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THE MAKING OF A NATIONAL FOREST: THE CONTEST
OVER THE WEST MICHIGAN CUTOVER, 1888-1943

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JOSEPH JOHN JONES

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THE MAKING OF A NATIONAL FOREST:
THE CONTEST OVER THE WEST MICHIGAN CUTOVER, 1888-1943

VOLUME I

By

Joseph John Jones

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

THE MAKING OF A NATIONAL FOREST: THE CONTEST OVER THE WEST MICHIGAN CUTOVER, 1888-1943

By

Joseph John Jones

In 1888, Michigan was the leading lumber producer in the United States and West Michigan contributed substantially to that title. But by the end of the century, West Michigan's pineries were exhausted. Yet it was not until 1933, that the National Forest Reservation Commission established the Manistee National Forest Purchase Unit. This dissertation explores those intervening years and the cultural, political, economic, and environmental reasons that forty years passed before a lasting land-use policy was put into place.

The initial contest over land use in the cutover was between agrarians and foresters who both argued that the land needed to be productive. Agrarians believed that the plow should follow the axe, so the land would be best used by agricultural settlement. However, environmental and economic factors limited farming in Northern Michigan. Foresters countered that reforesting the most marginal cutover lands was the best way to overcome the problems faced by farmers. Despite the claim that they did not oppose agriculture, foresters could not generate the political and cultural support to push through their programs on a large scale. Each side had support at different levels of society, but lacked the requisite political power to implement its vision in the cutover.

The stalemate between these opposing views was broken with the rise of tourism in the 1920s. Tourism provided a new way for the land to be productive that did not extract its resources. It also met the needs of locals for a strong tax base while answering

the state's desire for economic growth. This development tipped the balance in favor of reforestation, which offered aesthetic improvements that would make the region attractive to tourists.

Despite resolving the contestation over what should happen to the cutover, widespread reforestation was not implemented until the federal government provided the necessary funding as part of the New Deal in the 1930s. In an effort to control more land for Civilian Conservation Corps work projects, President Franklin Roosevelt arranged for money to purchase marginal land that would be managed by the United States Forest Service. Purchases commenced in West Michigan and led to the creation of the Manistee National Forest. The conversion of the land from forest to farm back to forest again demonstrates not only the process of state expansion in the early-twentieth century, but also the development of a land ethic amongst local residents.

DEDICATION

**For my grandmothers – Rose E. Jones and Dorothy L. Parker –
who inspired me to think about the struggles of the past.**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When I was a boy, my family would visit my maternal grandparents in Oakland County, northwest of Detroit. Invariably my grandmother would tell my brothers and me a story about growing up in the Great Depression to impress upon us how good our lives were. After years of hearing her tell these stories, I went to my paternal grandmother, who grew up in rural Ottawa County northwest of Grand Rapids, and asked her why she never told us stories about the Depression. She replied, “It didn’t matter to us. We were farmers, so we were already poor.”

While this dissertation does not deal with either of their experiences or locales, I am indebted to my grandmothers for prompting me to ask questions about my surroundings. Growing up near the Manistee National Forest in rural Mason and Newaygo counties, I remember wondering why the pines grew in rows. I also wondered why there was so much poverty, when very nearby there seemed to be so much wealth. Those questions among others led me to this story, and I must thank my grandmothers, the trees, and the people who lived it for their inspiration.

In many ways, writing a dissertation is a solitary affair that stakes a budding scholar against stacks of books, archived boxes, and their inner demons. However, as it nears completion, it becomes clear how it took a legion of other scholars and concerned supporters to give the study life. I lack the space here to thank everyone that has offered me a suggestion or a word of encouragement, but please know all of you have been on my mind as this stage of the work nears its completion.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

AFA – American Forestry Association

BHL – Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

CB – Carl Bajema Collection

CCC – Civilian Conservation Corps

CHL – Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan University

FDRL – Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library

FHS – Forest History Society

GRPL – Grand Rapids Public Library

HMNF – Huron Manistee National Forest Headquarters

LES – Land Economic Survey

LOC – Library of Congress

LOM – Library of Michigan

MAC – Michigan Agricultural College

MCCD – Muskegon County Conservation District

MFA – Michigan Forestry Association

MFC – Michigan Forestry Commission

MHS – Minnesota Historical Society

MLCD – Mason-Lake Conservation District

MNF – Manistee National Forest

MSC – Michigan State College

MSFWC – Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs

NARA – National Archives and Records Administration

NFRC – National Forest Reservation Commission

NMAH – National Museum of American History

NYA – National Youth Administration

OCHS – Oceana County Historical Society

PDC – Public Domain Commission

SAM – State Archives of Michigan

SCD – Soil Conservation District

SIA – Smithsonian Institution Archives

UAHC – Michigan State University Archives & Historical Collections

UM – University of Michigan

USDA – United States Department of Agriculture

USFS – United States Forest Service

WCHM – Wexford County Historical Museum

WMDB – West Michigan Development Bureau

WMTA – West Michigan Tourist Association

WPA – Work Projects Administration or Works Progress Administration

WPV – White Pine Village, Mason County Historical Society

Introduction: Parallel Movements to Make Michigan's Public Land Policy

On Saturday, July 4, 1936, in Manistee, Michigan, the first Manistee National Forest Festival culminated in a grand parade down Main Street that retold the region's history and celebrated the new national forest that was rising in the cutover. Bands played joyous and patriotic songs. Horsemen did tricks, and politicians waved to the crowd. Veterans, policemen, and firefighters were honored. Costumed representatives of Natives, pioneers, and shanty boys rode floats or ambled past the spectators. The floats depicted the logging of the forest, the desolation of the cutover, and the work of the United States Forest Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps in recreating the forest. The community celebrated the planting of the new forest and the end of regional land policy struggles, while Governor Frank Fitzgerald declared that the forest offered "365 days of business" for the community.¹

In a town of 8,500 residents, fifty thousand people attended the festival. Residents of the city of Manistee and the surrounding community united to celebrate the forest and the people that had made it possible. Yet, this response was by no means a foregone conclusion just five years, let alone fifty years, earlier. The region had experienced fifty years of contestation over what to do with the cutover. This debate lasted from the decline of logging during the last decades of the nineteenth century through the establishment of the Manistee National Forest Purchase Unit in 1933 and consisted of failed settlement, scientific experimentation, political mobilization, and public debate related to the best way to make a profit from cutover lands.²

The cutover was the stump land that remained once the forest had been cut by lumbermen.³ Land that had been converted to another use did not retain this moniker, but much of the land in Northern Michigan during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries remained idle, and thus, part of the cutover. Michiganders, both local and state-wide, were united in their desire for the cutover to become productive and contribute to the state economy as the cut forests had as sawed lumber. Initially, it was assumed that the “plow would follow the axe” in the cutover as it had in Southern Michigan. However, as agricultural settlement lagged behind the voracious cutting by lumbermen, wildfires and the tax-reversion of land became the problems of the cutover. As lumbering waned in the region, these problems were a millstone for both the local and state economies.⁴ In this context, Michiganders became divided over the best means by which to make the cutover productive, settling into two major camps – the agrarians and the foresters.

These terms serve as shorthand to describe groups not usually associated with either movement.⁵ Agrarians evinced a Jeffersonian faith in the superiority of agriculture to other economic pursuits and held firmly to his notion that a strong republican community was rooted in widespread property ownership. But supporters included not only farmers, but businessmen, agricultural scientists, and even lumbermen. Foresters, on the other hand, advocated for careful selection of lands for multiple uses according to fertility, mineral resources, climate, and soil type. They believed reforestation to be the most socially responsible – and economically sound – use of the derelict interior lands that constituted the cutover. They included conservationists, sportsmen, progressive businessmen, women’s club members, and forestry scientists. The lines of demarcating these two groups often blurred during the years covered here, but it is precisely this

complex interaction of people, ideas, and policies that makes the debate over the Michigan cutover so instructive to scholars.

The agrarians and foresters served as parallel and competing reform movements from at least the 1880s into the 1930s. Each side used similar tactics to advance its position. Both groups relied on scientific research and political alliances that drew support from allies within the state's two central institutions of higher education and state and federal agencies. Agrarians stressed the viability of agriculture in the region and searched for the best enterprises and techniques for the climate and soils of the cutover. Furthermore, they recruited settlers to farm the land and to create the requisite infrastructure to develop farming communities. Foresters, on the other hand, worked to overcome biases against reforestation as regressive policy by arguing that marketable trees could successfully grow again in the cutover. Furthermore, they also tried to educate citizens about the material costs of the existing property tax code, state land policy, and persistent wildfires. Until a politically and economically viable policy could be negotiated, the problems of the cutover continued to serve as a drag on the local and state economies.

While my research has led me to these conclusions, this dissertation is not the one that I intended to write. Initially, my focus was on the origins and causes for the endemic poverty that continues to plague much of the region today. I recognized that the national forest and tourism would be critical parts of this story, but once I waded into the archives I found less information on regional poverty and more sources on the complex problem that the cutover posed to local, state, and federal policy makers. The contestation over the cutover presented a story of reclamation that differed from stories of similar processes

elsewhere. So, I am telling this story to explain what happened in the cutover in order to help scholars rethink this process.

The methodology of this dissertation combines the interdisciplinary approaches of American Studies with the archival and empirical foundations of environmental history. As such, it considers the political, cultural, and economic impacts of land-use debates over the Michigan cutover from the 1880s until the 1930s. But the work should not be approached as a traditional local study that attempts a “thick description” of life in the cutover.⁶ Rather, the Michigan cutover and the Manistee National Forest serve as the focal point for understanding the contestation and resolution over state and federal land policies from the logging era in the late-nineteenth century through the establishment of the national forest as part of the New Deal. This analysis indicates a new approach to the enactment of conservation and reforestation as activities of the state and how local culture shaped and was shaped by this development.

Cutover as a Region in Flux

Theories about what constitutes nature and landscape are at the very heart of environmental history’s investigation of how humans interact with the world around them. Humans construct their definitions of nature within the context of history and culture.⁷ In Michigan, this proved very much to be the case. Newcomers, whether Yankee, Finn, or African American, brought with them conceptions of the land – and its potential – that were based more on their past experiences than the actualities of soil type, climate, and fertility in the state. As this dissertation will show, this condition had as much to do with the creation of the cutover and the inability of Michiganders to remedy

its woes. Thus in Michigan, as elsewhere, humans gave shape not only the built environment, but also the biological world that they inhabit. By tracing such changes through history, as I do here, one can infer the values of the culture that acted on a landscape.⁸ For example, as Ted Steinberg chronicles in his book *American Green*, Americans since World War II have developed compulsive tendencies with their lawns. Short, green, monoculture grass is desired by many citizens despite the dangers posed by chemicals and mechanized lawn mowers. They seek to maintain an aesthetic that ignores plant ecology and climate variations across the nation.⁹

Equally relevant to this investigation, human assumptions about nature – especially the optimistic nineteenth-century American notion that nature’s bounty was all but limitless on the continent – had profound, if unintended, consequences. For instance, as William Cronon wrote, the conception of the Great Lakes forest as “inexhaustible” was a critical part of the exploitive and environmentally devastating logging practices of the timber industry.¹⁰ Hence, the history of the cutover provides a means to explore how unanticipated environmental consequences forced people to reconsider assumptions about how the land could be used. In the case of the Michigan cutover, wildfires and erosion challenged agricultural settlement and reforestation. These ecological limits ultimately demanded political attention and spending in order to undo the environmental devastation that humans had caused, in order to make the land ecologically and economically productive again.¹¹

Scholars continue to debate the ways that humans understand their relationship with the natural world. While the focus of this study is on other issues, key concepts and terms from that literature inform the analysis presented here. In accordance with the work

of E Relph, Yi-Fu Tuan, and Thomas Gieryn, I consider a “space” to be an area that is unbounded by concrete human definitions, while a “place” is a site to which humans have ascribed meaning.¹² Such a designation can be complex because it may function as a space for one group, while another may have clearly defined it as a place. For example, native peoples of the region undoubtedly had a clear definition of the region as a place. Yet, that was not the case at all for white Americans in the early-twentieth century. As long as agrarians and foresters contested over it, the cutover functioned as a space; but once it became clearly defined as a renewed forest, it became a place.

Similarly, I define landscape, in the tradition of J.B. Jackson, as the visible manifestation of human activity in an area that exhibits both historical circumstances and culture. While space and place are rooted in human ideas, a landscape considers the material condition of the site at a given point in time.¹³ To consider the landscape of the cutover forces an investigator to be cognizant of the smoldering fires and thin soils that agrarians and foresters neglected when they viewed the region as potential farms or forests, respectively. The cutover then can be seen as an array of overlapping and at times contested landscapes. The work of lumbermen, foresters, farmers, land speculators, government officials, and the forces of nature throughout the cutover influenced it as landscape. Human interaction in the cutover throughout the years covered by this dissertation indicates that the new national forest was not and was never intended to be wilderness.¹⁴ Rather, the national forest itself was the expression of negotiation and compromise between these groups over the type of productivity best suited for the landscape and who would have the authority to make such a decision. As I discuss the changes that occur to the land and water of the cutover over the following chapters, I do

so to indicate how the landscape changed in order to read the history from both the landscape and the archival sources.¹⁵

The cutover's transition to becoming a place (or places), as well as its characteristics as a landscape, cannot be divorced from its regional identity. A region is a place that is comprised of numerous related landscapes that connect the population of the area based on a shared history, culture, and experience of the land and one another.¹⁶ In this case, the cutover was part of the region I label the Upper Great Lakes, comprising the watersheds of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Ontario that empty into Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, and Lake Huron. Though landscapes – including cutovers – were not uniform across these civil divisions, each state or province shared sufficient characteristics to make a grand, undifferentiated cutover appear to stretch from east to west through the region. From 1890-1940, the Great Lakes cutover had been denuded of trees, experienced limited agricultural settlement, and was being redefined as a series of places.

Within the region the existence of the cutover as a place was in flux during the first three decades of the twentieth century. As Lynne Heasley and Raymond Guries have argued, forests are not stable ecologically, socially, or economically and the uncertainty of human expectations keep them in flux.¹⁷ Whereas the region was considered a forest that would provide lumber to a growing society in the nineteenth century, once the trees were cut, most Americans thought that the area would become an agricultural region. Destruction of the soil, a short growing season, and the lack of established infrastructure stymied this transition. In this way, the cutover became “misplaced” with the cultural assumptions and historical experiences of Michiganders wholly incapable of a successful

transformation of the landscape. While the cutover land failed to meet the demands placed upon it by settlers, the people who lived outside its boundaries but were deeply committed to its resurrection – scientists, reformers, and politicians – likewise misread the land as they sought to transform it. Only as conservationists and promoters of tourism pushed politicians and residents to reconsider reforestation as an appropriate land use in the 1920s and 1930s could the region shift from being a cutover to being a national forest. But one should not conclude that a wilderness was created with the federal government acting as a custodian of nature. Rather, both sides had, as Frieda Knobloch has cautioned, attempted to colonize nature via agriculture or forestry. The outcome in Michigan was the latter. The trees of the forest, in this instance, became the property of the state thus fixing what had been the cutover into both a new landscape and place.¹⁸

Agrarianism and Conservation

The contest between agrarians and foresters over the cutover can offer some clarification in regards to the origins and development of agrarian and conservation reform as political and social movements in the United States. Both of these movements were heavily dependent upon science to justify its claims. Both movements considered scientific research as the cornerstone upon which all policy decisions should rest.¹⁹ According to the worldview implicit in both movements, science could identify ways that humans could better control the world either through management of existing resources or by creating technology to control it for them. These demands resulted in the creation of land grant schools and experiment stations in the nineteenth century to research agriculture scientifically and in the development of schools of forestry in U.S. colleges

and universities early in the twentieth century. Hence, both agrarians and foresters sought to control natural resources and design the means by which to maximize production of them. It should be noted that science was rarely neutral in either set of hands, despite efforts to the contrary on the part of both groups, but it did mark a sustained attempt to measure human or natural progress empirically and set policies according to objective standards for the greatest good.²⁰

For agrarians, this perspective required that in the late-nineteenth century the research of scientific agriculture needed to be a professional occupation. Scientific research dominated the work at the U.S. Department of Agriculture, state agricultural colleges, and companies interested in increasing farm productivity. Support for these activities among farmers was mixed and the main source of support for this research and its implementation in the field came from non-farming agrarians who supported agriculture for how it economically and culturally stabilized the country. In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, they believed that scientific research could maximize these ends.²¹ In Michigan, these agrarians were led by researchers at Michigan Agricultural College (MAC) and state politicians, while their body of supporters was land speculators, local agricultural boosters, as well as some urban businessmen, farmers and settlers.²²

As for conservation, scientific justification for the efficient maximization of resources for use became a vital part of national policy during the Theodore Roosevelt administration. Under the vigilant guidance of Gifford Pinchot, conservation gained credence as the scientific management of natural resources through technological means. According to Samuel Hays, this management met the demands of Progressive Era leaders

for an efficient plan of resource use that would bolster the long-term economic fortunes of American citizens.²³ This perspective of conservation manifested in the form of scientific management reflects much of the state activity related to conservation in Michigan during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Scientific and technical research dominated early state initiatives and commissions related to natural resource use. Both the University of Michigan and Michigan Agricultural College were among the first schools in the country to establish departments of forestry to explore the science of tree planting and growth. The University of Michigan hired Filibert Roth, one of Pinchot's employees, to lead their new school. The Michigan Forestry Commission conferred regularly with the U.S. Forest Service and regularly sought the advice of their employees. Michigan was very much engaged in the scientific management of its forests and cutover lands from the establishment of its forestry commission in 1899.²⁴

As Bret Wallach has argued, however, the conservation movement had a broader context than just scientific management. Conservationists throughout the country, particularly politicians and citizens not as well versed in science, were motivated by political and moral reasons.²⁵ In Michigan for instance, Charles Garfield sought civic improvement and a sound base of natural resources. Former lumbermen such as Arthur Hill and William Butts Mershon wanted to renew a resource that they saw being rapidly depleted by their peers to insure that the resource would be available to future generations. In the long run, these moral convictions were just as important to the reforestation movement as the principles of scientific management.²⁶

In Michigan, sportsmen were clearly important in passing the early regulations to manage fish and wildlife, as other scholars have argued for the movement as a whole

throughout the country.²⁷ However, when considering the broader conservation movement that included reforestation and later land management, sportsmen only served as one of many groups that worked together to promote conservation in the state. Garfield and some women's club members even disapproved of hunting and fishing, which they tolerated for the good of the movement while hoping that as more people came to value nature such behaviors would cease.²⁸

Samuel Hays has argued that the movement to protect natural resources was bifurcated into a conservation movement that started in the late-nineteenth century and an environmental movement that began after World War II. Conservation, led by politicians and scientists, was marked by the wise and efficient use of resources based on scientific management. Environmentalism was a grassroots movement that was concerned with issues of aesthetics of the natural world, human and ecological health, and sustainable lifestyles.²⁹ While this model for understanding may still serve as a broad starting point for understanding natural resource politics and policy, recent scholarship has demonstrated that the conservation activities of the New Deal in the 1930s were quite different from those practiced by Theodore Roosevelt and Pinchot during the first decade of the century. Kendrick Clements, for example, has argued that 1920s Republican administrations were not guilty of abandoning conservation as a political priority as some scholars have suggested, but rather, administrators such as Herbert Hoover attempted to meld a dedication to conservation with policies of local control and voluntary regulation of business and natural resources.³⁰ When these efforts failed to address the conditions of the Depression, as Sarah Phillips has deftly demonstrated, the country turned to increased federal involvement in the form of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. According to Phillips,

the rural conservation programs of the New Deal were about the restoration of land and the rehabilitation of inhabitants. Therefore, the conservation of Franklin Roosevelt differed from Theodore Roosevelt's in that it joined natural and human resources. The ability of New Deal programs to address ecological and economic problems in unified policies such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration largely accounted for their varying degrees of success.³¹

The establishment of the Manistee National Forest in the West Michigan cutover and the use of relief and CCC labor was an example of the new rural conservation examined by Phillips. It is important to note, though, that this conservation program like others in the eastern United States was quite different from conservation in the American West. In the American West, conservation meant the management or regulation of an existing resource (e.g. trees, fish, game, water, soil, oil, or natural gas) for long-term human use that was not wasteful. In areas like the cutover, conservation required that the resources first be restored before they could be managed for use. The Michigan forests had been cut more than forty years earlier and impoverished residents were being elevated to an improved national standard of living that had recently been lost in the early years of the Great Depression. Restoration efforts completed by the USFS, the CCC, and local relief agencies, therefore, serve as the crux of the new rural conservation. The purchase of land and its reforestation improved the economic conditions of the area and solved long-term land use problems that state policies and private activism had heretofore been unable to fix. These improvements to the region served as a large-scale demonstration of the impact that restoration could have on a local area. This example

bolstered support among local residents and helped create a land ethic among them that valued working for fertile soils, healthy forests, abundant game, and clean lakes and streams.³²

Yet the sweeping effects of this combination of human and natural resources in federal policy transcended strictly local impacts. Neil Maher has argued that the CCC exposed young urban men to nature which sowed an environmental ethic in them. These enrollees took that ethic with them back to the cities once their enlistments expired thereby establishing an important foundation for the environmental movement in the mainstream after World War II.³³ Furthermore, conservation advocates and local residents had their own unique critiques of New Deal conservation. Paul Sutter has claimed that the intensive work of the CCC and the New Deal in opening more wild areas for recreational use through the building of roads and recreational facilities prompted the formation of the Wilderness Society to restrict the commodification of these places through tourism.³⁴ Also, this use of federal power to reform marginal areas was not always embraced by local residents as Sara Gregg has demonstrated. Some Vermonters were able to fight off this imposition of federal authority, while objections from Virginians were not organized enough to stop the establishment of Shenandoah National Park.³⁵

While residents resisted federal conservation efforts in other locales, they embraced this work in Michigan.³⁶ I argue that this response was different because state conservation leaders had built cooperative agreements with local citizens rather than imposing policies through state authority. Charles Garfield was the first to use this form of cooperation when determining what land the state would set aside for the first forest

reserve in 1903. State foresters, fire wardens, and land utilization advocates used the fruits of their work as the best means by which to court local support. Even when the purchase unit was established for the national forests, land sales were strictly voluntary and local residents were not forced to sell their land or change their livelihoods. This fact as well as earlier cooperative efforts helped amass broad public support for these federal initiatives in a region that has been historically skeptical of government programs. This cooperation even extended to the relationship between the state and federal governments in the form of land exchanges. The federal government purchased land that was then exchanged for tax-reverted land controlled by the state within national forest purchase units. Cooperation by state officials with both local residents and the federal government created the conditions for larger areas of managed public land in the state while retaining local support.³⁷

An examination of the development of conservation policies in the Michigan cutover, therefore, expands how scholars can understand the nature of early conservation programs and how they gave way to new rural conservation and ultimately environmentalism. Michigan was at the forefront of some conservation developments, while merely representative of others. Legislators established the state's Forestry Commission in 1899 which was comparable to many others in the Great Lakes and the Northeast. Michigan's Land Economic Survey of the 1920s, however, was the first broad land-utilization inventory attempted in the country. Yet the 1930s saw the establishment of numerous national forests in the eastern United States including the Manistee National Forest in West Michigan. All of the conservation efforts depended on a broad range of support from various interest groups that had widely divergent degrees of political clout

both at local and state levels. These conditions, as well as the political cooperation initiated by early state officials, created a context that allowed the rehabilitation and restoration of both human and natural resources. This story of the success of conservation efforts in Michigan complements studies about conflicts over policies elsewhere to create a fuller picture of the development of conservation in the eastern United States before World War II.³⁸

Conservation as State-Building

Scholars have a broad range of interpretations for the power relationships between citizens and the state. Stephen Skowronek has suggested that state-building in the United States happens as the institutional structure of the government takes a series of steps to meet a governing crisis. Government forms new bureaucracies to meet immediate needs, while political parties assert their own interests for the advantage of their supporters. Any resistance to these new structures is mediated through legislation and litigation. Theda Skocpol countered by asserting that state-building occurs when a social need “fits” with the state’s ability to meet that need. In this context, legislators create new governmental policy when a public social need can be addressed within the prevailing notion of the role of the state. Alan Brinkley theorized that governmental structure and political ideology worked in tandem during the later New Deal. Public policy changed as a result of both institutional impetuses at the top and grassroots pressures from the bottom. Elizabeth Sanders has posited that politically-active citizens attempt to change government policy through forcefully making their needs known. In her study, farmers were unsuccessful in increasing national control over corporations because they could not mobilize another

social group, in this case labor, to join them in their political goals. James Scott has claimed that states simplify the management of people, goods, and services through standardization. This process allows the state to retain power, but does not always reach progressive ends.³⁹

In the Michigan cutover, change could only occur in the cutover once there was a unified public demand for government action.⁴⁰ Both the agrarians and foresters courted public support for their initiatives. Some of these relationships united business and political interests. For instance, lumbermen worked with foresters to establish desirable reforestation policies.⁴¹ However, progressive reform on how to handle the cutover was not just a negotiation between powerbrokers from a host of perspectives. Unlike other forms of state-building that happen from the top down and are imposed upon local residents, these competing visions of the cutover lacked the political will from government leaders to be enacted. Instead reform advocates developed cooperative relationships that crossed traditional barriers of interaction. Reformers courted politicians, civic and business leaders, concerned citizens, and local residents in an effort to create a nexus of support that would prompt policy change and action. This model of vertical integration was more complex than other forms of state-building because it required leaders to consider (and balance) the needs of a diverse range of supporters. For example, the establishment of the first state forest reserve only happened once a body of local residents approved the boundaries for it.⁴²

Agrarians and foresters both courted this type of diverse support. Only as either movement built a consensus about positions within its ranks could it promote coherent change. Therefore, policy changes occurred in a piecemeal, and often contradictory,

fashion. Furthermore, agrarians and foresters both faced political, economic, social, and ecological changes that challenged positions that they had formed. For example, the Public Domain Commission promoted the apparently contradictory goals of agricultural settlement with extensive land sales and the expansion of public forest reserves. This inconsistency in state policy encouraged and challenged both sets of reformers.⁴³ Ultimately, the decline in agricultural markets, the economic expense of creating soil fertility, the claims of land economics, and the rise in tourism created the conditions that favored reforestation in the 1920s. But only as the New Deal responded to the Great Depression with federal interest in marginal and idle lands, federal funding to purchase this land, and public support for radical land reform was a comprehensive and permanent solution for the problems of the cutover applied.⁴⁴

One reason for the slow growth of the government's role in the land policies of the West Michigan cutover was that it was considered a local issue throughout the nineteenth century. Only as the public demanded a response to wildfires, an inadequate property tax code, and the threat of a timber shortage did the state choose to act. The state sufficiently regulated wildfires, but it was never able to stem the tax reversion of land, particularly during economic downturns, or create suitable policies to compel private reforestation and land restoration efforts. In Michigan, tax-reverted land became the possession of the state, but it did not have clear titles to these lands since former owners could reclaim ownership by paying their taxes for up to fifteen years from the initial point of delinquency. The fifteen-year limit on tax titles discouraged prospective buyers and dissuaded the state from investing in land improvements.⁴⁵ Essentially, the state was able to stop the land from degrading further, but it was not able to encourage any viable long-

term use for it. This shortfall in state capacity and vision prevailed nationally as private ownership failed to address land needs in numerous areas. Submarginal farmland was a burden in the Northeast, South, and Great Plains, while large scale public works projects were necessary for economic expansion in the West. Thus, the federal government grew its capacities in natural resource conservation and restoration during the Depression as a means of stabilizing land use and creating the conditions for long-term economic growth.⁴⁶

State building through land reform and conservation then was not about ecology as much as economics. As with the growth of the state for subsidized schools, hospitals, and housing that predominately affected urban areas, the New Deal conservation projects were about improving the quality of life across sectors of the society on an issue that could not be fixed with private financing and local management alone. The federalization of conservation on such an expanded scale thereby is representative of policies for social and economic improvement through state action.⁴⁷ Such a position was far from a given when it was implemented as it directly contradicted the conservation proposals of the Hoover administration. Despite this opposition, the conservation policies of the New Deal offered cutover residents hope for the improvement of the region's economy.

This assertion is not to claim, however, that the establishment of public forests resolved all of the problems of the cutover. Intensive management of the forests has led to some unforeseen environmental problems, particularly with destructive diseases and pests.⁴⁸ While land reform relieved the burden of tax reversion in the region and eased its economic burden on the state, many of the full-time residents within the Manistee National Forest remain mired in poverty. Federal poverty relief predominately focused on

urban problems. Rural issues were relegated primarily to economic incentives for farmers, extractive industries, and tourism. These models of response do not address the personal and social conditions of the residents of the area. Recognizing these conditions, the area experiences a brain-drain as their best and brightest leave the area for opportunities outside of the region. Residents who remain hold jobs in recreation, forest products, and service industries; none of which provide the capacity for sustained economic improvement. A small population with a lack of political clout exacerbates these problems by making them endemic and renders the population invisible to the larger culture.⁴⁹

Conclusion

The West Michigan cutover during the early-twentieth century was a region in flux with the debate surrounding appropriate land-use planning centered on agrarians and foresters. From the 1880s through the 1930s, these reform movements jockeyed for a definitive application of their ideas in the cutover. Much of the time, these efforts competed with one another; though, there were moments when they worked in tandem. Only after World War I would tourism and declining farm markets begin to break the stalemate over land policy in the state. Yet, it would take the Great Depression and the New Deal to provide the state with the means by which to overcome the ideal of private ownership to reforest the region. A study of the West Michigan cutover offers the opportunity to investigate how a region in flux contrasts with more prosperous areas and how vertical alliances across the stratum of society were necessary to make it happen. This study allows for a deeper understanding of a troubled region and how it impacts the

state and nation as a whole, while offering insights into the types of alliances necessary to accomplish those goals successfully.

The following chapters are in chronological order. Chapter One identifies the environmental, political, and social history of the region through the creation of the cutover and the first appearance of its problems. Chapter Two explores the start of the reforestation movement in Michigan, how it paralleled and conflicted agricultural boosterism, and its impact on the cutover. The era of the Public Domain Commission and how the state tried unsuccessfully to promote both agrarian and conservation ideals comprises Chapter Three. Chapter Four recounts how state officials recognized how tourism could address the region's economic woes and how they used scientific research, particularly in the form of Michigan's Land Economic Survey, to justify this conclusion to skeptics. Chapter Five relates how the economic emergency of the Great Depression created the context for the federal government to buy unwanted land in the cutover to establish the Manistee National Forest. The establishment of the forest as a permanent solution to cutover problems and the local population's acceptance of this plan are discussed in Chapter Six.

Notes for the Introduction

¹ “Manistee Forest Festival Association souvenir program – 1936,” MNFF program collection, BHL; “Festival Hailed as Success,” *Manistee News-Advocate*, July 6, 1936, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM; and Louise V. Armstrong, *We Too Are the People* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1938), 456-459.

² The claim by Samuel P. Hays, “Human Choice in the Great Lakes Wildlands,” in *The Great Lakes Forest: An Environmental and Social History*, ed. Susan L. Flader (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983): 295-318, that “the human perceptions, values, and institutions” in Great Lakes forest need to be better understood to understand both history and current circumstances serves as an inspiration for this dissertation.

³ At various times, “cutover” has been spelled as one word, two words, or as a hyphenated term. For the purposes of simplicity, I will always use it as one word unless I am quoting another text that has an alternate spelling.

⁴ I concur with the argument of Richard V. Francaviglia, *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), that struggling places such as the cutover challenge cultural notions of progress in the United States.

⁵ I use the terms agrarians and foresters as simple terms to describe these two groups. As should become clear from their discussion throughout the dissertation, by no means should either group be considered in the strictly philosophical or professional sense that the terms are often used. I also refer to the agrarians as agricultural boosters and foresters as reforestation advocates throughout the text.

⁶ Clifford Geertz, “Thick Description: Towards an Interpretative Theory of Culture,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

⁷ R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of Nature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), and Clarence Glacken, *Traces on a Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), have attempted to trace the idea of nature throughout history. The definition of a particular culture is critical because it serves as the basis of all decisions about how humans and nature interact. Raymond Williams, “Ideas of Nature,” in *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London: Verso, 1980), 67-85, has offered a key distinction in definitions of nature when he discusses “first nature” and “second nature.” First nature is the pristine world that is untouched by humans, whereas second nature is the world as shaped by the built environment. Humans, from policy makers to lay members of society, mix and match these two definitions in their usage of the word. There is a strong urge to preserve any first nature that may still exist, yet the failure to regulate second nature with clear land-use policies results in the further despoiling of the land. Therefore, any discussion of the environment and environmental policy is shaped by definitions of nature. The only way to identify the essence of the argument is to identify the definition of nature being used. In the context of this work, I consider nature to be the elements of the world regardless of the human relationship to them until they are commodified. Hence, trees are nature even if they have been planted or pruned; whereas timber is not. I do not draw a stark line between nature and culture, as all nature is perceived through cultural mores.

⁸ Ecologist Emily W.B. Russell, *People and the Land through Time: Linking Ecology and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 3-18, has discussed the relationship of the disciplines of ecology, geography, and history as ways of understanding a place. Kent Ryden, *Landscape with Figures: Nature & Culture in New England* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2001) has insisted that humans be considered as part of the landscape and that the constant flux of ecology, human influenced or not, must be considered in any evaluation of a landscape. Peirce F. Lewis, “Axioms for Reading the Landscape,” in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. D.W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 11-32, has asserted that “all human landscape has cultural meaning” as a way of demonstrating the importance

of considering what built environments can convey. D.W. Meinig, "The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene," in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 33-48, has conveyed how humans conceive nature in their minds and assert that perceptions onto the land. Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage, 1995), has concurred and has explored how humans create and affirm cultural identity through their conceptions of landscape. The people of that culture then try to recreate that conceived landscape in the material world. Nature, no matter how ecological the place, is a byproduct of the culturally-created landscape, not an initial component of it. As this cultural notion of landscape is perpetuated, children learn it socially, not naturally, and this primary exposure to one interpretation teaches them that the landscape that they were taught is the "natural" one. Hence, until some occurrence necessitates change, that cultural interpretation persists.

⁹ Ted Steinberg, *American Green: The Obsessive Quest for the Perfect Lawn* (New York: W.W. Norton Press, 2006).

¹⁰ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 148-206, has discussed how Great Lakes white pine was channeled through Chicago to farmers in the Great Plains to help build the farms and cities of the Midwest. Louis S. Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 172, has explored how game laws and resource politics developed and changed based upon the ecology of a region.

¹¹ Dave Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery: Michigan's Rise as a Conservation Leader* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001) and William B. Botti and Michael D. Moore, *Michigan's State Forests: A Century of Stewardship* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2006).

¹² This notion of place is indebted to E Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion Limited, 1976); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977); and Thomas F. Gieryn, "A Space for Place in Sociology," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 463-496.

For a further discussion of how people develop a sense of place and become physically and emotionally attached to places, see Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974); Robert B. Riley, "Attachment to the Ordinary Landscape," in *Place Attachment*, ed. Irwin Altman and Setha M. Low (New York: Plenum Press, 1992):13-35; David M. Hummon, "Community Attachment: Local Sentiment and Sense of Place," in *Place Attachment*, ed. Altman and Low, 253-278; and Edward S. Casey, "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena," in *Senses of Place*, ed. Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, 1996): 13-52.

¹³ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) has instructed readers on how to view common landscapes in American culture. Michael Conzen, *The Making of the American Landscape* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 1-8, has established how landscape needs to be traced through geography and history. Russell, *People and the Land through Time*, 3, has added a sense of the science that grounds such an effort. Paul Groth, "Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study," in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997): 1-21 has identified tenets of landscape studies and how landscapes only have meaning within the context of social groups.

¹⁴ For a discussion of how wilderness is a social construction rather than a nature untouched by humans, see Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); Max Oelschlaeger, *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1996): 7-28; and Kevin DeLuca and Anne Demo, "Imagining Nature and Erasing Class and Race: Carleton Watkins, John Muir, and the Construction of Wilderness," *Environmental History* 6, no. 4 (Oct. 2001): 541-560.

¹⁵ For a theory on how to read a landscape and its relationship to the archive, see Deryck W. Holdsworth, "Landscape and Archives as Texts," in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. Groth and Bressi, 44-55.

¹⁶ For a discussion of region in the Midwest, Great Lakes, and Michigan, see Walter A. Rowlands, "The Great Lakes Cutover Region," in *Regionalism in America*, ed. Merrill Jensen (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952): 331-346; James H. Madison, ed., *Heartland: Comparative Histories of Midwestern States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); James R. Shortridge, *The Middle West: Its Meaning in American Culture* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1989); and Andrew Cayton and Susan Gray, eds., *The American Midwest: Essays on Regional History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

¹⁷ Lynne Heasley and Raymond P. Guries, "Forest Tenure and Cultural Landscapes: Environmental History in the Kickapoo Valley," in *Who Owns America?: Social Conflict over Property Rights*, ed. Harvey M. Jacobs (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998): 182-207.

¹⁸ Frieda Knobloch, *The Culture of Wilderness: Agriculture as Colonization in the American West* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

¹⁹ Even though agrarians and foresters injected science in the policy debates over a hundred years ago, scientists still struggle to have a respected place for objective research in the politics surrounding public policy. For a discussion of this problem, see Stephen Bocking, *Nature's Experts: Science, Politics, and the Environment* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004).

²⁰ For a further discussion of the uses of science and technology to control and maximize production, see David Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977) and John T. Cumbler, *Reasonable Use: The People, the Environment, and the State, New England 1790-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Despite the grand claims of science during this era, it did not always meet its goals. For critiques related to agriculture, forestry, and fish culture, see Mark Fiege, *Irrigated Eden: The Making of an Agricultural Landscape in the American West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999); Nancy Langston, *Forest Dreams, Forest Nightmares: The Paradox of Old Growth in the Inland West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995); Emily Brock, "Replanting the Douglas Fir Forest: Forest Science and Forest Practice in the Pacific Northwest, 1890-1945," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2004); and Joseph E. Taylor III, *Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

²¹ Roy V. Scott, *The Reluctant Farmer: The Rise of Agricultural Extension to 1914* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970); David B. Danbom, *The Resisted Revolution: Urban America and the Industrialization of Agriculture, 1900-1930* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1979); Alan I. Marcus, *Agricultural Science and the Quest for Legitimacy: Farmers, Agricultural Colleges, and Experiment Stations, 1870-1890* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1985); Pete Daniel, *Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures since 1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Steven Stoll, *Larding the Lean Earth: Soil and Society in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2002); Deborah Fitzgerald, *Every Farm a Factory: The Industrial Ideal in American Agriculture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Louis A. Ferleger, "Transatlantic Travails: German Experiment Stations and the Transformation of American Agriculture," in *Transatlantic Rebels: Agrarian Radicalism in Comparative Context*, ed. Thomas Summerhill and James C. Scott (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004): 245-263; and Jack R. Kloppenberg, Jr., *First the Seed: The Political Economy of Plant Biotechnology, 1492-2000*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004). By no means do all of these scholars agree about the nature of this technological advancement in agriculture, but together they do frame the historical questions relating to its impact on farming and society.

²² William James Beal, *History of the Michigan Agricultural College and Biographical Sketches of Trustees and Professors* (East Lansing: Agricultural College, 1915) and State Board of Agriculture annual reports to the governor from 1880-1930.

²³ Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959). Furthermore, Christopher McGrory Klyza, *Who Controls Public Lands?: Mining, Forestry, and Grazing Policies, 1870-1990* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), has indicated how forestry policy became professional management for the federal government, while mining was privatized and grazing was captured by private interests.

²⁴ "Michigan State Forestry Commission – A History," Box 1, Folder 1, Minutes of the Michigan State Forestry Commission, Department of Conservation, SAM; Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery*, 58-60; and Botti and Moore, *Michigan's State Forests*, 11-19.

²⁵ Bret Wallach, *At Odds with Progress: Americans and Conservation* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991).

²⁶ Garfield, Hill, and Mershon all served on the Michigan Forestry Commission during the first decade of the twentieth century. This evaluation of their activities was drawn from the reports that appeared in the commission's annual and biennial reports from 1900-1908.

²⁷ Eugene T. Peterson, "The History of Wild Life Conservation in Michigan, 1859-1921" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1952); Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery*, 37-48; and John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, 3rd ed. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001).

²⁸ Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery*, 49-90. This desire for reforestation despite anti-hunting/fishing positions indicated the range of early citizen involvement in the conservation debate. This conclusion is more consistent with other studies that have claimed that a wide range of local residents were involved in the early conservation movement than with Reiger. See Richard W. Judd, *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); and Cumbler, *Reasonable Use*.

²⁹ Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* and Samuel P. Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

³⁰ Kendrick A. Clements, *Hoover, Conservation, and Consumerism: Engineering the Good Life* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2000). Donald C. Swain, *Federal Conservation Policy, 1921-1933* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), has suggested that 1920s conservation was an extension of the work put into motion by previous administrations. Historians have cast Republican administrations after Theodore Roosevelt as being less conservation minded because of the Ballenger-Pinchot affair and Teapot Dome scandal. John Ise, *The United States Forest Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920); John Ise, *The United States Oil Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926); Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*; and Elmo R. Richardson, *The Politics of Conservation: Crusades and Controversies, 1897-1913* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).

³¹ Sarah T. Phillips, "FDR, Hoover, and the New Rural Conservation, 1920-1932," in *FDR and the Environment*, ed. Henry L. Henderson and David B. Woolner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 107-152.

³² Jeff Forester, *The Forest for the Trees: How Humans Shaped the North Woods* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2004), 103-162, has elaborated on how restoration serves as a distinct extension on conservation policy.

³³ Cornelius M. Maher, "Planting More Than Trees: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement, 1929-1942," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2001).

³⁴ Paul S. Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002) and Sutter, "New Deal Conservation: A View from the Wilderness," in *FDR and the Environment*, ed. Henderson and Woolner: 87-106.

³⁵ Sara M. Gregg, "From Farms to Forest: Federal Conservation and Resettlement Programs in the Blue Ridge and Green Mountains" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2004) and Gregg, "Can We 'Trust Uncle Sam'? Vermont and the Submarginal Lands Project, 1934-1936," *Vermont History* 68 (Winter/Spring 2001): 201-222.

³⁶ In addition to Gregg, Robert Gough, *Farming the Cutover: A Social History of Northern Wisconsin, 1900-1940* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997) and Mark D. Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) have discussed resettlement efforts that raised the ire of local residents. Warren, *The Hunter's Game*; Benjamin Heber Johnson, "Conservation, Subsistence, and Class at the Birth of Superior National Forest," *Environmental History* 4 (1999): 80-99; and Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), have illustrated how game and trespass laws were used to force residents to abandon subsistence lifestyles and become integrated into market capitalism on the terms of urban conservationists.

Michigan did not have broad relocation projects like those discussed by Gregg, Gough, and Spence. There were, however, numerous class conflicts over the proper management of fish and game resources. However, because of well-established cooperative efforts on conservation policy, these disagreements did not spill over into reforestation or land utilization policies.

³⁷ "Minutes, April 8, 1903," Box 1, Folder 2, Minutes of the Michigan State Forestry Commission, Department of Conservation, SAM; Botti and Moore, *Michigan's State Forests*, 5-9; and NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1935* (Washington: GPO, 1935), 2-3. This argument parallels the work of Aaron A. Shapiro, "'One Crop Worth Cultivating': Tourism in the Upper Great Lakes, 1910-1965" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2005) who has asserted that residents had a complex relationship with government officials over natural resource use and access to nature that was marked by cooperation and contestation.

³⁸ NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1933* (Washington: GPO, 1934); NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1934* (Washington: GPO, 1935); Helen Foster, *1921-1946: Twenty-Five Years of Conservation in Michigan* (Lansing: Office of Information and Education, 1960); James Kates, *Planning a Wilderness: Regenerating the Great Lakes Cutover Region* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 32-50; and Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery*, 109-111.

³⁹ Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992); Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (New York: Knopf, 1995); Elizabeth Sanders, *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers and the American State, 1877-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); and James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

⁴⁰ David Dempsey, "Ruin and Recovery: Conservation and Environmental Law in Michigan," in *The History of Michigan Law*, ed. Paul Finkelman and Martin J. Herschok (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006): 148-166, has argued that conservation law in Michigan in its many manifestations was the product of a citizen-led effort to overcome the excesses of resource extraction and waste disposal. This citizen

activism accurately represents the impetus for change that occurred in the state, but throughout the state's history these citizens had wealth and connections that allowed their concerns to be heard by legislators and policy makers. Citizens who lacked these conditions gained their voice about Michigan's conservation policies through their numbers.

⁴¹ These cooperative relationships were similar to those regulatory reforms described by Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism* (New York: Macmillan, 1963) and William G. Robbins, *Lumberjacks and Legislators: Political Economy of the U.S. Lumber Industry, 1890-1941* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1982).

⁴² "Minutes, April 8, 1903," Box 1, Folder 2, Minutes of the Michigan State Forestry Commission, Department of Conservation, SAM and Botti and Moore, *Michigan's State Forests*, 5-9.

⁴³ These conflicting activities were apparent in the annual reports of the PDC.

⁴⁴ David B. Danbom, *Born in the Country: A History of Rural America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1995), 185-205; Jonathan Raban, *Bad Land: An American Romance* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997); Deborah Fitzgerald, "Accounting for Change: Farmers and the Modernizing State," in *The Countryside in the Age of the Modern State: Political Histories of Rural America*, ed. Catherine McNicol Stock and Robert D. Johnston (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001): 189-212; and Sarah T. Phillips, *This Nation, This Land: Conservation, Rural America, and the New Deal* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁴⁵ Tax reversion in Michigan was much different from Wisconsin, where the land went to the counties. This difference ensured that the two states would need different strategies for solving their cutover problems. Vernon R. Carstensen, *Farms or Forests: Evolution of a State Land Policy for Northern Wisconsin, 1850-1932* (Madison: University of Wisconsin College of Agriculture, 1958), 3.

⁴⁶ Thus New Deal state-building related to conservation reflected the process posited by Skocpol. The tendency for simplification presented by Scott is visible in the state's restructuring under Governors Warner and Groesbeck.

⁴⁷ For a similar discussion on how the New Deal was able to make public assistance a federal rather than a local issue, see Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990). For insight into how public assistance in the New Deal was work relief rather than welfare, see Edwin Amenta, *Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

⁴⁸ While the problems in the Manistee National Forest have not been as severe as elsewhere, some problems have developed because of monocropping, invasive species, and changes in forest values. This study does not attempt to cover the history of forest management in the Manistee, but further information about management in the Eastern Forests can be found in David E. Conrad, *The Land We Cared For: A History of the Forest Service's Eastern Region*, ed. Jay H. Cravens (Milwaukee: USFS, 1997). For a discussion of how economics, culture, and politics influence management and the resultant landscape, see Michelle M. Steen-Adams, "Change on a Northern Wisconsin Landscape: Legacies of Human History" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 2005), 13-26.

⁴⁹ For a discussion in how federal policy does not adequately address rural problems and a list of potential policy solutions, see William P. Browne, *The Failure of National Rural Policy: Institutions and Interests* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2001) and Daniel T. Lichter, Gail M. Johnston, and Diane K. McLaughlin, "Changing Linkages Between Work and Poverty in Rural America," *Rural Sociology* 59, no. 3 (1994): 395-415.

For studies on rural poverty and its problems, see David T. Lichter and Janice A. Costanzo, "Nonmetropolitan Underemployment and Labor-Force Composition," *Rural Sociology* 52, no. 3 (1987): 329-344; Ann R. Tickamyer and Cynthia M. Duncan, "Poverty and Opportunity Structure in Rural

America," *Annual Review of Sociology* 16 (1990): 67-86; Rural Sociological Society Task Force, *Persistent Poverty in Rural America* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992); Janet M. Fitchen, "On the Edge of Homelessness: Rural Poverty and Housing Insecurity," *Rural Sociology* 57, no. 2 (1992): 173-193; Thomas A. Lyson and William W. Falk, eds., *Forgotten Places: Uneven Development in Rural America* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993); Cynthia M. Duncan and Nita Lamborghini, "Poverty and Social Context in Remote Rural Communities," *Rural Sociology* 59, no. 3 (1994): 437-461; Cynthia M. Duncan, "Understanding Persistent Poverty: Social Class Context in Rural Communities," *Rural Sociology* 61, no. 1 (1996): 103-124; and Cynthia M. Duncan, *Worlds Apart: Why Poverty Persists in Rural America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

Map 1: Lower Peninsula Cutover 1910



Chapter One: The Making of the Cutover, 1837-1900

Northern Michigan was a quiet place in 1837 when Michigan became the twenty-sixth state admitted to the United States.¹ White settlement in the region was sparse, and the Anishnabeg lived in relative peace.² Other than the decline of the beaver, the vast forest and water resources of the region remained largely undisturbed. However, the condition of the region would change quickly over the next fifty years.

