fourth part of the unit covers the basics of calculus, including the concept of a derivative and how to use it to find the maximum and minimum values of a function. This section also introduces the concept of an integral and how to use it to find the area under a curve. The final part of the unit covers the basics of differential equations, showing how to solve for the solution of a differential equation.

without cost" and that the "remainder will be secured without cost to the government if possible," Stoll insisted that parties working on the Isle Royale project had to know "whether it can ever be brought to fruition."⁹

Secretary Work's response to Stoll's letter had profound implications for the future success of the park project. He wrote, in a letter dated February 15, 1924, after having seen movies of the island taken by the Michigan Department of Conservation and shown by Stoll on his trip to Washington, that it might be possible for Isle Royale to achieve park status. In supporting Stoll's plan, Work said:

If practically all of the holdings on the island can be secured for gift to the United States, upon tender of title to these lands, I will be pleased to exercise the power vested in me by law to accept the gift and will recommend to the President that he establish a National Monument to preserve them in their natural condition.

The fine work of the Detroit News in actively promoting the preservation of this island for the benefit and use of the people of the entire United States is most commendable. This is a splendid project which should be encouraged in every way possible, and the News, and all who are cooperating with it, have my best wishes for the success of the enterprise.¹⁰

Attacking the job of acquiring the land with renewed vigor after this announcement, Stoll soon obtained promises of land from several minor landholders and a concession from Scott of LaPorte to sell his "1,336.4 acres at \$2.25 per acre plus taxes which have been paid on them since 1905, though I would like to retain several points and islands for my heirs."¹¹ From the time of that achievement in March, 1924, until actual cession of lands to the federal government sixteen years later in April, 1940, Stoll encountered little but disappointment in reaching his goal.

⁹Letter from Albert Stoll, Jr., to Hubert Work, February 17, 1924, *ibid.*

¹⁰Letter from Hubert Work to Albert Stoll, Jr., February 19, 1924, *ibid.*

¹¹Letter from Emmet Scott to Albert Stoll, Jr., March 7, 1924,

The major force blocking the successful culmination of state acquisition of land was George Rupley and the Minnesota Forest Products Company he represented. Rupley, who had allegedly convinced Mrs. Walter Singer, widow of the founder of Singersville on Isle Royale, "to ask \$30,000 for her land which she had originally offered for \$7,500," had apparently been planning to profit on the island becoming a national park.¹² Thomas H. Cole, donor of the Island Copper Company holdings on Isle Royale and a personal acquaintance of Rupley, wrote the latter two caustic letters--one on July 3 and one on July 15--and sent carbon copies of these formal reprimands to Stoll. Cole was very "upset" with Rupley and severely criticized him for "being a sinister mercenary and trying to make that venality contagious to virtuous people."¹³

These and other criticisms of Rupley had no effect, however, because less than two months later, the representative of Minnesota Forest Products Company blatantly declared that his company would be willing to sell for a figure that was eventually proved to be more than a two million dollar profit for holding his land less than two years. The letter, described later by Stoll as "depressing," explained:

We have demonstrated at our satisfaction that, by operating Isle Royale as a unit carrying its own overhead charges (that is, severing it from our property on the Minnesota mainland and the attendant economies) we can realize a net return from the timber of well over Four Million Dollars (\$4,000,000.00).

Our company realizes the desirability of putting this beautiful property into the National Park system and to further this end is willing to make a very magnificent contribution.

¹²Letter from Stephen T. Mather, National Park Service Director, to Albert Stoll, Jr., June 19, 1924, ibid.

¹³Letters from Thomas H. Cole to George Rupley, July 3 and July 15, 1924, ibid.

I am authorized to sell our entire Isle Royale holding for National Park (and no other) purposes for the sum of Two Million Five Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$2,500,000).

If you are still interested, we can doubtless get together on details. Best wishes for your success.¹⁴

After informing the National Park Service authorities of Rupley's proposal and writing and outraged letter to Rupley himself, Stoll began investigating the possibility of having the island property condemned, but to no avail. Writing to Mather on March 16, 1925, Stoll appeared to be in a low, yet dimly optimistic, frame of mind.¹⁵ Indicating that the News was still attempting to persuade Rupley to concede the land at a more reasonable price, Stoll wrote:

The situation has remained unchanged since I wrote to you last and, although discouraging to a certain degree, I still felt that eventually Isle Royale will become a National Park.