The Anishnabeg inhabited a land distinguished by its diverse microenvironments and unique climate. The topography of Northern Michigan consists of rolling hills, broad plains, and marshes with numerous inland lakes and rivers. The highest point in the Lower Peninsula near Cadillac reaches an elevation of 1500 feet. Due to the drift of retreating glaciers, there is a huge variation in soil types within counties and townships. In some areas these variations exist on adjacent quarter-sections. Richer loams tended to support hardwoods, while weaker sands supported pine. Of these, Plainfield and Grayling sands particularly lacked the nutrients to support vegetation under the stress of farming.³

Lake Michigan moderates the climate of most of the Lower Peninsula. It prevents long periods of uncomfortably hot weather in the summer, while it curtails the spring and fall spikes in temperature and the winter's bitter cold characteristic of similar latitudes in the Plains states. Prolonged droughts are rare because the prevailing westerly winds pick up moisture over Lake Michigan that results in ample rainfall along the shoreline. While the growing season starts later than in other parts of the Midwest, Lake Michigan can stave off killing frosts until later in the fall. This unique climate has influenced the history of the region, opening some avenues of development while curtailing others.⁴

This climate and topography encouraged flora and fauna associated with the Northern woodlands. The river systems of Northern Michigan are spring-fed cold water rivers. Their waters served as habitat and spawning grounds for sturgeon and grayling.⁵ The forests were comprised of stands of mixed hardwoods that included beech, maple, and oak on better soils and stands of red and jack pine on the weaker soils. White pine was interspersed throughout Northern Michigan dominating some forest stands, while having large solitary specimens among other parts of the forest. In swampier areas, tamarack, hemlock, and cedar forests predominated. Spruce, fir, aspen, birch, ash, and elm trees were also common in the pre-contact forest. Openings in the forest were created by fires set by the Anishnabeg or lightening and blowdowns from violent storms that had passed through the region. The forests supported a wide range of woodland creatures including whitetail deer, black bears, badgers, skunks, woodchucks, porcupines, opossums, rabbits, and fur-bearing mammals.⁶

The diversity of plant and animal species were important for the Anishnabeg, who were the primary residents of Northern Michigan in the early nineteenth century. Their lifestyle was a blend of subsistence and commerce in that they fished, hunted, gathered, farmed, and traded throughout the Great Lakes region. They lived along rivers and lakes that served as travel routes in birch bark and dugout canoes. Initially, trade had been among native tribes, but during the 1600s they engaged in the fur trade with the French. The Anishnabeg formed social and political alliances with the French that included marriage. This relationship benefited both parties, but international conflicts between the French and British including the French and Indian War compromised French power in North America. The interests of the British and later Americans in settling the region led

to a series of conflicts between them and the Anishnabeg. Through a series of treaties, Americans assumed control of Anishnabeg lands. The Treaty of Washington in 1836 conveyed the final third of the Lower Peninsula and the eastern Upper Peninsula to American control and allowed for the admission of Michigan to the Union in 1837.⁷

White settlement in Northern Michigan had hardly begun upon statehood, with the state's southern counties absorbing most immigrants. The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 had accelerated settlement by providing transportation for passengers and commodities into the Old Northwest and opening external markets for local products. Not the least of these was lumber. At statehood, the forests in the southern half of the state were in the process of being cut and settled by farmers. Here settlers cut and burned the trees from their own land. The logs provided building materials and fuel, while the newly opened areas could be planted with subsistence and cash crops. Frontier communities developed, and goods were shipped between these settlements and the increasingly industrial eastern United States. In contrast, settlement in Northern Michigan lagged given the availability of unsettled land in the state's southern counties. At the same time, its wealth of lumber was not yet needed because of continued production in eastern states like Maine.⁸

However, the lumber supply in New England did not last, and logging shifted to the Great Lakes states starting in the 1840s and accelerating after the Civil War. Northern Michigan settlement started around sawmills situated on the rivers that brought the logs to the mills. Agriculture developed on company farms to provide these mill towns and lumber camps with food. Only after the commercial cut of timber would farmers move onto the land. This pattern of settlement differed from Southern Michigan and created the

conditions of land ownership and clearing that resulted in the making of the cutover.⁹ The resulting crisis of the cutover was the consequence of human and environmental factors, which developed into competing notions of land use and economic growth by the early-twentieth century. This contest between agrarians and foresters, therefore, was more than a political debate; it was also rooted in the land.¹⁰

Lumber era

Logging began in the Lake States after the Erie Canal opened in 1825 and was active throughout the region by the mid-1840s as the center of lumbering activity shifted to the region from New England.¹¹ In Michigan, logging expanded north along the Lake Michigan and Lake Huron shorelines. Federal surveyors measured the lands of the Old Northwest in an effort to expedite their disposal. The federal government accomplished this goal through huge land grants and through sales to the public. In 1850 the federal government owned 25.4 million acres in Michigan; by 1870 it owned a mere 8.1 million acres. Large land grants were primarily reserved for companies that developed transportation infrastructure. Companies that built railroads, canals, and roads were generally eligible to secure hundreds of thousands of acres with just the promise to develop access to these frontier regions. In 1857, the federal Congress gave the state three or four million acres to finance railroad construction, which the state distributed to private railroad companies for the completion of this work. The railroads either established new lumber companies or worked cooperatively with existing lumber companies to log the timber on these tracts for large profits.¹² Yet, even for people without these connections, land could be purchased quite cheaply which allowed them to

enter lumbering on their own. Once established on the land, these lumbermen could expand their holdings and wealth through the profits of the sale of the cut lumber. Thus, young men came to the Lake States to carve out wealth for themselves from the bounty of the landscape.¹³

Even though forest land was cheap and plentiful, lumbermen often used collusion, theft, and deceit to expand their profits. Agents from rival lumber companies would often work together to hold land prices down at a public auction and then profit by selling prime lands to one another. Or companies would use the Preemption Act of 1841 or the Homestead Act of 1862 to file land claims that provided them with the time to cut the timber that they wanted before relinquishing the claim. Since lumber companies only really wanted the trees and not the land, it was not uncommon for them to trespass on land owned by the federal government, land speculators, or settlers and simply cut the trees. All of these methods of capturing control of forests were common in Michigan. Initial forest laws were lax and penalties were often only the cost of reimbursement. This light fine did little to discourage timber trespass. Even as laws became stricter, their enforcement was inconsistent and bribes to poorly paid local officials could resolve most legal challenges.¹⁴

Obviously profits from logging skyrocketed when expenses related to land acquisition could be minimized or eliminated. John Stronach had been operating one of the five sawmills in Manistee for nine years by 1850, yet despite the demand for logs that these mills must have generated, only a total of 852 acres had been purchased in the county. Charles Mears had nineteen men enter preemption claims on one day in 1859. Land speculator Francis Palms only paid for a quarter of the over ten thousand acres of

pine he purchased. These men serve as just a few examples of the hundreds of lumbermen and land speculators that made fortunes through timber trespass or slick land purchases.¹⁵

Through legal or nefarious means, men became very rich from logging the pine. These men were commonly referred to as lumber barons, and they controlled the politics and social life of the sawmill cities and towns of northern Michigan. Predominately born in the United States, these men dominated the pages of profiles on prominent citizens in early local histories. George Hotchkiss's history of lumbering in the Great Lakes is rife with such biographical sketches.¹⁶ While some of these lumbermen used their wealth to enrich their communities, others cut their holdings quickly and abandoned them. Once these lumbermen logged the Lake States, they took their companies and left the region. This absenteeism provided the context for many resultant cutover problems such as wildfires, erosion, unpaid property taxes, and unclear land titles.¹⁷

The relationship between the lumbermen and the governmental bodies of the era was marked by extensive cooperation. State and local officials saw the clearing of the forests as a first step in settling and civilizing their jurisdiction. Furthermore, the trees that were cut became the basic raw material for the constructions of homes, businesses, and farms. The state legislature passed laws to expedite the cutting and processing of timber. Given the volatility of the timber market, lumbermen had good reason to court some regulation of their activities to prevent economic ruin. Progressive lumbermen sought help from legislators or ran for office themselves as a means to pass laws to stabilize the industry. A good relationship with the local and state governing bodies also gave lumbermen the recourse to call on police power to enforce their property and

contract rights. Thus, while the popular history of the logging era is filled with myths about rugged individualism and free market riches, the industry was marked from its earliest expressions in the United States by a cooperative relationship between private owners and government regulators that was common in other frontier boom industries.¹⁸

While lumbermen handled the business and politics of the lumbering industry, the shanty boys did the actual work.¹⁹ Comprised of French Canadiens and Scandinavian immigrants, the shanty boys worked from dawn to dusk six days a week from late fall into the spring.²⁰ Companies housed them in camps remotely located from town. Since they were not paid until camp broke in the spring, they had little business in town until then anyway.²¹ In commercial logging's early days in the state before the Civil War, twenty-five to thirty men comprised a full camp, but that number swelled to a hundred men and eighteen horse or ox teams during the heyday of the 1870s and 1880s. Companies built as few buildings as possible since they could only be used for a few years at the most before the entire area around it had been logged off. Generally, there was a bunkhouse, cookhouse with a mess hall, a barn, a blacksmith shop, a tinker shop for mending and sharpening tools, and a residence for the camp foreman that also served as the camp office and store. Company officials pushed them to cut the pine quickly in order to abandon the old camp and move to a new location the following year.²²

Completed during the winter to ease the movement of logs, shanty boys had their specialized tasks in the woods. Sawyers and choppers fell trees and cut them into sixteen-foot lengths. Swampers and skidders used chains and teams of horses or oxen to drag logs to the logging trail. The invention by Manistee resident Silas Overpack in 1870 of a horse-drawn, two-wheel device called big wheels allowed this work to continue

throughout the year. At designated sites along the logging trail, loaders and deckers used cant hooks to load a sleigh for a team to haul to the river. There they were piled on a high rollaway from which they were rolled into the river during the spring thaw.²³

The movement of logs to the mill in the spring also impaired the healthy ecology of the region. From the spring thaw into August, rivermen would lead dangerous logging drives down the major logging rivers of Michigan.²⁴ Rivermen were to keep the logs moving, so they would try to anticipate where logs would get hung up to usher them smoothly through turns or shallow stretches of the river aided only by their peaveys, calk boots, and wits. The movement of logs down the rivers disrupted their flow by dredging new depths and creating new shallows as the silt settled. The destruction of riverbanks further prompted erosion.²⁵

The final stage of the lumbering process demonstrated the degree of waste created by the commodification of the forests. Near the river mouths, logs would enter a boom where they were sorted based on their log marks so that each company could shepherd its logs to the mill. Most of these mills were steam powered and made quick work of converting the logs into lumber. Early sawmills used gang saws that wasted up to a quarter of a log in this conversion process. More efficient band saws trimmed this waste by half beginning in 1886. This lumber was either shipped to eastern cities or western farms primarily through Albany and Chicago. Logs that were not milled as well as some of the waste wood were used in the manufacture of products like furniture in Grand Rapids, railcars in Saginaw, or ships in many Lake Michigan port cities.²⁶

During the later stages of logging in Michigan, companies supplemented river drives with rail shipments to sawmills. Short rail lines into remote areas of the forest

helped remove trees that were too far to skid to rivers. Meanwhile, main railways brought logs from throughout the interior to the waiting mills. Railroads, in turn, were used to ship sawed timber back to the East and throughout the Midwest.²⁷

Michigan timber was cut in waves. Shanty boys cut the easy to reach white and Norway pine along rivers in the Lower Peninsula first. They cut interior stands of pine as the railroads allowed them access to these areas farther from the rivers. Only later were hardwoods cut, primarily for manufacturing. Some species, most particularly jack pine, did not have much use during the original wave of lumbering. Forests dominated by these trees remained largely uncut. This irregular pattern of logging meant that while most of the Michigan forest was cut during the second half of the nineteenth century, it was not all cut at once. Therefore, by the end of the era, some areas that were finally being cut were near older second-growth forests.²⁸ This intermixture kept the devastation from being uniformly apparent to settlers, agrarians, and foresters.

The lumbering methods used in Michigan had destructive consequences that would be problematic in the resulting cutover. The felling and movement of trees to riverbanks destroyed undergrowth and removed topsoil. The resulting large ruts provided the means for quick erosion. The release of logs for spring drives pulled soil into the rivers and opened rollaways to further erosion. Branches trimmed from the trees dried and became the slash that fueled wildfires during the next dry season. These fires burned hot, scorching the soil and consuming the organic matter in it, which made it less fertile. This environmental destruction made the cutover harder to farm for subsequent settlers.²⁹

In terms of productivity, lumber from Michigan's Lower Peninsula dominated national and international markets from the 1860s through the 1890s. Michigan produced

more than 1.7 billion board feet of white pine in 1869 – nearly thirty percent of the national total. The state's output more than doubled by 1879 to just less than half the national production. By 1889, Michigan was still the national leader, but production of white pine had stagnated, while its percentage of U.S. production fell below forty percent. At the close of the nineteenth century, Michigan's yield had fallen to 1.8 billion board feet, which was less than Wisconsin and Minnesota and accounted for only a quarter of the national output. By 1904, Michigan had slipped to below a billion board feet of white pine a year. Yellow pine in the South and Ponderosa pine in the West had eclipsed white pine from the Lake States as the dominant sources for lumber in the country. Michigan's production of softwoods continued to fall and in 1931, the state only cut 67,420 board feet, which was irrelevant in the total national harvest of lumber.³⁰

In West Michigan, the peak years were in the 1880s for the prominent mill towns, and production declined precipitously over the following twenty years. Pentwater produced a high of 15.8 million board feet in 1888. Ludington's peak output was 150.6 million board feet in 1890. Manistee's high was 284.1 million board feet in 1889, while Muskegon sawed an astounding 665.4 million board feet in 1887. By 1900, Muskegon was producing only a tenth of what it produced 13 years earlier. Manistee was still over 200 million board feet, but even their production bottomed out before the end of the decade.³¹ Lumber companies continued to cut hardwood for another 15 to 20 years at which time nearly all the virgin forest in the Lower Peninsula had been cut. Many companies even cut the meager second-growth pine that was available in order to make a variety of small woodenware products.³²

In the early-twentieth century, the nation celebrated the productivity of the lumber industry, and locals considered it the region's golden age. The lumberman and shanty boy were cast as heroic figures on par with cowboys, gold miners, railroad engineers, explorers, and soldiers. During the first half of the twentieth century, the lumbering of the Lake States was a popular setting for the dime novels of the day. In addition to the numerous collections of Paul Bunyan tales, novelists wrote stories of daring lumberjacks and their forest adventures. Some of these authors even constructed their works as conservation lessons for their readers on the dangers of fire, importance of reforestation, and the need for wildlife conservation. The excitement of the forests even appeared on the silver screen in the form of silent films such as *Hearts Aflame* in 1923.³³ Thus, according to popular culture, lumbermen and shanty boys were part of the pantheon of rugged individual heroes that made America great during the early-twentieth century. Though the strength and determination of the individual hero continued to be an important theme in American culture throughout the rest of the century, lumbermen fell out of favor after World War II as society began to regret logging practices that had resulted in the cutover. However, the environmental consequences of logging became apparent as settlers attempted to farm the region during the last couple of decades of the nineteenth century.³⁴

The emergence of agricultural and industrial development

As the lumbermen removed the forest, the land in Northern Michigan opened for agricultural settlement. In 1868, C.H. Brigham wrote in *The North American Review* that Northern Michigan was in prime condition for development as the forests were logged.

He asserted that pine lands were “excellent for farming purposes” and that the “finest wheat grows on tracts from which timber has been cut.” He claimed that the cities were not dependent on the lumber business since new industries would replace it. The arrival of agriculture was a foregone conclusion for Brigham, and his only concern was how much the settlers would ultimately miss the forests when they were all gone. He stated, “When Northern Michigan becomes, like Southern Illinois, a great rolling prairie of grass and grain, whose horizon is unbroken as the horizon of the ocean, the want of foresight that permitted the destruction of these magnificent forests will be bitterly lamented.”³⁵

In this article Bingham announced the arrival of three parallel activities into Northern Michigan. He promised agricultural settlement, industrial development, and a desire for reforestation. This analysis was by no means controversial as the widely-held view among politicians, businessmen, and settlers was that the plow would follow the axe in the region. Industrialization was likewise assumed as a logical extension of the industrial revolution occurring in the eastern United States. Regional promoters representing the railroads, land speculators, and state business interests sought these two forms of development in tandem throughout the rest of the nineteenth century.³⁶

In shifting the region from lumbering to agriculture, the trees were an impediment to that progress and the sooner they could be removed, the better for lumbermen, settlers and society. The farmers that assumed control of this newly cleared land would often grow crops around the stumps that remained from the logging operations. Stump removal occurred on this land in the spring and fall to avoid disrupting the growing season. In pastures and idle fields, stump removal could occur throughout the summer months. Farmers completed this work through the use of fire, stump pullers, and later dynamite.

While this work was quite laborious, it was easier than having to clear the forest prior to planting as had happened in much of Southern Michigan.³⁷

Some parts of the cutover shifted easily into farms. The land along Lake Michigan was quickly planted to orchards that produced excellent harvests of apples, cherries, peaches, plums, and pears. Areas that supported deciduous forests were more apt to have soils comprised of loams or loam-sand mixtures that could support certain crops as well as pasture grasses. Hence, farms with these better soils could support dairy and stock farming. Farmers in the northern part of the cutover grew root vegetables like potatoes and rutabagas. The soils varied significantly in the region and only the best soils could support agriculture in any form. Settlers depended a bit on luck in finding the right section for their farms particularly given the need for good soil and the great diversity of soil types in the region.³⁸

Given the range of land options for settlers during the 1870s and 1880s, land owners and community boosters had to promote their land to entice prospective buyers. Newspaper editors wrote articles encouraging settlement and printed special editions that could be used as promotional literature to recruit potential homesteaders. The *Manistee Daily News* published a special edition called *The Salt City of the Inland Seas* to extol the virtues of the city, county and its citizens on the eve of the twentieth century. About agriculture it claimed that “Manistee county is well adapted to successful raising of fruit, vegetables, and most every kind of farm produce has been fully demonstrated.” It attributed this success to the nature of the soil and the excellent climate that were perfect for the production of fruit. The paper also touted the merits of corn, potatoes and especially sugar beets. The journal also praised the expansion of the county’s port at

Manistee, its good roads, and its railroads all of which provided rapid shipment of produce to markets throughout the region. Finally, the community and business leaders who served as guest authors extolled the virtue of local schools, churches, hospitals, businesses, and civic organizations of the area. In short Manistee had everything a settler could want, and the area wanted settlers.³⁹

Some lumber companies likewise promoted settlement in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Companies that embraced a cut-and-run policy allowed property taxes to become delinquent because the only penalty was that the land that they did not want would revert to the state control. Companies that were more heavily invested in the region could not continue to operate if they failed to pay property taxes, so they sought to dispose of the land through sales. Many lumber companies, like Buckley and Douglass Lumber Company and Louis Sands Lumber Company in Manistee, as well as Stearns Salt and Lumber Company in Ludington, started real estate offices from which to sell their cutover lands to immigrants and homesteaders. These companies and organizations like the Michigan Land Association, the West Michigan Land Company, and the Michigan Land and Colonization Company had land offices in cities like New York and Chicago to promote Michigan to men who sought inexpensive land to farm. They produced promotional brochures filled with impressive snapshots to aid the sale of their lands. These photographs were often false representations of the region, however. Some lands were heavily fertilized to produce one good crop for the camera. This misrepresentation drew in immigrants and Yankees who would pay for land that was already cleared. Sometimes companies could turn a profit from their land offices. Yet

even when they operated at a loss, the companies experienced the reward of divesting themselves of land that had ceased to be profitable.⁴⁰

Railroads had an assortment of interests in the cutover. They had extensive lands for sale, but they also wanted rail passengers as well as land buyers. They promoted the resorts of Northern Michigan for health and happiness.⁴¹ Yet since their owners also had a stake in the lumber companies, they published reports that lauded the excellent quality of lands just waiting to be farmed in the cutover. In 1904, the Au Sable & Northwestern Railroad Company sought to sell “100,000 acres of the choicest hardwood lands in Michigan” along the Au Sable River. Author A.R. Code touted the land for its excellent potential to grow grains, hay, potatoes, and other root vegetables. The end of the pamphlet, like many others, had a collection of testimonial letters that raved about the bounty of these lands. While some claims of success were undoubtedly legitimate, the range of soil ensured that agriculture would not be successful everywhere in the cutover.⁴²

Early boosterism tracts rarely mentioned any limitations for agriculture in the cutover, while later ones put an emphasis on explaining why such concerns were misguided. Boosters usually emphasized the tilling, cultivation, fertilization, and crop rotation methods stressed by agricultural scientists as the best way to produce a good yield every year. The first experiment stations of the Michigan Agriculture College (MAC) were located in the cutover. Early studies by MAC agricultural scientists Robert Kedzie, William James Beal, Oscar Clute, Levi Taft, and U.P. Hendrick expressed optimism about the agricultural prospects of the region.⁴³ The goal of the agricultural scientists, in Michigan and elsewhere, was always the promotion of efficient and

scientific farming. Their focus on how to farm the cutover precluded the question of whether or not farming should be attempted at all. This bias in their visions of land use bolstered agricultural boosterism well into the 1920s.⁴⁴

Settlers who moved to these recently-logged areas were predominately Yankees, Canadians, Britons, and Scandinavians. Many of these farmers were Civil War veterans and support for the Union and its ideals remained very high throughout the rest of the century. These settlers were Republican in their politics and supported temperance drives, particularly in light of the wild times in the lumber towns in the spring. Their free labor and free soil ideology drove their values of private property and pioneer spirit throughout this era of agricultural settlement.⁴⁵

Yet for all this boosterism, agricultural success in the region was mixed. The ravages of fires, wind, and rain had destroyed the topsoil. Even in areas that had been spared extensive erosion, the topsoil could only produce good yields for a year or two before becoming exhausted. The population of the region remained in flux as many farmers grew tired of this fight with the environmental limits of the cutover, abandoned their land, and moved away with other settlers moving into the region behind them. These lands slowly reverted to the state for unpaid taxes. Other farmers stayed and continued to work their land, thinking each year might improve upon the last. To make these situations viable, these farmers worked off the farm to generate enough cash to keep their farms solvent. They hoped that this situation was temporary, but most farmers made little headway on their debts.⁴⁶

Agricultural statistics demonstrate how the lack of a nuanced approach by agricultural boosters exacerbated the failure and ecological destruction in certain

segments of the cutover (See Table 3). Agriculture had been an insignificant part of life in West Michigan during the early years of the lumber era. Newaygo, for example, only had 3,058 improved acres in 1854.⁴⁷ As shanty boys cleared more land making it accessible to settlers for agriculture, overall farm production levels increased, but poorer agricultural regions had fewer farms and distinctly lower production levels than other regions. Newaygo and Mason counties exemplify these conditions as both counties had good and poor agricultural townships. The averages and aggregate agricultural census figures for these townships demonstrate the ways that farming was never established in the cutover. Nine townships in Newaygo County have little public land in them, while fifteen townships have significant public ownership. Mason County has an even more balanced ratio with seven in private ownership and eight with broad public ownership. These same townships have dramatic differences in agricultural production after the lumbering era. In the following analysis I will refer to the areas with little public land as farming townships and the lands with public land as cutover townships (See Table 5).⁴⁸

Almost without exception, farming townships reaped greater harvests than cutover townships. In 1894, there was an average of 169 farms in the farming townships of Newaygo County, while the average was only 66 in the cutover townships. Among the farming townships, only Grant had fewer than 100 farms, while only Barton exceeded that figure among the cutover townships. Farms in cutover townships were larger, but that information is misleading since much of the extra land was unimproved. Farms in farming townships averaged 45 acres of improved land with 38 acres unimproved, while cutover farms had 37 improved acres and 55 acres of unimproved land.

While livestock numbers were comparable on farms throughout the county, the production of major farm crops was higher in farming townships than in cutover townships. Farms in farming townships averaged 188 bushels of corn, 95 bushels of wheat, 94 bushels of oats, 108 bushels of potatoes, and 15 bushels of apples. Cutover township farms averaged only 143 bushels of corn, 26 bushels of wheat, 48 bushels of oats, 82 bushels of potatoes, and eight bushels of apples. Cutover farms produced more rye on the order of 30 bushels compared to 13 bushels, but this quantity of rye hardly compensates for the underproduction in these other enterprises.⁴⁹

These figures become even more pronounced by 1935. Newaygo County farming townships averaged 176 farms, while cutover townships only had 69. Farms in cutover townships continued to be larger with a much greater percentage of unimproved land. Livestock figures continued to be comparable with farming-township farms having more cattle and milch cows, while cutover farms had more sheep and swine. Farms in farming townships produced an average of 124 bushels of corn, 37 bushels of winter wheat, 137 bushels of oats, 28 bushels of rye, 259 bushels of potatoes, 96 bushels of apples, and 146 pounds of grapes. Farms in cutover townships harvested an average of 109 bushels of corn, six bushels of winter wheat, 35 bushels of oats, 16 bushels of rye, 119 bushels of potatoes, eight bushels of apples, and six pounds of grapes. These figures demonstrate the wide gap between these nearby townships.⁵⁰

Mason County reported differences in the two areas similar to Newaygo County in 1894 and 1935. In 1894, farming township averaged 146 farms in Mason County, while cutover townships averaged merely 58 farms. Every farming township had at least 90 farms, while cutover townships only saw Freesoil exceed that figure. Though cutover

farms were thirteen acres larger on average, farmers in both areas harvested about the same number of acres with farming-township and cutover-township farms averaging 34 and 30 improved acres respectively. Cutover farms had a slight edge in livestock numbers, but like Newaygo County, farming townships held a distinct advantage in crop production despite the comparable number of improved acres. Farms in farming townships averaged 134 bushels of corn, 43 bushels of wheat, 81 bushels of oats, eight bushels of rye, 152 bushels of potatoes, 19 bushels of apples, and 23 bushels of peaches. Cutover township farms averaged only 105 bushels of corn, 39 bushels of wheat, 61 bushels of oats, nine bushels of rye, 120 bushels of potatoes, 18 bushels of apples, and a half bushel of peaches.⁵¹

Since Mason County expanded its orchard production in the farming townships, it did not have as pronounced a change in 1935 as Newaygo County for all enterprises, but the changes were significant in several areas nevertheless. Farming townships averaged 177 farms, while cutover townships only had 71. Except for more sheep on cutover farms, livestock numbers were nearly the same. Grain crops were likewise similar as farming-township farms only held a slight advantage with an average of 75 bushels of corn, 24 bushels of winter wheat, 126 bushels of oats, and 11 bushels of rye compared to 50 bushels of corn, 25 bushels of winter wheat, 85 bushels of oats, and 14 bushels of rye on cutover farms. The production of potatoes and fruit showed a larger difference. Farms in farming townships produced an average of 269 bushels of potatoes, 140 bushels of apples, 38 bushels of cherries, and 33 pounds of grapes, while farms in cutover townships harvested an average of 190 bushels of potatoes, 55 bushels of apples, two bushels of cherries, and 17 pounds of grapes.⁵²

The issues for farmers in the cutover were numerous. Soil and climate were the main geographic features that compromised their ability to farm the cutover. Marginal soils in places with insufficient rainfall and short-growing seasons restricted the farmers' abilities to harvest crops sufficient to pay their bills. The methods of lumbering had not helped this situation, as it created the circumstances of extensive erosion and soil destruction through wildfires. Additionally, local markets declined substantially when the lumber industry curtailed production and many people moved away. These softened markets could no longer support the purchase of farm produce levels of 1895, let alone an increase. In an attempt to replace this failing market, local boosters sought to promote manufacturing to replace the declining lumber industry.⁵³

An expansion of manufacturing seemed to be possible given the labor force available from the lumber industry and the existing transportation routes on railroads and Great Lakes ships. However, like many businesses throughout the country, success was fleeting for many of these companies. So, while there were active factories well into World War I, failure was a common threat to them. For example, the Panic of 1893 caused several local banks to fail, which took the companies they financed down with them. Hence, industrial conditions were similar to agricultural conditions in that while it was an ongoing activity there was a steady turnover of settlers and companies during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.⁵⁴

The manufacture of lumber in sawmills was the dominant industrial output from the forests during the nineteenth century in northern Michigan. There were, however, numerous other enterprises using Michigan pine and hardwoods throughout the state. Grand Rapids was widely recognized as a major furniture center in the United States.

Companies like Brunswick in Muskegon made many specialty items including counters and bars for taverns as well as bowling pins and other bowling-related equipment.

Companies that manufactured shingles, charcoal, turpentine and other such items crafted from small or waste wood were founded as lumbering went into decline. The Ludington Woodenware Company manufactured bowls, clothespins, butter molds, and handles, while the Custer Manufacturing Company produced clothespins and general merchandise twelve miles east of that plant. Both of these companies commenced operations in the 1880s but by World War I had closed with operations moving to Wilmington, Vermont. Other small factory-crafted items like barrels, bowls, fruit baskets, curtain rollers, map mountings, pianos, and game boards also were produced. These items were often distributed regionally and nationally by central wood products wholesalers such as Cupples Woodenware Company of Grand Rapids.⁵⁵

Other industries that arose in the region were the production of salt and cement. In 1860 the first successful salt well was sunk in Saginaw. Geologists had long suspected that other parts of the state also sat over large salt veins. After several unsuccessful attempts, Charles Reitz sank a successful well in Muskegon in 1881. By 1890 local production was over a million barrels a year. Lumber companies founded and organized these salt plants as an arm of the larger operation. As the lumber industry declined, these salt wells took on a more prominent role in company finances. Salt production was so prosperous that Morton Salt Company of Chicago purchased several local plants in Michigan to expand their national production and distribution of table salt. While the Great Lakes shoreline was the site of the salt industry, the interior had substantial cement production around the turn of the century. This industry used marl from inland lakes and

regional limestone to make its product. These industries mirrored lumber production in being extractive industries. Salt production proved to be rather sustainable, but cement production declined in the early decades of the twentieth century.⁵⁶

The cutover and its surrounding area were limited to extractive industries and companies that supplied those industries. Industrial manufacturing became the cornerstone of Michigan's economy in the early-twentieth century. Larger manufacturing centers in Michigan predominately developed in the southern half of the Lower Peninsula. Of former lumber towns in West Michigan, only Muskegon was able to convert decisively to a manufacturing economy. But the northern half of the state was almost completely left out of this sector of the economy. The decline of extractive industries, the failure of farming, and the lack of manufacturing jobs severely hampered the cutover and resulted in widespread poverty that still impacts the region in the twenty-first century.⁵⁷

This weak economy from the loss of lumbering and weak agricultural and manufacturing production discouraged further settlement. After the end of logging, every county significantly within the boundaries of the cutover experienced at least one decade of population decline. Most counties reached population highs between 1890 and 1910 only to see those figures sharply decline over the next several decades to the point where the population did not recover even in the post-war census of 1950 (See Table 1). This demographic shift out of the region left extensive tracts of land idle. Many landowners were extra-local and few land buyers were claiming land. The idle characteristic of the land would be a cornerstone in how agrarians and foresters approached the problems of the cutover.⁵⁸

Because of industrialization, Muskegon County experienced the lightest decline and the strongest rebound in population. It declined about 7.5 percent from 1890 to 1900, but grew by 9.5 percent the next decade. From that point, the population of the county exploded with the growth of the city of Muskegon as the county averaged a growth of over 20,000 inhabitants every decade from 1910 until 1950. This expansion was easily the largest in the cutover and was due to the good farmland in the southern part of the county and the expansion of manufacturing in the city of Muskegon.

On the other end of the spectrum was Lake County which had its population swell from an initial count of 548 in 1870 to 6,505 inhabitants in 1890. But the growth of the county would come to an abrupt halt as the population plummeted nearly 24 percent during the next decade to 4,957 residents. The population continued to decline until 1930 when only 4,066 inhabitants remained – a mere 62.5% of the population that the county had in 1890.

Townships that had soils least adaptable to agriculture experienced the sharpest population declines. In 1900 the townships of Home, Monroe, and Norwich in northeastern Newaygo County all suffered from drops to at least half the number from the previous decade. Such decline in these counties continued through 1950 when these three townships had only 560 residents, down from the high in 1890 of 2,992. This decline of over 80 percent indicated not only the importance of logging to the region, but also the deficiency of any economic opportunities to replace logging once it left.

Similar population declines occurred throughout the cutover. The loss of residents hampered services for the remaining residents. As more of the land reverted to the state for unpaid property taxes, the tax base of the townships shrank. This loss of revenue

resulted in poorer roads and schools in the region, which further discouraged settlement and the retention of residents. Limited economic and educational opportunities along with soil deficient for subsistence agriculture resulted in a population that was endemically poor and without hope that their circumstances would improve without relocation. These conditions along with the ecological destruction caused by fires and erosion devastated the region and by the 1920s created a public policy crisis for the cutover. Communities struggled to maintain the necessary infrastructure and services as land abandonment undermined the local tax base. Despite still clinging to an ideal that favored private land ownership, local officials were faced with the fact that much of the land was held by non-local residents or was tax-reverted to the state. Attempts at selling the land, even for resort and recreational purposes, failed. For the dominant culture, much of the cutover had become land nobody wanted.⁵⁹

Ecological consequences of lumbering and agriculture

As if the economic troubles of the region were not debilitating enough, the cutover also suffered from ecological problems that were the consequences of logging and farming methods common during the late-nineteenth century. Lumbermen cut the largest and best pines throughout the region. The remaining small pines were either too immature to produce seeds or were of a deficient stock that did not reproduce well. Wildfires burned the region at regular intervals. These fires would rush across the new tender growth in regions that were already burned over. Furthermore, these fires burned hot destroying the root systems of grass and the seeds that could regenerate growth.

These fires left the soil sterile, which kept it from rebounding quickly. The natural regeneration periods for these burned over areas took decades rather than years.⁶⁰

The ecological problems of the fires were further exacerbated by the erosion of the exposed topsoil. Wind carried the sandy topsoil away and rains washed it into the rivers that had carried logs to the mills. The loss of topsoil was even harder to recover from than the fires since it served as the base on which all vegetation grew. The areas that suffered from erosion were among the slowest to regenerate.

Additionally, farming depleted fragile soils in the cutover. Intensive agriculture used the few nutrients in the soil, so in less than five years yields went into decline without extensive use of fertilizer. Since land was cheap and homesteaders rarely had the means to acquire cheap fertilizer, many farmers moved on to new acres. Others clung to land that was producing less and less each year. The methods to address this problem by agricultural scientists from MAC were either too expensive for the average farmer or not any more helpful than the means used by farmers at the time. Hence, abandoned farms were also often locations of ecological problems.⁶¹

Another consequence of the destruction of the forest was the loss of habitat for many native animals. Larger mammals retreated to the north. Other birds and mammals adapted well to the new openings, but the game animals among them had their number decimated by over-harvesting. The silting of rivers raised water temperatures, which destroyed the habitat for many species of aquatic plants and animals. The combination of the changes in habitat and over-harvesting for game markets threatened many species of birds, fish, and mammals native to the northern Great Lakes. The most notable extinction that occurred was the Michigan grayling, a tasty sport fish that was exploited through

over-fishing and eliminated by the rise in water temperature.⁶² Many large mammals also disappeared as the food chain for the ecosystems was disrupted. Even whitetail deer, which thrive in the forest openings, experienced a sharp decline in their numbers. Deer became so scarce in the first few decades of the twentieth century that even seeing their tracks was a rarity. The loss of game fish and animals further weakened the food supply on marginal farms. It was this decline of game numbers that prompted many citizens, particularly sportsmen, to become interested in the issue of conservation.⁶³

Sportsmen had felt threatened by the loss of habitat and game throughout the late-nineteenth century and used their hunting and fishing clubs to lobby the legislature for game laws. Michigan's first conservation law was a restriction on hunting seasons in 1859, but it received no special enforcement and was frequently amended throughout the rest of the century. Fishing regulations were first passed in 1869 and the State Fish Commission was created in 1873 as the first conservation board in the state. This commission was less concerned with enforcement than the development of fish culture through hatcheries.⁶⁴ Sportsmen created the Michigan Sportsmen's Association in 1875 to advocate politically for the needs of wildlife in the state.⁶⁵ Their work resulted in the creation of a state game warden in 1887 and broader game law enforcement. This enforcement was met with indifference or hostility from local residents who felt that such enforcement was an unnecessary infringement on their rights as citizens. They also thought that sportsmen received the benefit of these laws while they were marginalized by them. While these concerns had some validity, the extinction of the grayling and passenger pigeon, species that had been common in the state in the mid-nineteenth century, demonstrated that management of game was a critical concern for the state.⁶⁶

Crisis of the cutover

The transition of the Northern Michigan forests to agriculture was spotty, and manufacturing did not support the economic needs of the region. In light of these struggles the idle lands served as a testament to the region's woes. The cutover that covered the interior of Northern Michigan was comprised of rolling barrens. The majestic white pine forests had been clear cut from the region. The trimmed limbs from those trees served as prime fuel for the wildfires that swept through the region. These fires consumed the discarded pine boughs and any new growth. The region was desolate with few people, homes, or wildlife. Charred pine stumps were surrounded by bracken and berry bushes which covered sterile sands. Defoliated pine, cedar, or hemlock poles that continued to stand after the fires testified to the terror that the fires had wrought. Smoke was visible in the skies from spring until fall as the cycle of fires continued. Desolate roads with deep grooves in the soft sand wound through the scant growth of these barrens.⁶⁷

While nearly all of Northern Michigan had been subjected to logging, not all of it qualified as cutover in the late-nineteenth century. Areas along Lake Michigan had been settled quickly after logging and were frequently agriculturally profitable, so they were not part of the cutover. Likewise, agriculture was a fairly strong land use in the south-central counties of the region. Therefore, the cutover formed a hook shape running north-northeast from Muskegon and Howard City, to an area from Houghton Lake north to Indian River, east to the Lake Huron shoreline, and south to Tawas City (See Map 1).

Given this large range of cutover land, this study will predominately focus on the West Michigan cutover, a nine-county region of land between the Muskegon River in the south and the Manistee River in the north.⁶⁸ While the mouths of these two rivers are

eighty-five miles apart when they enter Lake Michigan, their headwaters are less than ten miles from one another in northeastern Missaukee County. This region had been the heart of the West Michigan white pine forest that was cut during the 1860s-1880s. By 1890 the large pines had been cut and lumbermen were either leaving the area for the Southwest or Northwest or shifting to cutting hardwoods and the small remaining pines.

C.H. Brigham was wrong that agriculture would readily replace logging or that the region's cities would not miss the economic impact of lumbering. But he did predict that citizens would lament the destruction of the forests. The burned cutover with its eroding sands was not the result that any businessman, politician, or citizen predicted or desired. Yet, the creation of the cutover was more than the result of cutting down the pine forests. Poor settlement, the slow growth of industry, and the environmental differences between Northern and Southern Michigan were all part of the process. These factors, more than the sheer cutting of trees, were the reasons why Northern Michigan was a wasteland by 1900.⁶⁹

The failure of agriculture and industry throughout the region as well as environmental conditions sealed the region's marginalized situation. Northern Michigan's soils were much sandier than the rich loams of the southern part of the state. Sandy soils were more susceptible to erosion and were slow to rebound from fire. The climate was temperate most of the year with sufficient precipitation throughout the Lower Peninsula. But the shorter growing season in the north coupled with its sandy soils created a precarious condition for agricultural settlement. The failure to settle much of the region further exacerbated these conditions, and few areas in the cutover had the

necessary investment in road, school, and community infrastructure to provide stability for local farmers.⁷⁰

The creation of the cutover was much more than denuding the land. The cutover was the culmination of human and environmental factors that limited the range of possible land uses. Most residents of the cutover in 1900 lived a small-scale subsistence lifestyle that was out of step with the rising industrial capitalist society of the United States. Despite efforts by regional farmers to retain the lifestyle, subsistence was not deemed an appropriate model for a prosperous modern America. So, other notions of “good” land use were attempted. Despite efforts of boosters, neither Jeffersonian agrarianism nor industrial manufacturing had taken root amidst the stumps of the cutover. Instead a new notion of land use that was being applied all across the country would be tried in Michigan too. Starting in the late-eighteenth century, a small group of determined individuals embraced a developing perspective of resource conservation through scientific forestry.⁷¹

By 1890 two movements began to focus their work on applied land use in the cutover. Despite indications of agricultural failure in certain parts of Northern Michigan, agrarians remained confident that research by agricultural scientists would make farming the cutover profitable. Foresters, meanwhile, were rallying interest in conserving forest resources, reforesting the poorest soils, and eliminating wildfires from the cutover. As the 1888 botanical expedition demonstrated, these movements were not necessarily in competition with one another. In fact many early leaders such as William James Beal and Charles W. Garfield were sympathetic to the goals of both groups and saw their efforts as complementary rather than antagonistic.⁷²

1888 Botanical Expedition

The movement for reforestation in the state started with the work of Charles W. Garfield.⁷³ While he held various posts at the Grand Rapids Savings Bank from 1886-1919, Garfield's real interest was in the areas of forestry, horticulture, and civic planning. He attended the Forestry Congress held in Montreal in August of 1882 which prompted him to think more about the issue of forestry in the state.⁷⁴ He researched the issue for a few years and submitted his findings to the State Horticulture Society in 1886. In this sixty-nine page document, Garfield asserted that the lumbermen did not care about the effects of forest removal but that farmers must. He cited numerous scientists and thinkers on the issue claiming that forests affect climate, flooding, and human health. He instructed his fellow horticulturalists to become involved by curbing tree destruction through the growing, transplanting and proper cutting of trees. This report launched an effort by the society to persuade the legislature to investigate the situation. In 1887, the legislature responded to this push from the society and the wildfires of the preceding season by creating the first State Forestry Commission to gather information about forestry in Michigan. Garfield and William James Beal,⁷⁵ a botanist at the Michigan Agricultural College, were named co-directors.⁷⁶

The work for this commission was marked by three prominent results. The first was a State Forestry Convention held in Grand Rapids on January 26-27, 1888. Garfield and Beal with the help of Bernhard Fernow and Liberty Hyde Bailey ran the convention. Foresters presented papers and held discussions on a wide range of topics of interest such as farm woodlots, commercial production, and state involvement. The goal of the convention was to expand awareness of forestry issues in the state and gather information

from lumbermen, businessmen, farmers, and politicians that were intimately aware of local conditions.⁷⁷

The second outcome of the commission occurred in June 1888 when Beal led a botanical expedition across the northern Lower Peninsula of Michigan. Garfield was not able to join the group because of a severe illness. The journey, which lasted a fortnight, started on the shores of Lake Huron at Harrisville and ended in Frankfort on one of Lake Michigan's many sandy beaches. Liberty Hyde Bailey, Charles Wheeler, two students, two reporters, and a teamster joined Beal to gather botanical samples and to assess the condition of the land for a report to the governor and state legislature. The goal was to identify the condition of soils and plants in the cutover as a means by which to encourage settlement and revitalize the forest where necessary. This expedition catalogued the ecological problems of the cutover and offered an initial investigation and response that proved useful for both agrarians and foresters.⁷⁸

The adventure revealed a unique landscape created by large-scale lumber harvesting that had reduced most of the large pine stands to stumps, slash, and scrub growth. Rough individualists farmed cutover lands near where lumber camps would be established in the fall. The produce of these farms found a quick market in these camps as a wide variety of fresh fruits and vegetables would draw able-bodied men to work those camps through the winter. Small villages dotted the interior of the state and served as the main sources of supplies for the remote camps. The expedition arrived during a raid of a prostitution den near Mio, the sensationalism of which drew one of the reporters to leave the group in search of lurid sex tales for his readers. Along with the hard work on farms and bawdy living, they also found abandoned farms and large swaths of land that had

been recently burned by wildfires. To all the members of the expedition, the land and pioneers exemplified a wildness that needed to be tamed in order to establish productive communities and farms. In order to achieve these ends, the fires and second-growth needed to be overcome through wise settlement and land use.

Beal compiled information garnered at the convention and on the expedition with his other research into a report for the governor – the third result of the commission. Despite the decimated condition of the soil, Beal and Bailey recommended agricultural settlement with the planting of specialized crops. They discouraged the grain farming that was common in the southern Lower Peninsula in favor of fruit, potatoes, and grazing. These enterprises, the scientists thought, would be best suited for the region's sandy soils and short-growing season. Furthermore, grazing animals such as cows and sheep would keep the land clear of second-growth brush until farmers were ready to use these pastures as crop lands.⁷⁹

Beal was also conducting his own agricultural investigations at an experiment station south of Grayling that he visited on the group's weekend stop in the town. Beal had planted native and imported grasses in May in the hopes of discerning which ones would best restore nutrients to the abused soil of the cutover. While his findings were uncertain, he did express hope that a mixture of grasses and clovers would revitalize soil fertility for eroded and burned soils. Local residents were skeptical of the scientist's work; however, as to them it appeared that Beal's plowed and staked plots were in no better condition than when he had started them.⁸⁰

Though Beal did not know it at the time, it would be his other plantings at the experiment station that would prove to be the most useful for future land use in the

cutover. Along with his farm plots, Beal had planted a large woodlot of both seeds and seedlings in a corner of the research field. He had hoped that this plantation would help him to identify the species best for timber production in the cutover. This stand would become a greater focus for Beal during the following twenty years and would continue to be used by forestry researchers after his retirement. It was these trees planted in the spring of 1888 rather than the grasses, clovers, and crops planted nearby that would be more important in the exploration for the best use of the cutover.⁸¹

This 1888 botanical expedition and the concurrent research being done at the Grayling Experiment Station were the consequences of the State of Michigan recognizing that the northern Lower Peninsula was different from the state's southern counties. These investigations were supposed to provide the information necessary for the state to promote agricultural settlement in the region. Beal and Bailey's recommendations for production of fruit, potatoes, and grazing encouraged the state to proceed with homesteading the region. However, despite some successful farms, other cutover lands were repeatedly abandoned as agriculture failed. The results were uncontrollable wildfires, an unstable population, exorbitant tax rates, poor roads and schools, and widespread poverty, all of which served as an anchor on the state's economy during the early part of the twentieth century.

It was in this context that agrarians and foresters debated the best use for the cutover. Agrarians clung tenaciously to the pastoral ideal and insisted that better farming methods needed to be found. These new methods would revitalize the soil and encourage the farmer as to the best enterprises for his farm. Only more time and more experiments were necessary to unlock the puzzle of the cutover.⁸²

Foresters did not directly dispute these claims. However, they insisted that despite scientific agriculture's best efforts some land was beyond immediate help and that at the very least another good timber crop could be harvested from these idle lands in the forty or more years that it would take scientists to solve the cutover's problems. They insisted that prompt reforestation and protection would prevent numerous problems for settlers and state while creating a fine reward.⁸³

Despite just tapping a small measure of the questions related to the cutover, the 1888 forestry convention and expedition proved to be the high points of the first state forestry commission. Beal's report served as the culmination of the work of the commission. While the report suggested that further research was necessary to grasp the full consequences of the changes to the forests, the legislature determined that the issue was not pressing enough to pursue. The lack of serious forest fires over several years caused interest in forestry issues to lag in the legislature. So when the economic panic of 1891 forced cost cutting by the legislature, the state stopped funding the commission.⁸⁴

Thus began the debate over appropriate land use for the cutover. Little did either group know that their efforts would extend from the 1880s to the 1930s before reaching a permanent resolution – a resolution that neither side promoted in 1888. And to reach this resolution, it ultimately took the expansion of tourism as a viable land use, extensive cooperation between officials and local residents, and protracted changes in the role of the state and federal government in local affairs to get it done.

Notes for Chapter One

¹ Michigan's two peninsulas (the Upper and the Lower), particularly the mitten shape of the Lower Peninsula, create distinct geographic features that Michiganders use as reference points. For example the Thumb refers to the state's eastern part of the Lower Peninsula that juts into Lake Huron to form Saginaw Bay. There are many of these subsections of the state; but for the purposes of this study, I will only be referring to three geographic and cultural regions that every Michigander would quickly recognize. These regions are Southern Michigan, Northern Michigan, and the Upper Peninsula. Northern Michigan is separated from Southern Michigan by an imaginary line that stretches across the state from Muskegon on the shores of Lake Michigan to Bay City on Saginaw Bay.

In this study, I focus on the West Michigan cutover, which included parts of Lake, Manistee, Mason, Mecosta, Montcalm, Muskegon, Newaygo, Oceana, and Wexford counties. Please see Map 3 for their location.

² Anishnabeg is a Native word meaning "first people" and refers to the members of the Three Fires – the Ojibwa, the Odawa, and the Potawatomi – that comprised the majority of pre-contact residents of Michigan. Given that the language was oral and had no written equivalent, this plural form of the word has numerous accepted spellings.

³ Lew A. Chase, *Rural Michigan* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 7-10; L.C. Wheeting and A.E. Matthews, *Soil Survey of Muskegon County, Michigan* (Washington: USDA, 1924); Elton B. Hill, "Agricultural Regions in Michigan," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* 14 (1930): 367-376; C.H. Wosner, J.O. Veatch, and L.R. Jones, *Soil Survey of Oceana County, Michigan* (Washington: USDA, 1938); C.H. Wosner, J.O. Veatch, and W.J. DeBoer, *Soil Survey of Mason County, Michigan* (Washington: USDA, 1939); Paul J. Rood, *An Analysis of Land Use and Soil Fertility Factors in Michigan by Counties* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Soil Extension Service, 1943); and A.H. Mick, *Soil Survey of Newaygo County, Michigan* (Washington: USDA, 1951).

⁴ Chase, *Rural Michigan*, 16-31.

⁵ For an introduction to two of these rivers, the Pere Marquette and the Muskegon, see David N. Cassuto, *Cold Running River* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994) and Jeff Alexander, *The Muskegon: The Majesty and Tragedy of Michigan's Rarest River* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2006).

⁶ For information on the condition of the Great Lakes forest and game at first European contact please see Chase, *Rural Michigan*, 63-68, 114-121; Timothy W. Hushen, Ronald O. Kapp, Robert D. Bogue, and John T. Worthington, "Presettlement Forest Patterns in Montcalm County, Michigan," *The Michigan Botanist* 5 (1966): 192-211; Betty Flanders Thomson, *The Shaping of America's Heartland: The Landscape of the Middle West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1977), 75-154; Eric A. Bourdo, Jr., "The Forests the Settlers Saw," in *The Great Lakes Forest: An Environmental and Social History*, ed. Susan Flader (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 3-16; David M. Gates, C.H.D. Clarke, and James T. Harris, "Wildlife in a Changing Environment," in *The Great Lakes Forest*, ed. Flader, 52-80; Gordon G. Whitney, "Relation of Michigan's Presettlement Pine Forests to Substrate and Disturbance History," *Ecology* 67, no. 6 (Dec. 1986): 1548-1559; Gordon G. Whitney, "An Ecological History of the Great Lakes Forest of Michigan," *The Journal of Ecology* 75, no. 3 (Sept. 1987): 667-684; Thomas M. Bonnicksen, *America's Ancient Forests: From the Ice Age to the Age of Discovery* (New York: John Wiley, 2000), 304-324; and Donald I. Dickmann and Larry A. Leefers, *The Forests of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 93-117.

⁷ This brief overview of Anishnabeg history prior to statehood obviously simplifies the complex relationships of the Anishnabeg with the land and with Europeans. For a better analysis of these issues, see Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); James M. McClurken, "We Wish to be Civilized: Ottawa-American Political Contests on the

Michigan Frontier" (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 1988); George Cornell, "Unconquered Nations: The Native Peoples of Michigan," in *Michigan: Visions of Our Past*, ed. Richard J. Hathaway (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1989), 25-40; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Charles E. Cleland, *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan's Native Americans* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992); Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, *A Gathering of Rivers: Indians, Métis, and Mining in the Western Great Lakes, 1737-1832* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); and Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

For insight into how Native American land management practices affected the land, see Charles E. Cleland, "Indians in a Changing Environment," in *The Great Lakes Forest*, ed. Flader, 83-95; Duncan A. Harkin, "The Significance of the Menominee Experience in the Forest History of the Great Lakes Region," in *The Great Lakes Forest*, ed. Flader, 96-112; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983); and Michelle M. Steen-Adams, "Change on a Northern Wisconsin Landscape: Legacies of Human History" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 2005).

⁸ Susan E. Gray, *The Yankee West: Community Life on the Michigan Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), has identified the Yankee characteristics of frontier settlement in southwestern Michigan, while Kenneth Lewis, *West to Far Michigan: Settling the Lower Peninsula, 1815-1860* (East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 2002), has analyzed the unique nature of Southern Michigan settlement inward from the Great Lakes and dependent upon the location of markets and availability of reliable transportation for settlers and goods both into and out of the region. For more information on frontier settlement in the Midwest, see Don H. Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-1870* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978); Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Peasant Pioneers: Generational Succession among German Farmers in Frontier Minnesota," in *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America*, ed. Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 259-292; and John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

⁹ As discussed in the Introduction, a cutover is any denuded area that has not been readily transferred to another use.

¹⁰ Stuart Chase, *Rich Land, Poor Land: A Study of Waste in the Natural Resources of America* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1936), 118-132; Thomas R. Cox, Robert S. Maxwell, Phillip Drennon Thomas, and Joseph J. Malone, *This Well-Wooded Land: Americans and Their Forests from Colonial Times to the Present* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 74-108; and Michael Williams, *Americans & Their Forests: A Historical Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 160-189.

¹¹ The term "Lake States" referred to the states created from the Northwest Territory during the first half of the nineteenth century. Though less common today, government officials, businessmen, journalists, and scientists used the term during the region's logging and cutover eras. For the purposes of this study, the Lake States refers to the part of the region that was heavily forested and logged – Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

While there is a myriad of secondary sources on lumbering in the Lake States, much of this work takes the form of general overviews. Hence, much scholarly work remains to be done. A few of the more notable sources are George W. Hotchkiss, *History of the Lumber and Forest Industry of the Northwest* (Chicago: G.W. Hotchkiss & Co., 1898); Byron S. Reetz, "A History of a Lumbered County" (M.A. thesis, Michigan State University, 1951); William G. Rector, *Log Transportation in the Lake States Lumber Industry, 1840-1918* (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1953); Stewart H. Holbrook, *Holy Old Mackinaw: A Natural History of the American Lumberjack*, enlarged edition (New York, Macmillan Co., 1956), 72-151; Rolland H. Maybee, *Michigan's White Pine Era, 1840-1900* (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1960); George M. Blackburn and Sherman L. Ricards, "The Timber Industry in Manistee County, Michigan," *Journal of Forest History* 18, no. 2 (April 1974): 14-21; Robert W. Wells, "Daylight

in the Swamp!" (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1978); Lewis C. Reimann, *When Pine Was King*, 1st ed. reprint (Au Train, Mich.: Avery Color Studios, 1981); Charles E. Twining, "The Lumbering Frontier," in *The Great Lakes Forest*, ed. Flader, 121-136; Mark Edward Neithercut, "The White Pine Industry and the Transformation of Nineteenth-Century Michigan" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1984); Cox, et al, *This Well-Wooded Land*, 101-108, 192-195; Barbara E. Benson, *Logs and Lumber: The Development of the Lumber Industry in Michigan's Lower Peninsula, 1837-1870* (Mount Pleasant, Mich.: Clarke Historical Library, 1989); Richard Henry Harms, *Life After Lumbering: Charles Henry Hackley and the Emergence of Muskegon, Michigan* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989); Theodore J. Karamanski, *Deep Woods Frontier: A History of Logging in Northern Michigan* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Williams, *Americans & Their Forests*, 193-237; Jeremy W. Kiler, *Michigan's Lumbertowns: Lumbermen and Laborers in Saginaw, Bay City, and Muskegon, 1870-1905* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990); William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: Norton, 1991), 148-206; Dave Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery: Michigan's Rise as a Conservation Leader* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), 19-36; Dickmann and Leefers, *The Forests of Michigan*, 118-148; and Jeff Forester, *The Forest for the Trees: How Humans Shaped the North Woods* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2004), 25-100.

Local histories that focus on the area that became the west Michigan cutover also have detailed descriptions of the logging era. Among these texts are Russell F. Anderson, *Historic Not-A-Pe-Ka-Gon: An Individualized History of Mason County, Michigan* (Ludington, Mich.: privately printed, 1933), 31-66, 77-109; *Romance of Muskegon, Michigan* (Muskegon: The Muskegon Chronicle, 1937), 22-25, 41-48, 88-98; Harry L. Spooner, *Lumbering in Newaygo County* (White Cloud, Mich.: The Cooper Press, 1948?); Curran N. Russell and Donna Degen Baer, *The Lumbermen's Legacy* (Manistee, Mich.: Manistee County Historical Society, 1954); Harry L. Spooner, *The First White Pathfinders of Newaygo County, Michigan* (Lansing: Michigan State Library, 1954), 12-29; Frances Caswell Hanna, *Sand, Sawdust and Saw Logs: Lumber Days in Ludington* (Ludington, Mich.: privately printed, 1955); Robert I. Thompson, *Newaygo White Pine Heritage: A Pictorial History of the Lumbering Era Along the Muskegon River in Newaygo County, 1837-1899* (Newaygo, Mich.: Newaygo City Bicentennial Committee, 1976); *Historic Mason County, Michigan, 1980* (Ludington, Mich.: Mason County Historical Society, 1980), 9-14; Jonathan Eyler, *Muskegon County: Harbor of Promise* (Northridge, Calif.: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1986), 24-73; Cassuto, *Cold Running River*, 17-28; James L. Cabot, *Ludington, 1830-1930* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 12-40; Newaygo County Society of History and Genealogy, *Newaygo County, 1850-1920* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2006), 9-32; and Shannon McRae, *Manistee County* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2006), 11-54.

¹² Neithercut, "The White Pine Industry," 30, 50-53; Carl Jay Bajema, "The First Logging Railroads in the Great Lakes Region," *Forest & Conservation History* 35, no. 2 (April 1991): 76-83; and Graydon M. Meints, *Michigan Railroads and Railroad Companies* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1992), 7-17.

¹³ Hotchkiss, *History of the Lumber and Forest Industry*; Carrie E. Mears, "Charles Mears, Lumberman," *Michigan History* 30 (1946): 535-545; Harms, *Life After Lumbering*; and Cabot, *Ludington, 1830-1930*, 34-40.

¹⁴ For information on land dispersal in Michigan including these swindles, see Jenks Cameron, *The Development of Governmental Control in the United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1928), 144-157; Dallas Lee Jones, "The Survey and Sale of the Public Land in Michigan, 1815-1862" (M.A. thesis, Cornell University, 1952); Maybee, *Michigan's White Pine Era*, 14-18; Cox, et al, *This Well-Wooded Land*, 138-141; Benson, *Logs and Lumber*, 15-36; and Dickmann and Leefers, *The Forests of Michigan*, 118-126.

¹⁵ Cox, et al, *This Well-Wooded Land*, 140 and Benson, *Logs and Lumber*, 20, 22.

¹⁶ Hotchkiss, *History of the Lumber and Forest Industry*, 168-284; *The Salt City of the Inland Seas: Historical and Industrial Record of the Great Salt City* (Manistee, Mich.: Manistee Daily News, 1899); *History of Mason County, Michigan* (Chicago: H.R. Page & Co., 1882), 49-54, 61-69; *History of*

Oceana County, Michigan (Chicago: H.R. Page & Co., 1882), 114-154; *History of Manistee County, Michigan* (Chicago: H.R. Page & Co., 1882), 48-76. In *Portrait and Biographical Album of Newaygo County, Mich.* (Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1884), 179-476, while the occupation for most of the residents was listed as "farmer," reading their biographies show that many more than indicated worked in the lumber industry.

¹⁷ Kiler, *Michigan's Lumbertowns*, 135-163. The community work of the lumbermen who dominated the cities that developed around this industry was an exception to the cut-and-run mentality of other lumbermen. Among those who stayed in Michigan after the lumber era were William Butts Mershon, Justus S. Stearns, Charles Henry Hackley, and Thomas Hume. As will be seen in Chapter 2, Mershon became very active in the movement to reforest Michigan. Stearns donated the building for a hospital in Ludington and served one term as Michigan's secretary of state. Hackley and Hume dominated the development of city infrastructure and philanthropy in Muskegon. *Historic Mason County*, 320-321; Harms, *Life after Lumbering*, 248-311; and Cabot, *Ludington, 1830-1930*, 69, 92.

¹⁸ James Williard Hurst, *Law and Economic Growth: The Legal History of the Lumber Industry in Wisconsin, 1836-1915* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964) and William G. Robbins, *Lumberjacks and Legislators: Political Economy of the U.S. Lumber Industry, 1890-1941* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1982). While these studies do not deal directly with Michigan, their conclusions are appropriate for the relationship between lumbering and politics there as well.

Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), has offered an overview of how businessmen shaped government regulation in the late-nineteenth century. Other industries had cooperative relationships with government regulators and local businessmen. For a discussion of the cattle industry, see Robert R. Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns* (New York: Knopf, 1968), 149-238; for mining, see Larry Lankton, *Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); for fishing, see Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History, 1783-1933* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 331-337; and for railroads, see William F. Deverall, *Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Railroad, 1850-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

¹⁹ The lumbermen were company owners while shanty boys were the men who worked in the woods. Today the term lumberjack is more common for these men. That term was not introduced until the late-nineteenth century. It is clear that the woodsmen preferred the term shanty boys, which was the term they used to refer to themselves.

²⁰ C. Warren Vander Hill, *Settling the Great Lakes Frontier: Immigration to Michigan, 1837-1924* (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1970), has discussed immigration to Michigan and the logging camps that opened the frontier for settlement.

²¹ While the men were not in town during the winter, they did go to town to draw their pay in the spring. With this cash, they released their pent-up frustrations from the winter by going on benders filled with women and alcohol. Tales of wild living have become part of the history and legend of the former pine forests and mill towns and cities. The city of Muskegon is often at the forefront of these stories. Prostitution was rampant and alcohol flowed freely during these spring and early summer days when the shanty boys returned to town. From all accounts, this bawdy lifestyle was a central part of the social character of a lumbering town and prompted strong temperance organizations among upper-class women of these communities. More restrictive regulation of these enterprises was not put into place until lumbering began to decline.

There are numerous memoirs of shanty boys and their experiences in the forest, on lumber drives, and in town after a season in the Great Lakes during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Particularly insightful or entertaining among these memoirs are John W. Fitzmaurice, *The Shanty Boy* (Cheboygan, Mich.: Democrat Steam Print, 1889); Jacob Dye and Rex J. Dye, *Lumber Camp Life in Michigan* (Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1975); William H. Ellis, *Pick-ups and a Horse* (n.p.: Mary Jane Hennigar, 1975); and George A. Corrigan, *Calked Boots and Cant Hooks* (Ashland, Wis.: NorthWord

Inc., 1976). Also helpful is a collection of oral interviews of shanty boys and citizens in Benzie County printed in William and Edith Overlease, *Daylight in the Swamp* (Frankfort, Mich.: BaySide Printing, Inc., 1996). For a more history of these tales, see Holbrook, *Holy Old Mackinaw*, 72-151 and Kiler, *Michigan's Lumbertowns*, 112-134.

The boom period of these lumber towns was similar to growth in the cattle towns of the Great Plains. Both regions experienced a short-term growth in the vice industries of saloons, prostitution, and gambling. Furthermore, these towns were economically dependent during their development on the lumber and cattle industries respectively. Merchants supplied the necessary wares of the trade, which kept them self-interested in maintaining the viability of the industry. These conditions shaped the politics related to the industry and helped encourage timber harvesting that was only marginally profitable but resulted in broader regions of cutover. For a discussion of the frontier experience in cattle towns, see Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns*, 74-148.

²² For more information on life in camps and the patterns of a normal workday, see George Barker Enberg, "Labor in the Lake States Lumber Industry, 1830-1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1949), 105-180; Holbrook, *Holy Old Mackinaw*; Maybee, *Michigan's White Pine Era*, 1-10, 18-27; Randall E. Rohe, "The Evolution of the Great Lakes Logging Camp," *Journal of Forest History* 30, no. 1 (Jan. 1986): 17-28; Dickmann and Leefers, *The Forests of Michigan*, 126-137; and Forester, *The Forest for the Trees*, 67-85.

²³ Maybee, *Michigan's White Pine Era*, 18-27; Neithercut, "The White Pine Industry," 66-74; Benson, *Logs and Lumber*, 85-92, 144-148; and Williams, *Americans & Their Forests*, 201-203.

²⁴ The four most significant were the Tittabawassee and Au Sable in the east and the Muskegon and Manistee in the west. Other rivers that played a prominent role in West Michigan were the Grand, White, Pere Marquette, Little Manistee, Pine, Betsie, and Boardman.

²⁵ Maybee, *Michigan's White Pine Era*, 27-36; Neithercut, "The White Pine Industry," 108-115; Williams, *Americans & Their Forests*, 203-216; and Dickmann and Leefers, *The Forests of Michigan*, 138-148.

²⁶ For more detail on the business side of the lumber industry see Harms, *Life After Lumbering*, 20-43, 120-151; Kiler, *Michigan's Lumbertowns*, 50-75; and Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 159-183.

²⁷ Rector, *Log Transportation*, 215-247; Maybee, *Michigan's White Pine Era*, 37-43; Benson, *Logs and Lumber*, 153-155; Williams, *Americans & Their Forests*, 211-216; and Bajema, "The First Logging Railroads," 76-81.

²⁸ Maybee, *Michigan's White Pine Era*, 13; Neithercut, "The White Pine Industry," 166, 234-238; and Dickmann and Leefers, *The Forests of Michigan*, 145.

²⁹ Oscar Clute, "Report of the Chemist of the Experiment Station for 1888-89," *1889 State Board of Agriculture Report* (Lansing: Darius D. Thorp, 1889), 78-82; Walter A. Rowlands, "The Great Lakes Cutover Region," in *Regionalism in America*, ed. Merrill Jensen (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952): 331-346; Williams, *Americans & Their Forests*, 233-234; and Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 200-206.

³⁰ Henry B. Steer, *Lumber Production in the United States, 1799-1946*, USDA Miscellaneous Publication 669 (Washington: GPO, 1948), 25-31 and R.V. Reynolds and A.H. Pierson, *Forest Products Statistics of the Lake States*, USDA Statistical Bulletin 68, no. 2 (Washington: GPO, 1939), 5-8.

³¹ James Bruce Smith, "Lumbertowns in the Cutover: A Comparative Study of the Stage Hypothesis of Urban Growth" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1973), 43-67. Smith compiled the lumber production figures from reports in *Wisconsin Lumberman*, *The Northwestern Lumberman*, and *The American Lumberman*.

³² For an assessment of the decline of white pine logging in Michigan, the resultant land abandonment, and the consequences for twentieth-century Michigan, see Neithercut, "The White Pine Industry," 278-332.

³³ Paul Bunyan tales became a staple of American popular culture during the 1920s. By no means a thorough list, a sample of the more popular collections of stories included: Esther Shephard, *Paul Bunyan* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1924); James Stevens, *Paul Bunyan* (New York: Knopf, 1925); Wallace Wadsworth, *Paul Bunyan and his Great Blue Ox* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926); Glen Rounds, *Ol' Paul, the Mighty Logger* (New York: Holiday House, 1936); and Charles E. Brown, *Paul Bunyan Classics* (Madison: Wisconsin Folklore Society, 1945). For an analysis of the meaning of these tales, see Daniel G. Hoffman, *Paul Bunyan, Last of the Frontier Demigods* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952).

Significant novels of the era that are set in the Great Lakes forests or cutover were Stewart Edward White, *The Blazed Trail* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1902); Harold Titus, *Timber* (Boston: Small & Maynard, 1922); James Oliver Curwood, *Green Timber* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, & Company, Inc., 1930); and Edna Ferber, *Come and Get It* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1935). Titus's novel *Timber* was converted into a screenplay for the film *Hearts Aflame* directed by Reginald Barker in 1923. Curwood had countless novels adapted to screenplays; though, most of these films were about his rugged tales of life in the Yukon and Alaskan territories similar to the novels of Jack London. Titus and Curwood were from Michigan and were appointed members of the state's Conservation Commission.

³⁴ Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1992), 1-26.

³⁵ C.H. Brigham, "The Lumber Region of Michigan," *The North American Review* (Boston: Tichnor and Fields, 1868): 77-103.

³⁶ In addition to Brigham, see D. Bethune Duffield, "The Underdeveloped Regions and Resources of the State of Michigan," In *Three Lectures, Delivered before the Michigan State Agricultural Society, Annual Meeting, at Lansing, January 17, 1865* (Lansing, Mich.: John A. Kerr & Co., 1865), 9 and A. Winchell, "The Soils and Subsoils of Michigan," In *Three Lectures, Delivered before the Michigan State Agricultural Society, Annual Meeting, at Lansing, January 17, 1865* (Lansing, Mich.: John A. Kerr & Co., 1865), 73, 79, who emphatically claimed that all types of agriculture, but particularly fruit growing, would excel in these cutover lands. For details on agricultural and industrial possibilities for Northern Michigan, see George E. Steele, "Experiences in Northern Michigan," *Michigan and Its Resources* (Lansing: W.S. George & Co., 1881). Other sources that demonstrate the plow will follow the axe mentality include G.H. Cannon, "The Wilds of Michigan," *1886 State Board of Agriculture Report*, 178-182; "Deforested Michigan," *Northwestern Lumberman*, November 16, 1895, Box 21, Michigan Forests and Forestry folder, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS; A.E. Palmer, "Possibilities of Northern Michigan," *1898 State Board of Agriculture Report*, 75-78; "Agriculture," *The Salt City of the Inland Seas* (Manistee, Mich.: Manistee Daily News, 1899), 15-17; WMDB, *Western Michigan Fruit with Flavor* (n.p.: WMDB, 1910), 3-7, 11-22; WMDB, *Western Michigan: The Land of Fruit and Fortune* (n.p.: WMDB, 1914 & 1915); and "The Garden of the Middle West," (Manistee, Mich.: Buckley & Douglas Lumber Co., 1914), BHL, 3-5, 13, 18-29. For another treatise on this myth, see Norman John Schmaltz, "Cutover Land Crusade: The Michigan Forest Conservation Movement, 1899-1931" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1972), 235-249.

³⁷ Harry Thompson and Earl D. Strait, "Costs and Methods of Clearing Land in the Lake States," USDA Bulletin 91 (Washington: GPO, 1914); Chase, *Rural Michigan*, 434-436; and McRae, *Manistee County*, 97.

³⁸ William J. Beal, "Report of the Botanist," 1888 State Board of Agriculture Report (Lansing: Thorp & Godfrey, 1888), 171-193.

³⁹ *The Salt City of the Inland Seas*, 15-17. For a brief overview of agricultural boosterism for the purposes of settlement in the Great Lakes, see Hazel H. Reinhardt, "Social Adjustments to a Changing Environment," in *The Great Lakes Forest*, ed. Flader, 205-212.

⁴⁰ West Michigan Development Bureau, *Western Michigan Fruit with Flavor*, Box 1, Michigan section, Warshaw Collection, NMAH, 47-48 and "The Garden of the Middle West." Mining companies in the Upper Peninsula also promoted agriculture in the cutover as discussed in Terry S. Reynolds, "'Quite an Experiment': A Mining Company's Attempt to Promote Agriculture in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, 1895-1915," *Agricultural History* 80, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 64-98.

⁴¹ "Onkama Mineral Springs and Summer Resort," (Onkama, Mich.: Fred Culver, 1888), CHL and Ann Arbor Railroad Company, "Away from the Work-a-Day World: An Honest Effort to Picture the Charms of Frankfort – The Loveliest Spot on Lake Michigan," (Toledo: Franklin Printing Co., 1904), CHL.

⁴² Sybrant Wesselius, "What the State Might Do in the Way of Inducing the Settlement of Northern Michigan," *1895 State Board of Agriculture Report*, 78 and A.R. Code, "Information for Home Seekers" (Au Sable, Mich.: Au Sable & Northwestern Railroad Co., c1904).

⁴³ William J. Beal, "Report of the Botanist," *1888 State Board of Agriculture Report*, 171-193; Oscar Clute, "Report of the Chemist of the Experiment Station for 1888-89," *1889 State Board of Agriculture Report*, 78-106; William J. Beal, "Experiments and Observations on the Jack Pine Plains," *1889 State Board of Agriculture Report*, 321-327; Robert C. Kedzie, "Report of the Chemist," *1890 State Board of Agriculture Report*, 129-152; Robert C. Kedzie, "The Soils of Michigan," *1893 State Board of Agriculture Report*, 403-415; and L.R. Taft and U.P. Hedrick, "Potatoes," *1895 State Board of Agriculture Report*, 533.

⁴⁴ For other discussions of how agricultural scientists encouraged agricultural boosterism in the cutover see Norman J. Schmaltz, "The Land Nobody Wanted: The Dilemma of Michigan's Cutover Lands," *Michigan History* 67, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1983): 32-40; James Kates, "The Conservationist as Journalist: P.S. Lovejoy and the Fight for the Cutover," *American Journalism* 12, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 123-141; and Aaron Shapiro, "Promoting Cloverland: Regional Associations, State Agencies, and the Creation of Michigan's Upper Peninsula Tourist Industry," *Michigan Historical Review* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 1-37.

Studies that explore this rise of scientific agriculture as a scientific occupation and its impact on farm practices include Roy V. Scott, *The Reluctant Farmer: The Rise of Agricultural Extension to 1914* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970); David Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977); David B. Danbom, *The Resisted Revolution: Urban America and the Industrialization of Agriculture, 1900-1930* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1979); Alan I. Marcus, *Agricultural Science and the Quest for Legitimacy: Farmers, Agricultural Colleges, and Experiment Stations, 1870-1890* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1985); Pete Daniel, *Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures since 1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); and Jack R. Kloppenberg, Jr., *First the Seed: The Political Economy of Plant Biotechnology, 1492-2000*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004).

⁴⁵ For background information on the pioneers of Newaygo, Oceana, Mason, Lake, Manistee, and Wexford counties, see *Portrait and Biographical Album of Newaygo County, Mich.*, 173-476; L.M. Hartwick and W.H. Tuller, *Oceana County Pioneers and Business Men of To-day* (Pentwater, Mich.: Pentwater News Steam Print, 1890), 231-412; and Perry F. Powers, *A History of Northern Michigan and Its People* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1912).

The cultural mores of this society were decidedly Yankee. For a discussion of these values see Gray, *Yankee West*, 1-16.

⁴⁶ Schmaltz, "Cutover Land Crusade," 235-284; Neithercut, "The White Pine Industry," 278-313; and Williams, *Americans & Their Forests*, 353-361.

⁴⁷ 1854 State of Michigan Agricultural Census.

⁴⁸ 1894 and 1935 State of Michigan Agricultural Census.

⁴⁹ 1894 State of Michigan Agricultural Census.

⁵⁰ 1935 State of Michigan Agricultural Census.

⁵¹ 1894 State of Michigan Agricultural Census.

⁵² 1935 State of Michigan Agricultural Census.

⁵³ J.F. Cox, "The Cut-Over Lands in Relation to Agricultural Use," *Annual Report of the Michigan Academy of Science* 22 (1920), 21-24; Schmaltz, "Cutover Land Crusade," 235-242; Neithercut, "The White Pine Industry," 278-279; and Dave Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery*, 55-57.

⁵⁴ This analysis builds on the assessments of personal and business failure in nineteenth-century America provided by Scott A. Sandage, *Born Losers: A History of Failure in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005). An example of a company that failed during the Panic of 1893 was the E.G. Whitacre Manufacturing Company that had moved to Ludington from Minerva, Ohio in 1892. It failed along with the bank that financed it in 1894. Cabot, *Ludington, 1830-1930*, 72.

⁵⁵ Despite the many general works on the lumber industry, no comprehensive study of Michigan wood products companies exists. Histories of the furniture industry in West Michigan are the most accessible. For examples, see Frank E. Ransom, *The City Built on Wood: A History of the Furniture Industry in Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1850-1950* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1955); Francis X. Blouin and Thomas E. Powers, *A Furniture Family: The Slights of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: Bentley Historical Library, 1980); Steelcase, Inc., *Steelcase: The First 75 Years* (Grand Rapids: Steelcase, Inc., 1987); Jennifer Moelling, "The Architecture and History of the Great Furniture Factories of Grand Rapids, Michigan" (M.S. thesis, School of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1995); Christian G. Carron, *Grand Rapids Furniture: The Story of America's Furniture City* (Grand Rapids: Public Museum of Grand Rapids, 1998); and Paula S. Fogarty and Katherine H. Molumby, *Kindel Furniture Company: The First One Hundred Years* (Grand Rapids: Kindel Furniture Co., 2001).

The history of other wood products is harder to trace. This paragraph is a compilation of material on various companies that operated in Cadillac, Custer, Grand Rapids, Harrietta, Ludington, Manistee, Marlborough, Morley, Muskegon, and Newaygo. Sources include *Historic Mason County*, 11, 505-532; *Romance of Muskegon*, 86, 132-135; Cabot, *Ludington, 1830-1930*, 26-27, 94, 99; Mitchell Bros. Co. "Michigan Woods Intelligently Exploited" (Cadillac, Mich.: Cobbs & Mitchell, 1910?); Business Manufacturing – Custer Manufacturing Co. folder, Vertical Files, WPV; "How Clothes Pins Are Made" *Southern Lumberman*, January 15, 1891, Box 7, Clothes Pins folder, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS; "Williams Bros. near Harrietta," Lumber Era photo book, WCHM; and Cadillac turpentine factory photo series, Trains, Mills, & Camps photo book, WCHM.

For a general overview of industrial activity during the decline of the lumber industry, see Lynn Sandberg, "The Response of Forest Industries to a Changing Environment," in *The Great Lakes Forest*, ed. Flader, 194-204.

⁵⁶ Salt production usually receives passing mention in the histories of the lumber industry in Michigan. Some sources include *The Salt City of the Inland Seas*, 28; *Historic Mason County*, 14, 507, 526; Kiler, *Michigan's Lumbertowns*, 39-40, 57-59; Morton International, "How Morton Salt Came to Manistee or The Manistee Plant History" (Manistee, Mich.: Morton International, 1995); and McRae, *Muskegon County*, 42-45.

The cement industry has little historiography at all. There were major Portland cement companies in Marlborough and Newaygo. When the Marlborough company failed, the whole town in southern Lake County failed as well. The town experienced its boom and bust in roughly ten years. Esther R. Railton, "Marlborough," *Michigan History* 48, no. 3 (Sept. 1964): 233-241. For Newaygo, see NCSHG, *Newaygo County, 1850-1920*, 55, 58.

⁵⁷ Gary E. Machlis and Jo Ellen Force, "Community Stability and Timber-Dependent Communities," *Rural Sociology* 53, no. 2 (1988): 220-234 and Rural Sociology Society Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty, "Theories in the Study of Natural Resource-Dependent Communities and Persistent Rural Poverty in the United States," *Persistent Poverty in Rural America* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992): 136-172.

⁵⁸ All population figures for the cutover in this section come from the U.S. Census between the years of 1870 and 1950.

⁵⁹ Schmaltz, "Cutover Land Crusade," 249-259; Harold Titus, *The Land Nobody Wanted: The Story of Michigan's Public Domain*, Special Bulletin 332 (East Lansing: MSC Agricultural Experiment Station, 1945); and William E. Shands and Robert G. Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted* (Washington: The Conservation Foundation, 1977).

⁶⁰ Stephen J. Pyne, *Fire in America: A Cultural History of Wildland and Rural Fire* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 183-211 and Schmaltz, "Cutover Land Crusade," 393-406.

⁶¹ S.S. Walker, "The Problems of Waste Lands and Pine Plains of Michigan," *1892 State Board of Agriculture Report* (Lansing: Thorp & Godfrey, 1892), 445-449 and Neithercut, "The White Pine Industry," 320.

⁶² William Butts Mershon, *Recollections of my Fifty Years Hunting and Fishing* (Boston: The Stratford Company, 1923), 168-188; Ben East, "A Gallant Fish Passes," *American Forests* 43, no. 7 (July 1937): 334-335, 367-368; Eugene T. Peterson, "The History of Wild Life Conservation in Michigan, 1859-1921" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1953), 183-187; and Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery*, 19-26. See A. Judd Northrup, *Camps and Tramps* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Davis, Bardeen, and Co., 1880), 279-292, for an account of fishing for grayling in July 1879.

⁶³ Mershon, *Recollections*; Peterson, "The History of Wild Life Conservation," 5-13; David M. Gates, C.H.D. Clarke, and James T. Harris, "Wildlife in a Changing Environment," in *The Great Lakes Forest*, ed. Flader, 52-80; and Cassuto, *Cold Running River*, 22-24.

⁶⁴ Mershon, *Recollections*, 143-155 and Peterson, "The History of Wild Life Conservation," 132-167. The initial fish plantings were primarily of brook trout. Later plantings included rainbow trout and brown trout. Mershon claimed that N.W. Clark of Clarkston opened the first hatchery in the state shortly after the Civil War, but that his father A.H. Mershon was the first to plant brook trout in the state. He did so in the Tobacco River near Farwell in 1870. For further information on hatcheries and their impact on fisheries, see Joseph E. Taylor III, *Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

⁶⁵ Mershon, *Recollections*, 98-102, recounted the founding of the Michigan Sportsman's Association in 1875 and an extract of a paper read to the association on game and habitat destruction by H.B. Roney in 1881.

⁶⁶ For the history of early game conservation in Michigan, see Peterson, "The History of Wild Life Conservation," and Dempsey, *Ruin and Recovery*, 37-48. The political action of sportsmen in initiating the first conservation legislation is consistent with the findings of John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, 3rd ed. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001). For a broader discussion of the rift between local citizens and sportsmen regarding game laws, see Louis Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) and Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). Both authors have discussed local citizens, particularly immigrants, minorities, and the poor, came to be redefined as poachers when game

laws started to be enforced. Local citizens resisted this definition, since they saw their behavior as a continuance of what had been done for generations.

⁶⁷ Leo Alilunas, "Michigan's Cut-Over 'Canaan,'" *Michigan History* 26 (Spring 1942): 188-201 and Fern Berry, "Unchanging Land: The Jack-Pine Plains of Michigan," *Michigan History* 47 (March 1963): 15-28.

⁶⁸ See footnote 1 for a list of these counties. See Table 5 for a list of townships by county included as cutover.

For an overview of these counties, see "Lake County," *Michigan History* 69, no. 3 (May/June 1985): 22-23; "Manistee County," *Michigan History* 70, no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 1986): 10-13; "Mason County," *Michigan History* 71, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1987): 8-11; "Mecosta County," *Michigan History* 71, no. 2 (March/April 1987): 15-17; "Montcalm County," *Michigan History* 72, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1988): 8-11; "Muskegon County," *Michigan History* 72, no. 3 (May/June 1988): 8-11; "Newaygo County," *Michigan History* 72, no. 4 (July/August 1988): 12-15; "Oceana County," *Michigan History* 72, no. 6 (Nov./Dec. 1988): 8-11; and "Wexford County," *Michigan History* 76, no. 4 (July/Aug. 1992): 9-12.

⁶⁹ Brigham, "The Lumber Region of Michigan," 97.

⁷⁰ This conclusion is consistent with the work of Michelle M. Steen-Adams, "Change on a Northern Wisconsin Landscape: Legacies of Human History" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 2005) who has argued that the biophysical characteristics of the region interacted with economic, cultural, and political structures in cutover communities to determine the degree of success or failure of agriculture in the region.

⁷¹ Robert Gough, *Farming the Cutover: A Social History of Northern Wisconsin, 1900-1940* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 1-7; Eric D. Olmanson, "Romantics, Scientists, Boosters, and the Making of the Chequamegon Bay Region of the South Shore of Lake Superior, 1820-1900s" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 2000), 230-236; Raleigh Barlowe, "Changing Land Use and Policies: The Lake States," in *The Great Lakes Forest*, ed. Flader, 156-176; and Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery*, 33-36, 49-64. For an overview of how forestry was started in the various states, see "State Forest Administration," State Forestry Legislation Folder, Box 1 – State Organization, USFS Records of the State and Private Forestry Divisions, 1913-49, Compilations of State Laws on Forestry, 1923-49, 95-98, NARA.

⁷² William J. Beal, "Independent Forestry Commission Report," *1888 State Board of Agriculture Report* (Lansing: Thorp & Godfrey, 1888), 69-135.

⁷³ Garfield (1848-1934) was a Grand Rapids resident and a long-time advocate of reforestation in Michigan. He earned a degree from MAC in 1870 and worked as foreman of the college's botanical gardens under the direction of professor William James Beal. A founder and first secretary of the State Horticulture Society, he served one term as state representative (1881-1882) during which time he tried to get the state to accept a 300,000-acre donation near Houghton Lake from Grand Rapids lumberman Delos A. Blodgett for a forest reserve. These efforts failed but they did help further his resolve to dedicate his life to forestry issues in the state.

Biographical material on Garfield is scarce. The best materials are E.A. Stowe, "The Late Charles W. Garfield," *Michigan History Magazine* 19 (1935): 51-63; Mary Emily Schroeder, *The Charles W. Garfield Story* (Grand Rapids: privately published, 1977); "Biographical file," Box 1, Folder 3, Charles W. Garfield papers, BHL; and "Charles W. Garfield, biographical file" Vertical Files, GRPL.

⁷⁴ "The Forestry Congress," *Montreal Post*, August 23, 1882, American Forestry Association II folder, Box 3, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS.

⁷⁵ For a sympathetic full biography of Beal see Ray Stannard Baker and Jessie Beal Baker, *An American Pioneer in Science: The Life and Service of William James Beal* (Amherst, Mass.: privately published, 1925). For information on his work as in forestry and as an educator, see Clifford W. McKibbin, "William James Beal, Michigan's Pioneer Forester," *American Forests and Forest Life* 30 (April 1924):

216-217 and David Thomas, "'Keep on Squintin': The Life of William James Beal," *Michigan History* 68, no. 4 (July/August 1984): 16-23.

⁷⁶ Charles W. Garfield, "The Forestry Problem," *Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Horticulture Society of Michigan, 1886* (Lansing: W.S. George & Co., 1886), 60-128; "To Preserve the Forests," *Chicago Inter Ocean*, May 3, 1887, Michigan Forestry Commission folder, Box 21, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS; and "Michigan Forestry," *Grand Rapids Daily Democrat*, Oct. 28, 1887, 19th c. binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁷⁷ The minutes of the convention were reproduced in two places: "Minutes of the State Forestry Convention in Grand Rapids, January 26-27, 1888," *Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Horticulture Society of Michigan, 1888* (Lansing: W.S. George & Co., 1888), 203-213; "Proceedings of Farmers Institutes – Forestry Convention, January 26-27, 1888," *Annual Report of the Michigan Board of Agriculture, 1888* (Lansing: Thorp & Godfrey, 1888), 305-377; and "To Save the Forests," *Grand Rapids Evening Journal*, Jan. 6, 1888 and "Trying to Save our Forests," *Grand Rapids World*, Jan. 28, 1888, both in Michigan Forestry Commission folder, Box 21, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS. Also see "Friends of the Forest," *Grand Rapids Eagle*, Jan. 26, 1888 and "Forest Enthusiasts," *Grand Rapids Eagle*, Jan. 28, 1888, 19th c. binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁷⁸ This expedition is the subject of two articles, Edward G. Voss and Garrett E. Crow, "Across Michigan by Covered Wagon: A Botanical Expedition in 1888," *The Michigan Botanist* 15, no. 1 (Jan. 1976): 3-70 and David Thomas, "A Fortnight in Michigan's Forests," *Michigan History* 72, no. 4 (1988): 36-43. Other information can be gleaned from William James Beal, *History of the Michigan Agricultural College and Biographical Sketch of Trustees and Professors* (East Lansing: Agricultural College, 1915), 87; Fisher, "A Scientific Expedition," *Detroit Free Press*, June 13, 1888, 4; and William J. Beal, "Report of the Independent Forestry Commission" and "Report of the Botanist," *1888 State Board of Agriculture Report*, 69-135, 171-193.

⁷⁹ Liberty Hyde Bailey, "A Barren Waste," *Detroit Free Press*, June 18, 1888; Bailey, "In the Wild Woods," *Detroit Free Press*, June 21, 1888; Bailey, "Still in the Forest," *Detroit Free Press*, June 23, 1888; and Beal, "Report of the Botanist," 171-193.

⁸⁰ William J. Beal, "Experiment Station Bulletin No. 54 – Botanical Department," *1889 State Board of Agriculture Report*, 325-327 and H. Parish, "In Jack Pine Plains," *Detroit Tribune*, June 18, 1888, 4.

⁸¹ Beal, "Report of the Botanist," 173-175; William J. Beal, "Two Lessons in Forestry," *1903-1904 Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission* (Lansing: Robert Smith Printing Co., 1904), 63-65; and Alfred K. Chittenden, "Special Bulletin No. 103 – Forest Planting in Michigan," *1921 Michigan Board of Agriculture Report* (Lansing: Robert Smith Printing Co., 1921), 478-481.

⁸² For a discussion of the pastoral ideal and how it was influenced by industrialization, see Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967). For discussions of agrarians, see Scott, *The Reluctant Farmer*; Danbom, *The Resisted Revolution*; and Marcus, *Agricultural Science and the Quest for Legitimacy*.

⁸³ For an introduction to this line of thought, see "Forestry Bulletin," *1899 State Board of Agriculture Report*, 122-152.

⁸⁴ "To Abolish the Michigan Forestry Commission," *Northwestern Lumberman*, May 30, 1891, Michigan Forestry Commission folder, Box 21, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS.

Chapter Two: Addressing the Cutover through Scientific Management, 1890-1909

In the winter of 1894-1895, forester Austin Cary traveled through Michigan and Wisconsin collecting information on white pine stands and cutover tracts for the U.S. Division of Forestry. During his survey, he measured trees, checked stumps, and studied the soil, topography, and climate. He also assessed damage from fire and grazing in the cutover. After touring the northern Lower Peninsula of Michigan, Cary stopped at the offices of the *Northwestern Lumberman* to report his findings. From this study, he concluded unequivocally that white and Norway pine could be grown in the cutover again. He argued that all that needed to be done to promote such growth was to keep fire and grazing out of the cutover. This change would give young seedlings a chance to take root and thrive in the region. Furthermore, he claimed that if such work was done immediately, there was no reason not to expect merchantable timber in the region in forty years.¹ However, Cary's call for reforestation largely fell on deaf ears. At the end of the logging era, the vast majority of lumbermen had determined that the former pineries of the Lake States should be transformed to agriculture or into deciduous forests if fire could be controlled long enough to allow it. In either case, the men who had made their fortunes harvesting Michigan's trees saw little incentive in renewing forests. Rather, they hoped to sell the land to settlers or speculators who would convert it to other uses.² This chapter traces the initial efforts to reforest the cutover on both state and private lands using scientific management practices that were becoming popular at the time. It also explores the political battles between agrarians and foresters over the expansion of state activity because of this work. The struggle over appropriate land use in the region lasted forty

years – the same length of time that Cary remarked as necessary for a mature second-growth of pine.

The chasm between Cary's conclusions and the widely held notions of the lumbermen can be explained through science, economics, and philosophy. Botany largely dictated which trees would comprise the Northern Michigan second-growth forest. Fire ravaged much of the region. For jack pines, which had little value at the time, fire opened their cones and allowed for new growth to flourish. The seeds of maples can travel far from the seed tree, so they would colonize cutover areas. Oaks and aspens can sprout from the root systems of a cut tree. However, white and red pines were eliminated from the second-growth because their seed trees had been cut and young pines had been destroyed by fire. Furthermore, pines need abundant sunlight to thrive. Even moderate shade will stunt their growth. So, even if pine seeds were introduced later, they were unlikely to flourish.³

Economically, lumbermen were dissuaded from waiting for second-growth pine for two reasons. First, maintaining the infrastructure of logging operations for the time it took the second-growth to mature was deemed an unnecessary expense. The second reason had an even greater effect on their decision making. Property tax rates in the cutover were too steep for businessmen to retain land that was not profitable. These taxes served as the main source of revenue for local government and public services. Growing trees increased land assessments, so lumbermen cut-less-than mature timber to keep from paying higher property taxes on pine lands. Once the trees had been cut, lumbermen let land revert to the state instead of paying years worth of property taxes on lands that would not readily produce.⁴

The most significant reason, though, may have been the society's view of the lands. It was widely believed that the plow would follow the axe in these lands as it had in the southern half of the state and in many sections of the Northeast. Lumbermen considered themselves as having done a service for society by logging the northern forests. Their work opened these lands for settlement and agricultural development. This notion of progress pervaded the arguments for their methods of logging and for resultant debates over land use. Hence, even if pines could be grown again in these areas, few lumbermen or citizens would have argued that they should.⁵

While agrarians continued with their work to court agricultural settlement to the region, some progressive citizens began to argue that tax reversion of land demonstrated a measure of agricultural failure on some cutover lands. These progressives valued scientific investigation and management of people and resources and the reversion of land clearly was an affront to these goals. Among these citizens was a small cadre of scientists, lumbermen, businessmen, farmers, and horticulturalists who recognized the growing economic and political threats posed in trying to replace the lumber industry's economic, social, and political impact on the state. While industrialization was beginning to balance agriculture in the economy of Southern Michigan, the northern half of the peninsula lagged behind as lumbering declined. Agriculture did not develop as fast as many boosters had anticipated. Hence, much of the cutover lacked active owners who were attempting new enterprises on it. In response, this body of progressives pushed forestry as the resolution to the uncertainties in the cutover.⁶

Early conservation politics in Michigan

The Republican Party dominated the political landscape of Michigan in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Between 1852 and 1933, Democrats only held the governor's office for eight years and the party lacked a state-wide organization. Most meaningful political debates, therefore, happened within the Republican Party. Around the turn of the century, the party split into two factions. Senator James McMillan, a railroad and shipping tycoon from Detroit who had turned his attention and clout to politics, directed the party's machinery. These party stalwarts served the business interests in the state and were both fiscally and politically conservative. Even legislators did not initiate new policies without McMillan's approval. Progressives comprised the other faction and sought to eliminate government corruption and favoritism to business, to expand municipal and state control of utilities, and to institute scientific management of state lands. The main leaders of this movement were Detroit mayor and state governor Hazen Pingree (1897-1901), Detroit newspaperman James Scripps, and Grand Rapids politician William Alden Smith. As the stalwarts had little interest in conservation issues, the main support for increased government management of natural resources came from the progressives.⁷

Michigan progressivism, like the movement nationally, was an amalgamation of reform movements that sought the improvement of economic, political, and social life in America. Michiganders sought municipal and legislative reform to eliminate corruption, equalize taxation, improve public health and sanitation, and conserve natural resources through scientific management and fire prevention. In addition to these reforms, progressive politicians in Michigan sought to improve public infrastructure with better

roads for the burgeoning automobile industry. All of these reforms sought to apply scientific research, technology, and sociological study to the problems of the era.⁸

The national Progressive movement had two main areas of concern when it came to the environment – urban public health and conservation.⁹ Urban issues included pollution, sewage and sanitation, smoke abatement, and the related public health issues. Conservation, on the other hand, focused on the use and management of natural resources. Progressives considered Theodore Roosevelt's Forest Service chief Gifford Pinchot the preeminent leader in these efforts. His emphasis on the scientific management and efficient use of resources as the best means by which to stabilize the nation's economic fortunes was adopted by other progressives around the country as the basis on which to make policy changes.¹⁰ Scientists at the University of Michigan and the Michigan Agricultural College (MAC) joined reform-minded businessmen and farmers to form the core of conservationists in Michigan.

In the late-nineteenth century, Michigan conservationists identified three major concerns about the future of Michigan's forests during the next decade. The first was economic. The precipitous decline of the lumber industry during the 1890s raised fears of a complete annihilation of the industry early in the twentieth century. The lost jobs, tax base, and community wealth were a serious threat to not only the future of the cutover, but also to the state as a whole. Their second point of worry was about the legal condition of property in the cutover. Timber theft and trespass were common. The fine if caught was merely a reimbursement of the timber cut, which hardly proved to be a deterrent. Their third concern was scientific. Researchers at the University of Michigan and MAC expressed grave concern over the consequences of clear cut logging on the northern

interior of the state. The lack of settlement in this section particularly with extensive forest fires seemed to be a harbinger for disastrous long-term consequences for the state.¹¹

Using these three concerns as a way to generate support, advocates of reforestation attempted to generate a coalition of backers that could convince the state legislature on the importance of long-term natural resource planning. Appealing to farmers, academics, lumbermen, businessmen, sportsmen, and women's club members, leaders desired to change the state's policy of land disposal. The legislature charged the land commissioner with the sale of tax reverted land to bolster property tax revenues. Forestry advocates wanted policies that withheld some of the reverted land from sale. This act would stem the flood of land on the market and its control by land speculators. In turn, by reforesting this land and preventing fire, the state would be reserving some forest land for later use. Hence, by the time other land had been sold and this land was needed for settlement, it would have produced a second growth of timber to be cut. In this way, foresters urged that waste be stopped and efficient use be maximized for the good of all concerned parties.¹²

A central figure among reforestation advocates was the former co-director of the state forestry commission Charles Garfield. In 1890, he launched a renewed call to expand conservation efforts in the cutover in a speech delivered to the State Horticulture Society, a body of fruit growers from around the state. As a founding member and long-time secretary of the society, Garfield opened the evening session in Kalamazoo by recounting

Governor (Cyrus) Luce once asked, speaking of forestry matters, "Why don't your society come to Coldwater and talk to us about these

questions?” “Why,” I replied, “you don’t want us there. A few years ago we were there, and, some one having advocated the use of windbreaks and leaving of timber lots, the Branch County farmers present unanimously condemned both practices and favored cutting the last tree.” “Well,” answered Mr. Luce, “we don’t feel that way now.”¹³

In the absence of a forestry association, Garfield directed members towards supporting woodlots on their farms and reforestation legislation. Thereafter, other members presented papers on the need for forest policies in the state, and forestry became part of the work of the society.¹⁴

Among the horticulturalists swayed by these demands for reforestation in the cutover was William Beal. In the 1880s, agricultural issues facing the cutover were Beal’s preeminent concern; but in the years following the 1888 botanical expedition, he found less success with his experiment station plantings than he expected. He was unable to revitalize the soil quickly or in ways that would last. This failure caused him to conclude that more research would be necessary to prepare the land for agriculture. Hence, he began to encourage reforestation for the cutover for a second growth of timber on the belief that in another generation agricultural scientists would have determined the best ways to farm its sandy soils. With these goals in mind, he presented a paper at the annual meeting of the State Horticulture Society in 1894 advocating a permanent forestry commission. Beal argued that the cutting practices of lumbermen had had a negative effect on the condition of land in the state. He further concluded that farmers were not doing enough to maintain wood resources. He even admitted that MAC and other state agencies were neglecting the education of citizens about forestry problems and the movement to encourage the legislature to establish long-term land policies. The only acceptable response, he asserted, was for the state to curtail cherished individual liberty

for the good of the society. He sarcastically stated, “Michigan, a state specially adapted to tree growing has done very little in this direction, except to permit everyone to cut and destroy as he chooses, provided he own the land on which he operates. No matter if he leave dead rubbish which in the next dry weather will most surely take fire and spread desolation for miles around. This is a free country!”¹⁵

Michigan Academy of Science president and University of Michigan botany professor Volney Spalding joined Garfield and Beal in advocating for forestry policy.¹⁶ In his Michigan Academy of Science presidential address in 1898, Spalding recounted the destruction of the northern pine forests and called for a natural history survey to identify the topography, flora, and fauna of Michigan. He feared that the state would end up like Wisconsin, where less than one-tenth of the eight million acres of cutover was growing new timber, and over seventy percent of land was unimproved for agriculture. Spalding wanted the scientific community to be involved by performing a low-cost natural history survey that would inform reasonable government policy that would benefit all residents of the state. This survey would give the state a clear assessment of Michigan’s botanical and zoological conditions. Spalding expected that the survey would encourage the establishment of forest reserves in the state and that in the long term, timber sales could fully finance their management. In presenting these conditions, Spalding challenged the *laissez-faire* policies that called for a decline of government involvement in public issues, which was the pattern in effect in the state legislature at the time.¹⁷

Perhaps Spalding’s major contribution to the rise of the forest reserve movement in Michigan was his emphasis on emulating conservation work underway elsewhere. He

pointed to the examples of forestry work being done in Europe, New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Minnesota as examples of the work that he hoped could be accomplished in Michigan. For example, New York and Connecticut created forestry departments at state colleges to do research on the state's forestry needs. Pennsylvania gave tax breaks to encourage farmers to plant trees. New York and Pennsylvania established forest reserves on land unused by agriculture to create a reliable supply of forest resources.¹⁸

Spalding was particularly influenced by the work in Wisconsin and Minnesota, states with similar climate, soil and cutover conditions as Michigan. He concurred with the assessment of Ernest Bruncken of the Wisconsin Forestry Commission that the sandy cutover land was worthless for agriculture because of the expense to fertilize the thin soil enough to create adequate production during such a short growing season. Even worse, the encouragement of settlement for agriculture created even greater long-term problems in the creation of endemic poverty among settlers of the cutover. Immigrants were usually unprepared to farm the cutover which they had been duped into believing was good agricultural land by land speculators and agricultural boosters. Spalding quoted Bruncken as saying that "To persuade ignorant settlers to locate on such land and try to make them into farms is little short of a crime."¹⁹

But in Spalding's estimation, wildfire was an even bigger problem than the soil. Minnesota's main advantage over its neighbors, according to Spalding, was its aggressive fire prevention system overseen by a capable fire warden. Minnesotans understood the need to protect forests and encourage commercial use that would create a stable and diverse economy in the state. Such use would promote sustainable harvests while providing the raw materials for construction and manufacturing. In these ways, Spalding

saw both Wisconsin and Minnesota as being ahead of Michigan in establishing sound reforestation policies in their states.²⁰

Spalding drew three conclusions about Michigan based on his understanding of these other initiatives. First, the state needed to establish control over unused lands that were not appropriate for agriculture. This action would protect the interests of present and future citizens by creating timber and conserving pure water through the prevention of erosion. The state also needed to establish forest reserves on the most marginal lands with professional foresters, fire wardens, and trespass agents to promote and protect the growing forests. Finally, the state needed to create a school of forestry to do research on the cutover and to train foresters to work in the state for both preservation and commercial interests. These ideas were attractive to progressives because they would eliminate the waste of resources while managing these resources for use in industry to stabilize liberal capitalism.²¹

The arguments of Garfield, Beal, and Spalding prompted some scientists and farmers to reconsider their assumptions about agriculture in the cutover. By December 1898, there was enough interest in the state's forestry problems for the State Horticulture Society to focus on them at its annual meeting held in Ann Arbor. On the heels of Spalding's call for the state to address the forestry problem, Beal renewed his endorsement of a permanent forestry commission. He asserted that the attitude of citizens had changed regarding forestry. The continued problem, according to Beal, was the lack of action on the part of the legislature. It had cut its sessions short in order to be economical, but these short sessions resulted in forestry bills being ignored for a lack of

time. Beal urged his audience to push the legislature to action by contacting their legislators and demanding action.²²

The degree to which the general public had changed their attitude towards forestry is unclear. However, interest was strong enough that the State Horticulture Society invited representatives from the state colleges, women's clubs, sportsmen's organizations, and the state game commission to its annual meeting. These representatives followed Beal's address with short speeches in support of forestry, which indicated the interests of each group. Martha Root of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs (MSFWC) pledged cooperation through the preservation of trees and public education. E.A. Strong of the state Normal School in Ypsilanti pushed education and Arbor Day. S.B. Daboll pledged the aid of sportsmen and stressed how fire protection and the reforestation of pine were necessary for game habitat. Seymour Bower of the state fish commission echoed this sentiment in relation to fish. He addressed how trees shade rivers to keep the water cool and hold the soil to prevent erosion and that these attributes protect fish habitat. The range of participants in this coalition demonstrated the degree to which interest had moved beyond a handful of farmers and scientists. While each group had its own reason for being interested in forestry, they all asserted how they could assist by educating their own memberships and other citizens about the need for forests, as well as agitating for appropriate action from the legislature to meet this need.²³

This impetus for action was solidified through the address of Fremont E. Skeels, the state agent of agricultural lands and a resident of Harrietta in the heart of the cutover.²⁴ He offered the group an assessment of the current forestry conditions and their

dire prospects. Skeels claimed that no original pine forests remained in the Lower Peninsula and that there was no prospect for the growth of mature forests under the present conditions. He identified two main problems that the state would need to address before the situation improved – tax reversion and local politics. As the manager of agricultural college lands in the state, he noticed throughout Northern Michigan the high rate of delinquency in property taxes that resulted in tax reversion to the state of up to half the land in some cutover counties.²⁵

Building upon the progressive impulses of the group, Skeels argued that the other problem was the corruption of local officials. He claimed that elected law enforcement officers in these northern counties were reluctant to enforce existing timber laws on remaining stands or maturing second-growth because the thieves were often friends, relatives, or even themselves. This condition led these officials to ignore timber theft inside their jurisdiction. Local citizens accepted the use of wood products on state-owned land as a right. Public land whether unsold or tax-reverted was considered to be common land for residents until it shifted to private ownership. Therefore, they were disinterested in greater enforcement of trespass and theft laws. Since the state land office approached public ownership of land as a temporary condition, local citizens, according to Skeels, did not see harm in these activities. Instead they considered it an extension of their commons rights to firewood, fish, game, and other forest products useful for subsistence.²⁶ Skeels insisted that the enforcement of timber theft laws needed to be addressed before undertaking efforts to establish state-owned forests. After Skeels's speech, the society resolved to push the legislature to create a forestry commission with the authority to

address these issues independent of local desires. Garfield was named as the society's representative to the legislature on this issue.²⁷

With Michigan's principal scientific organizations taking a leadership role in conservation, Spalding called a meeting to discuss these issues with additional parties. During the summer of 1898, several scientists, farmers, and government officials met with Spalding at the office of William French, the State Land Commissioner, to discuss legislation. They agreed that the legislature would have to create a body specifically designed to address the forestry problems if progress was to be made. These men formed a committee to draft a bill for these ends to be introduced in the legislature by Senator Robert Graham (R-Grand Rapids). Spalding chaired the committee and used his knowledge of legislation in other states to guide the formulation of the bill. Ira H. Butterfield, a prominent farmer from Lansing and a trustee at MAC, was selected as secretary. Prompted by additional support from newspapers around the state, the legislature passed the bill as Public Act 227 of 1899 creating a state forestry commission.²⁸ Additionally, the bill authorized the formation of a temporary forest reserve. The body included the state land commissioner and two representatives, one selected by the MAC board of trustees and the other chosen by the University of Michigan regents. This condition fused the state with its public colleges in completing conservation work. The commission's budget was only a few hundred dollars, and members were unpaid. Its work was to be directed by the member-elected president with biannual reports due to the governor who had oversight of the commission.²⁹