At this point, however, our only choice seems to be either paying the outrageous \$2.5 million for the 70,000 acres or condemning the holdings through the State of Michigan.

We have no intention of abandoning the cause, merely because of difficulty in acquiring the holdings of the Minnesota Forest Products Company. The matter has already progressed more rapidly than one might reasonably have expected, considering the stupendous size of the project. The News will continue earnestly to advocate and strive toward the accomplishment of its purpose, and will go to any reasonable length to that end.¹⁶

Rupley, unconvinced by conversations with federal officials during an excursion to the island arranged by Stoll, communication with Stoll during 1925, or any other type of persuasion, generally avoided mention of the proposed purchase, until the News writer bluntly asked in early October, 1925, if the company's decision was final. In a letter

¹⁴Letter from George Rupley to Albert Stoll, Jr., September 6, 1924, ibid.

¹⁵Letter from Albert Stoll, Jr., to Stephen T. Mather, March 16, 1925, ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

dated October 19, 1925, Rupley replied: "I am sorry that matters took the turn they did but am not greatly surprised." He then proceeded to enumerate the reasons why the company had been as noble as it possibly could be in the Isle Royale matter:

My associates, than whom there are none wiser or better informed along this line, originally set the price at what they know they can get by operating. I succeeded in having them reduce this price 50 per cent on the condition that the property should be used perpetually as a public park.

In writing you, I called this a magnificent offer. I here repeat the statement adding that the magnificence is the greater because, by reason of their anonymity, my associates could not receive public recognition of their beneficence. I am pleased with their action and that my efforts contributed thereto and feel that they and I have done our utmost.

It will be a tragedy for Isle Royale to be denuded of its timber, but there is apparently no other outcome. We shall undoubtedly prepare for early operation there. There is too much capital tied up to remain long idle, eaten night and day by interest and other charges.¹⁷

Several months later, however, Park Service Director Mather provided evidence that all of the lumber included on the tract owned by Minnesota Forest Products Company was not valued at even four hundred thousand dollars. Enclosing an official timber estimate in a letter to Stoll on February 12, 1926, Mather suggested that this information might "help convince Rupley that his price is outrageous, especially since no lumbering operation could make even this much money in an area so dislocated from the mainland." Mather concluded that:

With the values given as a basis, it seems, if your people are willing to go ahead with this project, you should be able to make a deal with Mr. Rupley. In the event that you still find him hard to deal with, the values given in this timber estimate might be used in having the State go ahead with condemnation proceedings.

I trust that you will be able to make good progress on the Isle Royale project from now on.¹⁸

¹⁷Letter from George Rupley to Albert Stoll, Jr., October 19, 1925, ibid.

¹⁸Letter from Stephen T. Mather to Albert Stoll, Jr., February 12, 1926, ibid.

Responding to Mather's letter four days later, Stoll informed the federal official that the Michigan Conservation Commission, with the approval of the Governor, would, if necessary, invoke "the enabling act provided for in the act creating the Michigan Department of Conservation," whereby the commission "can, at any time, condemn private lands for purposes of establishing parks, game reserves or forest areas." Stoll explained why the process might be desirable:

Inasmuch as there is no such enabling act allowing the Federal Government the same privilege, it is understood between the men signing this agreement and ourselves that in the event of condemnation of the Isle Royale properties, the land will be condemned in the name of the State of Michigan and paid for by private parties with whom I am now in touch and after the condemnation has been consummated, the State of Michigan will deed to the National Park Service all the lands condemned with the stipulation that it is to be used for National Park purposes.¹⁹

A letter from Mather to Stoll less than a month later related the final action Rupley had taken in the Isle Royale matter before Rupley died on New Year's Day, 1928. Mather had been informed that the property of Mrs. Walter Singer, being "handled by Rupley, had been sold to a private Kansas City club for \$30,000." The National Park Service director deplored the action, writing:

It looks to me as though Mr. Rupley has been trading on the publicity which Isle Royale has been getting for its preservation as a national reserve. This is disappointing to me, unless this property could also be included in condemnation proceedings before the Kansas City people have really taken possession. It is an ideal location for an administrative site and the buildings there would be admirably adapted to the purpose. If private developments like this are not headed off, it would be very hard for us to carry through the original plan.²⁰

¹⁹Letter from Albert Stoll, Jr., to Stephen T. Mather, February 26, 1926, *ibid.*