The creation of this commission was part of the expansion of the role of the state amidst Progressive Era reforms. Progressives of all stripes pushed the legislature to

address the land crisis of the cutover and the commission was their response. This conservation work had the support of many separate constituencies in the state. Support for the enlargement of the role of the state came from the progressive wing of the Republican Party. Stalwarts who supported the *laissez-faire* approach criticized by Spalding were focused on national issues at the end of the nineteenth century, which allowed the progressives to push these measures through the legislature. The creation of the forestry commission began the process by which state agencies became responsible for the scientific management of human and natural resources as a means of resolving the problems created by *laissez-faire* policies that had created the conditions of the cutover.³⁰

The work of the State Forestry Commission

From the demise of the first forestry commission after its 1888 report, forestry advocates had worked to get a second commission with more power. Yet, while getting the second forestry commission had required mobilizing numerous groups of supporters, the ensuing commission initially worked on a small scale with only three men doing its work. Charles Garfield, the long-time reforestation advocate from Grand Rapids, presided over the commission with the help of Saginaw lumberman Arthur Hill. The state land commissioner held the third post on the commission and the duties as secretary. William French, who supported the creation of a state forest reserve, was the first man to hold that post.³¹ Most meetings were held at the State Land Office in Lansing including the first on September 30, 1899.³²

The commission had two related goals, which were to educate state residents on the need to resolve cutover problems and to create a state forest reserve as a

demonstration of how scientific forestry could address that need. Garfield determined that the first goal could best be achieved by networking with prominent citizens throughout the state, recruiting assistance from national experts in forestry, and convincing a state college to create a forestry department. He took this goal upon himself in an ambitious letter-writing campaign, while French gathered information on Michigan forestry from newspaper clippings, forestry articles, and books. In preparation for creating a reserve, Garfield requested that the State Land Office identify and map vacant homestead and swamp lands in Northern Michigan so that the commission would know what land the state already controlled before making plans for it.³³

By early in 1900, this work was underway. French had completed land maps and started a clippings book. In accordance with the law's instruction to create a reserve, he had also withheld all the available land in western Roscommon County from sale. Garfield solicited input in the over five hundred letters he sent to prominent men and women who were involved in politics at the local or state level, the lumber industry, or conservation advocacy organizations that had supported the commission's creation. He used their replies to form four positions for the commission. These positions all focused on the work necessary to create a forest reserve and remained at the forefront of the commission's work for a decade. First, the land office needed to perfect titles of state lands by condemning tax-reverted lands to clear their titles for other sale or use. It also needed new surveys of these lands to clarify any boundary disputes and discrepancies. Second, it was essential that the legislature pass better statutes to provide for the protection of the land from forest fires. Third, laws regarding trespass and theft of private and public forests had to be stiffened and aggressively enforced. And fourth, the burden

of local property taxes needed to be addressed. Low rates of ownership resulted in high rates of taxation. These high rates of taxation, in turn, discouraged long-term forestry practices on private lands.³⁴

Yet all of these recommendations required legislative action, so Garfield recruited the assistance of Grand Rapids attorney Charles Blair to sort out the legal questions pertaining to a possible reserve. Blair recommended securing clear titles first. With the help of a fellow Grand Rapids lawyer Arthur Denison, Blair drafted several bills for discussion with other legislative experts. Garfield, Spalding, and Skeels also gathered information on legislation and forestry practices in other states and at the Biltmore Estate in Asheville, North Carolina as a way to direct developing policies in Michigan.³⁵

Using these recommendations as a guide, Garfield wrote an educational primer on forestry for Michigan citizens – particularly the ones in the southern part of the state – to highlight the magnitude of the problem. In the text, Garfield outlined the four issues related to forestry and encouraged citizen involvement in making scientific forestry the management policy for the state and individual landowners. He included essays from national experts like Spalding, Gifford Pinchot, and Carl Schenck and pledges of support from various politicians and newspaper editors. Furthermore, through the primer Garfield proposed that farmers throughout the state plant woodlots to form windbreaks and prevent soil erosion. He also urged larger plantings in the northern part of the state and along the lakeshore to prevent blowing sand and to renew lumbering as a permanent business in Michigan. The commission sent the primer, which had been paid for with part of their appropriation, to newspapers for wider publication, to women's and sportsmen's clubs for distribution among their membership, and to prominent legislative and business

officials throughout the state. Garfield's goal was to generate a wide enough circulation to prompt state residents to lobby their elected officials to address the problems that forestry advocates faced.³⁶

Garfield's efforts at education did not end with an educational primer, though. He believed that the state needed professionals educated in the science of forestry available to complete work on both public and private lands and to train the men that would further develop forestry policies in the state. To this end, he contacted the presidents and boards at the University of Michigan and MAC to encourage them to create a department of forestry. The Board of Agriculture, under the direction of the president and agricultural professors of MAC, thought that forestry education was being adequately handled by William J. Beal who had been the professor of botany and forestry since 1880. Garfield, an alumnus of the college, then turned to his friends at the University of Michigan. The president and regents were enthusiastic about the prospects for a nationally recognized department in this burgeoning field.³⁷

Borrowing somewhat from the land grant model, Garfield developed a plan to found the new department with land. In this case, however, it would be donated by lumber companies. He proposed that lumbermen deed lands to the colleges after they were cut, but before they became delinquent for taxes. Lumbermen would thereby be free of future property tax bills on cutover lands. The state would be relieved of pursuing unpaid taxes, and it would not be saddled with imperfect titles as was so often was the case with property that reverted to the state. Additionally, the university would have a ready-made field laboratory for forestry research which would attract the best faculty and students. And, according to Garfield, after ten years of forestry management, the land

would produce fence posts and telegraph poles that would pay for the forestry department. The ultimate goal was to establish a timber-producing forest, which the university could use as an endowment to defray other university costs and reduce the tax burden for public higher education.³⁸

Garfield and the regents of the University of Michigan used their connections to urge lumbermen to join the program. Donating land was an easy sell to these lumbermen because it rid them of cutover land that they viewed as worthless without the stigma of unpaid taxes or the hassle of trying to sell the land. By January 1901, over 40,000 acres in the Au Sable River watershed had been donated, which was enough to convince the regents to approve the establishment of a chair of forestry. The forestry commission wrote a bill passed by the legislature in 1901 that gave the commission the responsibility for management and care of donated and tax delinquent acres in the northern half of the state. While the commission would be responsible for the work done there, the university and the state agricultural college would be reap the benefits of any revenues from the lands that had been donated to them. Schools would be freed from the day-to-day management of the land while gaining the economic benefits of the work of the commission.³⁹

The university offered lectures in the summer of 1901 as a first step toward forming a curriculum of study in forestry. Charles Davis, a botanist from Alma College, was named the first chair of forestry. He was able to develop a forestry curriculum quickly because of his work in the state forest reserve near Higgins Lake. By the fall of 1902, a forestry department was established. While Davis handled these duties admirably, it was understood from the beginning of the program that the university sought a trained

forester to permanently fill the post of chair. To this end, the university hired Filibert Roth to fill this position in 1903.⁴⁰ His work as both a forester and as a professor, plus his knowledge and experience in Michigan forests through his work for the USDA made Roth the logical choice to lead the university's forestry department.⁴¹ His connection to Bernhard Fernow, Gifford Pinchot, and other national foresters helped Roth market the program nationally and place students in jobs with the USDA upon graduation. Furthermore, this post made him a leading advocate for reforestation and forestry education in Michigan and the United States over the next twenty years.⁴²

As the program at the University of Michigan developed, newspaper editors began to question why MAC was not creating the same kind of endowment from cutover land, especially since it was the state's land grant university that had been initially supported almost exclusively from the sale of timber lands. These criticisms prompted the MAC trustees to pursue their own forestry department. In order to avoid the appearance of following the lead of the University of Michigan, the board members proposed a department focused on farm forestry research and extension. E.E. Bogue was appointed professor of forestry in 1902, and he started a program of extension forestry and a nursery on campus the following year. Despite being less involved in the forest reserve, foresters at MAC aided the MFC in their outreach to state farmers. They reforested wastelands on or near farms and used demonstration plantings to engender support among farmers, particularly in Southern Michigan.⁴³

Then the state had a department of forestry at its two major public colleges. The curriculum at the University of Michigan trained professional foresters, while courses at MAC focused on research and training farmers on how to grow and use woodlots.

Because of these different curricular goals, Roth was much more involved in the policies of the forestry commission, while Bogue, and his successor, J. Fred Baker, were more involved in species research and farm forest issues. These two departments trained the foresters that initiated state management plans for cutover lands during the first half of the twentieth century. These professionals were not only the men on the ground of land reform, but also some of the leading political figures in the movement as well.⁴⁴

The development of conservation under scientific and political management resembled the national Progressive movement. Garfield's focus on education of the public and the founding of two departments of forestry reflected the expert and scientific research and planning characteristic of Progressivism. Similarly, conservation stressed efficient use of resources – not their preservation – which was consistent with the tenets of conservation leader Gifford Pinchot. To reach these ends, conservationists in Michigan sought to reform government oversight of state lands and resources through the creation of the new commission. Such faith in the apparatus of democratic government mirrored other activities within the Progressive Movement.⁴⁵

Despite this interest in state-building, the conservation movement in Michigan did not necessarily reflect the democratic ideals of the nation. The commission appealed to direct democracy by asking residents to contact their legislators, yet it was undemocratic in ways that were consistent with Progressivism. The commission was responsible for a large part of the state's reforestation and land policies, yet three men comprised the whole of this work. Foresters stressed scientific management by experts, which for the most part left local knowledge outside the purview of their work. Thus, although these reformers considered their work to have the best interests of state residents at heart, their

means of enacting their reforms did not necessarily always include non-elites in the decision-making process.⁴⁶

Furthermore, Garfield and the other commissioners framed their arguments as morally just in the progressive sense. They appealed to Christians with a sermon by Reverend Dan Bradley of Park Congregational Church in Grand Rapids where Garfield was an elder. Bradley cited Ezekiel 31:3-10 to admonish people against destroying life through wasteful living. He urged his congregation to pressure their legislators to support life by renewing waste places with new forest life.⁴⁷ Such claims of morality sought to undermine opposition by equating it with immoral or unjust behavior. By claiming the moral high-ground, these progressive reformers challenged the *laissez-faire* conditions that they blamed for the exploitation of the forests and the continued inaction on the problems of the cutover.⁴⁸

Creating the state forest reserve

The work of inculcating conservationism among both politicians and progressive citizens was merely to assist in the commission's primary goal of establishing the state's first forest reserve. Reforestation advocates considered conservation both practical and economical, but few landowners had the economic means by which to dedicate marginal land to reforestation. Nor were they well informed about the benefits of tree planting. Therefore, foresters considered the construction of a reserve controlled by the state as the best means by which to accomplish desired reforestation. The adoption of the apparatus of the state to impose their will on the land was consistent with Progressive Era notions of state-building to generate reform.⁴⁹

The site for the reserve was a cutover portion of Roscommon and Crawford near the headwaters of the Muskegon River.⁵⁰ Garfield directed French to withhold land in this area for sale and to assess it. In the late summer of 1901, Garfield, French, Hill, Spalding and Davis from the University of Michigan, Fremont Skeels, Thomas H. Sherrard of the U.S. Division of Forestry, and Frank Sparks, a reporter for the *Grand Rapids Herald*, joined surveyors on an inspection of the region. The wedding of federal and state agencies with university experts symbolized the evolving character of conservationism in Michigan. It was also clear that at least for now, the state would take the lead. But federal and local influence ultimately would prove decisive in achieving Garfield's goals.⁵¹

This polyglot team found a devastated landscape, just as the 1888 botanical expedition had. The group found that most of the region that was not swamp land had been burned over repeatedly. Oak, aspen, and jack pine dominated forest regeneration, but had not matured to the point of having commercial value. Sweet fern, blueberries, and sedges covered the most recently burned land. Members of the expedition concluded that the area was not suitable for agriculture because of the destruction caused by the repeated fires. However, they asserted that successful reforestation was likely if fire could be prevented and appropriate seedlings could be secured.⁵²

In the wake of the excursion, Garfield hired Davis to increase tree growth in the region through natural regeneration, planting, and fire prevention. Davis undertook the scientific research, while the on-the-ground fire prevention work was handled by Maxim Pion of Big Rapids, who was hired as fire warden during the summer of 1902. During the months of August, September, and October he patrolled the preserve and took steps to

combat fires. Thus began the first efforts to transform Michigan's cutover through conservation.⁵³

The significance of the forest reserve near Higgins Lake was in Garfield's desire to use it to publicize the work of the commission and to generate more national and state support for the conservation movement in Michigan. Not coincidentally, the American Forestry Association (AFA) held its annual meeting in Lansing from August 28-29, 1902. A field trip to the reserve was to be a highlight of this meeting. Garfield hoped that this would help secure support from the legislature in support of the reserve, as well as give state conservationists expert feedback on their policies.⁵⁴

The AFA meeting addressed key aspects of Garfield's emerging policy of reforestation, giving Michigan's commissioner precisely the kind of opinions he needed to make a better case for the reserve. In particular, federal officials, Sherrard and Filibert Roth, presented essays advocating fire prevention and reforestation. Sherrard gave his assessment of the forest reserve based on his examination of it from the summer of 1901. He concluded that success in management depended "so entirely upon effective fire protection that the organization should aim first of all to provide a competent fire service." He recognized that the lack of funds meant that this protection could not come from the county or township governments but was completely dependent on the state. Sherrard's colleague, Filibert Roth, asserted that the jack pine plains located throughout Northern Michigan were only good for trees and that agriculture was futile there because "sand is sand, and sand only." The soil was unpredictable and offered only fleeting independence to immigrants who hoped to homestead it. He instead urged the state to foster the growth of jack pine for a steady supply of fuel, ties, and fence posts while the

land is prepared for more profitable trees like white and Norway pine. Roth, and to some extent Sherrard, thus embraced the notion that the cutover could be developed economically by farming trees that had high market value.⁵⁵

After hearing lectures describing the cutover and lauding forestry, attendees were invited to see the reserve as an illustration of what Michigan was doing and to solicit suggestions for improvement. Twenty-seven men and women boarded a train in Lansing on the evening of August 29 and traveled to Bay City where they spent the night. The following morning they proceeded to the reserve where they were joined by William Mather of the Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company. The company owned extensive forested and cutover tracts to supply timber supports for their shaft mines and charcoal for blast furnaces.⁵⁶ Members of the excursion completed a full inspection of the area which included viewing abandoned farms and the reforestation work at the reserve before continuing north to Mackinac Island where they adjourned the conference and reclined for a period of rest and relaxation at the state's most luxurious tourist destination. This field trip was important because it gave experts who attended the conference a concrete example of the problems of the cutover and Michigan's attempted solutions. This connection to national experts who had experienced the cutover provided the commission with a resource of experts over the next several years.⁵⁷

While newspapers from the southern part of the state lauded the import of expert assistance, local residents near the reserve opposed what they considered a threat to their communities from wealthy state officials and national forestry experts. Local leaders felt that forestry would repel settlers by sending the message that the land was unfit for agriculture, a premise that they did not accept. William Johnson of Roscommon invited

Garfield to come and see his farm as evidence of good farming in the county. Johnson also promised to take him on a tour of the county to demonstrate that his farm was not an anomaly. Local residents considered this defense of the land as necessary, because tax-reverted or publicly-owned land would not provide the money to support necessary infrastructure like roads and schools. Therefore, local residents considered the forest reserve to be a threat to land values and community development.⁵⁸

Supporters of reforestation who had the pulse of the local communities tried to alert the commission to this resistance. Burton Livingston of Grayling wrote Garfield in the summer of 1902 to warn him that local sentiment was against the work of the commission and forestry in general. Likewise, Skeels observed a “feeling of enmity” toward the commission’s work in Roscommon County despite their struggles to make farming pay. He observed that people stripped the second-growth trees in the area to sell to woodenware companies. This act brought in much-needed cash and made a statement against reforestation.⁵⁹

In the face of this opposition, Garfield reiterated that the work of the commission was not intended to exclude other uses in these areas. He averred that agriculture should remain the primary goal for the region, but that in places not suitable for agriculture, the land should be converted into forests. These sentiments were most fully expressed in the 1900 report which said,

The Commission has no idea of recommending that the State go into forestry upon lands that are valuable for agricultural purposes; but from its investigation, it is satisfied that immense tracts of non-agricultural land exist in the State which can be used in the growth of forests, and which, if managed in a business way, will in time return to the State a good interest upon the investment necessary for this care, and incidentally will add largely to the value of the State by affecting favorably its agriculture, its horticulture, and its commerce.⁶⁰

Despite these efforts to reassure locals that the commission did not want to undermine their farms, local residents intensified their opposition to a forest reserve in their community.

Opposition crystallized as the AFA tour approached, drawing prominent locals into open debate with the MFC over the future of the cutover. Residents mounted their own public relations campaign to counter Garfield's claims as to the merits of a forest reserve. Charles DeWaele, the Republican prosecuting attorney in Roscommon, wrote a letter, which he distributed to the editors of newspapers around the state. DeWaele derided the work of the MFC as misguided and unfairly targeting the Roscommon area. He challenged the naming of the area as "worthless pine barrens" as "contemptible slander." Rather, DeWaele asserted that Roscommon County was "destined to become one of the leading counties in the state from an agricultural and mineral standpoint." He blamed the problems of the area on lumbermen who had failed to pay taxes on the land that they owned and clear cut. These back taxes made the purchase of the land prohibitive for settlers, because the tax code at the time required purchasers not only to pay for the land but also to pay the delinquent taxes on it. The work of the MFC to pull land from sale and to designate it as forestry reserves would just remove more land from the tax rolls. If residents did not contest this work, he argued, the tax base would be so undermined as to decimate the schools and local infrastructure of the region. Without schools, roads, and functioning local governments, even settlers on prosperous farms would be forced to vacate their homes. In DeWaele's estimation, the motto of forestry advocates was that "Roscommon must be destroyed."⁶¹

DeWaele's argument had some merits. The lumber industry had skinned the trees and had stopped paying taxes on the land. Furthermore, the state likely held some of the blame for its prohibitive property tax code and land purchase policy. Lumbermen had failed to pay property taxes on cutover lands, and they reverted to the state. The penalty of having to pay the unpaid property taxes assuredly made some land in the county prohibitively expensive for potential settlers; however, lumber companies were not the only ones to abandon lands. DeWaele's claims about the agricultural fortunes of Roscommon County were overstated. Farm abandonment from underproduction was a significant drain on the county's tax receipts as well. This loss of tax dollars did result in the problems DeWaele anticipated – poor roads and schools and a local government unable to function.⁶²

The MFC had not expected resistance from local residents who they felt would benefit the most from these plans, but rather from taxpayers in other sections of the state who would object to the expense. Garfield prepared a special essay in response to this criticism for the commission's 1902 report. He argued that the northern Lower Peninsula was the commission's focus because the southern Lower Peninsula was already being used for agriculture while the Upper Peninsula was primarily tied to mining. Roscommon and Crawford counties were particularly well suited to this work because they contained the headwaters of several major rivers that ran to both Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. Thus, they were vital to conservation work in the state. In addition he argued that lands removed from the tax rolls by the state were in tax default and not generating tax receipts anyway. Therefore, rather than causing schools and local infrastructure to fail, efforts at reforestation were actually an attempt to address this problem by stabilizing the economy

through removing unreliable land from sale to settlers. According to Garfield, the region was selected as a prime location to demonstrate the possibilities of reforestation with the hopes that the movement would spread.⁶³

In the face of broader resistance than he expected, Garfield listed the three objections that he found to be the most poisonous to the movement. The first was that the activities of the commission were merely a scheme to create a haven for rich sportsmen. Another objection was that valuable agricultural land was being turned back into forests for the lumber firms. The third concern was that the removal of land from the tax rolls was an effort to raise local taxes in order to drive out successful farmers through excessive taxation. Garfield contended that these objections demonstrated a lack of understanding of the commission and its work. He insisted that the land at question had experienced a steady cycle of ownership and abandonment and that its soil, water, plants, and trees had been studied by many eminent scientists from the state colleges and government agencies over the previous twenty years who questioned the areas merits for agriculture and endorsed reforestation. Furthermore, members of the commission did not benefit monetarily from reforestation. Garfield claimed that reforestation was good for all residents of the state because it created abundant resources and jobs for locals in tree planting, fire prevention, resort work, and ultimately lumbering. According to Garfield, these ends were more stable than unproductive farming or the selfish goals of local leaders who wanted to profit from new settlers.⁶⁴

Garfield's claims in this report, while impassioned, did not recognize the struggles of local settlers and community leaders even if the reserve was successful. Local residents were battling the soil for a living, and like other frontier environments,

hard work did not guarantee economic success. Community merchants and businessmen depended upon settlers for their livelihoods now that the lumber industry had left the region.⁶⁵ Each of these groups was threatened by the suggestion from the MFC that their work was in vain. Their diatribes against reforestation reflected the fact that they had no political input into the process to this point. The forest reserve had been negotiated and supported by lumbermen, businessmen, scientists, and conservationists. Locals legitimately feared that reforestation would benefit the extra-locals who had crafted the plans for it. Even if a state forest reserve could renew the harvest of trees, locals would only benefit from seasonal work in the forest.⁶⁶ Furthermore, equitable taxation was a concern of every group involved in how to handle the region. The concerns of locals were legitimate and needed to be more definitively addressed by the MFC before the reserve could be securely established in Roscommon and Crawford counties.⁶⁷

The MFC avoided an impasse by inviting a citizens' committee to Lansing to hammer out a compromise, thus setting the tone for the state's future efforts at revitalizing the cutover. Unlike other parts of the nation, conservationists in Michigan attempted to meet the needs of at least the respectable portion of the cutover community. On April 8, 1903, forty farmers and residents of Roscommon and Crawford counties descended on the House chamber to object to the proposed forest reserve.⁶⁸ In light of these objections, the MFC invited select conservationists and a group representing those residents objecting to the reserve to meet at the State Land Office in Lansing. Garfield and Edwin Wildey, the State Land Commissioner, represented the MFC. They were joined by William Beal and E.E. Bogue from MAC and Filibert Roth who was still employed by the U.S. Division of Forestry, but who would soon become more involved

in Michigan reforestation as the State Fire Warden and professor of forestry at the University of Michigan. Heading the citizens' group were Henry Woodruff and William Johnson of Roscommon and Oscar Palmer of Grayling, publisher of the *Crawford Avalanche*, the region's most prominent newspaper. Each of these men had served the region as state representatives, though, none held office in 1903.⁶⁹

The two groups met to discuss the content of the Farr Bill, which was being proposed to set the boundaries of the forest reserve and officially turn over control of the land to the Forestry Commission. The commission had proposed that the reservation be three and a half townships in size. The citizens' group countered with a proposal of three townships, two and a half of which were the same as in the commission's proposal.⁷⁰ They asserted that if the sections that they had selected were approved that they would work in support of the commission's work. After a short deliberation, the commission agreed. The Farr Bill was redrafted with the new land designations and was easily passed in the state legislature.⁷¹

According to reports of the commission, the citizens' group was true to its word and the reservation was thoroughly supported by local residents. Garfield attributed this support to an increased understanding of residents about the work of the commission, as well as increased land values resulting from the work done to curb the threat of wildfire in and around the reserve. Several local citizens were employed by the commission in forestry work. However, resistance was still latent throughout the region as residents feared that the MFC sought to convert their part of the state into a "howling wilderness." Despite these concerns, opposition was limited to grumbling in the community and not active protest. The commission also got a boost of support from farmers and businessmen

that used rivers to ship their goods. Soil erosion had already begun to decline from the work on the headwaters. The decline in erosion meant that less fill needed to be dredged from the harbors, which saved harbor communities the cost of that work. Hence, within a few years the benefits of reforestation were being noticed both locally and regionally throughout the state.⁷²

Life in the West Michigan cutover in the early-twentieth century

Despite all of this focus on the issue of reforestation in Michigan, very little of it focused specifically on the West Michigan cutover. The state forest reserve was in the north-central part of the Lower Peninsula, and the largest block of federal land being managed using silviculture was in the northeastern Lower Peninsula. There were three basic reasons that these areas were addressed first – land ownership, soil quality, and topography. The federal government continued to have a large public domain in the northwestern portion of the state because it was covered with jack pine barrens. Jack pine was not a marketable timber like white and Norway pine, so it was not disturbed by loggers and had remained in the public domain. Since logging had started and ended earlier in the eastern Lower Peninsula, land had been settled earlier. Tax reversions, likely prompted by the region's sandy soil, were more concentrated in this region. This reversion prompted the forestry commission to see the area as well-suited to demonstrate the efficacy of their programs. Furthermore, since the central part of the state served as the headwaters of the major northern rivers of the state (Au Sable, Tittabawassee, Muskegon, and Manistee) there was an additional justification for launching reforestation programs in the region.

The Anishnabeg had lived in the Manistee and Pere Marquette river valleys for hundreds of years. The Odawa were particularly adept traders and were very culturally adaptive. These traits and the large quantity of available land in Northern Michigan helped them avoid removal to the Indian territories like most of their southern neighbors. Various reservations were created for them in Manistee, Mason, and Oceana counties throughout the nineteenth century before lands were divided and distributed to them as allotments in the 1870s. Most of this land was then promptly sold to land speculators and lumbermen since these tribes did not embrace the sedentary agricultural lifestyle expected of them by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the land that they were given was not on their traditional farm plots. Natives saw no reason to possess the land allotted to them, so by 1900 the hundreds of native residents of the region were mostly landless.⁷³ Anishnabeg leaders traveled to Washington during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries to meet with presidents, congressmen, and BIA officials to try and improve land rights in Michigan.⁷⁴

While the Anishnabeg did not want the land for permanent agricultural settlement, they did very much want to have access to the land for traditional uses. Their lifestyle was marked by a dual existence within the larger society. On one hand they interacted with whites for employment and trade, but their homes were remote from white residential areas. Furthermore, their lifestyle was seasonally structured and marked by mobility and subsistence activities. In the spring, they would plant communal gardens and collect maple sugar. Summers were spent as migrant farm laborers and berry pickers. In the fall, they harvested their gardens before settling into their village homes for the winter. Throughout the year they would hunt, trap, and fish in disregard of game laws

because they thought such game harvests were their right. These subsistence activities were traditional to the culture and allowed them to have a reliable food base throughout the year. In addition to these activities, the sale of their game and furs as they were able to find them, as well as payment for seasonal labor, firewood, and crafts, allowed families to purchase mail order items and increase their standard of living.⁷⁵

While the Anishnabeg were living their seasonal lifestyle, white agricultural settlement continued largely unabated in West Michigan. Land speculators, lumber companies, and railroads recruited people to settle the cutover on the promise of good land for fruit, potatoes, dry beans, and grazing. While land offices served any settlers interested in the area, the largest efforts focused on colonizing whole communities. Former Newaygo County sheriff Alex Runnells, acting as an agent for the Danaher-Milenda Lumber Company, platted land for a Dutch settlement near Lilley in northern Newaygo County in 1899. Michigan Land Association agent and Manistee resident J.E. Merritt in 1904 settled Lutheran Finns in Manistee County. The Finns named their successful community Kaleva for the Finnish epic *The Kalevala* that modeled the ideal Finnish nation.⁷⁶

Immigrants were not the only group land offices recruited to move to Michigan. Chicago land dealers targeted farm tenants in Illinois as potential buyers of cutover land in Michigan. Many such buyers were able to afford productive land in the fruit belt near Lake Michigan or on better soils in Newaygo County, but others were coerced to buy poor land by these advertisers. A devout community of German Baptist Brethren from Indiana and Ohio at the urging Samuel Thorpe of the Michigan Land Association settled the village of Brethren in Manistee County in 1902. In 1905, Michigan newspapers called

attention to poor agricultural lands near Wolf Lake in Lake County that Chicago advertisers were attempting to pawn off to unsuspecting land seekers. At the same time, swindlers tricked dozens of Illinois tenants into buying plotted farms in southeastern Oceana County. The land agents did not make good on their promise to build the infrastructure for the new town that they called Krain City, and within five years most of the settlers had abandoned their lands and returned to Illinois.⁷⁷

In addition to these settlement efforts, regional leaders sought to develop potential energy sources in the region. The Rogers Dam on the Muskegon River opened in 1906. Like other dams in the area, it utilized Allis-Chalmers turbines and generators. The Croton Dam, constructed in 1906-1907 on the Muskegon River, was the first plant in the world to transmit electricity at 110,000 volts. These dams provided electricity to cities throughout West Michigan and powered effort to expand industrialization throughout the region.⁷⁸

While most of the cutover focused on one kind of development or another, one area received some state attention from conservationists. The Big Prairie Desert illustrated the expansive nature of the conservation dilemma in Michigan in its vast erosion problem. While not really desert at all, the Big Prairie was approximately a thousand acres of sand plain in Newaygo County southeast of White Cloud.⁷⁹ In the late-nineteenth century, white settlers had found this open meadow devoid of trees, which made it immediately ready for plowing. The cover grasses were cleared, but the crops that were planted quickly depleted the soil and erosion ensued. The exposed sand was pushed from west to east by the prevailing winds where it covered better agricultural land

and in places piled into six-foot drifts. On particularly windy days the sand was so thick in the sky that it would obscure the sun.⁸⁰

Long-time farmers in the immediate vicinity of the prairie including the Bartons and the Utleys considered this erosion to be a serious threat to their livelihoods, so in 1904 they requested the assistance of MAC forestry professor E.E. Bogue in stabilizing the area. Bogue, with the assistance of the state land commissioner Edwin Wildey assessed the situation on May 7, 1904. Their survey found that the surface on the western edge of the plain had declined by four feet from the erosion and that an additional four to six inches of sand was being blown away every year. Bogue evaluated the land as “less than worthless” for agriculture. He and Wildey recruited the help of neighboring farmers and during the day replanted the abandoned land with quake grass, willows, and catalpa. They recommended that once the land stabilized that the local farmers should plant pine, cedar, and spruce to make the land productive.⁸¹

This reclamation effort was only marginally successful, however. Not all of Bogue’s plantings survived, but they were successful enough that eight years later the local women’s club planted forty acres of pine to protect the local cemetery. The region was touted as the largest desert east of the Mississippi River and the open sand dunes became a tourist attraction. Several hundred tourists descended on the desert every summer weekend throughout the 1910s and 1920s. These tourists had picnics and hiked the area. They also spun their automobiles around in the loose sand. Only when the prairie became part of the Manistee National Forest in 1933 did permanent erosion prevention measures finally fall into place.⁸²

The work of Bogue and Wildey in Big Prairie was unique for state reforestation officials who rarely made more than educational appearances in West Michigan during the early years of the movement. While conservation efforts were minimal, the fact that they were being requested by local residents is instructive. The initial hostility by local residents related to the Higgins Lake Forest Reserve was an anomaly in Michigan conservation history. Conservation was often initiated by local residents, and active opposition was scant from cutover residents who experienced the consequences of abused lands. So, while the West Michigan cutover was not the focus of early state policies, local residents had begun forming a local land ethic that valued the principles of conservation as demonstrated by the Big Prairie Desert.

Local and state support for reforestation

Neither support nor opposition for reforestation in Michigan was uniform at any level of state politics or society. Reforestation advocates and agricultural boosters both had devotees among politicians, scientists, businessmen, lumbermen, local merchants, newspaper editors, and farmers. These citizens had their own reasons for their loyalties. Some people were convinced by the economic, scientific, or moral arguments, while others believed they had a political or economic stake in the outcome of the debate. Furthermore the form of support varied from governmental offices, voluntary associations, or letter-writing campaigns. An investigation of local supporters for reforestation demonstrates this range of people interested in the endeavor.

One reforestation supporter who had a vested interest in the work was John J. Hubbell of Manistee, who was an engineer for the Manistee and Northeastern Railroad

and a regular contributor to the efforts of the MFC. Hubbell's approach was progressive in its effort to create the most efficient use of resources and scientific in his dependence upon quantitative measurement and analysis for his evidence. He gathered wood samples from the 1833 windfall in Manistee County for the commission to exhibit at fairs. For an article on reforestation in the 1899 anniversary edition of the *Manistee Daily News*, Hubbell measured several acres with an assessment of every tree found in them. From this work, he was able to evaluate the land, individual species of trees, and the land's prospects for reforestation. He concluded that while natural regeneration would result in forest growth, a productive forest would only be possible if the state created reserves and managed the growth through seeding and fire prevention. He concluded that in twenty-five to fifty years the forest would be ripe for harvest. The goal was for this cutting to revive the logging industry in the state and create jobs for local residents. Furthermore, lumber companies would substantially increase state revenues, because in Hubbell's model, they would both buy the trees and pay stumpage taxes. The revenue from stumpage would allow the state to trim property taxes, which would aid farmers and other land owners.⁸³

Hubbell's research and articles published in commission reports used quantifiable measurements to ground his argument. He insisted that two million cords of wood were wasted in Michigan every year just in the slash from logging. Hubbell saw this waste as a loss of inexpensive fuel that in turn helped create destructive wildfires. Addressing this issue was of moral as well as social importance. Such waste undermined the economy and the future conditions of the soil and forest, yet could be simply addressed through fire suppression and better management of resource use. The bulk of Hubbell's

recommendations reflect this emphasis on efficiency that was a cornerstone of progressive conservation.⁸⁴

Fremont Skeels of Harrietta was another local resident who prominently supported conservation. His dedication was important because as a state agent for agricultural lands he could have easily favored agrarianism. His post connected him to the activities at MAC and the State Land Office and required him to travel extensively throughout the northern half of the Lower Peninsula to assess lands controlled by the state. While it would have been natural for him to assume that these lands could be converted to agriculture, his assessments led him to conclude strongly that much of the state was unsuitable for agricultural purposes. Rather, he thought that it would be best used as forest lands, which prompted his support for reforestation and the work of the forestry commission.⁸⁵

Skeels served as an informal intermediary between the state and local residents because of his residence in Wexford County. His hometown was in the midst of tax abandoned homesteads and the people who were deeply affected by the state's land policies. His involvement personalized the work of the commission for many residents of these areas, which encouraged key citizens to consider its merits. His bold declarations against agriculture in the region may have alienated some residents, but others were likely emboldened to consider other possibilities for the region. For example, Skeels was at the forefront of the anti-agriculture position when he claimed in 1900,

Successful agriculture is entirely out of the question. The nearest approach to agriculture, carried on with any degree of success, is confined to tracts used for grazing purposes by farmers who have bottom lands along some water course, where forage for winter feedings can be grown. The soil of the plains has not the ingredients to supply the demands made upon it by farm crops, and the cost of supplying the necessary plant food is too large

an outlay to receive, for a moment, serious consideration. The experiment has been tried, and the 'State' roads, whose courses stretch through the jack pine districts, are often lined on either side with buildings, fences, fruit plantings, and other improvements, all without tenants and fast going to decay, silent monuments to the failures of patient toil and means to procure a livelihood.⁸⁶

This bold assessment did not have the quantitative measurements supporting it that were common in Hubbell's writings. Rather, Skeels based his conclusions on his observations of activities in and around the jack pine plains of the northern part of the state. These observations led him to conclude that it was not the lack of hard work or investment that doomed agriculture, but the poor soil and climate.⁸⁷

Newspaper editors were mixed in their support for the commission and the divide largely stemmed from politics and vision. In larger cities where there were multiple newspapers, Republican papers tended to support the commission and the Democratic ones would be opposed. Even among Republican editors, some were firmly entrenched as agricultural boosters, while others were beginning to convert to a vision of how reforestation might help their communities. For example, the *Detroit Tribune*, a Democratic newspaper, contested claims that reforestation would be profitable, asserting that it took 400 years to grow useful pine.⁸⁸ In Grand Rapids, the morning and evening Republican newspapers, the *Herald* and the *Evening Press* (later just the *Press*), were split over reforestation efforts. The *Evening Press* ordinarily promoted reforestation, while the *Herald* preferred agricultural settlement for the cutover. As the debate matured, both papers ran articles and editorials supporting both sides. Small-town newspaper editors usually were agricultural boosters and printed articles accordingly, but even their reporting became more mixed as farming lagged after World War I.⁸⁹

While it is difficult to assess public opinion about the efforts of the MFC, the commission's annual reports included laudatory letters from local citizens. While these letters cannot be used without care, they do indicate the issues that were of concern in the cutover. Numerous authors wrote to urge the MFC to create a forest reserve in their area. Fremont postmaster George Hilton and C.W. Utley from Baldwin urged Garfield to start reserves in Lake and northern Newaygo counties, while Reed City resident E.T. Merrill want the commission to secure the cheap land in Osceola County for reforestation. Some writers directed the commission to achieve a particular goal. W.D. Kelly of Muskegon recognized the need to control the fire problem. John Griffin of Scottville suggested that farmers be given tax breaks for maintaining "beautiful forests" after the destruction of the previous twenty years. Roswell Bishop of Ludington craved the benefits of improved human and environmental health that renewed forests would bring. Demonstrating a broad vision of the future, R.C. Norris of Cadillac called for a forest policy that encouraged reserves that benefited agriculture as the only way to ensure the state's prosperity through diversified land use. Other residents like R.B. Reynolds of Frankfort and Charles Koehler of Muskegon just wanted to extend their support for the work of the commission. None of these men appear to have a material or political interest in reforestation, but their letters served as proof to the commissioners that their work did appeal to some of the local citizens.⁹⁰

These letters hint that the movement was not limited to political elites or policy makers in the state's major cities. The reforestation movement had advocates in the communities that would be affected. This vertical integration of support beyond elites clearly indicated that there was no unified opposition to the commission. Furthermore, as

the 1903 meeting with Roscommon and Crawford county leaders indicated, when there was objection to its activities in a local community, the problems were quietly and peacefully mediated by representatives of both sides. This spirit of compromise marked the work of the commission largely because it reflected the personalities of the men that comprised it. The personable dispositions of Garfield and Roth along with the recognition of dire need spurred the work of the MFC in its early years and helped set the framework for the expansion of government involvement in conservation that followed.⁹¹

The work of the forestry commission received a broad range of support among progressive middle and upper-class civic groups in the state. Sportsmen, the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs, lumbermen's associations, and farmers' groups promoted reforestation as a means to resolve problems in the cutover. These groups created their own committees to educate members on conservation issues as well as lobby the legislature to promote this cause. The interest of many of these groups indicated the developing interest in conservation in American society. While sportsmen had been involved in enacting game laws, protecting habitat, and promoting the conservation of natural resources for years, they were finding new allies in the middle-class women, farmers, and wealthy lumbermen that were just discovering an interest in conservation. These groups created a matrix of interest groups that served as broad base for appealing to legislators and made conservation a vital political issue in the first decade of the twentieth century.⁹²

Sportsmen took the lead in reforestation promotion because of their developed interest in game protection. They primarily saw reforestation as a game management issue in terms of creating habitat for upland birds, whitetail deer, and bear. They also

wanted trees to protect against erosion which would silt the rivers and to provide shade for streams where increased water temperatures undermined the stability of game fish. Contemporary studies of game suggested that declining numbers could be directly attributed to the decline of forest habitat.⁹³ These studies had been widely considered in sporting magazines and in the meetings of sportsmen's groups. This work persuaded sportsmen to broaden their outlook on their conservation work. In support of the forestry commission's work, Mark Norris of Grand Rapids wrote that he thought "that the sportsmen throughout the State will be unanimous supporters in any well-devised methods looking to the preservation of the forests and the reforestation of denuded areas within the State."⁹⁴ Through these sentiments and their broad network of contacts, sportsmen lent their support to the reforestation efforts of the forestry commission in Michigan's cutover.

The Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs became active because of its concern for the human condition. As one of the most diligent supporters of reforestation work by the forestry commission, chapters of the MSFWC expressed their concerns in relation to how the destruction of the forests threatened public health through smoke from wildfires and the loss of trees that provided shade and cleaned the air. Furthermore, they argued that the impacts on the state economy and other progressive reform projects from resource extraction threatened the prospects of a sound future in the state. The involvement in conservation by Michigan's women's clubs began in 1897 during the presidency of Emma Fox of Detroit, who placed the issue on the agenda of the state meeting for discussion of the club representatives. This position was pressed further by the National Federation of Women's Clubs which resolved at its 1898 meeting that

individual clubs should study forestry conditions in their respective areas because of concern about the effects of resource destruction on local climate, human health, and the potential of a timber famine. Michigan's state federation and local affiliates did just that in October 1898. Martha Root of Bay City addressed the delegates to the state convention in Manistee and urged them to support reforestation. This speech attracted the interest of local civic leaders and prompted the state federation to create a standing committee on forestry. Led by Root's vision and determination, this committee promoted tree planting for town and highway beautification and memorial forests to improve public land and to promote the aesthetic qualities of the region.⁹⁵

The women of the MSFWC, both statewide and in individual clubs, looked to the state commission, particularly Garfield and Roth for direction. These men served as prominent speakers on forestry at the MSFWC's yearly conventions. These lectures attracted men as well as women to learn more about the issue of forestry in the state. These speeches were meant to inspire women to plant trees and to demand action from local and state elected officials and their husbands. Local clubs also became a primary source of education on reforestation in their communities. By 1905, over half of the state's two hundred women's clubs had sponsored a forestry event in the previous year. Root started souvenir and memorial tree campaigns throughout the state, particularly in her hometown of Bay City. Clubs planted trees in their city parks and along city streets for the purposes of community beautification. The state federation raised money from members to fund replanting on state forest land. The State Federation also lobbied for sound legislation to promote reforestation, prevent forest fires, and promote the observance of Arbor Day in the state's public schools. This work improved public

education on forestry issues, expanded access to public spaces like parks, and initiated many of the early tree planting projects in the state, which was consistent with the increasingly active role that women's clubs were taking around the country.⁹⁶

After years of resistance brought on because of the possible cost, lumbermen's organizations recognized that support of state efforts would cost them little and guarantee their good names. Few lumbermen thought that they would personally reap the benefits of reforestation, but they also recognized the failures of agriculture in the region. In an effort to renew their legacies as great men, lumbermen sought to curb the damage that their logging had done. Supporting the forestry commission seemed an excellent means to achieve this goal because it would not cost them anything other than political capital to aid in the reforestation of the cutover while it would clear their names from culpability for denuded lands and unpaid taxes. At their February 1902 meeting in Detroit, Garfield and Wildey urged members of the Michigan Retail Lumber Dealers Association to become involved in supporting reforestation. In light of the dwindling supply of forests for lumber in the state, the association passed a resolution to encourage the legislature to reforest the cutover.⁹⁷

In addition to the work of the State Horticulture Society, the Association of Farmers' Clubs and the Grange both became very involved in the forestry question in the state.⁹⁸ In 1900, the Association of Farmers' Clubs dedicated a meeting to forestry, and the Grange became involved because of their horticultural concerns. The Farmers' Clubs and the Grange supported legislation for the expansion of the work of the forestry commission in 1902. MAC also encouraged farmers to be concerned about forestry by releasing bulletins on farm forestry and dedicating Farmers Institutes to forestry

questions. These farmers were primarily from Southern Michigan and hoped the forestry department at MAC could help their management of woodlots to supply wood as a raw material or fuel. These materials were in short supply in that part of the state, thus support was very much localized and in their own best interest. Yet, as members in the northern part of the state expressed their dissatisfaction with reforestation work in their part of the state, support from these groups waned.⁹⁹

These clubs and organizations lent extensive support to the reforestation movement in the state. While their memberships came from a broad range of perspectives, they were all able to unite behind reforestation and conservation as a sound answer to the problems of the cutover. Their unique political collaboration was indicative of the new political allies created by the progressive movement that sought to address social ills through new means. The preliminary work of these groups was strengthened and extended with the formation of the Michigan Forestry Association in 1905, a body whose sole purpose was to promote progressive conservation in the state.

Michigan Forestry Association

The Michigan Forestry Association (MFA), like many progressive organizations, relied on volunteerism and coordinated political and public efforts to solve perceived problems. It was the brainchild of Charles Garfield, who understood the limited power of the MFC but hoped to neutralize that by creating a coalition of pro-reforestation groups. The MFA would try both to press leading politicians to back MFC's recommendations and engage in a broad educational drive to win public support. Furthermore, the group would be affiliated with the American Forestry Association, which had a similar goals

and functions on a national level. This connection would expand education on forestry matters related to Michigan while tapping into greater political clout and authority.¹⁰⁰

The organizational meeting of the organization was held at the Park Congregational Church and the Ryerson Library in downtown Grand Rapids on September 29-30, 1905. The arrangements for this meeting were clearly made on Garfield's behalf, but he went to great lengths to make the workings of the association distinct from his work on the commission. He did not hold any official capacity in the association during his affiliation with the commission and there is little mention of him in the association's reports. He distanced himself so much from it that in its early reports, Thornton Green of Ontonagon was credited with initiating the movement. Garfield did use commission publications to advertise the developments of the association. A summary of the first meeting was published in "The Advance Movement in Michigan Forestry," an educational pamphlet of the MFC.¹⁰¹

Support for this new association had a broad base among progressives as it drew eight hundred initial members in the first year. This first meeting in Grand Rapids provided the opportunity for people from various interest groups to speak on why forestry was a concern for them. William Beal from MAC spoke about the botanical concerns raised by the forest problem. In another speech, George Horton of the Grange asserted that farmers needed trees and forests to protect their crops and provide them with materials and fuel. Mrs. Francis King from Alma represented the women's clubs, stating that trees would make towns beautiful and revive the fortunes of former lumber towns that were struggling. Filibert Roth from the University of Michigan commented on forestry management, while J.S. Porter of Saginaw conveyed the concerns from the

perspective of a lumberman. These addresses helped to unite these citizens who came from a wide range of interests together under the cause of reforestation.¹⁰²

The main topics for discussion by association members were consistent with the goals of Garfield, the MFC, and the federal government. There was an extensive effort to inform members of how to discuss these issues with friends and neighbors and how to dispel myths about the effects reforestation would have on the state and their communities. The new State Land Commissioner William Rose addressed anxieties that permanent state-owned forests would undermine the tax base. He encouraged citizens to understand that these lands were sites of ongoing tax reversion and that taxes were rarely collected on them. Rose wanted citizens to instead see these stands of trees as stimulating economic opportunities and employment that were much more productive for long-term growth than the continuing cycle of tax reversion.¹⁰³

Most of the discussion about taxes, though, was focused on private land ownership. Members agreed that the current tax structure discouraged and limited conservation. Property taxes were assessed based on the land and the stumpage value of the trees on that land. Taxing growing trees as well as the land vastly increased tax bills and encouraged owners to cut marketable trees to avoid additional yearly taxes on them. John Hubbell observed how this means of assessing property taxes effectively prevented private owners from planting trees. He proposed that trees should not be taxed as property but as a commodity. Thus, taxes would not be paid yearly on growing trees, but only once when the trees were harvested. This change would prompt those landowners interested in commercial forestry to replant or at least encourage natural regeneration because the growth of new forests would cost them pennies compared to the current tax

code. Yet, this proposal encountered resistance in the state because of the numerous other proposals being debated. The issue of taxation would remain a focus of farmers, foresters, and reformers over the next two decades.¹⁰⁴

The first board was elected at the association's conference. John Bissell of Detroit was named president, while Thornton Green became the vice-president. T.W. Sawyer of Ludington was the secretary, while John Hubbell was elected as the treasurer for the association. Comprised mainly of lumbermen and farmers, the board of directors included Mrs. Francis King of Alma, Charles Monroe of South Haven, Lucius Hubbard of Houghton, Walter Winchester of Grand Rapids, H.N. Loud of Au Sable, and George Horton of Fruit Ridge. Many of these individuals had attended forestry events locally or nationally before and they represented the broad range of organizations that were interested in reforestation in Michigan.¹⁰⁵

Unlike the overall integration of support for the reforestation movement, educated elites and upper-class progressives comprised the MFA. Furthermore, the movement was divided between members who were fixated on what had been lost during the lumber era and those who looked forward to the possibilities of reforestation in the future. They expressed their ideas in scientific and quantitative terms, but also in literary and abstract ones. Their views of nature ranged from the practical and economical to the idealized and pastoral. These progressive, yet anti-modern, sentiments reflect the complex and ambiguous tendencies of elites during the late nineteenth-century. The lack of clarity in their vision would stall the movement in the next decade.¹⁰⁶

Legacy of the Michigan Forestry Commission

The work of the forestry commission was primarily manifested in the state's first forest reserve near Higgins Lake. The larger legacy, though, was in how the commission introduced a new role for the state in addressing conservation concerns and land use policy. Prior to the establishment of the commission, the state was limited to a protectionist stance when it came to conservation of resources. The state had game laws in place to limit hunting and fishing, but its active work was in fish hatcheries. These fish were rarely encountered by the majority of citizens, but the effects of the forestry commission and the citizens' association were more noticeable. Public lands had been set aside as reserves, trees were planted along roadsides and in cities, and wastelands were being rehabilitated. Just as important was the decrease in smoke. Fires were uncommon in the areas where the MFC fought for their prevention. Unfortunately, due to cost prohibitions the fire warden had a small staff and this work centered on the forest reserve. Yet these changes were noticeable to many citizens and helped launch other forms of progressive legislation.¹⁰⁷

The forestry commissioners were well aware of the ways in which they were part of the changing role of the state in the new century. In the preface of the 1904 report, the commissioners wrote, "In our endeavor to stay the ruthless destruction of timber and awaken an interest in tree-planting as a commercial venture for the State, we are entering upon a new era of statecraft." This work of changing the role of the state was not seen to be a restriction on free enterprise, but as enhancing it. The state was to stimulate economic activity and maintain natural resources for the common good. The preface continued,

Our commission has set itself about the work of impressing people with the importance of growing timber as an accessory to our agriculture, and one which shall, if well carried out, furnish a regular and continuous product from the soil, of great and increasing value. In doing this, the grower of timber will serve his State by supporting numberless commercial enterprises which use for raw material the products of the forest. In accomplishing this purpose, any effort of the State expressed in well defined methods will reap a reward not second to any other effort along the lines of production. The statistical matter furnished in many of the papers which are contributed to this volume furnish an unanswerable argument in favor of holding permanently in this State large areas of land to be kept as forest reserve lands.¹⁰⁸

The forest reserves then served the joint purpose of stabilizing failed lands and stimulating economic growth through the production of raw materials to be used in the developing industrial sector.

Obviously, the commission sought to expand this work every year. The legislature slowed movement by the MFC by keeping appropriations small. Yearly, the commissioners sought increased funding and authorization to address cutover lands and to replant areas under their control. Routinely, the legislature denied these requests for increases. Despite the success of the commission's conservation work, the legislature remained leery of expanding state control over land in the form of permanent forest reserves. Public expectation was that nearly all land in the state, whether reforested or not, should be held in private hands and elected representatives reflected that perspective. The push for the expansion of conservation work by the state stagnated and stalled without the influx of more money to support the vision held by Garfield, Roth, and other supporters of reforestation. These conservationists published their clear plans in reports, pamphlets, and newspapers, but without the means to implement them, much of the work went undone. Reliably fires continued to sweep much of the state since fire prevention efforts remained small due to inadequate funding.¹⁰⁹

The final reports of the commission presented the conflicting perspectives of progress and frustration. Garfield insisted that attitudes had changed among farmers, lumbermen, manufacturers, educators, politicians, merchants, and the clergy. He recognized the women's clubs as the movement's strongest ally because of their range of involvement in communities throughout the state. Steadily, he claimed, residents and citizens were recognizing the importance of forestry.¹¹⁰ Regardless of Garfield's hopeful assessment of the future of reforestation, Michigan's brief flirtation with the policy was nearing an end. By 1907, powerful politicians were busy at work remaking conservation in the state, shifting control out of the hands of the "experts" and into the hands of machine politicians. The elimination of the MFC the following summer, and the creation of a new patronage-rich bureaucracy in its place, signaled a departure from progressive conservation and indirectly a renewal of agricultural boosterism in Michigan.

Notes for Chapter Two

¹ USDA, *1895 Report of the Chief of the Division of Forestry* (Washington: GPO, 1896), 149-150 and "Reforestation Michigan Pine Lands" *Northwestern Lumberman*, Feb. 9, 1895, Michigan Forests and Forestry folder, Box 21, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS.

² For example, E.B. Wright of the West Michigan Lumber Company had cutover lands sown with clover and planted with small orchards to improve their value and make them attractive for sale. "Notes from Exchanges," *Muskegon Daily Chronicle*, July 8, 1887, 19th c. binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

³ William J. Beal, "The Succession of Forests in Michigan – A Brief Abstract for the Busy Man," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1900* (Lansing: Wynkopp Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1900), 64-65 and Donald I. Dickmann and Larry A. Leefers, *The Forests of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 115-117.

⁴ William N. Sparhawk and Warren D. Brush, *The Economic Aspects of Forest Destruction in Northern Michigan*, USDA Technical Bulletin 92 (Washington: GPO, 1929) and Harold Titus, *The Land Nobody Wanted: The Story of Michigan's Public Domain*, Special Bulletin 332 (East Lansing: MSC Agricultural Experiment Station, 1945), 7-11.

⁵ Lumbermen concurred with the view discussed in Chapter One that Northern Michigan forests would and should give way to agriculture. For an example of this view, see "Deforested Michigan," *Northwestern Lumberman*, Nov. 16, 1895, Michigan Forests and Forestry folder, Box 21, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS.

⁶ To learn more about the politics of early reforestation efforts in Michigan, see Norman John Schmaltz, "Cutover Land Crusade: The Michigan Forest Conservation Movement, 1899-1931" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1972) and Dave Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery: Michigan's Rise as a Conservation Leader* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), 49-64.

⁷ Stephen B. Sarasohn and Vera H. Sarasohn, *Political Party Patterns in Michigan* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1957), 8-16; Melvin G. Holli, *Reform in Detroit: Hazen S. Pingree and Urban Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969); Willis F. Dunbar, *Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State*, 3rd rev. ed., ed. George S. May (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995), 381-392; and Geoffrey G. Drutchas, "Gray Eminence in a Gilded Age: The Forgotten Career of Senator James McMillan of Michigan," *Michigan Historical Review* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 79-113.

⁸ For Progressivism in Michigan, see Saralee R. Howard-Filler, "A Better Life for All: Political and Social Reform in Michigan," in *Michigan: Visions of Our Past*, ed. Richard J. Hathaway (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1989), 184-217 and Dunbar, *Michigan*, 443-459.

For a broader understanding of the Progressive movement in the United States as well as its debts to European ideas, see Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Knopf, 1955); Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967); Walter Nugent, *From Centennial to World War* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1977); Samuel P. Hays, "Conservation and the Structure of American Politics: The Progressive Era," in *American Political History as Social Analysis* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980), 233-243; James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Morton Keller, *Regulating a New Society: Public Policy and Social Change in America, 1900-1933* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994); Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998); R. Rudy Higgins-Evenson, *The Price of Progress: Public Services, Taxation, and the American Corporate State, 1877 to 1929* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2003); and Maureen

Flanagan, *America Reformed: Progressives and Progressivisms, 1890s-1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 161-168.

⁹ For an overview of the relationship of environmental issues with Progressivism, see Flanagan, *America Reformed*; 161-179. Studies of urban public health concerns include David Stradling, *Smokestacks and Progressives: Environmentalists, Engineers, and Air Quality in America, 1881-1951* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999) and Susan Strasser, *Waste and Want: A Social History of Trash* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1999). Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); Elmo R. Richardson, *The Politics of Conservation: Crusades and Controversies, 1897-1913* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962); Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963); Thomas Dunlap, *Saving America's Wildlife: How Science Changed Our Minds* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); 34-55; Bret Wallach, *At Odds with Progress: Americans and Conservation* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991); Bob Pepperman Taylor, *Our Limits Transgressed: Environmental Political Thought in America* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992); John T. Crumbler, *Reasonable Use: The People, the Environment, and the State, New England 1790-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); and Robert W. Righter, *The Battle over Hetch Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), have debated the nature of conservation politics during the early-twentieth century.

¹⁰ Studies of Pinchot's life, work, and theories of conservation include Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1947); Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*; and Char Miller, *Gifford Pinchot and the Making of Modern Environmentalism* (Washington: Island Press, 2001). For an article on his views about the Michigan cutover, see "Michigan Lands Going to Waste," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, May 15, 1907, 1905 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

¹¹ Three clear examples of these concerns are Arthur J. Hill, "The Pine Industry in Michigan," *Publications of the Michigan Political Science Association* 3, no. 4 (Dec. 1898): 1-12; "Pirates of the Michigan Forests," *Detroit Journal*, February 17, 1900; and Volney M. Spalding, "Presidential Address on a Natural History Survey of Michigan" (Ann Arbor: Inland, 1898).

Hill's piece focused on the need for reforestation to maintain Michigan's role as a vital wood products supplier. His argument was supplemented by statistics and suggestions on proper methods from Bernard Fernow, Filibert Roth and the U.S. Bureau of Forestry. The *Detroit Journal* article consisted of an extensive interview with Fremont E. Skeels, the state agent of agricultural lands in Michigan. Skeels argued for legislation to protect Michigan's forests from thieves and fire. Spalding was a botanist at the University of Michigan and in 1898 he was the president of the Michigan Academy of Science. He argued that government planning was necessary to prevent the cutover from being underutilized for forests and agriculture.

¹² The elements of this idea appear throughout reforestation writings from 1886-1909. The first demonstration of these ideas is Charles W. Garfield, "The Forestry Problem," *Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Horticulture Society of Michigan, 1886* (Lansing: W.S. George & Co., 1886), 60-128.

¹³ "Proceedings of State Conference in Kalamazoo, December 2-4, 1890," *Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Horticulture Society of Michigan, 1890*, 41.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 40-53.

¹⁵ William J. Beal, "The Needs of Michigan Forestry," *Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Horticulture Society of Michigan, 1894* (Lansing: W.S. George & Co., 1894), 124-129.

¹⁶ U.S. Forest Chief Bernhard Fernow credited Spalding with teaching the first true forestry course in the United States in 1882. Spalding also wrote and edited the first USDA bulletin on the white pine. Spalding desired the greater dissemination of scientific botanical knowledge in the general population as

the means by which to develop broad public support for conservation initiatives. Though his career was cut short by rheumatism, Spalding helped initiate the birth of the forestry movement in Michigan.

Like Garfield, there is scant biographical information on Spalding. Howard S. Reed, "Volney Morgan Spalding" (Binghamton, N.Y.: privately published, 1919): 14-18, has offered a brief overview of his life and a paragraph on his work in the forestry movement. Andrew D. Rodgers III, *Bernhard Eduard Fernow: A Story of North American Forestry* (Durham, N.C.: Forest History Society, 1991), 46, has mentioned Spalding's forestry class at the University of Michigan. Volney M. Spalding, *The White Pine* (Washington, GPO, 1899), wrote a botanical history and scientific assessment of the white pine. It is important to note that contributing authors to the volume were Fernow, Filibert Roth, and F.H. Chittenden who all had a significant role in Michigan forestry.

¹⁷ Spalding, "Presidential Address," 3-16. He expected that scientists could perform the study for a low cost because the state had already built their laboratories and libraries, and students could be used for labor. The survey then would function as a part of the professors' research and teaching and would require little additional funding. Spalding used this alternative funding to challenge the state legislature away from its hands-off approach and push it towards a more active engagement on social welfare. He discussed the state's *laissez-faire* policies on pages 7-8.

¹⁸ Volney M. Spalding, "Progress in Forestry under State Control," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1900*, 70-83. The states that had a forestry department that predated Michigan's were California (1885), New York (1885), Colorado (1885), Ohio (1885), Kansas (1887), Maine (1891), North Carolina (1891), Pennsylvania (1895), Minnesota (1895), and Wisconsin (1895). Several of these departments did not last, but by 1909, 26 states had a forestry department. Hence, the founding of forestry administration in Michigan can be understood as being normative in the context of this work nationally. "State Forestry Department Data," and "State Forest Administration," State organization – State Forestry Legislation folder, Box 1, USFS Records of the State and Private Forestry Divisions, 95-98, NARA.

¹⁹ Spalding, "Progress in Forestry," 80. Bruncken wrote a book recounting the natural history of North American forests and promoting the use of scientific forestry as sound management of denuded lands. In it he argued how scientific forestry and the involvement of the state could address destructive issues like fire, timber theft, and excessive taxation. Ernest Bruncken, *North American Forests and Forestry: Their Relations to the National Life of the American People* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1908).

²⁰ Spalding, "Progress in Forestry," 80-81.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 81-83.

²² William J. Beal, "A Few Things That Have Been Established Regarding the Management of Forests in Michigan," *Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Horticulture Society of Michigan, 1898* (Lansing: W.S. George & Co., 1898), 113-117.

²³ "Proceedings of State Conference in Ann Arbor, December 6-8, 1898," *Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Horticulture Society of Michigan, 1898*, 246-262.

²⁴ As a representative of the state, Skeels should not be considered a local in the traditional sense. Yet, the nature of his residence within the cutover offered him special insight into local problems and a measure of respect from businessmen, farmers, and settlers in the region.

²⁵ "Old Timber Land," *Grand Rapids Press*, November 6, 1900, Michigan Forestry Commission folder, Box 21, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS.

²⁶ For an elaboration on such an understanding of the commons that was prevalent in the United States during the nineteenth century, see Steven Hahn, "Hunting, Fishing, and Foraging: Common Rights and Class Relations in the Postbellum South," *Radical History Review* 26 (1982): 37-64; Robert

McCullough, *The Landscape of Community: A History of Communal Forests in New England* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1995): 14-35; Louis S. Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 1-20; Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 193-198; and Thomas Summerhill, *Harvest of Dissent: Agrarianism in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 23-24, 176. All of these authors suggest how the commons were not as "open to all" or as abused by local residents as has been often suggested in public history.

²⁷ "Proceedings of State Conference in Ann Arbor, December 6-8, 1898," *Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Horticulture Society of Michigan, 1898*, 262-269.

²⁸ For examples of editorial support in the newspaper, see "Our Pine Slashes," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, Feb. 21, 1899; "For Tree Protection," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, March 4, 1899; "Reforest the Slashes," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, April 17, 1899; "Guard the Forests," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, May 8, 1899; and "To Save the Trees," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, Oct. 6, 1899 all in the 19th c. binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

²⁹ "Michigan State Forestry Commission – A History," Folder 1, Box 1, Minutes of the Michigan State Forestry Commission, Department of Conservation, SAM. Though definitive proof was unavailable, Charles Garfield likely wrote this brief history. This development was also discussed by William B. Botti and Michael D. Moore, *Michigan's State Forests: A Century of Stewardship* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2006), 4-5.

³⁰ This expansion of state regulation and management of resources reflected the bureaucratic expansions of the American state during this era discussed by Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). For more information on Republican Party politics at the end of the nineteenth century, see Dunbar, *Michigan*, 386-392.

³¹ The commissioner of the state land office was an elected position. From 1897 until the commission was abolished on Jan. 1, 1915, the men who held the office were William French (1897-1900), Edwin Wildey (1901-1904), William Rose (1905-1908), Huntley Russell (1909-1912), and Augustus Carton (1913-1914).

³² My discussion of the State Forestry Commission comes from the commission's meeting minutes and reports. For another account, see Schmaltz, "Cutover Land Crusade," 137-163, 348-361.

³³ "Minutes, September 30, 1899," Folder 1, Box 1, Minutes of the Michigan State Forestry Commission, Department of Conservation, SAM.

³⁴ "Minutes, January 3, 1900," and "Minutes, April 25, 1900," Folder 1, Box 1, Minutes of the Michigan State Forestry Commission, Department of Conservation, SAM.

³⁵ "Minutes, November 2, 1900," and "Minutes, December 27, 1900," Folder 1, Box 1, Minutes of the Michigan State Forestry Commission, Department of Conservation, SAM and "Are Hard at Work," *Grand Rapids Herald*, November 3, 1900, Michigan Forestry Commission folder, Box 21, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS.

³⁶ Charles W. Garfield, "A Little Talk about Michigan Forestry" (Lansing: Michigan State Forestry Commission, 1900[?]), 5-7, 10-20.

³⁷ Michigan Forestry Commission letter book, Charles W. Garfield papers, BHL and Michigan State College, *Fifty Years of Forestry at Michigan State College* (East Lansing: MSC, 1953).

³⁸ "Deed Land," *Detroit Tribune*, September 4, 1900; "Waste Timber Lands for the University," *Detroit Free Press*, December 22, 1900; "The Forestry Problem," and "A Department of Forestry," *Saginaw News*, December 22, 1900; all in University of Michigan folder, Box 22, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS.

³⁹ "U of M to have a Chair of Forestry," *Detroit Free Press*, January 18, 1901; "Forestry Department," *Grand Rapids Herald*, January 19, 1901; and "Chair in Forestry," *Grand Rapids Press*, January 23, 1901, University of Michigan folder, Box 22, USFS Clippings File, FHS.

⁴⁰ Roth had been born in Germany before immigrating to the United States with his family when he was thirteen. He had honed his forestry knowledge at the U.S. Bureau of Forestry. He had previously held a post as assistant professor of forestry at the New York State College of Forestry at Cornell University. Biographical Folder, Box 1, Filibert Roth papers, BHL; G.H. Collingwood, "Filibert Roth – An Appreciation," *American Forests and Forest Life* 32 (Jan. 1926): 43; Samuel T. Dana, "Filibert Roth – Master Teacher," *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review* 61 (Winter 1955): 100-110; and Botti and Moore, *Michigan's State Forests*, 12-13.

⁴¹ "To Plan its Work," *Grand Rapids Press*, May 9, 1901, Michigan Forestry Commission folder, Box 21, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS; "Prof. Davis Does for Well Trained College Foresters," *Grand Rapids Herald*, February 2, 1902; and "Forestry Department is Negotiating for Some Land," *Ann Arbor Times*, February 27, 1902, University of Michigan folder, Box 22, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS.

"The Forestry Commission" *Jackson Patriot*, July 30, 1901, Michigan Forestry Commission folder, Box 21, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS.

⁴² For a complete overview of the first thirty years developments in the forestry department at the University of Michigan, see Norman J. Schmaltz, "Academia Gets Involved in Michigan Forest Conservation," *The Michigan Academician* 12, no. 1 (Summer 1979): 25-46.

⁴³ MSC, *Fifty Years of Forestry*, 6-7, 12-13, 28-29. The nursery started by Bogue in 1903 would later be named for him.

⁴⁴ In addition to Schmaltz, "Academia Gets Involved," issues of *The University of Michigan Forester* and *The Michigan Forester* published by the University of Michigan Forestry Club offer the best information on the nature of forestry education during the early-twentieth century at the university. Also see, "Eight Are Placed," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, July 4, 1907, 1905 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB about the hiring of the department's first graduates by the USFS. For the early history of forestry at MAC, see MSC, *Fifty Years of Forestry*.

⁴⁵ Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*.

⁴⁶ Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 159-163; Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*, 267-277; and Flanagan, *America Reformed*, 81-86. While these historians recognize the "undemocratic" impulses of some elements of Progressivism, they would be reluctant to dismiss the democratic efforts of the era. For more information in this vein see Kevin Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public: The Struggle for Urban Participatory Democracy during the Progressive Era* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998) and Robert D. Johnston, "Re-Democratizing the Progressive Era: The Politics of Progressive Era Political Historiography," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1, no. 1 (Jan. 2002): 68-92.

⁴⁷ Garfield, "A Little Talk about Michigan Forestry," 7-10. This sermon is particularly unique given the criticisms of how Christians view the environment sparked by Lynn White, Jr., "The Historical Roots of our Ecological Crisis," *Science* 155, no. 3767 (March 10, 1967): 1203-1207.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of the claims to morality within Progressivism, see Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 196-212; Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 133-145; and Flanagan, *America Reformed*, 34-39.

⁴⁹ This stage of state-building through conservation policy most fully resembles the process described by Skowronek, *Building a New American State*. For a further discussion of state-building in relation to conservation in Michigan, see the Introduction.

⁵⁰ As a member of the state legislature in 1881, Garfield had tried to get that body to accept the same site as a donation for a reserve. The proposal did not gain any traction at the time. Eventually, the land reverted to the state for taxes and was available in 1901 for Garfield to get the reserve that he had desired twenty years earlier.

⁵¹ William J. Beal, "Report of the Botanist," *Annual Report of the Michigan Board of Agriculture, 1888*, 171-193; MFC, "Annual Report of the Commission," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1901* (Lansing: Robert Smith Printing Co., 1901), 3-4; "The Pine Barrens," *Muskegon Daily Chronicle*, Sept. 30, 1901, 1900 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB; and Thomas H. Sherrard, "The Michigan Forest Reserve," *Forestry and Irrigation* 8, no. 10 (Oct. 1902): 404-411.

⁵² MFC, "Annual Report," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1901*, 3-4 and Sherrard, "The Michigan Forest Reserve," 404-411.

⁵³ "Minutes, September 30, 1901," and "Minutes, December 31, 1901," Folder 1, Box 1, Minutes of the Michigan State Forestry Commission, Department of Conservation, SAM. At these meetings the commission discussed Davis's work and the invitation to the American Forestry Association for their annual meeting. "Minutes, July 31, 1902," and "Minutes, August 18, 1902," Folder 2, Box 1, Minutes of the Michigan State Forestry Commission, Department of Conservation, SAM. These meeting minutes recount the hiring of Pion, arrangements for the AFA meeting, and the excursion to the forest reserve and Mackinac Island.

⁵⁴ "Minutes, July 31, 1902," and "Minutes, August 18, 1902," Folder 2, Box 1, Minutes of the Michigan State Forestry Commission, Department of Conservation, SAM.

⁵⁵ Papers from the conference were published in *Forestry and Irrigation*, the journal of the American Forestry Association, in the October 1902 issue. Sherrard, "The Michigan Forest Reserve," 404-411 and Filibert Roth, "The Jack Pine Plains of Michigan," *Forestry and Irrigation* 8, no. 10 (Oct. 1902): 413-416. Roth's speech was also published in the *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1902* (Lansing: Robert Smith Printing Co., 1902), 34-37.

⁵⁶ In addition to his interest in conservation, Mather explored the possible agricultural uses for his company's cutover land. The efforts of Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company in agricultural promotion were discussed in Terry S. Reynolds, "'Quite an Experiment': A Mining Company's Attempt to Promote Agriculture on Michigan's Upper Peninsula, 1895-1915," *Agricultural History* 80, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 64-98.

⁵⁷ "Minutes, August 28, 1902," Folder 2, Box 1, Minutes of the Michigan State Forestry Commission, Department of Conservation, SAM.

⁵⁸ Letter from William Johnson to Charles Garfield, May 21, 1900, Michigan Forestry Commission letter book, Charles W. Garfield papers, BHL.

⁵⁹ Letter from Burton E. Livingston to Charles Garfield, August 13, 1902, Michigan Forestry Commission letter book, Charles W. Garfield papers, BHL and Fremont E. Skeels, "Conditions in the Forest Reserve," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1902*, 40-47.

⁶⁰ Charles W. Garfield, Arthur Hill, and William French, "Official Report to the Governor," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1900* (Lansing: Robert Smith Printing Co., 1900), 17. This sentiment was common in many early commission publications.

⁶¹ Charles L. DeWaele, "The Pioneer Must Be Protected," *Crawford Avalanche*, August 28, 1902, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM, 4. Descriptions of this opposition appeared in newspapers around the state. For example, "They Don't Like It," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, Aug. 30, 1902, 1900 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB. In a letter to the editor, C.D. McLouth of Muskegon who went on the expedition to the reserve offered support for the MFC on this issue. "Practical Forestry," *Muskegon Daily Chronicle*, Sept. 4, 1902, 1900 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁶² Information on tax reversion is available in the *Reports of the Commissioner of the Land Office* from 1900 until 1914 when the office was closed. Information on farm production for Roscommon County was gleaned from the 1894 State of Michigan Agricultural Census and the 1835 State of Michigan Agricultural Census.

⁶³ Charles W. Garfield, "The Forestry Point of View," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission*, 1902, 59-60.

⁶⁴ Garfield, "The Forestry Point of View," 60-62.

⁶⁵ Difficulties in establishing a farm on the frontier were more numerous in the nineteenth century than are ordinarily discussed by historians. For examples, see Robert R. Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968); Pete Daniel, *Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures since 1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Jonathan Raban, *Bad Land: An American Romance* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997); and Steven Stoll, *Larding the Lean Earth: Soil and Society in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2002).

⁶⁶ The negotiations related to the establishment of the forestry reserve developed in similar ways to government regulation of business discussed by Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism* and James Williard Hurst, *Law and Economic Growth: The Legal History of the Lumber Industry in Wisconsin, 1836-1915* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964).

⁶⁷ Taxation was an issue tied to these reverted lands regardless of their proposed use for farming or forestry or whether the land was privately or publicly held. In the same MFC report, John J. Hubbell proposed a program for equitable taxation that addressed local concerns of a declining tax base while encouraging sound forestry. Hubbell recommended replacing property taxes on forest land with stumpage taxes to be collected when the trees were cut. He recommended a rate of 10% based on their value to be divided between the townships (4%), counties (2%), state (2%), and the MFC (2%). For a further discussion on forest taxation, see Fred Rogers Fairchild, *Forest Taxation in the United States* (Washington, GPO, 1935).

⁶⁸ "Fight for Homes," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, April 9, 1903, 1900 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁶⁹ "Minutes, April 8, 1903," Folder 2, Box 1, Minutes of the Michigan State Forestry Commission, Department of Conservation, SAM. Palmer was a long-time opponent to reforestation in Crawford County. He had opposed the findings of the State Board of Agriculture in 1894 that claimed that the barrens were useless for agriculture. He expressed his complaints in letters to the press around the state, some of whom backed his findings. "Those Pine Barrens," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, May 22, 1894 and May 23, 1894, 19th c. binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

It should be noted that Earle Bolton (R-Gaylord), the representative of the region in question, did not agree with the complaints of his constituents. Though, he delivered their protest petition and expressed their objections to the reserve, his observations led him to conclude that the barrens would not be agriculturally profitable. "By Two New Bills," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, Jan. 19, 1903, 1900 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁷⁰ The commission proposed the following land be included in the reservation: E½ of Township 22 North, Range 2 West; E½ of Township 22 North, Range 3 West; Township 21 North, Range 3 West;

Township 21 North, Range 4 West; and S½ of Township 25 North, Range 4 West. The citizens' group countered with Township 21 North, Range 3 West; Township 21 North, Range 4 West; N½ of Township 24 North, Range 4 West; and S½ of Township 25 North, Range 4 West.

⁷¹ "Minutes, April 8, 1903," Folder 2, Box 1, Minutes of the Michigan State Forestry Commission, Department of Conservation, SAM. The boundaries proposed by the citizens were the ones adopted. It is important to note that the whole reserve was not contiguous. The two southern townships formed one part of the reserve, while the two half townships in the northern part were separate. These two areas were managed differently by the commission throughout the decade.

For a brief recounting of this opposition from Crawford and Roscommon counties and its resolution, see Botti and Moore, *Michigan's State Forests*, 5-9.

⁷² Charles W. Garfield, Arthur Hill, and Edwin A. Wildey, "Official Report to the Governor," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1903-1904* (Lansing: Robert Smith Printing Co., 1904), 16-20. None of the locals employed to work on the reserve had been on the citizen's committee. So, it does not appear that they received any political favors from the MFC for their compromise on the reserve. For information on continued opposition, see Frank M. Sparks, "Are Against Reforestation," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Sept. 5, 1905, 1905 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁷³ For more information on the Anishnabeg of Michigan and how they avoided removal in the nineteenth century, see George M. Blackburn, "Foredoomed to Failure: The Manistee Indian Station," *Michigan History* 53, no. 1 (1969): 37-50; Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); James M. McClurken, "We Wish to be Civilized: Ottawa-American Political Contests on the Michigan Frontier" (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 1988); George Cornell, "Unconquered Nations: The Native Peoples of Michigan," in *Michigan: Visions of Our Past*, ed. Richard J. Hathaway (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1989), 25-40; and Charles E. Cleland, *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan's Native Americans* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), 253-262.

According to the United States Census, in 1900 there were 622 American Indians in the West Michigan cutover counties, most of whom were in Mason and Oceana counties. In 1940, there were 468 American Indians, and their distribution was concentrated in the lakeshore counties of Manistee, Mason, Oceana, and Muskegon. Extensive intermarriage with whites made any enumeration of their populations very problematic, but these figures indicated where the identified communities were located.

⁷⁴ There are few records of the content of these meetings between American Indian delegations and government representatives. Photographs of the delegations, however, are numerous. The National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution have photos of delegates from almost every year between 1862 and 1926. For a general history of delegations to Washington, see Herman J. Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskins: A History of Indian Delegations in Washington City* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981).

⁷⁵ Louise V. Armstrong, *We Too Are the People* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1938), 195-225; James M. McClurken, "Wage Labor in Two Michigan Ottawa Communities," in *Native Americans and Wage Labor: Ethnohistorical Perspectives*, ed. Alice Littlefield and Martha C. Knack (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 70-85; Alice Littlefield, "Indian Education and the World of Work in Michigan, 1893-1933," in *Native Americans and Wage Labor*, ed. Littlefield and Knack, 106-111; and Eric Perkins, "Ethnoarchaeological Investigations at the Indian Village Site Manistee County, Michigan" (East Lansing: Michigan State University Department of Anthropology, 1998). While the Anishnabeg were not pursued fervently for game law violations, they still were routinely arrested and taken to court to keep the situation under control and to test accepted treaty rights. See Armstrong, *We Too Are the People*, 206-209 and "Rights of Indians Must be Decided by Oceana Jury," *Grand Rapids Herald*, March 31, 1928, "Native Americans 1920-" binder, Carl Bajema clippings file, Grand Rapids History & Special Collections Center, GRPL.

⁷⁶ Lilley township is Township 16 North, Range 13 West, and Kaleva is in Maple Grove township, Township 23 North, Range 14 West. "Good for Grazing," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, May 23, 1899, 19th c. binder; "All Roads In It," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, March 10, 1904, 1900 binder; "Esthetic Bean Succeeds Pine," *Muskegon Daily Chronicle*, July 27, 1907, 1905 binder, all in the Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB. For more information on Kaleva, see Shannon McRae, *Manistee County* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2006), 106-109.

⁷⁷ Brethren is in Dickenson township, Township 22 North, Range 19 West. Wolf Lake is in Peacock township, Township 19 North, Range 14 West, while Krain City was in Greenwood township, Township 13 North, Range 15 West. McRae, *Manistee County*, 101-104; "Farms Are Now Taking the Place of the Michigan Forests," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Aug. 20, 1906 and "Should Be Muzzled," *Michigan Investor* 3, no. 50 (Sept. 16, 1905): 8, both in 1905 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB; and "Krain City," Greenwood Township file, OCHS.

⁷⁸ Donald J. Weir and Christopher J. Marzonie, *Hydroelectric Plant Historical Review* (Jackson: Consumers Power Company, 1991), 33-41 and Newaygo County Society of History and Genealogy, *Newaygo County, 1850-1920* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2006), 33, 35-38.

⁷⁹ The "desert" was located in Big Prairie township, Township 13 North, Range 11 West.

⁸⁰ "History of Big Prairie – Everett Cemetery and Big Prairie Desert" Michigan Collection, LOM, 3-14.

⁸¹ E.E. Bogue, "A Sand Dune or Sand Blow in Newaygo County," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1903-04*, 127-132 and "By the Crawling Sand of the Big Prairie," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, Oct. 29, 1904, 1905 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁸² "History of Big Prairie," 15-20.

⁸³ J.J. Hubbell "Reforestation," in *The Salt Cities of the Inland Seas: Historical and Industrial Record of the Great Salt City* (Manistee, Mich.: Manistee Daily News, 1899), 18.

⁸⁴ Hubbell wrote numerous articles for the Michigan Forestry Commission. They were all similar in his use of quantitative measurements to support his simple recommendations of the importance on planning for the future by preventing fire, seeding lands, regulating cutting, creating forest reserves, and developing proper land taxation. He urged the public to call for these policy changes with the hope that legislators would take directives from their constituents seriously. See Hubbell, "What Can Be Done with the Waste Products of our Lumber Woods," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1900*, 41-44; Hubbell, "Second Growth Timber in Northern Michigan," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1900*, 49-53; Hubbell, "Taxation and Forestry," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1901*, 27-31; and Hubbell, "The Lumberman's Point of View," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1902*, 101-103. The one exception was Hubbell, "The Pine Tree," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1907-08*, 93-97, which was a parable about the life of a three hundred year old white pine near Manistee. It was meant to teach conservation to boys and was originally read to the Boys' Club of Manistee.

⁸⁵ For a sample of Skeels's early endorsement of reforestation, see Skeels, "Michigan Forestry Conditions and Prospects," *Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Horticulture Society of Michigan, 1898*, 262-267; Skeels, "Present Condition of Michigan Forests and Stump Lands with Suggestions as to their Care," *Annual Report of the Michigan Board of Agriculture, 1899*, 125-129; "Pirates of the Michigan Forests," *Detroit Journal*, February 17, 1900; Skeels, "The State's Interest in Forestry," *Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Horticulture Society of Michigan, 1900*, 125-128; and Skeels, "Forest Possibilities of the Jack Pine Plains," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1900*, 57-60.

⁸⁶ Skeels, "Forest Possibilities of the Jack Pine Plains," 57-60.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ "A Crop of Second Growth Pine," *Northwestern Lumberman*, January 16, 1897, Michigan Forests and Forestry folder, Box 21, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS contested an editorial from the *Detroit Tribune* that had made the claim that it would take 400 years to grow good pine. The *Tribune* often published articles that discouraged reforestation. For example, see the editorials Orville Dennis, "What to Do with the Pine Barrens" and W.D. Bagley, "Michigan Pine Lands," *Detroit Tribune*, December 12, 1901 and Frank Taylor, "Arenac Co. and her Pine Barrens," *Detroit Tribune*, December 17, 1901, Michigan Forests and Forestry folder, Box 21, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS,

⁸⁹ The commission thanked the press in their first report. MFC, "Prefatory Note," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1900*, 8. The number of cutover related articles in the Grand Rapids and West Michigan newspapers is too numerous to cite here. but some examples include "Our Pine Slashes," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, Feb. 21, 1899; "Bringing Back Forests; Great Michigan Work," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, Dec. 24, 1904; and "Farms Are Now Taking the Place of the Michigan Forests," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Aug. 20, 1906. For a fuller assessment, including those articles just cited, see the 19th c., 1900, and 1905 binders, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁹⁰ Letter from George Hilton to Charles Garfield, February 14, 1900; Letter from C.W. Uteley to Charles Garfield, September 21, 1900; Letter from R.B. Reynolds to Charles Garfield, March 21, 1900; Letter from Charles Koehler to Charles Garfield, February 16, 1903 all in Michigan Forestry Commission letter book, Charles W. Garfield papers, BHL. All the other letters come from "Excerpts of Correspondence," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1900*, 85-101.

⁹¹ "Forestry Commission," *Grand Rapids Democrat*, May 11, 1899, Michigan Forestry Commission folder, Box 21, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS; E.V. Jotter, "A Great Conservation Leader," *The Michigan Forester* (1934): 9, 39; and Retirement letterbook, Box 2, Filibert Roth papers, BHL.

⁹² For information on the role of sportsmen in the development of early game conservation laws, see John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, 3rd ed. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001). Richard W. Judd, *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997) and Cumbler, *Reasonable Use*, have suggested that the movements for conservation in New England were broader than just the interests of sportsmen. My analysis rests between these perspectives. In Michigan, sportsmen were clearly at the forefront of the conservation movement through game laws, but as the movement broadened to include other issues, more citizens like those mentioned in this paragraph became active participants as well. For a further analysis of this development in Michigan see Dempsey, *Ruin and Recovery*.

⁹³ Information on the Michigan Sportsmen Association can be gleaned from William Butts Mershon, *Recollections of my Fifty Years Hunting and Fishing* (Boston: The Stratford Company, 1923), 98-102. For examples of habitat conservation in Pennsylvania and New Mexico, see Warren, *The Hunter's Game*, 61-62, 115-121.

⁹⁴ Mark Norris, "A Sportsman's Views," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1901*, 39. Another article that expressed similar views was J.C. Parker, "Relation of Forests to Fish and Game Interests," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1900*, 33-34.

⁹⁵ Martha E. Snyder Root, "Report of the Committee of Forestry and Town Improvement," *MSFWC Manual 1901-1902*, 9-10, 16; *A History of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs, 1895-1953* (Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Press, 1953), 19, 26-27; and Mary I. Wood, *The History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs* (Norwood, Mass.: Norwood Press, 1912), 88, 118. For more information on conservation and women's clubs, see Audrey C. DeWitt, *A Conservation Hand Book for Women's Organizations* (Lansing: Michigan Dept. of Conservation, n.d.).

⁹⁶ *A History of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs, 1895-1953*, 30, 51, 55, 62; "Forestry Work," *The Interchange* 9, no. 1 (Nov.-Dec. 1902): 10; Martha Baldwin, "Forestry and Town Improvement," *The Interchange* 9, no. 2 (Jan.-Feb. 1903): 21; Charles W. Garfield, Arthur Hill, and William French, "Official Report to the Governor," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1900*, 15; "Official Report to the Governor," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1901*, 6; Charles W. Garfield, "The Present Outlook for the Forestry Movement and How We Can Help It," *Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Horticulture Society of Michigan, 1905* (Lansing: W.S. George & Co., 1905), 52; and Mrs. Francis King, "Ways of Promoting an Interest in Forestry," *Michigan State Farmers Institutes* 13 (Aug. 1907): 46-47.

For discussions on the role of club women in forest conservation and preservation around the country, see Carolyn Merchant, "Women of the Progressive Conservation Movement: 1900-1916," *Environmental Review* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 57-85 and Cameron Binkley, "'No Better Heritage Than Living Trees': Women's Clubs and Early Conservation in Humboldt County," *Western Historical Quarterly* 33 (Summer 2002): 179-203.

⁹⁷ "Reforest the Lands," *Detroit Tribune*, February 6, 1902 and "Their Support" *Grand Rapids Post*, February 6, 1902, Michigan Retail Lumber Dealers Association folder, Box 22, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS and Charles W. Garfield, Arthur Hill, and Edwin Wildey, "Official Report to the Governor," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1902*, 12.

⁹⁸ For a history of these two organizations before 1900, see Richard Harvey Barton, "The Agrarian Revolt in Michigan, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1958).

⁹⁹ Charles W. Garfield, Arthur Hill, and William French, "Official Report to the Governor," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1900*, 15; Garfield, Hill, and Edwin Wildey, "Official Report to the Governor," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1902*, 12; Garfield, "The Present Outlook for the Forestry Movement and How We Can Help It," *Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Horticulture Society of Michigan, 1905*, 51-55; and Garfield, "Two Years of Progress," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1907-1908*, 33-36. For developing Grange opposition, see "Want No Forests," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, Dec. 16, 1905, 1905 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

¹⁰⁰ Garfield, "The Present Outlook for the Forestry Movement," 51-52 and "To Save Forests," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, July 15, 1905, "Care of Forests," and "Appeals to All of Us," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, Aug. 28, 1905; all in 1900 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB. For a history of the AFA, see Shaul E. Cohen, *Planting Nature: Trees and the Manipulation of Environmental Stewardship in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

¹⁰¹ Michigan Forestry Commission, "The Advance Movement in Michigan Forestry" (Lansing: Michigan State Forestry Commission, 1905), 1-14. The same material can be found in "The Michigan Forestry Association Initial Meeting," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1905-06*, 108-125.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 4-5 and Garfield, "The Present Outlook for the Forestry Movement," 51.

¹⁰³ MFC, "The Advance Movement in Michigan Forestry," 6-7.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 8-11.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁰⁶ I draw this notion of complex and ambiguous relations to nature and reform among late-nineteenth century elites from Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967) and T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace*:

Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

¹⁰⁷ Filibert Roth, "Biennial Report of the Forest Warden," and "Great Lakes Forestry Conference," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1907-08*, 16-32, 60-62 and Eugene T. Peterson, "The History of Wild Life Conservation in Michigan, 1859-1921" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1953), 132-167.

¹⁰⁸ "Prefatory Note," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1903-04*, 9.

¹⁰⁹ Charles W. Garfield, Arthur Hill, and Edwin A. Wildey, "Official Report to the Governor," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1902*, 11-13; Hill, "The Greatest Enemy of the Forest Reserve – Fire," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1903-04*, 43-44; and Filibert Roth, "Biennial Report of the Forest Warden," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1905-06*, 19-32.

¹¹⁰ Charles W. Garfield, "Forward," and "Two Years of Progress," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1907-08*, 11-13, 33-36.

Chapter Three: A Stalemate over Visions of the Cutover, 1907-1921

The contest over the cutover during the 1910s was a battle between competing visions. Foresters thought that reforestation would be the best means by which to stabilize these lands for the benefit of Michigan's economic fortunes. Agrarians, on the other hand, still considered farming as the next stage of development for the region. Each of these visions faced their own challenges that consumed much of their energy. Foresters were confounded by a backlash against their state-centered land management agendas by politicians who advocated private ownership and agriculture over state-centered control. These politicians preferred the claims of boosters because its promotion of yeomen farmers fit better with their Jeffersonian ideals regarding the importance of private property. Furthermore, the foresters lost control of policy decisions as the legislature consolidated numerous land management divisions under the Public Domain Commission. At the same time, the mixed success of farming in the region constrained agrarians. Some farmers along the Lake Michigan coast experienced unqualified success, while settlers on the most marginal land in the heart of the cutover struggled to stay afloat economically from one year to the next. These failures and a growing skepticism of cutover lands discouraged further settlement and posed as a firm challenge to the claims of boosters regarding the fertility of the region.

In an effort to stabilize private land ownership in the cutover, Republican Governor Fred Warner (1905-1911) and the legislature agreed to combine multiple agencies that dealt with cutover issues as a means to achieve a myriad of goals. The resulting Public Domain Commission (PDC) initiated the process by which the issues

related to lands in the public domain, forestry, fire prevention, wildlife management, and immigration were coalesced under the direction of one agency. The consolidation of these activities allowed for the implementation and enforcement of management plans and game laws throughout Michigan. While this change was necessary for the expansion of conservation policy and the cooperation of various conservation officials in the long term, the PDC engendered conflict among conservation advocates in the state. These battles in the context of an unresolved vision for the cutover dramatically slowed the development of definitive conservation reform.¹

While agrarians and foresters had decidedly different ideas about the proper use of the cutover, they did agree that it should be made productive in both its material and monetary output. Agrarians thought that the land would be the most productive when its soil was put under the plow and raised farm produce in the form of fruits, vegetables, dairy, or meat. Foresters considered the productivity of the region as best measured in timber and forest products. This distinction was important in that neither group advocated that the cutover should be allowed to revert to a wilderness state. Hence, the preservation of the land for its own ends or for other types of non-exhaustive consumption similar to those proposed by John Muir in the West was foreign to the land-use debate in Michigan. For both groups the idle nature of the land was the real sin and that condition could be overcome with hard work and production.²

Likewise, this battle over land use in the cutover did not pit two opposing groups with vastly different social, political, or economic situations. Rather there was a vertical integration of supporters that came from the various levels of society. The ideology of the agrarians found support from USDA officials, agricultural scientists at MAC, politicians,

lumbermen, businessmen, farmers, land speculators, community boosters, and cutover residents. Foresters drew from many of these same groups. Their support came from USFS officials, scientific foresters at the University of Michigan and MAC, politicians, lumbermen, businessmen, farmers, horticulturalists, and cutover residents. Advocates on both sides held their stance because of economic self-interest, the desire for political power, scientific certitude, utilitarian notions imbedded in the greatest social good, and personal convictions as to the merits of their stance. This range of supporters and reasons for their support kept either group from forming a united front in gathering the requisite political support to enact their vision of land use for the cutover.³ Therefore, the contest between reforestation advocates and agricultural boosters during the decade amounted to a stalemate.

State reorganization of conservation work

From the point of view of the state the problems of the cutover were most apparent in its lack of generated revenue, the high number of forest fires, and the significant amount of land that was reverting to the state for unpaid property taxes or non-compliance with homestead laws. In 1908, over two million acres burned as a result of wildfires. In addition, the state had received between 135,000 and 452,000 acres of land annually from 1903-1908 that was forfeited or deeded to the state. Despite the problem of reversion, the preferred form of land disposal for cutover residents and elected officials remained its sale. Private ownership stabilized the property-tax base that provided local and state tax revenue. However, the amount of tax-reverted land was greater than the number of acres sold, which increased the amount of state land during

this era of homesteading. Since much of it was already cutover as well as burned, this land was considered a waste and a burden by legislators who sought a way to dispose of it.⁴

Such conditions should have provided the opportunity for foresters to grab control of conservation policy in the state. In addition to growing land problems, the grip of the conservative arm of the Republican Party had receded somewhat with the death of Senator William McMillan in 1902. However, McMillan's death caused more chaos than opportunity because no Republican, stalwart or progressive, was adequately able to step into the leadership void.⁵ Republican Governor Aaron Bliss (1901-1905) reluctantly supported the limited forestry measures of the MFC. He accepted the forest reserve in Roscommon and Crawford counties and endorsed the fire warden system that helped bring Filibert Roth to the state, but he asserted that the goal of agricultural development must remain at the forefront of cutover land policy. Forest reserves, in his opinion, should be the policy of last resort and only be established on otherwise worthless land.⁶

Governor Warner asserted that the lack of coherent policy was limiting the resolution of cutover problems. He urged the legislature to create a Commission of Inquiry to research and recommend how the state should handle public lands. In order to gain the support of conservation advocates and local citizens for this commission, Warner appointed individuals from these constituencies for membership on the commission. He even solicited recommendations for this body from Charles Garfield. The resulting commission was comprised of men sympathetic to conservation ideals. Former state senator Robert Graham of Grand Rapids was the president, while Albert Cook of Owosso served as secretary and Charles Blair of Grand Rapids was the executive officer. Other

members were C.V.R. Townsend of Negaunee, George Horton of Fruit Ridge, Carl Schmidt of Detroit, William Osmun of Montague, A.E. Palmer of Kalkaska, Francis King of Alma, and Dwight Waldo of Kalamazoo. Blair and Horton were prominent members of the Michigan Forestry Association, while Palmer had presented papers supporting forestry and good roads since 1898 at the Michigan State Farmers Institutes. King's wife was very involved in forestry issues both in the MFA and the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs. Townsend, Horton, Osmun, Palmer, and King all hailed from towns either in or adjacent to the cutover. Their politics were predominately Republican with a fair measure of progressive support among them. Members and supporters of the MFC hoped that the group would help expand their work to more lands in the cutover.⁷

The commission's report was indeed consistent with the work of the MFC. The commission had evaluated the use, sale, and taxation of tax reverted lands throughout the state in order to determine their best use. Concerns about keeping the tax base sound in every county as well as protecting timber and water interests in these areas were central to its work. The commission discovered that the state was experiencing enormous financial losses from the advertising and sale of lands. To address this problem, commissioners recommended that land should be classified so that good agricultural lands could be identified and sold as such. Small parcels that were marginal for agriculture should be sold and taxed as unimproved lands in the hopes of stimulating long-term commercial forestry as a sound economic venture. Lands that could be consolidated in large blocks or were unsuitable for sale should be retained for state forest reserves if such action benefited the citizens of the state and did not undermine a county's tax base. To achieve these ends the commission's report contained eight suggestions:

1. Lands should be grouped and consolidated in order to maximize usefulness.
2. Private forest reserves should be encouraged in order to meet the wood products needs of township residents.
3. The sale of land should be sold for a minimum of five dollars per acre plus the value of standing timber products.
4. Fire protection was paramount and should be provided by the state.
5. Wherever possible, natural regeneration should be the encouraged means for reforestation.
6. The legislature should consolidate timber laws with a central state-level commission established to enforce these laws aggressively.
7. Loopholes that allowed timber to be cut without the purchase of land or speculators to dominate ownership of productive lands should be eliminated.
8. The state constitution should be amended to create a more rational system of taxation on forest growth.⁸

These recommendations came amidst a devastating fire season in 1908, which turned up the political heat on legislators to address the problems of tax-reverted lands. The terrible year of fires concluded with the destruction of the village of Metz near the shores of Lake Huron in Presque Isle County in October. During the year, twenty-five people lost their lives, over two million acres burned, and there was twenty-eight million dollars of property damage.⁹ Charles Garfield, Filibert Roth, and William Butts Mershon of the MFC had endorsed the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry and supported legislation to transfer tax-reverted lands from the land office to a separate commission for their management. This change would remove those lands from sale until their appropriate use could be determined. These forestry advocates clearly hoped that such a change would prompt an expansion of the state's forest reserves. Another bill supported by these advocates would have required owners of cutover lands to burn slash after logging as a means to eliminate tinder that fueled wildfires. Lumbermen opposed such legislation in fear that it would raise their expense in harvesting forests. Private land advocates feared this kind of state control and regulation as a threat to private ownership of lands in Northern Michigan and the Upper Peninsula. This opposition caused these

bills to be voted down. Yet, public outrage over the 1908 fires pressed the legislature to respond. So, the legislature recrafted the public domain bill to consolidate management of tax-reverted lands, while still placing the emphasis on their sale. The MFC and the State Lands Office were consolidated into the Public Domain Commission. This new commission was charged with the sale and management of public lands in the state.¹⁰

While Garfield and other forestry advocates were concerned about the emphasis on land sale by the PDC, they considered the compromises to get the commission as the best circumstances that they could get given the climate of the legislature.¹¹ However, privately the usually optimistic Garfield felt that he had lost his connection with Warner and his influence with the legislature. Furthermore, he judged that these elected officials were too interested in politics to lead the state effectively. In a colorful letter to Kenyon Butterfield he wrote that

“It seems to me that by this time, Michigan’s politicians ought to have arrived at a statesmanlike solution of the forestry question. I begin to think that Ray Baker is right in describing the Michigan political situation as seriously bad. When I came east, I did not have that impression; but that it seems to me now that Michigan is governed by a gang of men who have neither the shrewdness of Tammany nor quite the dishonesty of the Pennsylvania gang, so that there is not quite the same reason for revolt that there is in those states. On the other hand, Michigan seems to have no leaders like Folk or Hughes, who can bring it back to the old ideals.”¹²

Garfield’s reaction rose from the fact that the PDC marked a move towards the professionalization of state management that differed greatly from the MFC. Garfield, Arthur Hill, and Mershon only received reimbursement for their work on the forestry commission and did not get any regular pay. These men had earned their livelihoods from other employment and saw their involvement in the MFC as a public service in an area that they had some expertise. Furthermore, they had been appointed by the University of

Michigan regents and the State Board of Agriculture, which protected them from the strict party loyalties expected from political appointees. The new employees of the PDC, however, were professional bureaucrats who may or may not have seen their work as a calling to public service. Unlike the politically experienced leaders of the forestry commission like Garfield, Hill, Mershon, and Roth, the members of the PDC were either young bureaucrats or appointed as political favors and had no expertise in the scientific elements of conservation. Thereby they were generally reluctant in asserting their political convictions because, though sympathetic to conservation ideals, they lacked the scientific knowledge to persuade others to their point of view and were indebted to the wishes of the politicians who appointed them.¹³

These bureaucrats furthermore did not appreciate the stark political differences in the positions of conservation advocates. PDC Secretary Augustus Carton considered most of these disagreements to be largely imaginary and could be eliminated with simple discussion. This oversimplification ignored the ways in which land management for farming, horticulture, timber, forests, game, recreation, and aesthetics often clashed causing great dissent among people who should ostensibly be on the same side. These policy battles and the inability of the bureaucratic structure of the PDC to address them was a failing of the PDC from its inception.¹⁴

These weaknesses of the PDC would eventually compromise its effectiveness, but for the first several years the commission made significant gains for the cause of conservation in the state. The bulk of the PDC's policies focused on immediate and practical goals, while integrating all the conservation activities related to the management of state lands. Land sales, forestry, game management, immigration, and tourism were all

responsibilities of the commission. The work of development bureaus around the state to promote agricultural activity was encouraged. During its tenure from 1909-1921, the PDC hired the first state forester, expanded the state's forest reserves, improved fire prevention, revised woodlot taxation, developed a broader recognition of Arbor Day, extended the enforcement of game laws, and made the first efforts at integrating land and game management. While these accomplishments extended state policies, the PDC did not create a long-term solution for the problems of the cutover.¹⁵

In terms of reforestation, the PDC assumed all the responsibilities of the defunct forestry commission. It developed and managed the state forest reserves by planting trees, preventing fires, and running the nursery at the Higgins Lake Forest Reserve. At the urging of the Michigan Forestry Association, this work was professionalized in the hiring of Marcus Schaaf in 1910 as State Forester, the first full-time, trained forester on the payroll of the State of Michigan.¹⁶ One of Schaaf's main goals was to expand formal management of the state forest reserves. The Higgins Lake and Houghton Lake State Forests were carved out of the forest reserve established in 1903. Scattered throughout the state were other lands that the State Land Commissioner had deemed unsuitable for settlement and removed from sales lists. Small parcels dotted nearly every northern county that were dedicated as forest reserves. In West Michigan in 1913, there was a total of 3,016 acres of such reserved land. Every county had at least eighty acres reserved while Wexford County had the most reserved land with 720 acres.¹⁷ In areas with more state land, Schaaf sought to create two functioning reserves every two years. Though he did not meet this ambitious plan, Schaaf established six new forest reserves and one state park in the Northern Lower Peninsula or the Upper Peninsula by 1920.¹⁸

Given the influence of the 1908 fire season on the creation of the PDC, it is not surprising that fire prevention was a vital part of the commission's work. After the MFC was dissolved, the office of Fire Warden was combined with the position of Fish and Game Warden. The new office of Game, Fish, and Forestry Warden combined the duties of enforcement of game laws and the fighting of forest fires into one post. Charles Pierce was the first to hold this joint post. This change increased the fire fighting force of the state since there had previously been more game officers than fire wardens. However, these men were trained in catching poachers, not fighting fires. The hiring of Schaaf partially addressed this problem. As a forester, he aided fire prevention by having his men build fire lines and fire towers throughout the state's forest reserves. In addition, a MFC program started by Roth of emergency fire crews comprised of local men was expanded throughout the state to aid the game officers. However, fire fighting remained limited, since state appropriations kept the work focused on the reserves.¹⁹

Filibert Roth, who supported Schaaf's work, remained the most respected conservation professional in the state. His letters to the PDC were routinely published in their reports to the governor. In these letters, Roth was quick to praise Schaaf's work in expanding the state's forest reserves and providing good field examples for his students. Roth argued that Schaaf's work was already affecting the growth of commercial forestry enterprises and tourism in the state. Roth's main concern throughout the decade was that legislative funding for forestry work steadily declined and began to threaten the good work that had been done. Roth knew that one bad fire season would destroy all the hard work already completed and undo the swell of favorable public opinion regarding

forestry in the state. This fear was well founded as 420,000 acres burned in a spate of wildfires in 1919.²⁰

Despite the legislature's reluctance to fund state management, it did not completely overlook issues of conservation during the PDC era. In 1911, with a focus on aiding private forestry, it passed a farm forestry act to reduce property taxes to a dollar an acre on woodlots and replaced that revenue with stump taxes that assessed a tax when trees were cut. The problems with the law were that it only applied to woodlots on farms of less than 160 acres and farmers were restricted in how they could use timber from the woodlot. Farmers needed to have at least fifty percent of their land improved for agriculture and only one-eighth of the property could be dedicated to a woodlot. Farmers also had to maintain a minimum density of trees in the woodlot to keep the property assessment in effect. All of these restrictions discouraged most farmers from contacting the township assessor to get the tax break. Furthermore, non-farmers and large landowners could not get this lower tax rate, so the law did not apply to numerous landowners who may have been interested in starting private forests.²¹

While the MFA and USFS preached scientific forestry, the state of Michigan remained ambivalent, viewing the cutover problems as practical rather than scientific. The state legislature and governors believed that increasing the population would reverse the area's economic stagnation. Thus, the legislature created an Immigration Commission in 1911 and placed that office under the management of the PDC. Augustus Carton held this post for most of the commission's existence along with his title of PDC Secretary. Carton was charged with the promotion of the state as a good site of settlement for European immigrants. Interestingly, Carton spent little time in recruiting immigrants to

work in the developing industrial factories in Detroit, Flint, Grand Rapids, and Kalamazoo. Rather the emphasis of the Carton's work was on recruiting farm laborers to stabilize the state's agricultural economy. He achieved these ends through contacts with land agents, immigration officials, and steamship operators in New York, Chicago, and European ports of departure. The immigration office produced brochures, pamphlets, and handbills lauding the merits of Michigan land and opportunities. Even after the state's land disposal policy ended with the abolition of the state's homestead act in 1913 and the state's land office in 1915, there was a concerted push to expand agriculture into the state's northern counties. The political climate of the state during the years of the PDC was more interested in securing settlers, laborers, and tax revenue rather than spending time and money on long-term conservation plans.²²

This work related to reforestation, fire prevention, and taxation expanded the foundation set in place by the MFC. However, much of the other work of the PDC, incorporated elements of disparate state departments that held a variety of goals. The real purposes of the PDC can be seen in its constantly evolving and expanding duties during its twelve-year existence. Initially the Game, Fish, and Forestry Warden reported to the commissioner. However, since this post had existed for much longer than any other state conservation post, the warden had more political power with the governor and legislature than other members of the commission. Largely on the direction of the warden, the legislature moved this post in and out of commission jurisdiction as was politically expedient over the years. Since the Game, Fish, and Forestry Warden held more political clout than the State Forester, political contests over the direction of conservation measures largely followed the lead of the warden rather than Schaaf. Since the warden

was irregularly a member of the PDC, it was clear that while conservation issues received attention from commission members, the PDC's initial concern and purpose was not to further conservation policy.²³

These internal divides prevented the PDC from fulfilling all of its duties regarding public lands. The game warden always held a top spot on the commission, while political pressure swayed whether forestry or settlement was the chief policy for the cutover. This inconsistency indicated how the commission had grown beyond the singular focus of the MFC, but its inability to have a unified direction for all of its responsibilities resulted in contradictions in its work. So while the state made great strides in assuming control of state land and conservation work in the PDC, another reorganization would be necessary in 1921 to overcome policy irregularities.²⁴

Conservationists move outside of government agencies

The work of the PDC received a mixed response from conservation advocates. On one hand, the commission had hired a state forester, which allowed forest reserves to expand, and receive better management than what the paltry appropriations received by the Forestry Commission had allowed. But on the other hand, agricultural boosterism and timber extraction again gained political strength as viable land uses for the cutover. Tax-reversion was still extensive, with much of the tax-reverted land being sold for farming and logging that conservation advocates deemed dubious. And expected state management was being abandoned for unregulated exploitation. Garfield and Roth along with the members of the Michigan Forestry Association remained vigilant in defense of

reforestation, while the PDC deemphasized it amidst the growth of natural resources management by the state.