²⁰Letter from Stephen T. Mather to Albert Stoll, Jr., March 3, 1926, *ibid.*

Frank M. Warren of Minneapolis wrote to Stoll about activities of the Minnesota Forest Products Company after Rupley's death in a letter dated February 25, 1928. Offering the opinion that an E. W. Backus was the "sinister figure behind Rupley and the Minnesota Forest Products Company," he then related the activities of the company:

Since Rupley's death, they have closed the Duluth office as they are buying no more land. A lawyer, Frank P. Sheldon, says that he himself is now looking after the matters of the company, which now has no activities. I suppose that they have bought all of the timber and lands which they desire at the present time and are just sitting pat. Sheldon was the president of the company and may be now.²¹

No further developments on land acquisition ensued until after President Hoover had signed the bill designating Isle Royale a National Park contingent upon the cession of a satisfactory amount of the land on the island to the federal government. Horace M. Albright, appointed National Park Service Director after the death of Mather, suggested to Stoll that Michigan might create a commission to acquire the necessary lands soon after the Cramton-Vandenberg Bill was signed.²² This idea was passed on to Governor Wilber Brucker by Stoll in early April and a five-man board was appointed as the Isle Royale National Park Commission on May 28, 1931.²³ The board, officially activated on July 2, consisted of James McNaughton of Calumet, president of the Calumet and Hecla Copper Company; Edsel Ford of the Ford Motor Company; former U.S. Senator William Alden Smith of Grand Rapids; Harry F. Harper of Lansing, president of the Motor Wheel Corporation and of the Michigan Isaac Walton

²¹Letter from Frank M. Warren to Albert Stoll, Jr., February 25, 1928, *ibid.*

²²Letter from Horace M. Albright to Albert Stoll, Jr., March 18, 1931, *ibid.*

²³Detroit News, May 28, 1931, p. 1.

League; and William H. Wallace of Saginaw, chairman of the Michigan Conservation Commission during the six-year administration of Governor Groesbeck.²⁴ The board, with Stoll as "technical adviser," appeared to be relatively inactive during the following two years.

After Arno B. Cammerer, an ardent Isle Royale fan, was appointed as National Park Service Director to succeed the ailing Albright on July 7, 1933, the process of acquiring Isle Royale might have been completed much sooner if the nation were not in the depths of the worst depression it had ever known. On December 29, 1933, U. S. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Grand Rapids, wrote to Stoll in the manner that many letters were being written at that time: "The depression has taken its toll in progress toward Isle Royale's National Park status since NO state commission could have hoped to finance a park project during the last two or three years." Vague mention was made of a "federal emergency program that Isle Royale might get in on."²⁵ A letter from Stoll to Frank M. Warren one week earlier had indicated that, "though I am not at liberty to give you details at this time, suffice it to say that special funds might be supplied the island by a special Reconstruction Finance Corporation fund."²⁶ When it had been suggested in October that Isle Royale might get National Recovery Administration (NRA) funds, Vandenberg had written of the valid fear that Stoll was against publicizing it:

I understand your fear is that if this matter is made public, there will be a general scramble all over the country which will jeopardize the entire budget. That might well be. On the other

²⁴Ibid., July 2, 1931, p. 1.

²⁵Letter from Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, to Albert Stoll, Jr., December 29, 1933, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

²⁶Letter from Albert Stoll, Jr., to Frank M. Warren, December 22, 1933, ibid.

hand, I am wondering whether the time has not come when the organization of public opinion pressure ought not to be laid at the White House door.²⁷

A Detroit News story on January 6, 1934, "Fund Allotted to Isle Royale," gave the first public evidence of impending federal purchase of the island. Senator Vandenberg, the story reported, had revealed that he had assurance that \$350,000 can be obtained as a grant from the Public Works Administration to complete acquisition of Isle Royale as a national park." The story briefly outlined the recent history of the project:

Resurrection of the park project, which has been almost moribund for the last two years, came about with the allocation of \$20 million from the PWA fund for purchase of national forests. The suggestion of NPS Director Cammerer was taken that some of this money be used to complete existing national park projects.