Despite Garfield's role in recommending members of the Commission of Inquiry, the optimism of MFA members soured rapidly with the fire season of 1908. An article in the journal *Michigan Roads and Forests* quoted Garfield and Roth at length about the problems caused by marrying game enforcement and fire prevention. Garfield stated that the horrors of the fire season proved that such a combination was an "abject failure." Roth was just as stern: "Using the game warden system for fire patrol failed so utterly in 1908 that we were practically without state assistance in the matter of fire protection." While changes in fire prevention policy and wet weather resulted in only one severe fire in 1909, the rift between conservation advocates and leaders of the PDC was never completely mended.²⁵

This estrangement from state organizations pushed foresters in Michigan to shift their faith and allegiance to the work being done by the U.S. Forest Service. While state bureaucrats stressed local solutions and control of conservation, the USFS embraced centralized institutional management by scientific experts. Michigan foresters had a close relationship with this model. Roth had worked for Gifford Pinchot when the agency was still only a bureau in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Garfield and other leaders had depended upon the assistance of Bernhard Fernow, Theodore Roosevelt, and Pinchot when they launched early forestry work in the state. Hence, while most Michiganders were skeptical of the superiority of experts and large state expenditures for conservation, reforestation advocates sought to court such activity in the state.²⁶

While the USFS had offered expert advice to the MFC, its first independent foray in the state was the Michigan National Forest. Henry Loud, the son of a prominent Saginaw lumberman, proposed to his brother Republican U.S. Congressman George Loud that he should request that the president create a national forest from the idle federal lands in the region. Established in 1908, the Michigan National Forest was comprised of land of little commercial value that was still a part of the public domain.²⁷ One tract was located in the northeastern Lower Peninsula, while the other was in the eastern Upper Peninsula. Most of the forests were either cedar swamps or pine barrens filled with scrub jack pine. The cedar was too expensive to harvest and the jack pine was of little value. Much of the area had already been burned over and was deemed worthless by appraisers. Theodore Roosevelt made the area a national forest to remove the land from the market and to begin permanent fire and timber management of it.²⁸

The U.S. Forest Service did little replanting in the Michigan National Forest and relied heavily on the state to aid in fire protection. However, the passage of the Weeks Act by Congress in 1911 initiated federal conservation throughout the eastern United States. The Weeks Law allowed the federal government to purchase and exchange land in order to protect watersheds and created the National Forest Reservation Commission (NFRC) to manage these purchases. This commission was comprised of the Secretary of War, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, two senators, two representatives, and a permanent secretary. The USFS did all the work contacting potential sellers and negotiating prices. The NFRC determined whether to accept or reject the purchases. While a purchase unit would not be created in Michigan until 1928, conservation advocates in the state were impressed with the aggressive purchase and

management activities of the USFS that had germinated under Pinchot and expanded under the direction of Henry Graves. They wanted state leaders to follow this model. When the state did not respond accordingly, however, advocates began to look to federal involvement as the solution to the region's land problems.²⁹

Using their disgust at the lack of state policy as a springboard, the MFA reorganized its leadership and focus. At its annual meeting on November 9-10, 1909, in Jackson, Garfield was elected president, while former president John Bissell became vice president. Former MFC members Roth and Mershon became secretary and treasurer respectively. Under this new leadership, the association no longer served as the citizen auxiliary of a state agency. Instead, it became a lobbying organization that pushed the state adopt policies consistent with those of the U.S. Forest Service under Gifford Pinchot. While the body maintained a cordial relationship with Augustus Carton, secretary of the PDC, there was constant vigilance in monitoring the activities of the commission and recommending improvements.³⁰

In its first couple years of work, the PDC focused on internal organization and assessment of natural resources. Carton assumed the duties as secretary and hired Schaaf as forester. Carton stressed general land classification with the interest in promoting agricultural where possible. Fire fighting and prevention garnered Schaaf's attention. He also reserved 230,000 acres as state land. Most of this land was in the northeastern Lower Peninsula and the Upper Peninsula; only 7,000 acres were in West Michigan.³¹ The most controversial event in the first couple of years of the PDC was that State Land Commissioner Huntley Russell declared the state forest reserve to be a failure after an inspection by a committee from the PDC and the legislature. Sen. Frank Shields (R-

Cheboygan) contested the report as a fraud concocted by legislators opposed to the reserve. He and two other senators that were members of the committee refused to sign the final document because they thought it inaccurately depicted the reserve in a politically-motivated effort to subvert the work of the MFC by their colleagues. His impassioned speech on the floor of the senate derailed the effort by these senators to abolish the reserve.³²

The election of progressive Republican Chase Osborn (1911-1913) as governor in the fall of 1910 signaled a more active PDC. Osborn's lack of support for reforestation was a huge disappointment for foresters. Considered Michigan's Teddy Roosevelt, Osborn was an avid outdoorsman whose first state office had been as state game warden. His progressive politics were manifested in the areas of political reform, business regulation, and workmen's compensation laws. However, his erratic political behavior resulted in an ineffective relationship with the legislature.³³

In terms of conservation, Osborn stressed fish and game management over forestry. In 1911 Osborn made the office of Game, Fish, and Forestry Warden independent of the PDC and appointed William Oates to the position. Wildlife experts like Oates held posts as wardens and deputies, while trained foresters rarely held a position of influence in the office of the State Game, Fish and Forestry Warden. Foresters considered Oates to be dismissive of forestry as a state policy and saw this appointment as a rejection of their interests by Osborn.³⁴

Osborn supported forestry in the sense that he urged the reclamation of poor farmland, the promotion of farm woodlots and agricultural extension, the planting of trees for highway beautification, and the implementation of appropriate forest fire protection.

Yet, he was staunchly opposed to the state forest reserves that served as the cornerstone of Michigan's reforestation policy. Osborn thought that all forests should yield to farms and that private ownership of the cutover was the only appropriate response. This position clearly was contrary to notions of state ownership and management endorsed by forestry advocates, which undermined Osborn's conservationist claims from their perspective. Ironically, Osborn was not a fanatical proponent of private ownership. While he derided efforts to establish large state forest reserves, he supported public ownership of the railroad, telegraph, and street car systems.³⁵

The divide among conservationist perspectives over their goals and the means to reach them kept Michigan from having any unified cutover policy. This lack of consensus resembled the developing national split over conservation. Republicans led by President Taft began to shift towards a greater cooperation with business in the use of federal natural resources. This movement weakened the fierce federal control asserted by Pinchot during Theodore Roosevelt's tenure as president. This divide climaxed in a battle over the conservation of coal reserves in Alaska between Pinchot and Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger. Taft subsequently fired Pinchot for insubordination.³⁶ Michigan did not experience such a dramatic rift during Osborn's term, but the divide did push foresters to urge the state's Congressional delegation to support stricter USFS control of national forest resources.³⁷

Agricultural boosterism and the state

The support for federal involvement from forestry advocates was in stark contrast to agricultural boosters and local civic leaders who wanted to maintain local control on

these issues. Agricultural boosters thought that with work the West Michigan cutover could become an agriculturally-productive region. American agriculture was in a “Golden Age” of high prices. Urban growth created an increased demand for food and fears of scarcity fueled rising prices. These conditions helped farmers overcome the marginal nature of land and encouraged farmers to put more land under the plow. While studies of agricultural expansion into marginal lands usually focus on the High Plains, similar efforts occurred in the Great Lakes cutover.³⁸

Fears of scarcity among non-farmers and a romanticism of farm life were the main sources of agricultural boosterism during the early-twentieth century. As the country was becoming more urban, many Americans were apprehensive about the influence that the city would have on American character and democracy. In the face of these challenges, political and social leaders turned to the agrarian ideal as a means by which to renew not only rural places but America as a whole. Initiated by President Theodore Roosevelt, the Commission on Country Life, which included the Michigan-born and M.A.C.-taught Liberty Hyde Bailey and Kenyon Butterfield, asserted that rural areas needed to be integrated more with cities in order that production could become more efficient. Through this economic and material uplift, rural residents would maintain their sense of individualism, the importance of hard-work and moral values, and connection with the land. In being connected to the cities, the countryside would not only market food and raw materials, but also those rural values that would sustain a distinct Americanism.³⁹

Even more romantic than these scientists were members of the back-to-the-land movement. Comprised of urbanites sentimental for the myth of independence through

subsistence agriculture, back-to-the-landers were more pessimistic about the chance of rural areas having a positive influence on the cities. Rather, their anti-modernist impulse was the retreat from the technological and moral debauchery of city life in favor of the pure and pristine lifestyle of the countryside. Back-to-the-landers romanticized life on the farm by not recognizing the hard work and knowledge necessary to run a functioning, let alone successful, farm. While there was clearly extensive disagreement between these two forms of agrarian romanticism, the glorification of the rural life in either form profoundly influenced policies of land use in the early-twentieth century.⁴⁰

Michigan had representatives of both of these types of agrarians in the 1910s. MAC agricultural scientists and businessmen pushed scientific development, while urban residents longed for the Jeffersonian freedom of rural life. In response to these sentiments, chambers of commerce, development bureaus, and tourism promoters published handbooks that trumpeted the merits of the region including roads, schools, churches, businesses, climate, and land in an effort to sell an idea of it to prospective settlers. What distinguished them most from conservationists was their strong belief that deforestation was a necessary step in preparing the land for settlement. Further work, like the removal of stumps and the building of infrastructure, was a second step toward progress, not unlike the tiling of fields that had been necessary in other parts of the state. These boosters were optimistic about the prospects of their region to become a significant player in the country's economic, social, and political situation in the near future.⁴¹

The preeminent organization in Michigan dedicated to regional boosterism was the West Michigan Development Bureau (WMDB). Founded by local businessmen and land agents in Ludington in 1909, the WMDB consolidated agricultural boosterism

activities for the western half of the Lower Peninsula from Holland north to Mackinac City in an effort to bolster the region's population and by extension its economic activity.⁴² The agency was funded by local and state tax dollars, donations, and subscriptions to promote the civic and economic interests of the people of the cutover. Their publications were marketing tools for the whole of the region and listed real estate agents in twenty counties and land agent offices located in Chicago.⁴³

In 1910 there were five million acres of untitled land in the West Michigan cutover. Based on regional growth of fruit farming, the WMDB claimed that at least ninety percent of that land could be tilled. The bureau urged the settlement of these lands through promotional books and connections with urban real estate agents in the Midwest. It targeted European immigrants and adventurous youths from the southern Great Lakes and Plains states where land was expensive to come and farm the cutover. The WMDB argued that the area had not been settled because the threat of fire had discouraged people from taking a risk on these lands. It insisted that the fire risk had passed and that savvy agricultural land purchasers would be able to find bargains in the cutover. As proof of their claims, they touted highways, railroads, and steamships as forming a fully developed transportation and distribution system for goods into and out of the region. The bureau cited the climate as being good not only for agriculture, but also for a long and healthy life.⁴⁴

Despite the best efforts of agricultural boosters like the WMDB, the population of cutover counties fell precipitously during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Mason, Newaygo, and Wexford counties experienced a negligible change in their population from 1900 and 1930. During the same era, population decline in Oceana

County was 17%, while Lake County's population fell by 18%. Manistee County experienced the starkest drop during that time period as it lost 37.5% of its residents. Most of the change was from the out-migration of young adults, shanty boys, and failed farmers. These residents moved to western forests, Midwestern cities or agricultural lands farther west in search of better work or agricultural opportunities. Others moved to regional cities such as Muskegon, Grand Rapids, Lansing, Flint, and Detroit for job opportunities in manufacturing. However, the depopulation of the cutover counties undermined the tax base and infrastructure of cutover counties, which drew the concern of politicians and local boosters (See Table 1).⁴⁵

This population decline coincided with limited farming success in the area. While it never lived up to the expectations of boosters, agriculture was a prominent activity in some sections of the cutover. Every county with the exception of Lake had significant regions that developed agriculture. Townships near the lakeshore became fruit orchards. The southern sections of Muskegon and Newaygo counties developed dairy and stock farming as well as mixed-crop farming systems. The northern sections of the cutover became potato, dairy, or stock farms. The success of agriculture in these regions made the county-level census data appear to be near average, but these numbers hid how farming varied significantly within these counties (See Table 5).⁴⁶

From 1900-1920 the average size of farms in the region increased significantly in every county, but the number of farms declined after peaking in 1910. The percentage of county land in farms remained rather constant during this period. The number of farms owned by native whites decreased. Yet farms owned by immigrants increased to nearly 40% of all farms in Lake, Manistee, Mason, and Muskegon counties, while it lagged

below 30% in Newaygo, Oceana, and Wexford counties. Tenancy rates increased to 10-12% of farms in the region as well. The location of good farm land in the cutover had been identified and farmers were consolidating their holdings (See Tables 3-4).⁴⁷

Over these two decades production plateaued for most crops and products, while fruit output increased. Milk, butter, and egg production declined slightly from 1910-1920. The number of bushels of corn, wheat, barley, and rye increased, while buckwheat and oats declined. This shift in grains suggested that farming was moving from the frontier stage into settled and established agriculture. Dry beans became more prominent, while dried peas withered. Hay production increased, but livestock numbers remained rather constant. Potatoes, which had been a major crop in 1910, declined significantly by 1920 for all of these counties. Overall, cutover counties experienced only modest agricultural development despite extensive agricultural promotion.⁴⁸

While mixed-crop family farms grew slowly or stagnated, specialized-crop farming, particularly fruit, grew rapidly along the lakeshore. Orchard fruits, particularly apples, peaches, and cherries, experienced extensive expansion in the lakeshore counties of Mason, Manistee, and Oceana. While most of the counties in the cutover saw about a three-fold increase in apple production during these twenty years, production in these three counties grew more quickly. Oceana County experienced a four-fold increase. Manistee County's production grew six-fold, while Mason County had over a ten-fold growth in apple production. These three counties produced a sum total of 12,339 bushels of cherries in 1900, but that amount had blossomed to 62,054 bushels by 1920. Mason County expanded peach production from 4,091 bushels in 1900 to 143,412 bushels in 1910. These figures indicate the special opportunities for those farmers with orchards

closest to Lake Michigan, but the fruit boom failed to extend as far inland as the county lines. At the same time, fruit growers had to compete with expanding production in California. Such competition challenged orchard development on more marginal land in West Michigan.⁴⁹

These positive signs in agricultural production encouraged the WMDB to promote farming vigorously throughout the West Michigan cutover throughout the 1910s. Similar to civic leaders, lumbermen, and real estate agents, the bureau made lavish claims about the agricultural merits of cutover lands. The bureau claimed that there were over five million acres for sale and that at least ninety percent of it was tillable. Only the jack pine plains were accepted as worthless for agriculture, but the bureau claimed that only 4.1% of land in the region could be labeled as such. Furthermore, these jack pine plains really did not pose much of a long-term problem since initial farming production provided a “good reason” to believe that they would “be made valuable for agriculture and horticulture.” These claims were overstated, but indicated the level of excitement of the WMDB for the potential of the region.⁵⁰

The WMDB endorsed not just fruit farming – as had the promotional materials of lumber company land offices – but also dairying, stock raising, potatoes, truck vegetables, grains, and mixed-crop farming. The bureau furthermore promised nearly immediate returns: “In certain sections of this hardwood country the farms follow the lumbermen so closely that what was this year a solid forest will next year be cleared and planted to potatoes or rye or wheat.”⁵¹ The publications supported these claims with numerous photographs amidst their land advertisements. The reader was clearly supposed

to focus on the bountiful and healthy crops, orchards, and livestock and not on the thin soils upon which it all rested.⁵²

In addition to its printed campaign, the WMDB had representatives give traveling lectures to drum up interest. Some of these lectures were held in cutover communities as publicity for the organization and to solicit support. At other times an officer of the bureau would travel to the southern Great Lakes where land tenancy was greater and pitch the merits of life in West Michigan. In these speeches, bureau representatives not only stressed the agricultural merits and burgeoning communities of the region but also the affordability of the land. Whereas land prices in the corn belt of Illinois could surpass two hundred dollars an acre, most of the available land in Western Michigan was being sold for twenty-five dollars an acre. While the cheap cost might have been an alarm to some perspective buyers, many would-be settlers saw an opportunity. That forty acres could be purchased for a thousand dollars was a key selling point for farmers looking to relieve the burden of debt, farm laborers seeking their own land, or poor immigrants wanting a return to the rural lifestyles that they had known in their homelands.⁵³

Regional newspapers supported settlement in the state by publishing articles promoting successful endeavors by agricultural scientists, extension agents, land agents, or prominent farmers. Articles appeared in a host of publications announcing the promise of success for stock, goats, fruit, clover, and potatoes.⁵⁴ When Grand Rapids residents criticized the claims of the WMDB for being too optimistic about the ability to grow cucumbers in the jack pine plains, land agents and farmers wrote the editor of the *Grand Rapids Herald* to protest those critiques.⁵⁵ Newspapers also carried stories on demonstration events for farmers like the one in Howard City on October 26, 1917 led by

WMDB representatives, MAC scientists, land agents, and PDC officials. These agrarians showed farmers methods of removing stumps, plowing fields, planting crops, building fences, and draining swamps to aid in land settlement and prompt farm development.⁵⁶

Efforts to prove the ease of cultivation and recruit new settlers were united in 1914 with the formation of an agricultural school in Walhalla for orphan boys from Chicago. The short-lived school was the idea of Major V.P. Randall who was its superintendent. The purpose of the school was to teach the boys citizenship, hard work, industry, and thrift while giving them practical labor skills from working the farm. The boys were housed on the farm and classes were held on the farm's campus. Trustees from Chicago financed the school for its duration; though, there had been hope that the farm would become self-sufficient. While evidence of being able to train the boys in being men was mixed, the attempt to make a cutover farm pay was a failure.⁵⁷

In addition to local and private efforts, the USDA supported boosterism efforts to recruit agricultural settlers to the cutover. Louis Haight of Muskegon provided land for federal experiments in 1911. Potatoes, rye, clover, corn, and winter vetch were rotated on a series of plots on the farm. Three years later, Haight declared the work a success. The closely monitored land was able to reap a harvest that paid for investments and labor on the land. He used this experiment to develop a plan for the cutover that promoted technical education for farmers and their wives and cooperative marketing and sale of produce.⁵⁸ In 1916, USDA employees John McDowell and William Walker wrote a bulletin arguing that successful agriculture was possible in the cutover. Potatoes were the most lucrative cash crop though hogs, hay, oats, and corn amidst stock and dairy farming were also recommended. They suggested that sheep be used to graze second-growth

sprouts as a way to keep cutover fields from becoming unwieldy before being subjected to the plow. They admitted that farmers were unlikely to become wealthy, but that an honest living was possible with the proper approach. Their assessment of the region was that “a large percentage of both these soil types [sand & swamp] can and will eventually be brought under successful cultivation.”⁵⁹

Private promotion supplemented the boosterism of the USDA. James Gatewood of St. Louis, Missouri published the periodical *Cut-over Lands* starting in 1918. The authors of most of the pieces were lumbermen who sought to sell these lands and agricultural extension agents from cutover counties who wanted to prove the land had agricultural value. The focus of the publication was on the South, but the cutovers of the Great Lakes and West also received attention. According to its masthead, *Cut-over Lands* was “devoted to the conversion of cut-over timber lands to their most productive use for farming, stock raising, fruit growing and kindred purposes.” Every issue was filled with optimistic claims about the suitability of cutover lands for various agricultural purposes.⁶⁰

In Michigan, efforts were also underway to tout tourism and outdoor recreation, as a way to promote the agricultural merits of the region. The Manistee Board of Commerce printed one such bulletin in 1915. While there were extensive sections on hunting and fishing, the agricultural claims were still its focus. The pamphlet claimed that there was “an abundance of good land in Manistee county” and that it was “well suited for general farming and particularly adapted for fruit growing.”⁶¹ Agricultural boosterism thus continued to downplay the challenges and risks of farming the West Michigan cutover. As advertisers, boosters like the Manistee Board of Commerce were keenly aware that other regions also sought settlers and thus took special care to state that West

Michigan had important advantages – transportation, markets, cheap land, and a healthy climate – for prospective settlers. Above all boosters promoted the advantages of the Michigan community to entice new immigrants.⁶²

Though the region did in fact enjoy certain advantages – particularly close proximity to Chicago, Detroit, and the Great Lakes shipping lanes – the cutover lands simply did not attract many settlers. Experience again showed, as it had in previous decades and in other sections of the state, that most cutover land was difficult to till. More importantly, perhaps, the class of farmers who settled there did not have the resources to commit to the daunting task of land reclamation. After all, successful farmers could purchase better land elsewhere, while those drawn to the cutover had little savings to invest in prime land or to cover the initial years of hardship in the cutover. Thus, the farmers that did come to the cutover were interested in skinning the land for immediate profits. This mining of the land was followed by abandonment and tax reversion, with the land in worse shape than before the settler arrived.⁶³

In this context, real estate agents began to address skepticism about the agricultural promise of these lands. In 1914, the land office of Buckley & Douglas Lumber Company in Manistee claimed that “The assumption that the pine lands of this county are not as productive is very erroneous. It may require a different treatment to produce the same results but it must not be forgotten that there are many ways to success. Some of the best lands which we are offering are pine lands.”⁶⁴ Despite the best efforts of the WMDB and real estate agents, would-be settlers were not convinced. Better land was available in the western United States and settlers looked to the Pacific Coast for opportunity. Population figures stagnated in Michigan and other parts of the East and

Midwest as the sons and daughters of farmers decided that cities held greater promise than the countryside in fulfilling their dreams.⁶⁵

Agricultural boosters and their supporters among agricultural scientists at MAC eventually were forced to try experimental enterprises in an effort to bolster farming in the cutover. To this end, farmers were urged to try growing specialty brush fruits like blueberries and raising animals for their pelts. Silver fox and beaver farms were attempted throughout the cutover to service a growing demand for furs to replace animals that had been over-trapped. There was enough interest in beaver farming in the 1920s that the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service had a field officer assigned to inspect these farms and make recommendations to the owners on how to improve their facilities. Owners would fence the acreage that they wished to farm. The land preferably contained a stream or creek system and a good deal of young forest growth. Beavers were introduced to the area in a density of between one to two beavers per acre. Mature beavers were trapped for live shipment. This harvesting also kept the colonies at self-maintaining levels. In 1926, for example, O.E. Atwood of Newaygo had a pelt farm capable of supporting a hundred beavers. Northeast of Luther, Andrew Voss had grown his operation in four years from three beavers on eleven acres to an area of over a hundred acres that was capable of supporting nearly two hundred beavers.⁶⁶ While pelt farms were a suitable use for some of the cutover land, however, the market was not large enough for fur farms to dominate the cutover.

Despite this range of efforts to develop farming in the cutover, a new model of land use focused on outdoor recreation manifested itself throughout the cutover. Great Lakes tourism had its roots in development of railroads in the region in the late-

nineteenth century. Summer resorts had been built in nearly every community along the Lake Michigan shoreline. The temperate climates and resort comforts attracted wealthy beachgoers seeking a break from the city or the hot, humid conditions of much of the Midwest. These vacationers used both trains and lake ferries to reach these resort destinations. Additionally, the region hosted sportsmen from throughout the country for hunting and fishing expeditions. Sportsmen sought the pleasures found in Michigan's trout streams as well as northern forests and fields. When fish game became scarcer because of the ecological damage to habitats by logging and wildfires, these sportsmen worked on revitalizing their numbers through stocking fish and building game preserves both privately and with state assistance.⁶⁷

As these shoreline resorts grew in popularity, the opportunity to spread outdoor recreation dollars inland presented itself. Two entrepreneurial brothers Erastus and Adelbert Branch of White Cloud purchased land around Diamond Lake near their Newaygo County homes. In 1912, they began promoting it as a recreational retreat to businessmen from Grand Rapids, Chicago, and other Midwestern cities. Their resort met with modest success in bringing men out to fish the resort's lake and experience the serenity away from the demands of the city. In 1917 they purchased land to start another such community around Robinson Lake, but they were most notable for the community that they founded in 1915.⁶⁸

While numerous opportunities existed for white tourists in the Midwest, middle-class African Americans were restricted in where they could relax due to segregation.⁶⁹ Even though there were African-American communities throughout the Great Lakes that predated the Civil War, blacks did not have much of a connection to Northern Michigan.

There were fewer than a thousand African Americans in the West Michigan cutover counties in 1900. The greatest concentrations were in Mecosta and Montcalm counties, which were on the eastern edge of the cutover (See Table 2).⁷⁰

Regardless of this lack of history in the region, the Branches built an African-American resort in Lake County. They had begun to purchase land around Crooked Lake east of Baldwin in Yates Township during 1912. Soon they had accumulated 2,700 acres that included frontage on other nearby lakes. Erastus and his wife Flora set up residence on the island to secure legal title to the land in accordance with homestead laws. Once they had a clear title, the brothers began to survey and mark lots and renamed the lake Idlewild. Then, as they did with their other resorts, the Branches used their connections with prominent men from regional cities to create a set of initial investors in the community so that they could advertise and sell land. They secured a partnership with Dr. Wilbur Lemon and Alvin Wright, successful middle-class professionals from Chicago who sought to expand their wealth through real estate sales. The Branches and Lemon became major shareholders in the Idlewild Resort Company. The unique characteristic of this partnership was that this group of white businessmen sought to sell the small lots of the resort community to African Americans.⁷¹

Due to segregation the *de facto* segregation in the North, many of the resort areas of southern Wisconsin, northern Indiana, and southwestern Michigan owned and visited by Chicago's middle-class whites were closed to middle-class blacks. Idlewild gave them access to the social status that land ownership conveyed in America. As the most active partner, Lemon hired African-American salesmen in cities throughout the Midwest. Thus from the beginning, African Americans were involved in the promotion and sale of the

resort and profited from the venture. This fact gave the company credibility in the middle-class black communities where the land was sold.⁷²

The Idlewild Resort Company's promotional pamphlets overflowed with hyperbolic descriptions of the grandeur of the place. They asserted that the lakes boasted relaxing vistas and healing waters. These portrayals did not accurately depict the condition of the cutover in the 1910s and 1920s, but it did sell an idea that the black middle class sought to buy. And apparently purchasers were not disappointed in the land they found in Lake County. Idlewild did indeed have great beaches and scrub oaks were beginning to mature. The excursion buses and trainloads of prospective buyers came to inspect the resort, and lots were steadily sold to people from around the Midwest. Once lots were sold, African-American owners had nearly complete autonomy to develop the community. A lot owners association was started to manage the growth of the community. Small cottages and a main club house were built. Retail stores and community services were established. Members of the lot owners association converted their ownership of land in Idlewild into a form of status back home. The interest in Idlewild soon spread and African Americans around the country began to embrace it as their own.⁷³

By 1921, Idlewild had blossomed into a thriving recreational community. Thousands of visitors came every year and lots were a hot commodity. One visitor that summer was the famous intellectual W.E.B. DuBois who was amazed to the point of poetic optimism at what he found. In comparison to other black resorts of the time, he considered Idlewild as surpassing them all: "Not for one moment in fine joy of life, absolute freedom from the desperate cruelty of the color line and for the wooing of the

great silence which is Peace and deep Contentment – not for one little minute can they rival or catch the bounding pulse of Idlewild.” Idlewild was a place where an African American could truly relax, feel at peace, and for a moment forget the color line.⁷⁴

The resort was so glorious that DuBois even felt charitable toward the white men who had started it as the resort venture. He observed that these men started Idlewild in order to make money and that they were successful at it, but that they were admirable because they had not been greedy or unfair in their business dealings with the African-American community. He was glad to proclaim to his wide readership that the business dealings involving Idlewild had benefited everyone involved. “White men developed it because they knew how. We pay for their experience, but we pay a very low sum. Our hats are off to the Idlewild Resort Company.”⁷⁵

These resorts that brought the cutover tourists for outdoor recreation were a preliminary foray into alternatives to agricultural and industry in the cutover. The region lacked the grandeur and amenities of the resorts along Lake Michigan. But as a broader range of people sought the adventure of travel and outdoor recreation, tourism became a potentially profitable use for marginal land. These small developments laid the groundwork for later economic expansion through tourism.⁷⁶

Political battles between foresters and agrarians

The contestation between foresters and agrarians during the 1910s was not over the land as much as it was over controlling the political debate to frame the approach to land policy in the cutover. Neither side claimed any true victories as much as they limited the ability of the other. This sparring match took place in the halls of government and in

the press. Agrarians called into question the merits of foresters' scientific claims to superior land management, while foresters suggested that agrarians overstated the potential for agriculture. The ability to keep the other side from claiming the upper hand slowed the resolution over the cutover until something would counterbalance these evenly matched arguments.

One divide was over “practical” versus “book” fire prevention methods in the state. The book method followed the scientific research of the USFS in preparing the land for potential fires to limit their impact. Advocates of practical forest management, however, considered the book method as a waste of money and potentially a way of fueling a greater threat for catastrophic fires if the methods failed. The use of Michigan Forest Scouts rather than state employees to fight fires clearly demonstrated this divide in 1912. Governor Osborn suggested the organization, structured similar to the Boy Scouts of America, as a patriotic cause boys could perform for the good of the state. Boys between the ages of seven and nineteen were taught proper fire surveillance. Their duty was simple – to look for and report fires in Northern Michigan and the Upper Peninsula. These fire scouts were required to complete physical training, study botany, and maintain exemplary citizenship. They participated in military drills, trained in first aid, and learned forestry skills. Their handbook even included a history of forest fires as a way to impress upon them the seriousness of the job.⁷⁷ The fire prevention work done by Schaaf, as well as the local involvement of fire crews and Forest Scouts eventually improved but did not eradicate the fire problem in the state during the decade.⁷⁸

The MFA objected to this organization as an inadequate substitute for state-funded fire prevention work. MFA members thought Oates did not pay sufficient

attention to this area in 1912. An association director, Mrs. Lena G. Mautner of Saginaw, told a local daily newspaper that Michigan's fire wardens led by Oates had incompetently let Michigan burn during the fall fire season. In their place, Mautner recommended that the state follow the advice of the MFA and hire fire wardens trained in forestry and fire fighting techniques. Deputy Forestry Warden and Michigan Forest Scouts Director J.H. McGillivray fired back in a letter to Mrs. Mautner "that were the *practical wardens of Michigan* to be replaced by 'book' wardens of the federal government – the kind, who with their vaunted 'perfect system' almost burned Montana off the map recently – that those influential in bringing about the change would within eight months be morally guilty of man-slaughter." McGillivray did not defend his office as much as he claimed that scientific foresters could not do any better.⁷⁹

McGillivray's letter launched a battle between the warden's office and the MFA. Mautner recognized that the fight was bigger than she could handle, so she turned to Roth for assistance. Roth, as forestry professor at the University of Michigan, did not let the charges against "book" forestry slide. He had recently received correspondence from McGillivray requesting support for the Michigan Forest Scouts program. Roth responded by stipulating that while the organization could do some good "in arousing and holding the interests of the boys of the state," it would never replace professional state management. He asserted that the state had weak fire prevention and fighting laws that received weaker enforcement. In this context, Roth added, "To now call upon the boys of the state, voluntarily and without remuneration, to perform the work which the state itself has neglected and refused to do, strikes me as rather an indirect method of reaching the

heart of the problem.” Roth called for the state officers to assume their responsibilities in this regard instead of calling on children to do it for them.⁸⁰

The focus of Roth’s wrath was not the scouts as much as the emphasis on practical forestry. Knowing that McGillivray had written Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot for support for the Forest Scouts, Roth forwarded these men his letter to McGillivray and McGillivray’s letter to Mautner along with a cover letter.⁸¹ These men were solidly in the camp of book forestry – Pinchot had literally written the book for the USFS. Furthermore, Roth had connections with both men from his work ten years earlier under Pinchot. As a result Roosevelt did not grant McGillivray the words of support that he sought, and Pinchot amended his statement of support to reflect Roth’s concerns. As this post was McGillivray’s first state office, he was inexperienced in political battles of this sort and this attack dazed him. On January 3, he wrote a conciliatory letter to Roth that retracted his attack on the Forest Service. In the letter, McGillivray admitted that his letter to Mautner was ill-advised and contained numerous ridiculous assertions. But he requested that Roth give him a chance to improve the situation in Michigan without dismissing his work out of hand. McGillivray forwarded the letter to Pinchot along with a letter of sincere thanks for the support that he had extended to the Forest Scouts.⁸²

Roth’s victory rested on his connections with powerful national figures and their alliance with him in support of scientific forestry. Using this support from Roosevelt and Pinchot as a springboard, Roth and P.S. Lovejoy, forestry professor at the University of Michigan and secretary of the MFA, drafted legislation to push forestry back into the PDC and out of the hands of the Game, Fish, and Forestry Warden. They saw the new bill as an effort to put Michigan on par with its Great Lakes neighbors Minnesota and

Wisconsin on whose laws the bill was based.⁸³ The battle over the role of forest scouts demonstrated the divide within state agencies over the best way to handle conservation work. This internal dissention and lack of focus was the PDC's primary weakness that kept it from resolving land use questions on public land in Northern Michigan. The inability to solve the problems of the state's tax-reverted and cutover lands spurred admission from both PDC and MFA leaders that federal involvement was inevitable.⁸⁴

Despite the rebuttal of practical management by Roth in the forest scouts case, support for local control and private ownership of land remained strong in the state. Riding the wave of division in the Republican Party in the 1912 election into office, Democratic Governor Woodbridge Ferris (1913-1917) called for an expansion of local control and agricultural use in the cutover. In 1915, Ferris promoted farmer independence from government interference by pushing for the removal of restrictions on timber use to receive the farm forestry tax break passed in 1911. Additionally, he vetoed a bill introduced by progressive Republicans in 1915 to extend the one dollar an acre assessment to all forest lands in the state to promote private reforestation. Ferris called the bill "vicious" on the grounds that it threatened tax receipts that funded local governments. He considered this revenue as too important to abandon for the promotion of private forestry.⁸⁵ Furthermore, he did not consider the decline of pine forests in Northern Michigan a problem. Instead he asserted that there were plenty of pine lands in the Upper Peninsula. Consistent with the Democratic Party's support for local control during this era, Ferris believed that agricultural use and tax revenues trumped efforts at private or public forestry every time.⁸⁶

Ferris and other governors also used Arbor Day to assert the importance of private action and responsibility to resolve conservation concerns. Michigan governors saw this celebration as a way to connect themselves to the cause of conservation without any particular sacrifice and they issued yearly proclamations marking the day. These proclamations usually had a personal tone and often recounted a childhood memory of a favorite tree. Rarely did these proclamations come with any real thrust toward active legislation; rather their effect was largely to endorse the planting of trees and the teaching of children about them. Arbor Day had little effect on the forestry movement. Instead, it spurred local beautification efforts by women's clubs and parks movements. City tree departments were established in most of the major cities in the state and trees were planted and tended along streets and in parks.⁸⁷

Another example of the political divide over cutover land policy was the effort to pass soldier settlement legislation at the close of World War I. While various federal and state agencies sought new farm enterprises to transform the cutover, the Wilson administration took steps to people it and other abandoned lands. In the midst of the rise of patriotism during World War I, federal legislators sought ways to reward servicemen upon their return home. Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane proposed granting land to soldiers returning from the war in Europe. He suggested starting soldier settlement communities in arid, swamp, cutover, and abandoned lands. The infrastructure for farmsteads and new communities should be constructed prior to habitation in an effort to transition soldiers to being farmers and to prepare existing markets for the resulting farm products. Frank Mondell of Wyoming sponsored a federal bill to this end. Farmer organizations and agricultural scientists defeated this bill because they thought it would

create a crisis of overproduction, a fall in prices, and an agricultural depression. Despite the defeat of national legislation, representatives in states with sizable public domains in the South, West, and Great Lakes regions sponsored bills that would grant land to returning veterans as a means of encouraging private ownership and easing the reintroduction of a large number of men into the work force. Six states eventually had soldier settlement colonies, but each of these efforts, particularly one of disabled veterans in Minnesota's cutover, failed because veterans often lacked a farming background and were put on marginal farmland without adequate institutional support to learn how to make farming these lands profitable.⁸⁸

The debate in Michigan over cutover land policy was too divided to follow Minnesota's example. A soldier-settlement bill was introduced in March 1919. It proposed that returning veterans be granted parcels of tax-reverted land for homesteading. The PDC endorsed the measure as both patriotic and a suitable means of disposal of tax-reverted lands in the state. William Hartman, agricultural agent for the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad and member of the PDC, issued a pamphlet to explain and promote the policy.⁸⁹ In addition to this support from the PDC, development bureaus, land owners, and cutover-region newspaper editors supported the bill. Like in much of the rest of the country, organizations representing farmers from Southern Michigan were opposed. In addition to this opposition, conservation advocates responded that the bill was more of a punishment than a reward for returning soldiers. They argued that since farming had not proven itself as a profitable enterprise in the cutover, veterans, most of whom were not experienced farmers, should not be set up to fail on these lands as well. Furthermore, the idea of soldier settlement assumed that anyone could farm if given

land. Such a claim ignored the technical expertise and vast experiential knowledge necessary to run a working farm. The bill never passed the legislature, but the nature of the proposal demonstrates the degree to which agricultural boosterism had been renewed during the era of the PDC.⁹⁰

These conflicts between agrarians and foresters did not result in a clear winner by the end of the 1910s. Each side appealed to their range of supporters from the national level down to cutover residents in an effort to sway state politicians. While the decade did not result in long-term policy goals for the cutover, it did establish the main issues as being taxation, settlement, and the role of science in addressing these concerns. All of these issues centered on the political debate, but very little had been done to improve life in the cutover.

The intersection of competing visions for the cutover

The stalemate between agrarians and foresters defied the hope for consensus desired by residents of the cutover. In January 1919, the *White Cloud Eagle* published an essay on the problems of farming the cutover by Hartman. In it, he expressed his hopes for cooperation between farmers, bankers, reforestation advocates, land agents, manufacturers, state officials, and reporters in regards to development of the cutover. He argued that the cutover needed more than just settlers or renewed forests for success. Settlers needed to understand that stock farming was the most likely means for success in much of the cutover. But these settlers needed planned and stabile support from bankers willing to offer credit, boosters with sound colonization policies, conservationists who prevented fire and replanted pines on the sandiest soils, and state and county

commissioners who built good roads in the region and committed to permanent agricultural settlement. Furthermore, this process had to be built in a society that had faith in agricultural and industrial development of the cutover. In short, Hartman argued that settlement of the cutover demanded a unified effort by all Michiganders with “capital, brains, and concerted action.” This vision did have all the necessary elements for successful settlement of the cutover and a means for productive and permanent private land ownership, but it lacked the cooperation and political means necessary for its implementation.⁹¹

Hartman demonstrated that agriculture was possible in the cutover, but that without the aid of the state in establishing appropriate assistance in infrastructure, markets, land preparation and tax breaks, farming was too monumental of an undertaking to be consistently successful. While state politicians overwhelmingly favored private ownership of land for farms, they wanted it to happen unencumbered by state aid to those farmers. This lack of institutional support placed too great a risk on the shoulders of settlers. Politicians impeded reforestation because it did not fit their worldview of productive land use, but their vision of an agricultural paradise was unobtainable because there were too many factors to overcome.

As the decade drew to a close, the scales began to tip in favor of conservation as scientists began to agree that reforestation was necessary for the cutover.⁹² The onset of the post-war agricultural depression in part caused by over-production deflated the claims of agricultural boosters that the marginal land of the cutover should be farmed. This agricultural vision of the cutover declined just as new scientific theories and methods were developed to evaluate land economics.⁹³ Given the uncertainty of the cutover,

politicians embraced the application of these theories as a means of finding definitive answers as to the most efficient uses for this land. Furthermore, the rise of the automobile and leisure time in American culture expanded opportunities for outdoor recreation and tourism.⁹⁴ These conditions formed the context in which reforestation and tourism merged to create a new vision for the cutover.

Notes for Chapter Three

¹ Michigan Commission of Inquiry, *Tax Lands and Forestry Report, 1908* (Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1908).

² For a discussion of the wilderness debate during this era, see Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967). For a revised model for how Muir and the Sierra Club fought for wilderness for the purposes of human consumption in the form of nature tourism rather than wilderness, see Robert W. Righter, *The Battle over Hetch Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). Paul S. Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002) has explored the development of a wilderness ideal in the 1920s and 1930s. For information on this battle over wilderness as part of the rise of the environmental movement and contemporary debates over wilderness, see William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1996): 7-28; J. Baird Callicott and Michael P. Nelson (eds.), *The Great New Wilderness Debate* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998); and Kevin R. Marsh, *Drawing Lines in the Forest: Creating Wilderness Areas in the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

³ The contestation over the West Michigan cutover, therefore, was not waged between extra-local political or economic elites with differing agendas or between extra-locals and local residents. It was an integrated debate with support from people from a broad range of backgrounds. This complexity differs from the political wrangling over conservation issues depicted in Robert Gough, *Farming the Cutover: A Social History of Northern Wisconsin, 1900-1940* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997); Louis S. Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Mark D. Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); James Kates, *Planning a Wilderness: Regenerating the Great Lakes Cutover Region* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); and Sara M. Gregg, "From Farms to Forest: Federal Conservation and Resettlement Programs in the Blue Ridge and Green Mountains" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2004). Rather it more closely resembles the arguments of Dave Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery: Michigan's Rise as a Conservation Leader* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001).

⁴ Aggregate figures for forfeited, deeded, and sold land were summarized at the beginning of the land commissioner's annual reports. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Land Office* (Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1903-1908). W.P. Hartman asserted that over 2.4 million acres reverted to the state between 1899 and 1909. W.P. Hartman, "Agricultural Development in Northern Michigan, Part 1" *White Cloud Eagle*, Jan. 9, 1919, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM.

⁵ Stephen B. Sarasohn and Vera H. Sarasohn, *Political Party Patterns in Michigan* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1957), 15-17.

⁶ Aaron T. Bliss, "Ex-augural Address," January 2, 1905 in *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, vol. 4, ed. George M. Fuller (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1927), 390-391.

⁷ The legislature formed the commission through Public Act 188 of 1907. Letter from Charles W. Garfield to Kenyon L. Butterfield, May 6, 1907, Charles W. Garfield folder 2, Box 2, Kenyon L. Butterfield papers, LOC; "The Commission of Inquiry," *Annual Report of the Michigan Forestry Commission, 1907-08*, 98-99; and "Warner's Forestry Investigation Commission," *Michigan Roads and Forests* 4 no. 1 (July 1907), 12. *Michigan Roads and Forests* was published on behalf of the Michigan Road Makers Association and the Michigan Forestry Association. About half of each issue was dedicated to roads, while the other half addressed forestry.

⁸ Michigan Commission of Inquiry, *Tax Lands and Forestry Report, 1908*, 22-39. Also see, Charles B. Blair, "The Problem of Michigan's Cut-over Lands," *Michigan State Farmers Institutes* 14 (June 1908): 34-47.

⁹ Dempsey, *Ruin and Recovery*, 5-9 and Stephen J. Pyne, *Fire in America: A Cultural History of Wildland and Rural Fire* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 199-201. For a description of the destruction of these fires in the Manistee River Valley, see Charles W. Ward, "The Problem of the Cut-over Land," *Michigan State Farmers Institutes* 15 (July 1909): 55-67.

¹⁰ For a more complete description of the political wrangling that created the PDC, see Norman John Schmaltz, "Cutover Land Crusade: The Michigan Forest Conservation Movement, 1899-1931" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1972), 164-197; Dempsey, *Ruin and Recovery*, 60-64; and William B. Botti and Michael D. Moore, *Michigan's State Forests: A Century of Stewardship* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2006), 21-27.

¹¹ "200,000 Acres for Reforestation," *Michigan Roads and Forests* 5, no. 11 (May 1909), 3, 8.

¹² Letter from Charles W. Garfield to Kenyon L. Butterfield, April 27, 1909, Charles W. Garfield folder 2, Box 2, Kenyon L. Butterfield papers, LOC.

¹³ These conclusions come from an analysis of the MFC and PDC reports. The problems from the lack of scientific expertise as well as the political patronage in appointments would be better resolved in the 1920s on both the Conservation Commission and the Department of Conservation.

¹⁴ Michigan Public Domain Commission, *Conservation and Development of the Natural Resources of Michigan* (Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1912), 5-6.

¹⁵ For recounts of this work, see the various annual and biennial PDC reports. *Report of the Public Domain Commission* (Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1913-1920) and Botti and Moore, *Michigan's State Forests*, 29-39.

¹⁶ Born in Rochester, Indiana in 1879, Schaaf had been trained at the Biltmore Forestry School on George Vanderbilt's Biltmore Estate outside Asheville, North Carolina. He first worked in Michigan in 1906 as the forester for the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company. His training gave him the same conservation-minded values as the forestry professors at the University of Michigan and Michigan Agricultural College. Throughout his career, he invited these professors and their students to the various state forest reserves for field research. He also solicited their advice and recommendations for better management of these burgeoning forests. "Obituary," *Michigan Conservation News* (March 1959), 6, Marcus Schaaf biographical file, FHS and Botti and Moore, *Michigan's State Forests*, 33.

The hiring of a state forester was the top priority of the Michigan Forestry Association in December 1909. Its membership also wanted better forest protection, more and better woodlots, preservation of existing forest tracts, and an awakening of the citizenry to check individual exploitation. "To the Members of the Michigan Forestry Association," *Michigan Roads and Forests* 5, no. 18 (Dec. 1909): 3.

¹⁷ "General Report: Forest Reserves," *Report of the Public Domain Commission for January 1, 1911 through June 30, 1913* (Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1913), 19.

¹⁸ The six new state forest reserves founded by Schaaf between 1910 and 1920 were Fife Lake, Lake Superior, Ogemaw, Presque Isle, Alpena, and Pigeon River State Forest Reserves. During his 39-year career, Schaaf oversaw the expansion of the state forest system in Michigan from two forests of 30,000 acres to 22 forests of 3,600,000 acres.

Interlochen State Park became Michigan's first independently established park in 1917. Mackinac Island had been established as a national park in 1875 before being transferred to state control in 1895. For further reading on the establishment of state parks in Michigan, see Dempsey, *Ruin and Recovery*, 91-107.

Schaaf also launched an ambitious tree planting program that was derailed by the entry of the U.S. into World War I. "Gigantic Forest Conservation in State is Planned," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Jan. 30, 1915, 1915 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

¹⁹ "Report of the State Game, Fish and Forestry Warden," and "Recommendations: Appropriations," *Report of the Public Domain Commission, July 8, 1909 through December 31, 1910* (Lansing: Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1912), 45-51, 82 and "General Report: Fire Prevention and State Game, Fish and Forestry Warden," *Report of the Public Domain Commission for January 1, 1911 through June 30, 1913*, 29-30.

²⁰ Filibert Roth, "Communication from Mr. Filibert Roth, Professor of Forestry at the University of Michigan," *Biennial Report of the Michigan Public Domain Commission, July 1, 1914-June 30, 1916*, 129-130; Filibert Roth, "Communication from Mr. Filibert Roth, Professor of Forestry at the University of Michigan, of his Visit to the Forest Reserves," *Biennial Report of the Michigan Public Domain Commission, July 1, 1916-June 30, 1918*, 104-111; and Filibert Roth, "Statement by Prof. Filibert Roth, Dean for the School of Forestry, University of Michigan," *Biennial Report of the Michigan Public Domain Commission, July 1, 1918-June 30, 1920*, 78-88.

²¹ This farm forestry bill became Michigan Public Act 79 of 1911 and was sponsored by Senator Eugene Foster (R-Gladwin).

²² Augustus C. Carton, "Immigration Commission Report," *Biennial Report of the Michigan Public Domain Commission, Jan. 1, 1911-June 30, 1913*, 59. Carton reported similar work in subsequent biennial reports of the PDC.

²³ *Report of the State Game, Fish and Forestry Warden, 1916* (Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1916) and Eugene T. Peterson, "The History of Wild Life Conservation in Michigan, 1859-1921" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1953), 217-218.

²⁴ The inconsistencies were clear in the PDC reports. The reorganization of resource management into the Department of Conservation was intended to correct these ills and make this work more efficient. Helen Foster, *1921-1946: Twenty-Five Years of Conservation in Michigan* (Lansing: Office of Information and Education, 1960), 1-5.

²⁵ "An Abject Failure," *Michigan Roads and Forests* 5, no. 9 (March 1909): 7 and "Only One Severe Fire," *Michigan Roads and Forests* 5, no. 16 (Oct. 1909): 4.

²⁶ For an introduction to the approach of the USFS to conservation management, see John Ise, *The United States Forest Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920); Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); Samuel Trask Dana and Sally K. Fairfax, *Forest and Range Policy: Its Development in the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980); and Harold K. Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service: A History*, centennial edition (Durham, N.C.: Forest History Society, 2004).

²⁷ For an accounting of public domain land in Michigan at the time, see "Large Acreage of Public Lands," *Michigan Investor* 4, no. 42 (July 21, 1906): 1, 1905 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

²⁸ "Michigan's National Forest," *Michigan Roads and Forests* 4, no. 8 (Feb. 1908): 14 and H.O. Stabler, "Report on the Proposed Michigan National Forest," April 1908, Michigan National Forest folder, Box 22, USFS Newspaper Clippings File, FHS. The Michigan National Forest was the second federal forest in the Great Lakes. The Minnesota National Forest (now the Chippewa NF) was created earlier that year.

²⁹ While the Weeks Law was initially passed to create national forests in the White Mountains and central Appalachia, its work slowly expanded to include purchases in other areas. For brief overviews of the passage of the Weeks Law, see Ise, *The United States Forest Policy*, 207-223; Dana and Fairfax, *Forest and Range Policy*, 111-115; and Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service*, 122-131. For a general depiction of how national forests were established in the eastern United States, see William E. Shands, "The Lands Nobody Wanted: The Legacy of the Eastern National Forests," in *The Origins of the National Forests*, ed. Harold K. Steen (Durham, N.C.: Forest History Society, 1992), 19-44.

³⁰ "Proceedings Annual Meeting MFA," *Michigan Roads and Forests* 5, no. 17 (Nov. 1909): 3-6.

³¹ "State Forester," *Report of the Public Domain Commission, July 8, 1909 through December 31, 1910*, 30-41. The state sold most of the land in Wexford County to bring the figure down to 3,000 acres by 1913.

³² "State Forestry Reserve a Lemon," *Grand Rapids Herald*, May 11, 1909 and "Anti-Forestry Report Flayed," *Muskegon News Chronicle*, May 14, 1909, 1905 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

³³ Robert Mark Warner, "Chase S. Osborn and the Progressive Movement" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1957). A resident of Sault Ste. Marie, Osborn was Michigan's only governor from the Upper Peninsula. He was a close friend of Roosevelt's and was often cited as a possible running mate in the 1912 presidential election. It is likely that Osborn's ineffective relationship with the Michigan legislature kept him from being the Bull Moose candidate for Vice President in 1912.

³⁴ "General Report: Game, Fish and Forestry Warden," *Report of the Public Domain Commission for January 1, 1911 through June 30, 1913*, 30 and Letter from Filibert Roth to Theodore Roosevelt, Dec. 20, 1912, Series 1, Reel 162, Theodore Roosevelt papers, LOC.

³⁵ Warner, "Chase S. Osborn," 1-3, 112-115, 257.

³⁶ For more on this divide between Republicans over conservation during the Taft administration, see Ise, *The United States Forest Policy*, 201-205; Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*, 147-174; Elmo R. Richardson, *The Politics of Conservation: Crusades and Controversies, 1897-1913* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 47-85; and Dana and Fairfax, *Forest and Range Policy*, 94-96.

³⁷ MFA, "Report on Position of Michigan's Delegation to Congress," (Ann Arbor: MFA, 1913), 6-7. The MFA's letters to federal congressmen urged them to resist the state's rights movement to have federal lands turned over to state control throughout the country. Support for this movement resided in the West.

³⁸ Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985) and Jonathan Raban, *Bad Land: An American Romance* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997) have detailed this expansion in the High Plains.

³⁹ For an overview of romantic agrarianism see David B. Danbom, "Romantic Agrarianism in Twentieth-Century America," *Agricultural History* 65, no. 4 (Fall 1991): 1-12. *The Report of the Commission on Country Life* (New York: Sturgis & Walton Co., 1911) assessed what commission members deemed deficiencies in country life and made recommendations regarding how to integrate rural areas into the national economy and culture. Studies of the commission's work and influence include William L. Bowers, *The Country Life Movement in America, 1900-1920* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1974) and David B. Danbom, *The Resisted Revolution* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1979).

My analysis here does not include how farmers reacted to the modernization of society. My interest in this section is in regards to agricultural boosters who were rarely farmers themselves. Agricultural boosters were land speculators, local businessmen, and politicians who sought agricultural

settlement as the means to develop the region. Farmers were interested in further development as a means of stabilizing the local community and economy, but they resisted the imposition of new technologies by outside agents either in business or politics. Furthermore, they sought consumer goods in a way that was not understood by either the Commission on Country Life or back-to-the land advocates. Farmers appreciated consumer goods and new technologies as these items improved their individual lives and their local community networks. Farmers emphasized family, localism, and the importance of the past as they interacted and co-opted with modern industrial, urban, and national society. For a discussion of how farmers viewed modern life, technological change, and extended agricultural settlement, see Hal S. Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century New England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Pete Daniel, *Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures since 1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Jane Marie Pederson, *Between Memory and Reality: Family and Community in Rural Wisconsin, 1870-1970* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); Jane Adams, *The Transformation of Rural Life: Southern Illinois, 1890-1990* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Mary Neth, *Preserving the Family Farm: Women, Community, and the Foundations of Agribusiness in the Midwest, 1900-1940* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Gough, *Farming the Cutover*; Ronald Kline, *Consumers in the Country: Technology and Social Change in Rural America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); and Deborah Fitzgerald, "Accounting for Change: Farmers and the Modernizing State" in *The Countryside in the Age of the Modern State: Political Histories of Rural America*, ed. Catherine McNicol Stock and Robert D. Johnston (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001): 189-212.

⁴⁰ David E. Shi, *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) has provided a thorough sense of the myth and practice of simple living on the land throughout the history of the United States. Shi has noted the conflict implicit in the commission's program based on romanticism of rural life when attempting to address practical problems, 202-203.

⁴¹ Stephen V. Ward, *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities, 1850-2000* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 9-82, has covered the boosterism of the frontier and resorts in the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Eric D. Olmanson, "Romantics, Scientists, Boosters, and the Making of the Chequamegon Bay Region of the South Shore of Lake Superior, 1820-1900s." (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 2000), 230-254, has crafted an accurate picture of the nature of boosterism in the cutover.

⁴² "To Reclaim Land in Seven Counties," *Grand Rapids Herald*, March 21, 1909, 1905 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁴³ For a historical overview of the Western Michigan Development Bureau (WMDB), see Leo Alilunas, "Michigan's Cut-over 'Canaan,'" *Michigan History* 26 (Spring 1942): 188-201. A complete collection of the publications of the WMDB are unavailable. For the purposes of this paper, the author reviewed the following works: WMDB, *Western Michigan: Fruit with Flavor* (Traverse City: WMDB, 1910) and WMDB, *Western Michigan: The Land of Fruit and Fortune* (Traverse City: WMDB, 1914, 1915, & 1920-21).

⁴⁴ WMDB, *Western Michigan Fruit with Flavor*, 1910. Folder 5, Box 1, Michigan Series, Warshaw Business Collection, Archives Center, NMAH. Like with other claims of boosterism, the assertion of a great transportation system was overstated, while there was a developing transportation system in the area it was far from fully developed.

Robert Graham and Charles Garfield of Grand Rapids believed that the claims of the WMDB were overstated and asked to be excused from participation in their work. "Deplores Methods of Land Boomers," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Jan. 12, 1910, 1910 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁴⁵ United States Census, 1900-1930.

⁴⁶ State of Michigan Agricultural Census, 1894 and 1935 and United States Census, 1900-1920.

⁴⁷ United States Census, 1900-1920.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid. For the rising competition from California, see Steven Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

In addition to these tended orchards, huckleberries and blueberries grew wild on burned areas of the cutover. People went to these patches and picked them for free, which provided much needed income for numerous residents. "Huckleberry Industry of Northern Michigan Gives Employment and Profit to Thousands," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Aug. 18, 1912, 1910 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁵⁰ WMDB, *Fruit with Flavor*, 4, 15-16.

⁵¹ Ibid., 7.

⁵² These photographs are too numerous to cite, but for a sample see WMDB, *The Land of Fruit and Fortune* (1914), 4, 14-16, 18-19, 23.

⁵³ Alilunas, "Michigan's Cut-over 'Canaan,'" 194-198.

⁵⁴ "Michigan's Stock Industry Growing," *Michigan Investor*, Nov. 2, 1907; "State's Barren Tracts Valuable," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Feb. 4, 1908; "Jack Pine Land Grows Clover," *Muskegon Daily Chronicle*, May 15, 1908; and "Make Good Farms," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, Oct. 15, 1909, all in 1905 binder; "West Mich. Gold Mine is the Farm," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Feb. 28, 1910 and "Sand Land Vindicated," *Muskegon News Chronicle*, Nov. 10, 1910, in 1910 binder; and "To Make Test of Lake County for Raising Cattle," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Dec. 26, 1916, in 1915 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁵⁵ "Jack Pine Plains Fertile? – Not Yet," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Dec. 11, 1909; "Jack Pine Lands Will Raise Crops," and "Defends Soil of Central Michigan," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Dec. 13, 1909, 1905 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁵⁶ "Barren Lands Can be Reclaimed, Say the Experts," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Oct. 26, 1917 and "Farmers Learn New Uses for Stumps," *Grand Rapids Press*, Oct. 27, 1915, 1915 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB. John Gibson a professor of the agricultural engineering at University of Wisconsin even used the event to promote subscriptions for Liberty Loans to support the war effort.

⁵⁷ "Juniors Reclaiming Cutover Land," *American Lumberman*, June 13, 1914, 1910 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁵⁸ "Uncle Sam Helps," *Grand Rapids Evening Press*, March 31, 1911; "On the Sand Farm," *Grand Rapids Press*, July 10-11, 1914, 1910 binder, and Louis P. Haight, "A Plan for Developing Waste Lands," *Grand Rapids News*, Aug. 16, 1915, 1915 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁵⁹ John C. McDowell and William B. Walker, *Farming on the Cut-Over Lands of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota*, USDA bulletin 425 (Washington: USDA, 1916).

⁶⁰ James E. Gatewood (ed.), *Cut-over Lands*, 1, no. 1-12 and 2, no. 1-3 (1918-1919), Main Reading Room, University of Michigan Graduate Library.

⁶¹ Manistee Board of Commerce, *Manistee: Its Industrial, Agricultural and Summer Resort Advantages*, (Manistee: Mich.: American Printing Co., c1915), 23.

⁶² Ward, *Selling Places*, 1-4 and Olmanson, "Romantics, Scientists, Boosters," 230-231.

⁶³ This skinning of the land was similar to that of the Great Plains during this era. For a further discussion of it, see Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s*, 25th ann. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 80-97.

⁶⁴ Buckley & Douglas Lumber Co. Land Dept., "The Garden of the Middle West" (Manistee, Mich.: Buckley & Douglas Lumber Co., c1914), 13.

⁶⁵ Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind* and Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage*, 16-24, 52-55.

⁶⁶ Letter from Charles Garfield to Kenyon Butterfield, July 11, 1919, Garfield folder (5), Box 2, Kenyon L. Butterfield papers, LOC included a clipping on the rise of silver fox farms in Muskegon, Mason, Ottawa, and Grand Traverse counties. "Michigan – Bailey, Vernon Orlando – Beaver," Folder 28, Box 60, Series 1 – United States. Fish and Wildlife Service, Field Reports, R.U. 7176, SIA. The file contained the Vernon Bailey's inspections of O.E. Atwood's farm southeast of Newaygo and Andrew Voss's farm northwest of Luther.

⁶⁷ Tourist brochures and other related ephemeral materials were prevalent during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and continue to be consistently produced. Initially, railroad and ferry companies often produced them in conjunction with resorts at destinations. While too numerous to cite fully, early tourist materials that I reviewed include "Onekama Mineral Springs and Summer Resort" (Onekama, Mich.: Fred Culver, 1888); Donald Donnan (ed.), *Brooks Lake and Newaygo in 1902* (Chicago: Levytype Co., 1902); Ann Arbor Railroad Company, "Away from the Work-a-Day World: An Honest Effort to Picture the Charms of Frankfort – The Loveliest Spot on Lake Michigan" (Toledo: Franklin Printing Co., 1904); Manistee Board of Commerce, *Manistee: Its Industrial, Agricultural, and Summer Resort Advantages*; and *Manistee in Summertime* (Manistee, Mich.: Board of Commerce, 192?).

⁶⁸ Pehyun Wen, "Idlewild – A Negro Village in Lake County, Michigan" (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1972), 72.

⁶⁹ The history of African Americans in the rural Midwest is complex and more study is needed. Some areas erupted in racial violence throughout the hundred years between the Civil War and Civil Rights Act, while others worked hard to create peacefully integrated communities. While Idlewild had its problems, it was much more the latter than the former. George K. Hesslink, *Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community*, 2nd ed. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1974); Benjamin C. Wilson, *A Rural Black Heritage between Chicago and Detroit, 1850-1929* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: New Issue Press, 1985); Stephen Vincent, *Southern Seed, Northern Soil: African American Farm Communities in the Midwest, 1765-1900* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1999); and Anna-Lisa Cox, *A Stronger Kinship: One Town's Extraordinary Story of Hope and Faith* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2006).

⁷⁰ In the counties of Lake, Manistee, Mason, Mecosta, Montcalm, Muskegon, Newaygo, Oceana, and Wexford there were 609 Negroes as of the U.S. Census of 1900. Many of them were in the cities of Muskegon, Big Rapids, and Greenville which were in the counties with the highest percentages of Negro residents. Hence, even including surrounding cutover districts and those overlooked in the enumeration, there were almost certainly less than a thousand blacks in the cutover.

⁷¹ Lake County's Negro population was listed as five in the 1910 census, so this enterprise clearly catered to a group different racially than the local population base. By 1930 there were 398 Negro residents in Lake County, and that figure leapt to 1,302, almost a quarter of the county's population, by 1950.

⁷² Wen, "Idlewild," 72-76; Ronald J. Stephens, *Idlewild: The Black Eden of Michigan* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishers, 2001), 10-12; Lewis Walker and Benjamin C. Wilson, *Black Eden: The Idlewild Community* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002), 6-8; and Christopher Wilson, "Freedom, Nature, and Nightclubs: The Idlewild Movement, 1912-1918" (unpublished essay in possession of the author), 2, 9-10.

⁷³ John Fraser Hart, "A Rural Retreat for Northern Negroes," *The Geographical Review* 50, no. 2 (April 1960), 158; Walker and Wilson, *Black Eden*, 18-28; and Wilson, "Freedom, Nature, and Nightclubs," 11-17.

⁷⁴ W.E.B. DuBois, "Hopkinsville, Chicago and Idlewild," *The Crisis* 22, no. 4 (August 1921): 158-160.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁷⁶ For an introduction to outdoor recreation as a form of tourism during this era, see Cindy S. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) and Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

⁷⁷ J.H. McGillivray, *Michigan Fire Scouts* (Lansing: Michigan Game, Fish and Forestry Department, 1912); PDC, *Conservation and Development of the Natural Resources of Michigan*, 92-95; and "Michigan Forest Scouts," *American Forestry* 18, no. 9 (Sept. 1912), 581-585.

⁷⁸ Fire prevention was such a strong concern that the PDC hosted the Michigan Forest Fire Congress in 1916. This meeting, held in Lansing on March 13-14 just prior to the spring fire season, was chaired by William R. Oates, the Commissioner of the State Game, Fish, and Forest Fire Department. Attendees included railroad men, lumbermen, foresters, politicians and interested citizens. PDC Secretary Augustus Carton commented on how fire was a threat to the state's investments in reforestation and wildlife. P.S. Lovejoy, Secretary of the Michigan Forestry Association, used stronger language to reprimand legislators for their failure to invest more state dollars in fire prevention and fighting and for not recognizing how forestry problems vary in woodlots, private forests, forest reserves, and the cutover. While events like the Forest Fire Congress and organizations like the Forest Scouts educated the populace on how to stop the threat of forest fires, they had little influence on the legislative appropriations for reforestation and fire prevention throughout the state.

Michigan Public Domain Commission, *Michigan Forest Fire Congress* (Lansing, Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1916). This work was widespread in the Midwest during this time period. Minnesota had hosted a regional Lake States Forest Fire Conference on December 6-7, 1910 in St. Paul. "Proceedings of the Lake States Forest Fire Conference," *Michigan Roads and Forests* 7, no. 8 (Feb. 1911): 3-4.

⁷⁹ Letter from J.H. McGillivray to Mrs. Lena G. Mautner, Dec. 17, 1912, Series 1, Reel 161, Theodore Roosevelt papers, LOC. McGillivray referred to the August 1910 fire in Idaho and Montana known as "The Big Blowup" that killed 78 fire fighters and destroyed over three million acres of forest. The implication was that not only could the foresters not do better, they would make the situation worse.

⁸⁰ Letter from Filibert Roth to J.H. McGillivray, Dec. 20, 1912, Series 1, Reel 162, Theodore Roosevelt papers, LOC.

⁸¹ Letter from J.H. McGillivray to Theodore Roosevelt, Dec. 17, 1912, Series 1, Reel 161; Letter from Filibert Roth to Theodore Roosevelt, Dec. 20, 1912, Series 1, Reel 162; Letter from Filibert Roth to J.H. McGillivray, Dec. 20, 1912, Series 1, Reel 162; and Letter from J.H. McGillivray to Mrs. Lena G. Mautner, Dec. 17, 1912, Series 1, Reel 161, all in the Theodore Roosevelt papers, LOC.

⁸² Letter from Gifford Pinchot to J.H. McGillivray, Dec. 27, 1912, Series 1, Reel 162; Letter from J.H. McGillivray to Filibert Roth, Jan. 3, 1912 (sic), Series 1, Reel 122; Letter from J.H. McGillivray to Gifford Pinchot, Jan. 6, 1912 (sic), Series 1, Reel 122; Letter from Gifford Pinchot to J.H. McGillivray, Jan. 5, 1913, Series 1, Reel 164; Letter from Gifford Pinchot to J.H. McGillivray, Jan. 10, 1913, Series 1, Reel 164, all in the Theodore Roosevelt papers, LOC. McGillivray's letter to Roth on Jan. 3, 1913 appeared to have been written with a sense of urgency and unrest and has numerous typographical and factual errors

in addition to the date. The letter to Pinchot on Jan. 6 is much cleaner and the problem with the date was likely a mistake caused by the habit of erroneously referencing the previous year early in a new year.

⁸³ Letter from Filibert Roth to Gifford Pinchot, Jan. 15, 1913; Memo from J.H. Peters to Henry Graves, Jan. 21, 1913; Letter from Pinchot to Roth, Jan. 24, 1913; Letter from Roth to Pinchot, Jan. 28, 1913; Memo from Peters to Pinchot, Feb. 10, 1913; Letter from Roth to Pinchot, Feb. 14, 1913; and Letter from Pinchot to P.S. Lovejoy, Feb. 18, 1913 all in Michigan Forestry Association folder, Box 478, Gifford Pinchot papers, LOC.

⁸⁴ The Michigan Forestry Association favorably discussed federal involvement often at its annual meetings the minutes of which were reprinted in *Michigan Roads and Forests*. Lena Mautner's assertion of the need for federal help in relation to fire fighting and prevention was what sparked the whole McGillivray incident. Yet, this point is not what McGillivray contested. In his initial letter to Mautner, McGillivray opened with the statement, "Permit me as one interested in the eventual control of state forests by the federal government, to speak a cautionare (sic) word in the matter." Letter from J.H. McGillivray to Mrs. Lena G. Mautner, Dec. 17, 1912, Series 1, Reel 161, Theodore Roosevelt papers, LOC. Garfield also hinted at it periodically in his correspondence with Kenyon Butterfield especially when he was frustrated with the actions (or inaction) of state agencies. He had arrived firmly in that camp by 1923 when he wrote stating, "I am lead (sic) more strongly than ever to the belief that progress in rehabilitating our denuded lands must be in the hands of the United States Government." Letter from Garfield to Butterfield, June 5, 1923, Charles W. Garfield folder (6), Box 3, Kenyon L. Butterfield papers, LOC.

This rift between the PDC and MFA was mended in 1915 as Roth and Garfield were invited to a meeting that fall to discuss PDC forestry policy. After this point, Roth became more involved as a technical advisor to the state commission on forestry matters. Botti and Moore, *Michigan's State Forests*, 35.

⁸⁵ Michigan Public Domain Commission, "An Act to Encourage Private Forestry" Bulletin 2, October 15, 1913; Woodbridge N. Ferris, "State of the State Address," January 7, 1915 in *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, vol. 4, ed. Fuller, 669-670; Ferris, "Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives," May 14, 1915 in *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, vol. 4, ed. Fuller, 684; and Russell Watson, *Forest Conservation* (Lansing: Michigan Forestry Association, 1923), 60.

The legislation was reintroduced in 1917 after Ferris had left office and passed as Michigan Public Act 60 of 1917 and was sponsored by Representative John Schmidt (R-Reed City). Yet, again, the regulation on what constituted forest land was so exacting that few citizens chose to exercise the tax break. Taxation remained an impediment to sound private forestry in the state because citizens were unwilling to accept the levels of state regulation that came with the tax breaks that had been passed

⁸⁶ Ferris, "State of the State Address," January 7, 1915 in *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, vol. 4, ed. Fuller, 669-670 and Ferris, "Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives," May 14, 1915 in *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, vol. 4, ed. Fuller, 684.

⁸⁷ Woodbridge N. Ferris, "Arbor and Bird Day Proclamation," May 8, 1914 and May 7, 1915; Albert E. Sleeper, "Arbor and Bird Day Proclamation," May 7, 1920; Alex J. Groesbeck, "Arbor and Bird Day Proclamation," May 6, 1921, May 5, 1922, and May 2, 1924 all in the Michigan Reading Room, LOM.

⁸⁸ Bill G. Reid, "Agrarian Opposition to Franklin K. Lane's Proposal for Soldier Settlement, 1918-1921," *Agricultural History* 41, no. 2 (Spring 1967): 167-179; Bill G. Reid, "The Concept of Soldier Settlement in American History," *North Dakota Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (Summer 1968): 41-54; and Shi, *The Simple Life*, 223.

⁸⁹ William P. Hartman, "Putting the Fighting Man Back on the Soil," *Grand Rapids Press*, Feb. 7, 1919, 1915 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB; "Michigan's Bill for Soldier-Settlement Work" *Cut-over Lands* 1, no. 12 (March 1919): 16; and "Hartman Explains Soldier-Settlement Bill" *Cut-over Lands* 2, no. 1 (April 1919): 11.

⁹⁰ Reid, "Agrarian Opposition," 177-179.

⁹¹ W.P. Hartman, "Agricultural Development in Northern Michigan, Part 1," *White Cloud Eagle*, Jan. 9, 1919; Hartman, "Agricultural Development in Northern Michigan, Part 2," *White Cloud Eagle*, Jan. 16, 1919; and Hartman, "Agricultural Development in Northern Michigan, Part 3," *White Cloud Eagle*, Jan. 23, 1919, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM.

⁹² "Manistee Land Ideal for Forestry, Says Specialist," *Grand Rapids Herald*, April 2, 1919, 1915 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁹³ David B. Danbom, *Born in the Country: A History of Rural America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 185-205, offers a good overview of the 1920s agricultural depression, its effects, and the efforts of scientific agricultural research to address it.

⁹⁴ For a discussion of the automobile's role in the expansion of tourism, see Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979) and Shaffer, *See America First*, 130-168. For a discussion of the problems created by automobile tourism from the perspective of wilderness advocates, see Sutter, *Driven Wild*.

Chapter Four: The Unification of Science, Conservation, and Tourism, 1921-1932

After World War I, the problem of the cutover in Michigan was the same as it had been since the start of the forestry movement in the state. Agrarians and foresters sparred about its use without making decisive inroads on state policy. Tax-delinquent lands plagued the tax base and continued reversion indicated that the problem was not a lack of knowledge about farming by homesteaders. State forestry efforts were still minimal in relation to tax reversion. There was little desire to expand the state forests substantially, but state leaders were convinced that there must be a better way to use these lands than to continue the cycle of homesteading and tax reversion that the state had experienced. The first steps in finding a permanent resolution to these problems arrived in the form of scientist and journalist P.S. Lovejoy.¹

An outspoken man with resolute opinions and a range of experience in public forestry, academia, and advocacy, Lovejoy urged the state to consider land evaluation as the means to identify its best utilization. In his 1919 address to the Michigan Academy of Science, he attacked the notion that agriculture would follow the forests in Northern Michigan. He insisted that efforts to initiate a land boom following the logging of the north woods had been doomed from the start. Inexperienced settlers and immigrants were misled by agricultural scientists who supported booster claims of the merits of this land for agriculture. Lovejoy noted that the result had been ruin and bankruptcy to both the land and the state's economy. His solution was simply that the appropriate uses for idle lands needed to be identified and when there was doubt as to the profitability of land for agriculture it should be reforested.²

Lovejoy's call to action came as the economic and ecological conditions throughout Michigan worsened because of the drag caused by the cutover. Manufacturers were forced to import timber and wood products because the state could not produce enough of its own to cover demand. Programs to ensure the sustained productivity of remaining forest stands were underdeveloped. The cutover covered one-third of the land in Michigan, a total of eleven million acres, as fires caused by humans and nature ravaged any new growth. Blackened stumps, brush, and stunted growth comprised the ground cover of this area. An increasing amount of land was reverting to the state for unpaid property taxes as most farmers were unable to develop economically profitable enterprises on their cutover farms. The creation of the Public Domain Commission (PDC) had resulted in bureaucratic infighting, which stalled the restoration of these lands. State forests had demonstrated that reforestation in pine was possible, but only an average of ten thousand acres was naturally or artificially reforested each year. Areas like the West Michigan cutover had only a handful of acres under state management, so large sections of the cutover remained unaddressed. Hence, while the state forests had proved the potential for cutover reforestation, their small size indicated that they would be unable to address the full breadth of the ecological, economic, or social problems of the cutover in the foreseeable future.³

In this context, three major forces began to push Northern Michigan toward a permanent resolution for its idle lands: land economics, administrative reorganization, and tourism.⁴ Land economics was the study of climate, soil, topography, and vegetation of a place coupled with its relation to local infrastructure, transportation routes, and markets. The goal of such studies was to have a thorough understanding of a land's

condition and potentially to identify the land's best use. Land economics, particularly its largest subfield agricultural economics, developed this latter point and worked towards not just surveying land but recommending its best utilization. Michigan proved to be at the forefront of this work with the first large-scale, state-sponsored effort in this regard, the state's Land Economic Survey.⁵

In addition to scientific studies on identifying the land's best use, the state aided the cause of conservation by reorganizing the PDC into a Department of Conservation. This department assumed responsibility for all management of natural resources from the disbanded PDC, while shedding efforts to sell land and promote immigration. Nine divisions housed the different conservation activities under the guidance of a department director. This organization eliminated the unequal levels of power of different wardens under the PDC. Furthermore, guidance for the department was in the hands of the Conservation Commission, a body of seven citizens appointed by the governor who offered input from the perspective of interested taxpayers. The establishment of the Conservation Commission in Michigan completed the integration of conservation activities within a single state agency.⁶

The rise of tourism during the 1920s was not under the control of state officials, but it did the most to break the political stalemate. Ownership of automobiles, not only made Americans more mobile, but broadened their range of leisure time activities. For Michiganders, the joys of fishing, hunting, hiking, camping, and other forms of outdoor recreation were as close as an afternoon drive. This access increased throughout the decade as members of all socioeconomic classes began participating in this outdoor tourism. As for cutover land policy, tourism served as an acceptable compromise for

agrarians and foresters as it had extensive potential for growth and met their demand of making the land productive. Conservationists endorsed tourism as a legitimate use of reforested and rehabilitated lands, while boosters understood tourism as a different form of development, both physically and economically, for the region. Development bureaus shifted their promotion of the region to emphasize its tourist opportunities while downplaying the cutover as a site of agricultural settlement. Hence, tourism served as a point of compromise for political power brokers that reforestation should be extended throughout the cutover. But the legislature was unwilling to appropriate the necessary funds for such an enormous undertaking. Thus, attitudes about the future of Northern Michigan shifted during the 1920s; however, the lack of money and manpower delayed the complete deployment of this policy.⁷

Michigan Land Economic Survey

The idle land problem in Michigan entered its third decade in the 1920s. While scientific studies had been made of certain properties in the cutover, there had never been a systematic consideration of whole counties. In 1923, the Michigan legislature endorsed this new level of evaluation and classification of land for the region. Initiated at the behest of Lovejoy, the state's Land Economic Survey (LES) was an outgrowth of the growing land utilization movement. Land utilization advocates, primarily agricultural economists and soil scientists at state land grant colleges, argued that land should be assigned to its best use. Such designations would improve the efficiency of production because the farming of marginal land would be eliminated. This change would also stabilize overall production and crop prices by removing some lands from crop

production. Lands removed from production would be shifted to other, more suitable, uses.⁸

Lovejoy's bold and unequivocal claims in his 1919 Michigan Academy of Science address stirred the scientists in attendance to action. They petitioned the governor and legislature to appoint a committee to inspect the condition of the state's cutover lands. While the government took no action, the movement grew within the academy. At their next annual meeting in 1920, the organization held a Symposium on Michigan's Idle Lands that focused on the problems of the cutover. Lovejoy gave two addresses during the proceedings. One challenged the validity of claims by scientists with the U.S. Bureau of Soils that wildfires did not have a negative effect on the soils of the cutover. The other called for the legislature to establish a policy for the state's idle lands. Lovejoy claimed that the failure to decide what should be done with these lands was negatively affecting the policies for fire, parks, fish, and game. He applauded the work completed in state forests, but asserted that such policies only dealt with four percent of the idle land in the state. Lovejoy demanded that an inventory of all land not in a particular use be completed so that state leaders could decide its best use. Some land would undoubtedly be sold for agricultural use while others could be designated for reforestation (either publicly or privately) or recreational use. Regardless, the failure to act would cause the amount of idle and unproductive land to expand to over fifteen million acres in the years to come.⁹

In light of Lovejoy's papers, the Academy passed two resolutions that demanded action from the state. Their "Resolution on the Forest Fire Menace" requested that the state do a better job fighting fires and enforcing fire laws. Consistent with earlier conservation efforts, it asserted that fire prevention was the key to all other initiatives.

The “Resolution on the Reclamation of Michigan’s Non-Productive Area” called for the legislature to authorize a new evaluation in an inventory of the state lands. The Academy demanded that trained scientists be hired to assess physical conditions and land economics as part of the inventory. This information in turn could be used for land classification. In the opinion of the Academy, science was the most appropriate means for establishing public conservation policies.¹⁰

The call for action spread further with the help of the popular press. Lovejoy and Fred Janette wrote a series of articles that appeared in the *Detroit News* during May and June of 1920. These articles presented to the citizens of Michigan the problems in the cutover and how fire, poor soils, and unwise farming practices created a crisis of land use in the region. They proposed that the state should respond by authorizing a land survey to gain a clear inventory of the various problems on tax-reverted lands in the cutover. These articles reached an even broader audience when they were published as a pamphlet and distributed by the *News* throughout the state.¹¹ In addition to these articles, Lovejoy penned a series of articles in December 1920 and January 1921 in the *Country Gentleman* urging its readers to reconsider land use decisions in cutover areas of the country.¹² Lovejoy’s clever yet caustic writing converted technical scientific research into arguments accessible to the average citizen. His contribution to the debate about land-use for the cutover helped sway opinion in favor of a state land inventory.¹³

Lovejoy believed that academics and experts in the USDA & USFS were too focused on what could be done on cutover lands. He did not dispute the claims of extension agents and experiment station scientists that through pulling the stumps, fertilizing the soil, carefully selecting hardy crop varieties, and rotating crops that

farming could be achieved. Rather he argued that such intensive preparation of the land had not been done by inexperienced farmers in the cutover and that this failure had made the condition of the land worse. It was not that agriculture could not be accomplished in the cutover, but that it had not. Likewise, foresters were strictly concerned with the technical aspects of silviculture and not the issue of human economy on the land. This technical bias made them ill-suited, in Lovejoy's view, to address the plight of settlers or recommend broad policy changes for the cutover. Instead of these approaches, Lovejoy argued that it was in the state's best interest to discourage settlement, investigate the condition of the land, and promote sound land use that considered social, economic, and scientific needs of the society.¹⁴

Before Lovejoy could enact any program of land economics, a derivative form of this work was adopted by the state commissioner of agriculture John Doelle. He called for a certification program for land sales where the seller would gain a favored designation for only selling land that had been rated for its agricultural merit by a member of the State Department of Agriculture. Such a program would aid fair land agents by giving them the backing of the state, which would level their competition with unscrupulous land sharks. Buyers would benefit because they would know what type of land they were getting in a sale without the expense of a careful inspection of their own. And the state would benefit most of all, Doelle argued, since buyers would know if they were getting land suitable for farming, forestry, or recreation before they purchased it, which would lower the amount of tax-reverted land. While the program was never put into effect, Doelle's proposal and travels to promote it popularized the idea that there was an appropriate "use for every acre in Michigan."¹⁵

Lovejoy's work, the endorsement of the Academy of Science, and Doelle's plan had brought land economics to the fore in Michigan. The legislature responded by approving the LES in 1923. As the first extensive land survey in the country, the LES drew extensive attention from economists, scientists, and government officials. The primary focus was an inventory of lands held by the state as well as surrounding private lands. Inspectors identified the soil, minerals, vegetation, topography, climate, and wildlife. This survey was the first of its kind that attempted to pull together such a broad range of information into one report. Lovejoy instructed the inspectors to avoid trying to classify lands. Rather, they were to see their responsibility as gathering information. Classification and resulting policy decisions were to be left to politicians and others in positions of power. In addition to agricultural potential, lands were surveyed as a site for recreation, reforestation, and water power uses.¹⁶

Like other state initiatives, the LES was dependent upon continued funding for its survival. While political interest was very high at the start of the survey, that interest waxed and waned throughout its twelve years of existence. Therefore, only seventeen counties, none of which were in West Michigan, were surveyed and the results of this work were largely underutilized by local and state planning bodies. However, the impact of the survey was not as much in its findings as in its demonstration of the primacy of hard science in informing land-use policy decisions. Conservation advocates had gained a powerful tool in convincing their skeptics and politicians about the importance of changing notions of how the cutover could be used. Public perception for the land use of the cutover shifted from agricultural settlement to reforestation, recreation, and power

creation. This change in perception and the training of workers to evaluate land and vegetation was the legacy of the LES.¹⁷

Land economics became a bigger part of the decision-making process for land use because of the work done by Lovejoy. This work fit well with the national demands for efficient use of the country's resources brought about by war production. Since cutover lands in the Lake States and the South were being underutilized, they came under increased scrutiny from politicians and land economists. Conceptions of the problem began to shift away from designations of it as a regional issue to a more national scope.¹⁸ In Michigan, E.B. Hill of MSC used soil and climate studies to originate a map of the types of farming in the state.¹⁹ The University of Wisconsin's duo of Richard Ely and George Wehrwein became leading agricultural economists for addressing submarginal agricultural areas.²⁰ The movement was so strong that from Nov. 19-21, 1931, the Secretary of Agriculture Arthur Hyde convened a national conference on land utilization to discuss potential national programs in redefining land use.²¹ Such study altered the condition of the land-use debate over underutilized lands nationally and created support for reforestation as a productive use of land.

Development of forestry education, research, and activism

The growth of scientific research in terms of land economics was reflected in the expansion of forestry education and research at Michigan's two top state colleges. The University of Michigan trained professional foresters, who had a solid record of employment with the USFS. MAC, for its part, was in the midst of a college-wide expansion during the 1920s. The college had grown beyond the land grant mission of

training citizens in agricultural science. This development was reflected in the school's name change to Michigan State College in 1925 (the school would gain university status in 1955). In terms of forestry, its department expanded field research and training for extension agents to aid in local and state public forestry initiatives.²²

During the 1920s, the study of forestry in Michigan was well established. Filibert Roth had dominated the forestry department at the University of Michigan since his arrival in 1903. His connections with Gifford Pinchot and the USFS made the department important in national forestry debates. The university had barely lost the competition to house the National Forest Products Research Laboratory that eventually made its home in Madison, Wisconsin and the Great Lakes Forest Experiment Station which was established in St. Paul, Minnesota. Roth's political frustrations with the Public Domain Commission made him a staunch advocate for federal control of public forests in the state. These promotions of and connections to the USFS went against home-rule advocates in the state but helped him secure employment for his students. Graduates had an affection and dedication to Roth and his teaching style. Upon his retirement in 1923, 191 of them wrote letters of appreciation to him demonstrating their longstanding commitment to his work.²³

Roth's retirement in 1923 and his death in 1925 paved the way for changes at the university. The strong program developed by Roth lost much of its vigor with his retirement. Leigh Young kept the department viable for a couple of years, but it was clear that the program needed to be restructured. When Young was named Director of the Michigan Department of Conservation in 1927, the university recruited Samuel Trask Dana to head a newly established School of Forestry and Conservation.²⁴ Under Dana

this new school greatly expanded the study of conservation at the university.²⁵

Conservation research and teaching extended beyond forestry to include other sciences related to natural landscapes. The study of forestry shifted from simply applied training to include all the developing specialties in research and field management. The growing importance of recreation resulted in fields related to game management, watershed protection, botanical disease research, and tourism. The new school met the needs for this growing specialization of conservation careers through a completely revised curriculum and the conferral of doctoral degrees in these specialized areas of study.²⁶

These changes were heartily endorsed by forestry advocates in the state.

University President Clarence Little announced the institutional changes and introduced Dana at a meeting of state conservation leaders held in Ann Arbor. Even though he was new to the state, Dana received a warm welcome. Garfield commented that “No man in all my acquaintance can equal Roth as a teacher of forestry, but I think Dana has had a splendid training for the position of Dean and I think he will strive to make the University active in the State’s forward movement in conservation.”²⁷

Michigan Agricultural College had also experienced profound changes to its forestry work since the department started. No longer focused on just the needs of farmers in managing their woodlots, Alfred Chittenden expanded teaching and research to encompass broader farm forestry ideas. Extensive field research was conducted on forest plantings on experiment station lands and in the Dunbar Forest, a college forest south of Sault Ste. Marie in the Upper Peninsula.²⁸

Roth’s retirement represented a decline in statesmanship by forestry educators in the state. Professional bureaucrats, not forestry educators, came to dominate state

commissions, which further distanced the work at these schools from the practical application of this research by the state.²⁹ Furthermore, the expansion of forestry research by MSC and UM revived the competition between the two schools' forestry departments. As both departments shifted to more technical scholarship, the old divide about the roles of each school for fulfilling the state's education needs was renewed. Garfield urged these institutions to put aside their jealousies of one another for the good of the state and the lands that needed their attention. The end result was that UM continued to be the home for training professional foresters, while MSC expanded its role in technical research and its application for private owners.³⁰

While professional forestry education and research developed at the University of Michigan and MSC, these scientists largely dropped their relationship with citizens when being political active on forestry issues. The Michigan Forestry Association (MFA) had been founded to encourage active involvement in the reforestation movement from state residents. Membership in the MFA was strong and active until about 1913. Battles with the PDC were taxing for the organization and the activity of the MFA waned so that it remained largely inactive for the rest of the decade. Despite the renewal of conservation as a hot political topic in the state after World War I, the MFA did not resume its reforestation advocacy. The disastrous fire season of 1919 thrust idle lands back into the political spotlight, but the lobbying for state action on this issue largely fell to the Michigan Academy of Science.³¹

The revival of the MFA in the 1920s occurred because some founding members saw the need to renew its work and a sizable group of men who were previously uninvolved sought a means by which to express their political interest in conservation.

During the MFA's inactivity, membership had grown stagnant with few members paying dues. John Bissell of Detroit remained the association's president, while Lovejoy continued to hold the title of secretary. A special issue of *American Forestry* dedicated to the Lake States forests in December 1922 served as a catalyst for renewed activity of the association. Lovejoy wrote an article describing the work of the LES and chronicling Michigan's forest history. This history highlighted the role the MFA had played in the development of conservation in the state. In response, Lovejoy and other leaders mentioned in the article received letters from state residents inquiring about how they could join the MFA and participate in its work.³²

These letters prompted Bissell and Lovejoy to call a meeting for April 18, 1923, in Ann Arbor to revive the MFA by electing new officers and recruiting new members. MFA directors from around the state including Filibert Roth, Charles Garfield, L.L. Mautner, John Pierson, and Henry Stevens helped inform members and potential members about the meeting. The body elected Filibert Roth, Alfred Chittenden, and Russell Watson, president, vice-president, and secretary respectively. These men culled the membership rolls of deceased and inactive members, renewed the function of the board of directors, and solicited new memberships throughout the state.³³

One new member who would play a prominent role in the revival of the MFA was Frederick Wheeler, a real estate agent from Grand Rapids. During the 1920s, Wheeler served as a director, secretary, and president of the association. He had two strengths that made him perfect for these leadership roles: his passion for reforestation and his persistence in promoting the cause. Like other leaders in the reforestation movement, he had experience with private planting efforts. Wheeler planted his first stand of pine on

land he owned near Williamsburg in Grand Traverse County in 1913. He tended these trees and planted others during his summer holidays in the north. This experience allowed him to write authoritatively on the topic to politicians and prominent businessmen. He solicited them from monetary and political support as well as their personal involvement in planting trees themselves. His persistence at the very least kept the issue at the attention of politicians and citizens alike during his years of involvement in the movement.³⁴

Under Wheeler's guidance the MFA shifted away from concerns about public forestry to an advocacy for private forestry. Wheeler lacked the professional forestry training that other leaders of the reforestation movement in the state had, so he directly used their arguments in his writings. He read forestry scholarship extensively and co-opted its arguments into his letters and essays. He became very concerned about the pine blister rust that was infecting white pine seedlings and young trees throughout the state. Scientists had connected its transmission to brushy fruit bearing plants that grew quickly after forest fires. In response, Wheeler wrote articles on the threat posed by black current bushes. He wrote many political leaders about the need for property tax reform promoting a similar tax structure to that developed by J.J. Hubbell around the turn of the century. This reform was to tax income from tree cutting rather than the property itself to encourage reforestation. Such a change, Wheeler argued, would encourage more private owners to plant trees thereby decreasing the threat of fire and providing for the long-term welfare of the state.³⁵

Unlike others conservation leaders like Roth and Garfield who wanted greater federal involvement or Lovejoy, who wanted non-partisan regulation at the state level,

Wheeler advocated individual autonomy in regards to property rights that was consistent with the conservation politics of federal Republicans during the 1920s. Progressive Republicans such as Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot had used conservation as a reform measure. Since Michigan was predominately Republican, the more progressive members of the party were conservationists. This perspective had gained broad acclaim and acceptance across party lines by the 1920s, which created the political positions of being pro-conservation or disinterested in its concerns. Warren Harding was of the latter camp as was evident in the lack of institutional control surrounding the Teapot Dome Scandal.³⁶ Calvin Coolidge subordinated conservation to his greater goal of cutting government spending. Furthermore, issues related to energy production, wildlife, recreation, and aesthetics were gaining significance but were unaddressed in Pinchot-style conservation. The result was that the Republican Party became divided over what policies would best enact conservation values.³⁷

Pinchot remained an important advocate for conservation nationally and as a political figure in Pennsylvania. For Pinchot, conservation was a democratic act in that it protected citizens from corporate greed by providing an equal opportunity to access natural resources. It was dedicated to resource use while preventing waste. This political model of conservation used government regulation to ensure these goals. The Forest Service, as designed by Pinchot, managed the resources for use and encouraged fair economic development. This model found a clear application when applied to issues of energy production in the 1920s. Pinchot endorsed government regulation that guaranteed fair prices and wide distribution. How recreation and wildlife management should be

approached was more difficult under this model and the Forest Service predictably struggled with these issues.³⁸

Herbert Hoover, unlike his immediate predecessors, had an acute interest in conservation and an idealistic notion of how it could benefit the country. He agreed that natural resources needed to be stabilized and that overuse blocked American prosperity, but his proposed resolutions were vastly different than Pinchot's. Hoover opposed invasive government regulation, preferring greater local control and decision-making. To promote this goal he called for state-sponsored volunteerism where national scientists and experts would inform local leaders who would make moral decisions for the good of their communities. Under this model, the federal government would provide scientific knowledge and initial aid to promote cooperation between private entities and local governments. They, in turn, would maximize market conditions and natural resources to create wide and lasting prosperity for all citizens.³⁹

Whereas Pinchot's notion of conservation was hamstrung by new problems, Hoover's easily adapted to a host of circumstances. Scientists would gather information about the problem and construct possible responses. This information in turn was distributed to agents who possessed a local interest in the issue. They would then determine the appropriate course of action. While this model had greater flexibility, Pinchot-style conservationists feared that the representatives of economically and politically powerful corporations would abuse it for their own gain. The rise of new problems and the division over conservation ideologies by Republicans created the context in which Democrats could begin to reconsider conservation policies from their

own perspective. In 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt would launch his new rural conservation policies as a means by which to rehabilitate human and natural resources.⁴⁰

Michigan's conservation advocates reflected this national divide over conservation policy. Old guard conservationists like Garfield and Roth desired greater federal involvement in managing the state's cutover land. They saw the USFS as the best agency to manage public land because it had the expertise and money to execute their programs. They had become discouraged by the disinterest of state Republican leaders to the conservation problems. They detested that political appointees who lacked the understanding, experience, and dedication to conservation filled government posts. In response they pushed for greater federal control over public land management in the state.⁴¹

Newer devotees to the cause like Frederick Wheeler sided with Hoover's perspective on the issue. These conservationists were interested in local control and decision making because local residents had the greatest investment in making good choices. They largely ignored state activities in order to advocate for what private landholders could do to improve the condition of land and water. They had less of a problem with state commissioners because they did not have a history of conflict with those men and the small-scale programs run by the state conservation divisions was reflective of the activities that they wanted from the government.

Only non-conformist P.S. Lovejoy transcended this rift. Lovejoy criticized both sides, breaking with Roth over the merits of federal involvement while being suspicious of the activities of the state commission or private landholders. Lovejoy's persistent analysis of intersection of science and policy marked his political independence while

improving public discourses over conservation policy. However, Lovejoy was an anomaly. The new national debate over the best political model for conservation colored Michigan's policy and activism. The rifts that ensued were part of the groundwork for the resurgence of the Democratic Party in a very Republican state during the 1930s.⁴²

Wheeler remained unmoved during the rest of his life and continued to advocate the new voluntarism in conservation advocated by Hoover. His means for encouraging conservation by landowners was to create a tax code and land assessment that rewarded people for planting trees and slowing erosion. During the Great Depression, Wheeler promoted efforts at using rural families for land rehabilitation. He thought that families could be paid for improving the forest while creating homesteads for themselves. Such a program put a premium on keeping land in private hands rather than the great public land purchases that occurred during the 1930s.⁴³

In addition to cautioning people about the dangers of pine blister rust, promoting a revised property tax code, and urging protection for private efforts at conservation, Wheeler reflected his voluntarism related to conservation as a promoter of the Memorial Forest movement in the state. A memorial forest was the planting of a forest stand for the purpose of remembering someone, usually a reforestation advocate, who had died. The *Detroit News* proposed a memorial forest plan on September 22, 1929, to reforest public land in the state. Throughout the 1920s the newspaper had called for better answers for the economic problems of the cutover. In light of the lack of action by the state, conservationists saw the Detroit News Reforestation Plan as potentially just such an answer.

The main strength of the Memorial Forest movement for both its advocates and the state was its voluntarism. It focused on providing the labor or covering the cost of getting trees planted on public lands in the state. While several state-run nurseries produced seedlings, there was little money in the budget for the actual planting of them on cutover lands. The Detroit News Reforestation Plan called for private individuals and organizations to donate money for the planting of trees on public land to create perpetual forests. A one hundred dollar donation covered the labor costs for planting one forty acre parcel. The state covered the expense for maintaining the land and providing the seedlings. The *Detroit News* would cover the cost to make and erect a sign bearing the names of the donors to be placed at a prominent spot in the newly planted forest. Since the entire process was voluntary, it faced few objections.⁴⁴

Since the state was only planting a few thousand acres a year, the plan's goal to plant 373,000 acres of state forest was a huge boost to reforestation efforts. This plan received broad support from Governor Fred Green, state officials, forestry experts at the University of Michigan, Michigan State College, other states' foresters, and the USFS.⁴⁵ Probably based on its emphasis on voluntarism, President Hoover gave a strong endorsement to the Detroit News Reforestation Plan. In a letter to the newspaper he wrote, "The far-sighted plan of the Detroit News to encourage the reforestation of the cutover lands of Michigan deserves the widest support. It means more than the recovery of a lost economic resource, for it will also restore homes to a desolated region and beauty to a naturally beautiful landscape."⁴⁶

With such broad endorsement, the plan should have succeeded with ease. However, it was introduced only one month before the stock market crash and the start of

the Great Depression. The change in the economy impacted the program by reducing the amount of charitable donations available for tree planting. However, the program remained popular with middle-class conservationists, such as forestry advocates, women's clubs, sportsmen's groups, and school children who saw the benefit of the plantings for beautification, game habitat, and a future timber industry.