Soon after a commission was appointed to acquire the remaining lands on Isle Royale, the depression came. Much preliminary work was accomplished, however, including the making of surveys and plats, though no action has been taken looking to the transfer of title to land on the island to the Secretary of the Interior.²⁸

Though nothing was accomplished on the PWA allotment for the next twenty months, Stoll made some valuable contacts with A. R. Rogers, new spokesman for the formerly belligerent Minnesota Forest Products Company. In a letter from Stoll to James Couzens on September 12, 1934, definite optimism could be noted:

Rogers, acting for the receivers, informed me quite honestly that the Minnesota Forest Products Co. paid less than \$382,000 for their holdings and with taxes and carrying charges it now represents an investment upwards of \$450,000 but stated further that if the land were desired for national park purposes (which it is) he would surprise those interested in the ridiculously low price the receivers would ask for it. I asked him to name this price in my reply and will be very interested to note how much less than the original price of \$4 million they will take for their holdings.²⁹

²⁷Letter from Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg to Albert Stoll, Jr., October 7, 1933, ibid.

²⁸Detroit News, January 6, 1934, p. 1.

²⁹Letter from Albert Stoll, Jr., to James Couzens, September 12, 1934, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

Senator Vandenberg listed four reasons why the United States should take money from a relief fund for Isle Royale in "Vandenberg Urges U.S. to Purchase Isle Royale," in the Detroit News on April 27, 1935. Vandenberg stated that acquisition of the island "would be the best available means of providing work and stimulating economic recovery in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan," and asserted that, besides offering manual labor and work relief, the project would "provide the most useful habitat for a number of CCC camps which can be put to work on the development of permanent values on a national level," would attract summer tourists and a corresponding amount of tourist dollars, and "would benefit both Wisconsin and Minnesota, also, as tributaries of the Isle Royale sector."³⁰

When Consolidated Power and Paper Company of Minneapolis threatened to begin lumbering operations on Isle Royale in the spring of 1935, even the Minnesota Forest Products Company "attempted to persuade them to postpone lumbering until it can be determined whether the government will be interested in buying the land intact."³¹ While groups of conservationists and sportsmen organized an "energetic revival" of the park campaign,³² National Park Service officials said the island would not be accepted as a park "if it is despoiled by logging operations."³³

³⁰Detroit News, April 27, 1935, p. 1.

³¹Letter from A. R. Rogers to Albert Stoll, Jr., March 23, 1935, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

³²Detroit News, May 8, 1935, p. 1.

³³Ibid., May 24, 1935, p. 1.

Rogers wrote the Isle Royale National Park Commission that the Minnesota Forest Products Company would give the commission until September 1 to decide whether it wanted to buy the company's 72,336.41 acres at five dollars per acre.³⁴ After that date, Rogers wrote, the company would be willing to lease its property for lumbering operations.

Prompted by public pressures for action, Governor Frank B. Fitzgerald filled existing vacancies on the commission and the five-man board held its first meeting in the offices of the Detroit News on June 5, 1935.³⁵ Soon after the board began making progress, the Keweenaw County Board of Supervisors made its public statement against the park plan and upset negotiations with private landholders who were afraid public opinion was against their selling or donating the land. The day after former Governor Chase S. Osborn applauded Vandenberg's efforts in behalf of the park project, the Senator sent Stoll an anxious letter regarding final financial arrangements with the federal government:

On July 3, you submitted a proposal that if an amount of \$700,000 were made available from Federal funds for the acquisition in fee simple title of the lands on the island, you would guarantee any funds that might be needed above that figure in order to complete the project.

You agreed to have a letter from Harry Harper, secretary of the Isle Royale National Park Commission, confirmatory of this understanding in my hands early the following week. That letter has not been received. I would appreciate it if you would arrange to have this letter in my hands as soon as possible to avoid unnecessary delays. Ickes is quite unhappy about the situation.³⁶

After the commission provided this needed bit of confirmatory information, it was only one day before President Roosevelt signed an

³⁴Letter from A. R. Rogers to Isle Royale National Park Commission, May 24, 1935, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

³⁵Letter from Albert Stoll, Jr., to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, June 6, 1935, ibid.

³⁶Letter from Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg to Albert Stoll, Jr., July 26, 1935, ibid.

executive order appropriating \$700,000 for purchase and \$5,000 for administration of purchase of the remaining private lands on Isle Royale. The presidential signature allotted the money from "money saved by Harold L. Ickes, FWA administrator, from his old FWA fund," the News reported. Citing that the project was realized "because of the cooperation of two men who may oppose each other for the presidency in 1936, Roosevelt and Vandenberg," the story concluded that "when the property is finally purchased, it will be turned over to Ickes to conserve and improve, after he declares it National Park territory."³⁷

Immediately thereafter, extensive publicity was given to the establishment of various CCC camps on the island and to the many men who were put to work improving the proposed park. Meantime, Stoll, Harper, and the other members of the Isle Royale National Park Commission continued to negotiate on obtaining the lands for the park. Less publicity on the thousands of potential tourists was urged when it was reported that "difficulty is being encountered in getting decent options, because land owners are afraid they will be trampled by tourists." A slightly different effect was evident among hotel and resort owners on the island, who "are figuring on such a great income that they are all putting quite a premium on their holdings," Harper declared.³⁸

Except for the voting of \$100,000 of Michigan funds "if necessary to supplement federal funds" by the Isle Royale National Park Commission on April 14, 1936, little positive news of the project was heard before early 1938. A three-month forest fire on the island in

³⁷Detroit News, August 9, 1935, p. 1.

³⁸Letter from Harry Harper to Albert Stoll, Jr., October 9, 1935, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

the summer of 1936, that was fought by hundreds of WPA and CCC workers, destroyed forests and wildlife on nearly one-third of the island and resulted in considerable loss of public support for the park plan.³⁹

During the first half of 1938, condemnation proceedings and option negotiations continued on both the state and federal level. A letter from Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director of the National Park Service, to Stoll on January 20, 1938, indicated that "nearly 90 per cent of the privately-owned lands on the island has been acquired or optioned." Tolson wrote further that compromises "are being worked out where possible, though condemnation has begun in the Federal District Court in a number of cases."⁴⁰

Isle Royale National Park became an actuality on April 5, 1940, when Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes "accepted a title deed from the State of Michigan to the remaining land necessary to fulfill requirements under the Federal law providing for establishment of the Isle Royale National Park."⁴¹ Many long and thankless years of struggling had gone into the acquisition of this 132,000-acre national park. Congratulatory letters from such dignitaries as Vandenberg, W.E. Scripps, and former Governor Chase S. Osborn flowed into Stoll's office at the Detroit News. Nineteen years of campaigning by Stoll, coupled with the intermittent support of many others, had achieved two-thirds of Stoll's goal. Six years were to pass before the third goal--actual dedication of Isle Royale as a National Park--would come to pass.

³⁹Detroit News, September 6, 1936, p. 30.

⁴⁰Letter from Hillory A. Tolson to Albert Stoll, Jr., January 20, 1938, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

⁴¹Detroit News, April 6, 1940, p. 1.

IX. DEDICATION AND CONCLUSION

As the Great Depression had interrupted the acquisition of the lands on Isle Royale, such was the effect of World War II on the dedication of the park. A nation under severe stress cannot be expected to take an active interest in celebrations when it has little to be happy about.

Plans were being made for the dedication, however, as early as December, 1938, when Harry Harper, secretary of the Isle Royale National Park Commission, wrote to Albert Stoll, Jr., conservation editor of the Detroit News, requesting that the latter make plans and begin publicity for the dedication, "to be held in August, 1939, if possible."¹ Throughout the remainder of 1938 and most of 1939, Stoll conferred with steamship lines and travel agencies attempting to find out how much it would cost to accommodate the dedication officials and to prepare the program. In the spring of 1940, tentative plans were made to schedule the dedication for August, 1940, after the 1939 date did not materialize. By June, 1940, however, it was apparent that it would have to be postponed once again, as evidenced by a letter from George F. Baggley, appointed superintendent of Isle Royale several

¹Letter from Harry Harper to Albert Stoll, Jr., December 17, 1928, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

months earlier:

Earlier in the year, it was generally planned to carry out the dedication of Isle Royale as a National Park sometime this year. However, recent events which have brought on a national emergency are, no doubt, engaging the attention of those officials who must decide upon the dedication of the park. I am sure, as soon as the plans are complete that full information will be released.²

On August 10, 1946, the Detroit News announced in a front-page banner headline that "U. S. To Dedicate Lake Superior's Isle Royale As a National Park," reporting the ceremony was scheduled for August 27.³ Tracing the history of the Isle Royale campaign, the story said that "several federal and state officials will make addresses during the ceremony." An editorial, "Isle Royale National Park," appeared that same day applauding the idea that "the long battle has been won." After mentioning the roles played by Stoll and George E. Miller, late editor-in-chief of the News, the editorial concluded that "space forbids the mention of all who took part in the endeavor which now comes to fruition, but all can rest assured that they have done no mean service for their country and for posterity."⁴

A second editorial after announcement of dedication ceremonies traced the News's role in the campaign, in "All the People Forever," the lead editorial:

If this newspaper takes more than an objective interest in the case, it is with reason for Isle Royale National Park is the fulfillment of a dream originating in 1921 with the late George E. Miller, then editor of the News, and Albert Stoll, Jr., then an now the News' conservation editor, who pushed the project untiringly in the years thereafter.

There was the inevitable local opposition to surmount and private interests to be persuaded to the public view. There was a long missionary labor to be undertaken in official Washington. Isle Royale is, among other things, a monument to the patience of its friends.⁵

²Letter from George F. Bagley, June 25, 1940, ibid.

³Detroit News, August 10, 1946, p. 1.

⁴Ibid., p. 6.

⁵Ibid., August 13, 1946, p. 6.

The News concluded its pre-dedication coverage of the Isle Royale National Park with an entire Sunday rotogravure section titled, "Isle Royale Formally Becomes State's First National Park" on August 25, three days before the dedication.⁶

On August 27, 1946, Albert Stoll, Jr., sat on a platform constructed for the dedication of Isle Royale as a National Park, much against his physician's better judgment. The years of the Isle Royale campaign had seen a marked change come over this energetic, persistent middle-aged journalist, who sat wrapped up in an afghan and bundled in three or four sweaters and a coat to witness his dream coming true. Governor Harry F. Kelly asked Stoll to stand and be acknowledged as a man who "carried on for years with unstinting devotion" the movement that gave Michigan its first national park, the News reported in "Proud Day for State, Gov. Kelly Declares." An editorial, "The Middle West's First National Park," praised Stoll and Miller for "vigilance and unremitting efforts" toward the fruition of the park plan. The editorial concluded, "The News is proud of its role, from origin to culmination of this project, which shows that good things can be accomplished even against bitter odds and long demands on patience and perserverance."⁸

W. E. Scripps of the Evening News Association, Stoll's superior for many years, wrote a personal letter of congratulations on September 6: "I cannot let this auspicious occasion go by without expressing to

⁶Ibid., August 25, 1946, p. 1E.

⁷Ibid., August 28, 1946, p. 1.

⁸Ibid., p. 6.

you my personal satisfaction, as well as that of the News over this happy accomplishment." Scripps told Stoll that "you are most certainly to be congratulated" and noted that "all of those who spoke at the dedication spared no opportunity to place credit where credit belongs."⁹

Similarly, Editor and Publisher magazine praised Stoll, noting that he received well-deserved praise from Michigan and federal officials "for his efforts to get Isle Royale in Lake Superior set aside as a National Park."¹⁰ The Detroit Board of Commerce weekly publication, Detroit magazine, raised a pertinent question on "Our Newest National Park":

When history gets straight on our newest National Park, Isle Royale will bring up the traditional Benjamin Franklin international boundary story; and surely will credit Arthur Vandenberg for his vision and courage in leading a winning fight in Washington. Will it give proper praise to Pete Stoll and the late George Miller-- and the whole Detroit News?"¹¹

Stoll's colleague, Lee A. White, tried to insure that history would remember Stoll, when he initiated the "naming of something for Stoll" in a letter to Ronald F. Lee, Acting Director of the National Park Service on January 12, 1952.¹² This resulted in the dedication of the trail and plaque on Scoville Trail in July, 1954.

These and many other gestures or comments from across the nation praised the work of the News and Albert Stoll, Jr., in many different ways. Only the thousands of annual tourists to Isle Royale National Park could say it any better than "Pete" himself, when, in an editorial on February 19, 1924, he wrote:

⁹Letter from W. E. Scripps to Albert Stoll, Jr., September 6, 1946, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

¹⁰Editor and Publisher, September 14, 1946, p. 41.

¹¹Detroit, September 3, 1946, p. 1.

¹²Letter from Lee A. White to Ronald F. Lee, January 12, 1952, "Chronological History of the IRNPM."

An American can leave no finer monument, no more grateful memory, than a magnificent work of nature which he has been instrumental in preserving for his people, for all time¹³

¹³Detroit News, February 19, 1924, p. 6.

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