After the stock market crash, Wheeler, along with forestry advocates Charles Garfield and George Ames, as well as his sister Clara Wheeler, tried to extend the program to private citizens through the Michigan Memorial Forest Association. This Grand Rapids group solicited individual citizens for donations of any amount to continue replanting efforts. All five-dollar subscribers became members of the Permanent Committee on Correspondence and Publicity. It was largely an honorary title that got their names on the letterhead, but it served as a savvy marketing tool to woo potential donors. In the group's promotional literature, Frederick Wheeler asserted that the real reason that the memorial forests were needed was that tax laws nullified private efforts, so state ownership of the most marginal land was necessary to ensure perpetual forests under proper management. Clearly, his efforts at tax reform had been unsuccessful, thus he saw the state as the only hope for stable forest management. By 1930 the pull of reforestation was strong enough to combine the efforts of private and public forestry advocates for the good of the movement as a whole.⁴⁷

Reorganization of state bureaucracy and increased federal involvement

The second major alteration of the politics of land use was the reorganization of conservation agencies in 1921. State politicians streamlined management of the state

lands with a reorganization of the state bureaucracy and the formation of the Department of Conservation and its citizen overseer the Conservation Commission. Private owners had resisted reforestation because it would not create an economically productive forest for decades, while property taxes and other expenses were an imminent concern. Furthermore, resorts and private summer retreats required very little land and did not have a big impact on the total size of the cutover. So, while some owners were building resorts or creating Christmas tree farms, many more owners, especially corporate owners, were letting the land revert to the state.⁴⁸ Legislators had begun to understand that the state's possession of much of this land was not going to be a short-term condition. A growing cadre of experts in land and resource management at the University of Michigan and Michigan Agricultural College aided the state with studies that encouraged further management of public lands and resources. However, the state still had a major weakness in the bureaucratic inefficiencies of the departments within the PDC, which were only loosely affiliated and communicated poorly with one another. Hence, initiatives often either overlapped or were contradictory to programs in other areas of the commission.⁴⁹

Centralized oversight of conservation activities was clearly necessary. To address this problem, Republican Governor Alex Groesbeck (1921-1927) proposed a consolidation of the conservation-related departments in his first state address in 1921.⁵⁰ The legislature responded quickly and created the Conservation Commission and the Department of Conservation. Seven commissioners were appointed by the governor to oversee the work of the department. The director was responsible for the department's day-to-day operations and served at the discretion of the governor. Under the director

were nine divisions that addressed the various elements of conservation work. The director appointed division heads who were ordinarily trained experts in that field.⁵¹

While the new department improved the efficiency of conservation work in the state by delegating authority to specific divisions, partisan political elements continued to dominate appointments and policies since Groesbeck had the authority to name all the commissioners and the director. Author James Oliver Curwood, an ardent outdoorsman, thought that this condition compromised the enforcement of game laws and undermined necessary long-term conservation planning since appointments could expire as soon as the next election. At the time, Michigan held elections for governor every two years, so appointments could indeed be brief. Curwood's reform efforts eventually would bring about a change in the commission's composition. The commissioners continued to be appointed by the governor, but their terms were staggered so that one governor could not use patronage to pack the commission during his tenure. Also, the commissioners were charged with selecting the director who served standard renewable terms. This change kept the position from being tied to the whims of elected officials and gave the position more stability. This change was resented by politicians but came to be seen as a key merit by conservation groups. Furthermore, appointments for conservation officers came to be subject to competitive civil service examinations that professionalized the appointments of the men in the field.⁵²

In addition to bureaucratic reforms, the state legislature also revised the property tax code for forests in 1925. Senator William Pearson (R-Charlevoix) introduced a bill that deferred taxes on private forest reserves until the trees were harvested. Owners would pay a flat yearly property tax that would be followed by a percentage-value

stumpage tax on the harvested logs. During negotiations the legislature established a rate of 30% on the saw logs. While critics considered the stumpage-value tax to be too high, the law was generally well received. However, fearing a loss of revenue, the legislature squashed the merits of the law by doubling the yearly property taxes in a 1927 amendment. This revision again made taxation a prohibitive condition for commercial reforestation in Michigan.⁵³

The improvement of state bureaucracy under the Department of Conservation allowed state forester Marcus Schaaf to continue the forestry work that he had started under the PDC. The main problem for Schaaf and other division heads in the Department of Conservation was the dependence on the legislature for funding. While the state legislators and citizens had largely come to embrace conservation ideals, their dedication to this movement did not extend to their pocketbooks. The meager yearly appropriations were spent in steady improvements to policies already in place. So, the state was unable to expand development of fire towers, fire lines, parks, campgrounds, and hatcheries at the pace that division heads desired. This reluctance to expand funding for forest restoration during the urban economic prosperity in the 1920s slowed the efforts to address the problems of the cutover and exacerbated the problems of fire and erosion found in them.⁵⁴

Tight purse strings were common throughout the country and federal conservationists used state inaction as a means by which to justify the extension of federal action in this area. Despite the shift in Republican notions of conservation during the 1920s, several acts of Congress and the USFS solidified the role of the federal government in the restoration of the nation's forests. Forest Service Chief William

Greeley considered national forests as a base for all forest policy. But like Hoover, he emphasized cooperation between the government and private landowners in order to expand the role of forest management in the country. His work for cooperation encouraged private land holders not to see the USFS as a threat, but as an ally that would aid them in the management of their lands. More fire lines were cut, fires were fought wherever they existed, and more trees were planted. Hence the main results of this cooperation were a decline in the fire danger and increased forest cover throughout the country.⁵⁵

In terms of legislation, Congress passed four important pieces of forestry legislation during the 1920s. The Clarke-McNary Act of 1924 established cooperation between the USFS and state agencies and expanded the land purchase program under the Weeks Act. It created cooperation for fire control and reforestation between federal and state governments and authorized the appropriation of funds to help states in that work. Michigan used their money to improve fire prevention and to increase the planting of its nursery stock. The act also expanded what land the federal government could purchase. Under the Weeks Act, only land in the headwaters of navigable streams could be purchased as a means of regulating stream flow. Under the Clarke-McNary Act, the National Forest Reservation Commission was authorized to purchase land for timber production. They could particularly target forested, cutover, or burned-over lands. This expansion of where purchases could be made created the legislative context for the vast expansion of public land holdings in the 1930s.⁵⁶

The other three acts appropriated federal money to improve and expand USFS work nationally. The McSweeney-McNary Act of 1928 enhanced the status of forestry

research in the USFS. Money was appropriated specifically for research stations throughout the country. The McNary-Woodruff Act of 1928 authorized eight million dollars over three years for land purchase. While this initial amount only solidified holdings in existing forests, it would serve as a trial run for larger purchase appropriations during the New Deal. Finally, the Knutson-Vandenberg Act of 1930 appropriated money to improve nurseries and tree planting in national forests.⁵⁷

The impact of all of these acts was critical to the rise of federal forestry involvement in the Michigan cutover. The Michigan legislature responded by passing Public Act 312 of 1923, the National Forests Enabling Act. The bill, introduced by Senator Donald Osborn (R-Kalamazoo), authorized the federal government to acquire lands within the state for the purpose of establishing, consolidating, and extending national forests. It received little debate in committee and within weeks of being introduced was passed by unanimous vote. The House Committee on Conservation held the bill for two months before recommending it to the full session without revisions wherein it passed with only three dissenting votes. When Congress passed the Clarke-McNary Act the following year, major purchases in the state were legitimized and the NFRC created purchase units for Michigan's existing national forests. Purchases commenced in the Huron National Forest in 1926, the Hiawatha and Marquette forests in 1928, and in the Ottawa National Forest in 1929.⁵⁸

The Lake States Forest Experiment Station had existed prior to the passage of the McSweeney-McNary Act. It had been founded in 1923 in St. Paul, Minnesota with Raphael Zon as its director. Zon, a Russian immigrant and Cornell forestry school graduate, had worked for the USFS since 1901. He was widely regarded as the most

knowledgeable forest researcher in the country. Pinchot relied on him heavily for understanding forestry research and in making policy recommendations. To further his research capabilities, Zon established regional stations throughout Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan while also utilizing state and private plantations for data.⁵⁹ Studies were completed on forest economics, silviculture, nurseries, soils, fires, erosion, flooding, and drought. Zon epitomized Greeley's vision for cooperation with state and private agencies through his work in Michigan with P.S. Lovejoy, the Department of Conservation, and the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau. The research provided by Zon and his staff became the basis of not only the actions of the USFS in the region but state policy as well.⁶⁰

Joseph Kittredge summarized the initial findings of the Lake States Forest Experiment Station in a June 1929 USDA Bulletin. His findings asserted that the cutover could support forest trees and that areas that were not properly regenerating should be replanted. The bulletin reviewed the scientific reasons and methods for replanting but most of the arguments urging action were economic. He asserted that barren lands cost the state a dollar every year in potential revenue, while the state was forced to pay local governments for its disuse. Furthermore, Kittredge agreed with critics of the Pearson Act that the tax rate was too high and that it did not encourage reforestation enough, which also cost the state in the long run. He concluded that planting provided work, fire prevention improved stands, and eventual timber harvests would reap huge economic benefits for the state and would support private sawmills. The message from the Lake States Forest Experiment Station's research was clear – reforestation would pay both in the short term and in the long run.⁶¹

The expansion of national forests and forestry research by the USFS gave the agency a greater presence in the Michigan cutover. R.G. Schreck, supervisor of the Michigan National Forest, traveled the state during January 1925 to promote reforestation and tourism.⁶² Purchases expanded the land holdings in the Huron National Forest in the eastern Lower Peninsula and the Hiawatha and Marquette National Forests in the Upper Peninsula. Experiment station work headed by Zon and others extended beyond national forest boundaries and into the university forestry departments and Department of Conservation division offices. The state through the passage of the National Forests Enabling Act encouraged this encroachment of the federal government into a problem that was larger than the state alone could finance. State leaders and citizens did not know it at the time, but this increased presence was just a precursor to an explosion of federal involvement in the New Deal.

Rise of tourism in the state

The third change in the 1920s that altered land-use politics in Northern Michigan was the rise in tourism. Automobile travel dramatically increased the access of tourists to Northern Michigan for their vacations. Northern Michigan was within a day's drive of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and Indianapolis. Cars also changed the nature of resort locations; no longer did resorts have to be on or near a rail line. Furthermore, cheap land encouraged some vacationers to purchase land for personal cabins from which to focus their recreational ventures. Additionally, a greater range of people could afford to make trips to the region. Hence, tourism expanded both geographically and economically to include more of the region and a greater range of participants.⁶³

This spike in tourism during the 1920s encouraged boosters to shift from their earlier land settlement focus to promoting the recreational pursuits available in the region. The West Michigan Tourist Association (WMTA) was organized in May 1917 by Arthur Stace, a *Grand Rapids Press* journalist and conservation advocate. Unlike the West Michigan Development Bureau (WMDB) which focused on agricultural settlement, the WMTA organized advertising for distribution throughout the country on the opportunities for outdoor recreation and healthy living in the area. Association secretary Hugh Gray worked with the highway, conservation, agriculture, health, and police departments of the state to improve infrastructure and promotion of tourism. He touted the economic advantages of tourism revenue to politicians to court tax dollars in expanding the association's efforts. Due in large part to its successful message, the WMTA merged with the WMDB during the mid-1920s and became the primary organization for the promotion of economic opportunities in West Michigan.⁶⁴

State politicians based their support for tourism on its potential for economic growth. In his 1927 State of the State Address, Republican Governor Fred Green (1927-1931) stated, "I was raised in the north country and have seen the forests disappear. I have seen hardy men move upon these denuded lands, build a little home, clear a plot of ground and then, unable to make a living, move away and abandon it all. There has seemed little hope for the country that once supported great pine forests. However, with increased prosperity, tourists have come for their vacations to our north country."⁶⁵

Green used this insistence on the importance of tourism to the state's economy to call for the expansion of outdoor recreation through the creation of game refuges and state parks. Game refuges would aid the recovery of wildlife from habitat loss and over-

hunting. To ensure the benefits of these game refuges, Green proposed stiffer penalties and broader enforcement of flagrant game law violations. State parks would create sites of recreation at which citizens and tourists could enjoy the outdoor bounty of the state. To stave off objections from locals who feared how the loss of property tax revenue would impact local infrastructure, Green proposed that the state should pay local taxes at the assessed value. The governor's proposals appealed to local chambers of commerce and encouraged the State Department of Conservation to expand work on land acquisition, parks, fish culture, and fire prevention. Additionally, Karen Hartwick donated eight hundred acres including some virgin white pine forest in north central Lower Michigan for the Hartwick Pine State Park in 1927.⁶⁶

Green's efforts to promote conservation and tourism were not only limited to state policies; he urged citizens to embrace the principles of conservation as well. Conservation, as he expressed it, was sound because of its economic benefits. At the same time, the failure to grasp the merits of conservation had grave economic consequences. He asserted that businessmen should not "rob the future" for the material wealth found in rapid natural resource extraction. He campaigned for sound management policies in order to extend and diversify the uses of the Michigan's natural resources. Under his leadership, Michigan substantially expanded efforts to improve sites for outdoor recreation during an era when national conservation policy expanded cautiously.⁶⁷

Green's successor, Republican Wilbur Brucker (1931-1933) also embraced the importance of tourism to the state economy. He considered outdoor recreation as a direct outgrowth of state conservation policy. Given the importance of tourism to the state's

long-term economic viability, he reiterated the need to protect forests from fires and overproduction. In 1931 he concluded that privately owned forests in the state were threatened with overcutting as owners tried to stabilize personal finances rocked by the Great Depression through stumpage revenue. In turn, cutting the forests reduced their property tax liability by eliminating grown trees from land assessments. Brucker wanted to dissuade owners from taking such drastic measures that would hamper the region's appeal to tourists.⁶⁸

The state's emphasis on outdoor recreation was clear on maps of the cutover. In 1924 there were six state parks distributed throughout West Michigan. Fish hatcheries operated in Paris and Harrietta to serve the Muskegon and Manistee river watersheds. Tax-reverted land was being managed as six small state forests in the region. Similarly six state fire towers had been erected and manned in the region by the Department of Conservation, which Baldwin district fire warden Bill Kidder credited with trimming fire losses substantially. He reported that of the 84 fires sighted from the towers only two consumed as much as 40 acres. These efforts, all newly developed in the previous ten years, indicate the increased commitment to public outdoor recreation, fish and wildlife management, and fire prevention in the cutover. By the end of the decade, the benefits of fire prevention were being demonstrated in second-growth forests and a burgeoning tourist trade.⁶⁹

As a cutover resort that had gotten an early start, Idlewild grew rapidly during the 1920s. Middle-class African Americans had taken advantage of the declining expectations for the cutover by whites and made Idlewild into a key performance site for black entertainers during the segregation era. In 1927, Lemon created the Idlewild

Summer Resort Development Company in order to better control the rapid growth of the community. He placed two leading black citizens of the community on the board of directors in order to ensure good relations with the lot owners. This company helped to implement some of the building and development initiatives that were desired by the lot owners association and benefited the whole community. The growth of entertainment venues and recreational facilities added another dimension to the popularity of the resort.⁷⁰

The popularity and prestige of Idlewild sparked other initiatives in the cutover. Founders Erastus and Adelbert Branch started another African-American resort called Woodland Park in northern Newaygo County. Other ventures sought to borrow on the Idlewild's prestige. A Chicago real estate firm purchased land north of nearby Baldwin and began to sell it with the Idlewild name attached. These sales were made outside the established base of urban middle-class blacks, to poor or working-class urbanites who sought a slice of the good life as well. Many of them wanted the land as a place to retire or move out of the city. Yet, these sales aroused the class concerns of actual Idlewild land owners. These new owners had different educational, economic, and social backgrounds from the original lot owners and these differences caused significant strife between the two groups. Weekend visitors also rented lodging at Idlewild for their vacations. The arrival of this new wave of owners and weekend visitors coincided with an increase in crime, bootleg liquor, and drug use in the community. Idlewild became a dynamic community that melded many different elements of black culture crossing boundaries related to the class and moral values of its residents and guests. The interactions of middle-class owners, working-class owners, and weekend visitors, as well as the

entertainers and celebrities, helped to create the unique culture of Idlewild that made it a national attraction for African Americans through the 1960s.⁷¹

Regardless of the later issues for the Idlewild resort community, the opportunity it represented in its first twenty years should not be overlooked. During an era when the limitations imposed by segregation were a constant presence in the lives of African Americans, Idlewild offered a respite from these pressures. The land may have only been available because the dominant white culture did not want it since it was of lower quality than the sites that whites picked out for their own resorts. But, it was not a last option for African Americans who bought lots there. For lot owners, visitors, and middle-class African Americans throughout the country, Idlewild was a source of pride because it offered an opportunity to have their own stake in all of the best things that America had to offer.⁷²

Idlewild also helped challenge the notion that the cutover was the “land nobody wanted” and offered a sample of what successful tourism would look like in the region.⁷³ Willing to work on the margins of society, resort promoters and middle-class, African-American lot owners crafted a summer resort that maximized the raw natural advantages of the cutover. Resorters constructed community relationships that transcended the strict limits of private property ownership by not fencing the boundaries. This vision of private property ownership in tourism without stark divides between owners challenged the land use expectations that foresters and agrarians had held for the region. This experiment opened the area to new possibilities in private ownership.

While such resort work was developing, tourism began to draw together the disparate perspectives of agrarians and foresters on land use. Russell Watson, forestry

professor at the University of Michigan, argued that tourism could solve the problems of the cutover, but that three impediments kept it from developing. First, farm abandonment disrupted the steady supply of food, particularly milk and fresh vegetables, to summer resorters in the cutover. Appropriate land use had to be clarified to stabilize the supply of these products to their potential markets. Second, forest fires destroyed the picturesque nature of second-growth forest. These fires caused the third problem; developers feared building where forest fires posed such a risk. Hence, the area remained underdeveloped and isolated from centers of population that would provide tourists.⁷⁴

Reforestation offered the resolution to these problems for the tourist, farmer, and community booster according to Watson. Comparing the cutover to the resort region of Landes in southwestern France, he insisted that the LES and fire prevention measures would identify suitable land use and prepare the region for development. From there, foresters could plant trees to revitalize the region's aesthetics. These changes would draw in tourists who would provide a perfect market for the farmers who remained. These changes, in turn, would alter community perception and vitality to achieve the renown that boosters desired for the region. Furthermore, unlike waiting for years for the trees to grow enough to generate a timber harvest, these benefits would accrue almost immediately.⁷⁵

Building on this union of tourism as outdoor recreation, private citizens began to hew their own plans for cutover revitalization. J.W. Loppenthein, a Ludington dentist and member of the Mason County chapter of the Izaak Walton League, drafted a plan of reforestation that called for the league to provide the seedlings and equipment for tree planting on public lands in the county. He recruited Boy Scouts to provide the labor and

the Department of Conservation to protect the plantings from fire. He proposed a similar program of youth labor and sportsmen money to provide farmers with Christmas tree stands that would generate farm income. Loppenthein also considered tourists in his plans by suggesting that scouts could sell seedlings to these visitors to plant when they returned home. These efforts sought to develop a reforestation ethic and entrepreneurship in the boys. The local success of this program convinced the National Convention of the Izaak Walton League to adopt it as a national policy.⁷⁶

The Waltons were also a part of a reforestation project in Wexford County. The local chapter in Cadillac convinced lumberman W.L. Saunders to donate 2,000 acres of cutover for a municipal forest in 1925.⁷⁷ The league supplied funds for the cost of the replanting, while the state provided fire protection. When the city assumed control of the forest, its only cost was the nominal property taxes required under the Pearson Act. This inexpensive forest generated local income as a recreational spot and a potential site for commercial lumbering.⁷⁸

The expansion of outdoor recreation in the cutover through the promotion of the WMTA was a politically popular development in the state. Local citizens appreciated the increased economic activity that the tourists brought as well as the way that vacationers stabilized the local property tax base. State politicians came to see outdoor recreation as a key solution to economic and land policy dilemmas. Tourists pumped dollars into struggling northern local economies, which bolstered prosperity throughout the region. Improved economic stability diminished the dependence of these areas on the state for financial aid. Furthermore, outdoor recreation created a politically palatable solution for agrarians and foresters in regards to the question of the best land use for the cutover.

Agriculture was increasingly seen as the answer for only part of the region. The impact of reforestation was limited unless it could generate revenue in ways other than timber production. Tourism filled this need, thereby expanding state conservation policy to include recreation in all its derivative forms.⁷⁹

Conditions of life in the cutover

While tourism was rising in prominence in the cutover, the promotion of farming succumbed to a better understanding as to the best locations for it. It was not so much that farmers ceased to grow crops and livestock in the region – these activities continued; rather, boosters abandoned the notion that all of Northern Michigan should be farmed. Frank Sparks of the *Grand Rapids Herald* wrote a series of feature articles during the winter of 1921-22 that demonstrated this discrimination within the region. The farmers that Sparks profiled planted a variety of crops and used various means by which to work their land. While Sparks touted the merits of farming in the cutover, it was telling that successful farmers largely circled the most submarginal areas. Farmers had orchards in the fruit belt along Lake Michigan, grew potatoes near Cadillac, and raised a variety of crops in southwestern Newaygo County. The only farmer in the heart of the cutover featured by Sparks was Ralph Baker of Wellston. Yet, he held other jobs while working his 120-acre farm for subsistence crops and white leghorn chickens that he sold for cash. Baker admitted that he had bought the Manistee County farm because it was the only land he could afford.⁸⁰

Despite these examples of success, failed farms were common in the cutover. In 1919, ranchers squeezed by droughts in the West had invested in idle lands in the hopes

of turning huge profits from cattle and sheep. These ranches in Manistee and Wexford counties were short-lived, however, as they were put up for sale in 1923. E.V. Morgan, manager of the Caberfae Ranch in western Wexford County, claimed that the property taxes of nearly five dollars an acre were too steep to continue operating the 1,800 acre ranch.⁸¹ By comparison, idle lands in southeastern Manistee County produced a bumper crop of blueberries and huckleberries in 1922. These bushes grew over 13,000 acres of burned over land and required only rainfall and periodic fires for their maintenance. The harvest was so good that J.C. Beukema of the Manistee Board of Commerce hoped to lure a cannery to the area.⁸²

Over the course of the decade, efforts related to farming shifted from promoting new farms to trying to help existing farmers to be successful. The *Grand Rapids Herald* urged readers to understand that the success of the Pennsylvania Railroad's demonstration farm near Howard City did not mean that land colonization should continue. Rather, its editors argued that the farm should serve as an example of how struggling farmers could make their farms pay. Similarly, Manistee banks created loans without interest for one year with which farmers could purchase dairy cows. Bankers hoped that dairymen would invest in improving the quality of their herds in order to improve butterfat yield and increase profits from local creameries and cheese factories. This money in turn could be used to pay off not only the loan, but other debts as well.⁸³

Not all rural residents of the cutover were commercial farmers. Many poor Yankees had moved to Michigan during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries for the homestead possibilities. Unfortunately, for many of them, they came a generation or two after the first real wave of immigration to the region and were left with poorer

lands on which to establish their homes. These Yankee farmers tended to emphasize subsistence agriculture. Some ethnic settlers, such as the Lithuanians in Irons and the Finns in Kaleva, stressed cooperative subsistence in their communities.⁸⁴

Life for these poor whites was marked by a profound effort to sustain their lives through any means possible. Many of the residents had been tricked into buying worthless land that was advertised as fine farm land. To overcome the limitations of their farms, they supplemented their incomes through a variety of sources. Many men made money as guides to tourists during fishing and hunting seasons. During Prohibition, others were involved in the bootlegging of alcohol and venison to Midwestern cities. Nearly all the residents lived a subsistence lifestyle that depended on procuring game and forest products by which to survive. In these areas life was often violent and people survived through their wits and their relationships with neighbors. In this condition, poor whites just attempted to survive until circumstances improved.⁸⁵

While poverty was a definite problem in the cutover, many Anishnabeg residents were able to maintain a decent standard of living. The keys for staying out of poverty were the diversity of economic activities and the heavy emphasis on communal interdependence.⁸⁶ By working together in a variety of enterprises, the Anishnabeg were able to carve out a relatively comfortable niche for themselves in sparsely populated areas of the cutover like eastern Manistee and Oceana counties. The ease with which they circumvented game laws and developed a diverse array of trading partners reflected their success at turning marginalization to their advantage. These activities were further supplemented by access to federal relief and work programs in the 1930s. The problems

of the cutover did not hinder the lifestyle of the Anishnabeg. Rather, the ways that the land posed difficulties for whites enhanced their opportunities to stay and thrive.⁸⁷

The Anishnabeg used their financial security to assail the tax reversion of land in the region. From their perspective, whites did not want the land and under old treaty agreements, it should revert back to Native control. During the 1920s, their appeals for land spilled into the courts. In 1926 the Saginaw Chippewa claimed all the land along the Great Lakes' shoreline and on bodies of water in the Great Lakes basin under the game rights articles of nineteenth-century land treaties. Anishnabeg landowners also appealed tax-reversion for failing to pay property taxes on the grounds that they were exempt under treaty laws. Such cases indicated the degree to which the Anishnabeg tried to take advantage of land use uncertainty by state political leaders.⁸⁸

In addition to these land claims, the Anishnabeg claimed that treaty rights made them exempt from state game laws. Hunting, fishing, and trapping provided revenue for numerous members of the community. Efforts to enforce game laws often attacked their economic livelihoods, which encouraged them to challenge their validity. Over time, conservation officers developed a pattern of enforcement where they would clamp down on Anishnabeg poachers for blatant game violations and perform periodic raids.⁸⁹

While the land-use policy debate drew the most attention surrounding the cutover during the first three decades of the twentieth century, advocates of development battled with tourism devotees about river-use policy. This debate centered on using the rivers for power or exclusively for fishing. The use of the rivers to float logs had industrialized them. So by the time that the forests of northern Michigan were cut, industrialists were building dams to extract hydroelectric power from the rivers to power factories and cities.

Since industrial use predated widespread tourism, the advocates of using rivers for power had the lead in developing rivers. In addition to the Rogers and Croton dams on the Muskegon River, the Hardy Dam, was opened in 1931 as the largest earthwork dam in the world. The construction of this dam was significant in that it employed over a thousand men for two years at the beginning of the Great Depression. It sent electricity over 140,000-volt lines to the cities of Grand Rapids, Battle Creek, Muskegon, and Kalamazoo. These dams served as a key source of electricity in southwestern Michigan as demand expanded exponentially during the first half of the twentieth century.⁹⁰

Hydroelectric power was also an important development farther north in the state. On the Manistee River, two dams were constructed that provided the main source of electricity for northwestern Michigan. The Junction Dam was constructed from 1916-1918 at the point where the Pine River joined the main branch of the Manistee River. In 1934 it was renamed Tippy Dam in honor of Charles Tippy, a long-time Consumers Energy general manager. It produced 20,100 kilowatts using three Wellman-Morgan vertical turbines and three Westinghouse generators. On July 5, 1925, the County Line Dam was put into service. Later renamed the Hydenpyl Dam, this hydroelectric site was located near the border of Manistee and Wexford counties.⁹¹

These dam sites were all located within the cutover, but their power was primarily transmitted to industrial cities along the Lake Michigan shoreline or in the southwestern reaches of the state. They provided employment to local residents during their construction, but the areas reaped few long-term economic benefits as the resource, though renewable, continued to be exported. Furthermore, despite fish ladders, the dams restricted the migration of steelhead and trout up river to spawn. Later these dams would

place limits on salmon which were planted to revive the sport fishing industry in the state. These impediments to the fishery, in turn, deterred fishermen from spending tourist dollars to fish areas in the cutover. So, while tourism was on the rise in West Michigan, the cutover did not experience as much benefit from it during the early years because the condition of the land and the fisheries was below the standard set by areas closer to the Lake Michigan shoreline or rivers that remained undammed.⁹²

Despite the rise of land economics and tourism in the 1920s, the problems of the cutover had not been completely resolved. Many landowners still possessed land that was not profitable to them. By 1925, one-fifth of the state, over seven million acres, was in default for property taxes. While some land could undoubtedly be recovered through the tax breaks of the Pearson Act, all of the default taxes would still have to be paid. Furthermore, not every owner could afford or had the desire to reforest his property. The state also found this condition problematic. Not only did the state face budget shortfalls from this lost tax revenue, but it faced the prospect of having to dramatically increase its management of public land if a high percentage of the default property reverted to the state. Since the burden for paying for state services fell on remaining landowners, tax reversion had become one of the greatest threats to the state's future.⁹³

While there was tax-delinquent land in every county of the state, the problem was particularly concentrated in the cutover regions of Northern Michigan and the Upper Peninsula. All thirty of the counties with over 100,000 tax-delinquent acres were in these parts of the state. Lake, Wexford, Newaygo, and Manistee counties represented the West Michigan cutover in this group. Additionally, Muskegon, Mecosta, Oceana, and Mason counties all had over 70,000 tax-delinquent acres. These numbers demonstrated that

improved land assessment and increased tourism had not resolved the problems of the cutover.⁹⁴

Prepared for the future of conservation

Arthur Stace summed up the lessons of the 1920s for Michigan's citizens when he wrote, "When the lumbermen cut away the pine forests, it was thought farmers would follow the loggers as they had done on the heavier lands of the southern part of the state and in the northern hardwood sections. But it was found that the pine lands, while richly productive in timber, would not grow corn and wheat and potatoes and other farm crops in paying quantities. Settlers who tried to cultivate them were starved out. These were Nature's own lands and Nature would not grow any crops except those of her choosing. And the crops of her choosing, it appeared, were trees and wild life."⁹⁵

During the 1920s, Michigan was at the forefront of efforts in evaluating scientific land use. State leaders abandoned any hopes that the cutover could be homesteaded for agriculture and began to seek an assessment of the condition of the region through the LES. The results of the survey, though little used for specific policies, did begin to sway the opinions of politicians and citizens toward the economic possibilities of reforestation. As Stace continued, "People no longer think of reforestation in the Michigan wilds as a means of providing timber for the needs of future generations; they think of reforestation as a means of providing pleasure, health, and profit for men, women, and children here and now."⁹⁶

The earliest efforts of reforestation had proven that pine could follow pine if wildfires were prevented. These new forests provided sites for outdoor recreation for

tourists and habitat for wildlife. Game refuges were expanding wildlife numbers as whitetail deer again ranged as far south as Newaygo, Gladwin, and Arenac counties. Fish hatcheries were restocking streams with trout. Sportsmen were returning to the region to hunt and fish, while urban families were using their automobiles to venture north to swim, picnic, and camp. This expansion of tourism gave reforestation a purpose beyond the industrial end of those trees once they were grown.⁹⁷

The expansion of tourism as well as land economics encouraged conservationists who pressed for action in rehabilitating the cutover to promote the economic benefits that outdoor recreation would bring. However, while the political will had been generated, the lack of capital prohibited the state from extensive land purchases to consolidate tax-reverted holdings. Likewise, the state made few improvements on the lands that it did have. Few acres were being replanted. State parks and campgrounds remained primitive. And wildlife rehabilitation efforts stayed as small-scale operations. Furthermore, no private landholder had the capital, political power, or vision to enact such changes on a broad scale.

Throughout the decade, it became clearer that greater federal involvement was coming to the cutover. In 1925, an inspector from the USFS surveyed southwestern Wexford County and southeastern Manistee County for a possible national forest. Charles Dovel, secretary of the Manistee Izaak Walton League, accompanied the inspector and reported to his sportsmen colleagues that the reforestation of that sparsely-wooded tract would change the land from worthless to a good stand of timber. While action was not taken on this proposal for eight more years, local residents were already looking forward to the day that Manistee would again be “the leading lumber city of the world.”⁹⁸

Regardless of this nostalgia of the glory years of lumbering, Michigan was unable to fulfill the reforestation goals of its conservation experiments during the 1920s. It did, however, embrace a change to its vision of land use for the cutover. The efforts of land economists, reforestation advocates, tourism promoters, and conservation journalists convinced politicians and citizens that the plow should not follow the axe, but that tree should follow tree. This newly embraced vision for the cutover prepared the state well to embrace the boon of conservation efforts of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration during the 1930s.

Notes for Chapter Four

¹ Lovejoy was the maverick of Michigan's conservation movement. He was the grandson of Owen Lovejoy and the great nephew of martyred abolitionist Elijah Parrish Lovejoy. Born in 1884, Parrish Storrs (P.S.) Lovejoy attended the University of Michigan to study forestry under Filibert Roth. Though a good student, he was erratic in his pursuit of a degree and left school without ever completing the university's requirements for a master's degree. After passing the civil service exam, Lovejoy joined the USFS as a forester in the Rocky Mountains. Ever skeptical of politics, Lovejoy grew tired of dealing with disinterested citizens and strong-armed lumber companies and returned to Michigan in 1912 as a forestry professor under Roth. While at the University of Michigan, Lovejoy was secretary of the MFA. This post exposed him to all the various groups interested in forestry in the state and gave him a platform for public speaking to groups on conservation topics and drafting bills that the organization touted for the state legislature. The stuffy halls of academe were also not to his liking. So when he was passed over for a promotion in the department in 1921, he left the university to write full-time to promote better land use, particularly in the periodical *Country Gentleman*. He developed the Land Economic Survey in Michigan in the 1920s and served in Department of Conservation in various capacities for the rest of his life. Though slowed by a stroke in 1930, he still worked with the department as he was able until his death in 1942. A bronze plaque to commemorate his accomplishments was dedicated that summer in the Pigeon River State Forest where his ashes had been scattered.

Biographical material on Lovejoy was drawn from Folders 7-8, Box 36, P.S. Lovejoy Papers, Education and Information Division, Department of Conservation, SAM; Harold Titus, "Conservation Loses a Leader," *Michigan Conservation* 11, no. 3 (Feb.-March 1942): 2; and Aldo Leopold, "Obituary – P.S. Lovejoy," *Journal of Wildlife Management* 7, no. 1 (Jan. 1943): 125-128. Articles that summarize Lovejoy's life and work include Norman J. Schmaltz, "P.S. Lovejoy: Michigan's Cantankerous Conservationist," *Journal of Forest History* 19, no. 2 (April 1975): 72-81; James Kates, "The Conservationist as Journalist: P.S. Lovejoy and the Fight for the Cutover," *American Journalism* 12, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 123-141; and a short biography in William B. Botti and Michael D. Moore, *Michigan's State Forests: A Century of Stewardship* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2006), 45.

² P.S. Lovejoy, "Farms versus Forests," *Annual Report of the Michigan Academy of Science* 21 (1919): 201-212.

³ Memorandum from P.S. Lovejoy to William L. Hall of the USFS, May 12, 1919, Folder 1, Box 18, P.S. Lovejoy papers, Department of Conservation – Education and Information Division, SAM and Norman J. Schmaltz, "The Land Nobody Wanted: The Dilemma of Michigan's Cutover Lands," *Michigan History* 67, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1983): 32-40.

⁴ Previous studies of the Great Lakes cutover have stressed the rise of land economics and zoning, but have not discussed the importance of tourism in remaking the landscape. For Wisconsin, see Vernon R. Carstensen, *Farms or Forests: Evolution of a State Land Policy for Northern Wisconsin, 1850-1932* (Madison: University of Wisconsin College of Agriculture, 1958) and Robert Gough, *Farming the Cutover: A Social History of Northern Wisconsin, 1900-1940* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997). For Minnesota, see ⁴ Jeff Forester, *The Forest for the Trees: How Humans Shaped the North Woods* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2004).

⁵ Albert Z. Guttenberg, "The Land Utilization Movement of the 1920s," *Agricultural History* 50, no. 3 (July 1976): 477-490 and James Kates, *Planning a Wilderness: Regenerating the Great Lakes Cutover Region* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

⁶ Helen Foster, *1921-1946: Twenty-Five Years of Conservation in Michigan* (Lansing: Office of Information and Education, 1960), 1-9, and Norman John Schmaltz, "Cutover Land Crusade: The Michigan Forest Conservation Movement, 1899-1931" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1972), 198-234. The first decade of the Conservation Commission served as the climax of Schmaltz's study. His dissertation adequately covers Michigan's political history of the rise of the reforestation movement.

⁷ Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979); Cindy S. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 156-177; and Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 130-168 have discussed the rise of camping as a form of tourism that extended across socioeconomic boundaries. Aron, *Working at Play*, 181-236; Lisa M. Fine, "Rights of Men, Rites of Passage: Hunting and Masculinity at Reo Motors of Lansing, Michigan, 1945-1975," *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 4 (Summer 2000): 805-823; and Lawrence M. Lipin, *Workers and the Wild: Conservation, Consumerism, and Labor in Oregon, 1910-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007) have argued that outdoor recreation appealed to workers, impacting their labor activism and perspectives on the natural world.

⁸ Guttenberg, "The Land Utilization Movement," 477-490.

⁹ P.S. Lovejoy, "The Need for a Policy for the Cut-Over Lands of Michigan," and "The Effect of Forest Fires upon the Soils of the North Lake States," *Annual Report of the Michigan Academy of Science* 22 (1920): 5-20.

¹⁰ "Resolution on the Forest Fire Menace," and "Resolution on the Reclamation of Michigan's Non-Productive Area," *Annual Report of the Michigan Academy of Science* 22 (1920): 1-3.

¹¹ P.S. Lovejoy and Fred Janette, "Michigan's Millions of Idle Acres" (Detroit: *Detroit News*, 1920).

¹² P.S. Lovejoy, *Country Gentleman*, Dec. 18, 1920, Dec. 25, 1920, Jan. 1, 1921, Jan. 8, 1921, Jan. 15, 1921, Jan. 22, 1921, and Jan. 29, 1921.

¹³ Kates, *Planning a Wilderness*, 39-42.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 42-50.

¹⁵ "Will 'Certify' Michigan Lands," *Michigan Investor* 20, no. 45 (June 17, 1922): 18, and "There's Use for Every Acre in Michigan, Avers Doelle," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Oct. 12, 1922, 1920 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

¹⁶ L.R. Schoenmann, "Descriptions of Field Methods Followed by the Michigan Land and Economic Survey," *Report of the Third Annual Meeting of the American Association of Soil Survey Workers*, Bulletin 4, no. 1 (March 1923): 44-52; P.S. Lovejoy, "The Soil Survey – Present and Future," *Report of the Third Annual Meeting of the American Association of Soil Survey Workers*, Bulletin 4, no. 1 (March 1923): 53-59; P.S. Lovejoy, "Theory and Practice in Land Classification," *The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics* 1, no. 2 (April 1925): 160-175; and Wade DeVries, "The Michigan Land Economic Survey," *Journal of Farm Economics* 10, no. 4 (Oct. 1928): 516-524.

¹⁷ Norman J. Schmaltz, "Michigan's Land Economic Survey," *Agricultural History* 52, no. 2 (April 1978): 229-246 and Dave Dempsey, *Ruin and Recovery: Michigan's Rise as a Conservation Leader* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 110.

¹⁸ Letter from P.S. Lovejoy to J.E. Rhodes of the Southern Pine Association, March 1917, Folder 11, Box 2, P.S. Lovejoy papers, Department of Conservation – Education and Information Division, SAM and John D. Black and L.C. Gray, *Land Settlement and Colonization in the Great Lakes States* (Washington: GPO, 1925).

¹⁹ Elton B. Hill, "Agricultural Regions in Michigan," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* 14 (1930): 367-376. In his first version of farming types, Hill used county boundaries to distinguish the regions. In his 1939 revised edition, the farming types map follows the curves of

productivity throughout the state, which demonstrated the ways that certain parts of a county could be profitable for agriculture while others were marginal.

²⁰ For an example of a land-use plan from the University of Wisconsin, see George S. Wehrwein, "A Social and Economic Program for Submarginal Agricultural Areas," *Journal of Farm Economics* 13, no. 2 (April 1931): 270-279. For an overview of Ely's work and its impact on the cutover, see Robert J. Gough, "Richard T. Ely and the Development of the Wisconsin Cutover," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 75 (1991): 2-38.

²¹ USDA, *Proceedings of the National Conference on Land Utilization* (Washington: GPO, 1932). The roster of participants indicated that all the leading land economists attended the conference. In addition to Ely and Wehrwein, there were M.L. Wilson and L.C. Gray who gained renown during the New Deal. L.R. Schoenmann represented the LES. Also attending were leading national foresters Robert Stuart, Raphael Zon, and Sam Dana.

²² Norman J. Schmaltz, "Academia Gets Involved in Michigan Forest Conservation," *The Michigan Academician* 12, no. 1 (Summer 1979): 25-46 and Michigan State College, *Fifty Years of Forestry at Michigan State College* (East Lansing: MSC, 1953).

²³ Letters of appreciation to Roth, Box 2, Filibert Roth Papers, BHL and Charles W. Garfield, "Roth, Builder of Forestry School at U. of M. Wisely is Retained as First Counsel," *Grand Rapids Herald*, March 18, 1923, 1920 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

²⁴ John R. Effinger, "The Promotion of Forestry in the University," Walter Mulford, "An Opportunity Twice Taken," E.V. Jotter, "Leigh J. Young, '09, M.S.F., '11, State Director of Conservation," and Robert Craig, "For the New School," *The Michigan Alumnus* 33, no. 31 (May 28, 1927), 670-674.

²⁵ Sam Dana was born in Portland, Maine in 1883. He studied liberal arts at Bowdoin College before earning a master's degree from Yale's famed forestry school. He was a researcher for the USFS and directed the Northeastern Forest Experiment Station during the 1920s. It was from this post that in 1927 Dana joined the forestry faculty at the University of Michigan as dean of the new conservation school.

"The New Dean of the School of Forestry – Professor S.T. Dana," *The Michigan Alumnus* 33, no. 31 (May 28, 1927), 669-670 and Oral interview, Samuel Trask Dana, August & December 1964, by the Bancroft Library, University of California, in Oral History Collection, FHS.

²⁶ Samuel T. Dana, "The School of Forestry and Conservation: Its Hopes and Aims," *The Michigan Alumnus* 33, no. 31 (May 28, 1927), 667-669 and Samuel T. Dana, "Progress in the School of Forestry and Conservation," *The Michigan Alumnus* 34, no. 26 (April 21, 1928), 555-557.

²⁷ Letter from Charles Garfield to Kenyon Butterfield, June 3, 1927, Garfield folder (7), Box 3, Kenyon L. Butterfield papers, LOC.

²⁸ MSC, *Fifty Years of Forestry*, 12, 27.

²⁹ Garfield in particular was concerned about the decline of leadership on conservation issues by forestry professors. These researchers generally did not share his perspective until the hiring of Dean S.T. Dana and the creation of the School of Forestry and Conservation at the University of Michigan. Dana's third aim for the new school was "to turn out thoroughly-trained men of high quality who will be able to take their place as leaders in the development of public policies and in the actual management of forest lands." Letter from Kenyon Butterfield to Charles W. Garfield, October 15, 1924, Garfield folder (6), Box 3, Kenyon L. Butterfield papers, LOC and Dana, "The School of Forestry and Conservation," 669.

³⁰ Letter from Charles Garfield to Kenyon Butterfield, October 6, 1926 and Letter from Butterfield to Garfield, October 7, 1926, both in Garfield folder (7), Box 3, Kenyon L. Butterfield papers, LOC.

³¹ P.S. Lovejoy, "Forestry in Michigan," Forestry in Michigan folder, Box 5, P.S. Lovejoy papers, BHL; Letter from Lovejoy to H.C. Cowles, Nov. 3, 1922, Folder 7, Box 10, P.S. Lovejoy papers, Dept. of Conservation – Education and Information Division, SAM; and Lovejoy, "Annual Report of Secretary of the Michigan Forestry Association," *Michigan Tradesman*, Dec. 14, 1921.

³² P.S. Lovejoy, "Michigan's Fight for Forests," *American Forestry* 28, no. 348 (Dec. 1922): 749-753 and Letter from Ben J. Rauch to Lovejoy, Dec. 18, 1922, Folder 7, Box 10, P.S. Lovejoy papers, Dept. of Conservation – Education and Information Division, SAM.

³³ Letter from John H. Bissell to Lovejoy, April 3, 1923; Letter from Bissell to Filibert Roth, April 3, 1923; Letter from Lovejoy to Bissell, April 5, 1923; Letter from Lovejoy to Bissell, April 7, 1923, all in Folder 7, Box 10, P.S. Lovejoy papers, Dept. of Conservation – Education and Information Division, SAM; Letter from Charles W. Garfield to Kenyon L. Butterfield, April 6, 1923, Garfield folder (6), Box 3, Kenyon L. Butterfield papers, LOC; and Letters from Garfield to Frederick Wheeler, March 23, 1923, March 26, 1923, and April 19, 1923, Correspondence – 1923-24 folder, Box 1, Frederick Wheeler papers, BHL.

³⁴ Wheeler was intensely involved in any issue that caught his attention. In addition to reforestation, he was an ardent prohibitionist, member of the Sons of the American Revolution, a school trustee, and an amateur genealogist. He also had a well-developed bias against Germans that was common in post-World War I America. Boxes 1-3, Frederick Wheeler papers, BHL.

³⁵ Wheeler discussed property tax reform in numerous essays including "Conservation and Forests," "Responsibility Recognized by Forest Owners to keep their Lands Productive" and "Forest Tax Laws," Forest Manuscript folder; and Letter to Gov. Fitzgerald, Feb. 8, 1936, Correspondence 1933-1941 folder, Box 1, Frederick Wheeler papers, BHL.

³⁶ In this scandal, Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall leased access to petroleum reserves in Wyoming to oil companies in exchange for kickbacks. While Fall landed in jail for this corrupt activity, the culpability of Republican officials in sacrificing natural resource management for monetary gain created a fissure in the public's faith that Republicans would uphold the values of conservation. John Ise, *The United States Oil Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926), 356-388 and Donald C. Swain, *Federal Conservation Policy, 1921-1933* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 66-69.

³⁷ Swain, *Federal Conservation Policy*, 4-5, 160-161.

³⁸ Bob Pepperman Taylor, *Our Limits Transgressed: Environmental Political Thought in America* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 20-23 and Sarah T. Phillips, "FDR, Hoover, and the New Rural Conservation, 1920-1932" in *FDR and the Environment*, edited by Harry L. Henderson and David B. Woolner (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 110-116.

³⁹ Phillips, "FDR, Hoover, and the New Rural Conservation," 112-115, 122-132 and Kendrick A. Clements, *Hoover, Conservation, and Consumerism: Engineering the Good Life* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 1-4.

⁴⁰ Sarah T. Phillips, *This Nation, This Land: Conservation, Rural America, and the New Deal* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1-148.

⁴¹ Filibert Roth, "Forestry Situation in a Nutshell," *Michigan Roads and Forests* 4, no. 11 (May 1908), 12-13; Letter from Raphael Zon to Filibert Roth, June 13, 1921, Jan.-June 1921 folder, Box 4, Raphael Zon papers, MHS; and Letter from Charles Garfield to Kenyon Butterfield, June 5, 1923, Garfield folder (6) and Letter from Charles Garfield to Kenyon Butterfield, Sept. 8, 1926, Garfield folder (7), Box 3, Kenyon L. Butterfield papers, LOC.

⁴² Letter from P.S. Lovejoy to Raphael Zon, Oct. 10, 1922, June-Dec. 1922 folder, Box 4; Letter from Lovejoy to Zon, Sept. 26, 1925, 1925 folder, Box 5; Letter from Zon to Lovejoy, Nov. 10, 1926, June-Dec. 1926 folder, Box 5; Letter from Zon to Lovejoy, May 25, 1931, April-May 1931 folder, Box 7; Letter from Lovejoy to Zon, Feb. 21, 1932, Jan.-March 1932 folder, Box 7; Letter from Lovejoy to Zon, May 18, 1932, April-July 1932 folder, Box 8; Letter from Lovejoy to Zon, June 27, 1935, June-Sept. 1935 folder, Box 9; all in Raphael Zon papers, MHS. Clearly, the Depression and organized labor issues provided the bulk of impetus for Democratic victories in the State after 1930. But, conservation had always been a Republican position before this time. These rifts and the new conservation policies posited by FDR and other Democrats recruited new devotees to issues of land reform and revitalization. These developments broadened the political debates over conservation and the legitimacy of the Democratic Party in Michigan.

⁴³ Frederick Wheeler, "Forest Homesteader," *Detroit Free Press*, July 15, 1934 in Forestry Manuscript folder, Box 1, Frederick Wheeler papers, BHL.

⁴⁴ Albert J. Stoll, "Citizens Will Plant Pines As Memorials," *Detroit News*, Sept. 22, 1929 in *Forests of the Future* (Detroit: Detroit News, 1929), 9. For a recounting of this program, see Botti and Moore, *Michigan's State Forests*, 58-60.

⁴⁵ *Forests of the Future*, 21-44.

⁴⁶ Letter from Herbert Hoover to William E. Scripps (President of the *Detroit News*), Sept. 21, 1929 in *Forests of the Future*, 8.

⁴⁷ Letter from Clara M. Wheeler to a Friend of the Forest, undated; and Frederick Wheeler, untitled essay on memorial forests, April 4, 1930, both in Correspondence Undated II folder, Frederick Wheeler papers, BHL.

⁴⁸ Schmaltz, "Cutover Land Crusade," 235-284 and Schmaltz, "The Land Nobody Wanted," 32-40.

⁴⁹ Schmaltz, "Cutover Land Crusade," 164-197.

⁵⁰ Alex Groesbeck, "State of the State Address," Jan. 6, 1921 in *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, vol. 4, ed. George M. Fuller (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1927), 778-780.

⁵¹ The original nine divisions were game protection and propagation, fish culture operations, forest fire control, forestry and silviculture, public lands, state parks, geology, predatory animal control, and education. These divisions were divided and merged numerous times in the next twenty-five years for administrative reasons, but the core activities basically remained the same. Foster, *1921-1946*, 5-7; Schmaltz, "Cutover Land Crusade," 198-234; and Botti and Moore, *Michigan's State Forests*, 46-47.

⁵² Curwood was an eccentric character who achieved great fame and wealth as a pulp novelist. His political activism was marked by romantic ideals, anti-modernism, and logical contradictions. He railed against politicians, particularly Gov. Groesbeck and the Conservation Commission. In January 1927, Curwood was appointed to the Commission by Governor Fred Green. He zealously proposed a series of initiatives and struggled in his fight for them. But his position on the commission was short-lived because he died from an infection in a leg wound on August 13, 1927. He did not live to see these changes in the appointment process for the commission as they were amended in 1929. For information on this fight, see Correspondence folders, Box 1, James Oliver Curwood Collection, BHL. For a more complete discussion of Curwood's life, reform efforts, and term as conservation commissioner, see Dempsey, *Ruin and Recovery*, 81-90; Kates, *Planning a Wilderness*, 67-88; and Foster, *1921-1946*, 8-9.

⁵³ “Deferred Timber Taxes,” *Grand Rapids Herald*, March 13, 1925, 1925 binder, and Charles J. Hansen, “Doubling Yearly Timber Tax Raising Havoc with Commercial Reforestation,” *Grand Rapids Herald*, March 18, 1928, 1927 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁵⁴ Foster, *1921-1946*, 8. Lovejoy complained that Schaaf’s major weakness was his lack of political acumen to generate support for his workers and for forestry generally. The lack of support that he received from Lansing bureaucrats meant that he never really had full control of the state forests. Letter from Lovejoy to Zon, Nov. 1, 1922, June-Dec. 1922 folder, Box 4, Raphael Zon papers, MHS.

⁵⁵ Swain, *Federal Conservation Policy*, 12-20; Samuel Trask Dana and Sally Fairfax, *Forest and Range Policy: Its Development in the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980), 121-125; William G. Robbins, *American Forestry: A History of National, State, and Private Cooperation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); and Harold K. Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service: A History*, centennial ed. (Durham, N.C.: Forest History Society, 2004), 173.

⁵⁶ Swain, *Federal Conservation Policy*, 15; Dana and Fairfax, *Forest and Range Policy*, 126-129; and Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service*, 185-189. Much of the federal conservation legislation of this era was shepherded through the Senate by Charles McNary (R-Oregon). For more information on McNary, see Steve Neal, *McNary of Oregon: A Political Biography* (Portland: The Oregon Historical Society, 1985).

⁵⁷ Swain, *Federal Conservation Policy*, 17-20 and Dana and Fairfax, *Forest and Range Policy*, 129-131.

⁵⁸ Osborn’s bill started as Senate Bill 89. Governor Groesbeck signed the act on May 25, 1923. “Michigan Public Lands – National Forests, Enabling Act” Michigan folder, Box 9, USFS Records of the State and Private Forestry Divisions, 1913-49, 95-98, NARA; and NFRC, *Review of the Work of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1933* (Washington, GPO, 1933), 3.

⁵⁹ Field offices in Michigan included the Upper Peninsula Station near Dukes, the Huron Planting Station, and the Forest Fire Research Station near Roscommon.

⁶⁰ Norman J. Schmaltz, “Raphael Zon: Forest Researcher,” *Journal of Forest History* 24, no. 1 (Jan. 1980): 24-39 and Gifford Pinchot, “We Present: Raphael Zon,” *Journal of Forestry* 43, no. 11 (Nov. 1945): 927-928.

⁶¹ Joseph Kittredge, Jr., *Forest Planting in the Lake States*, USDA Bulletin 1497 (June 1929).

⁶² “Believes State Should Plant More Trees,” *Grand Rapids Herald*, Jan. 11, 1925, and “Mr. Shreck’s (sic) Contribution,” *Grand Rapids Herald*, Jan. 17, 1925, 1925 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁶³ Nora Faires, “Transition and Turmoil: Social and Political Development in Michigan, 1917-1945,” in *Michigan: Visions of Our Past*, ed. Hathaway, 213.

⁶⁴ M. Christine Byron, “Boosterism and the Early History of the West Michigan Tourist Association,” Presented at the Great Lakes History Conference, Grand Rapids, Michigan, October 29, 2005. For a similar account of how tourism became a more prominent part of the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau during the 1920s, see Aaron Shapiro, “Promoting Cloverland: Regional Associations, State Agencies, and the Creation of Michigan’s Upper Peninsula Tourist Industry,” *The Michigan Historical Review* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 1-37.

⁶⁵ Fred W. Green, “State of the State Address,” January 6, 1927 in *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, vol. 4, ed. Fuller, 865-866.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 866-867 and Fred W. Green, "State of the State Address," January 2, 1929 in *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, vol. 5, ed. Gleaves Whitney (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 2003), 48-49.

⁶⁷ Fred W. Green, "Serving Your State, Speech to Michigan State Club and Peninsular State Club," December 18, 1929 in *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, vol. 5, ed. Whitney, 85-86.

⁶⁸ Wilbur M. Brucker, "State of the State Address," January 8, 1931 in *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, vol. 5, ed. Whitney, 119-120.

⁶⁹ Michigan Department of Conservation, "Official Map of State Parks, Fish Hatcheries, Game Reserves, Forests, and National Forests – November 1924" Geography and Map Reading Room, LOC and H.W. Davis, "Fire Tower in Lake Halts Flames," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Nov. 23, 1924, 1920 binder, and B.L. Taylor, "Tract in Manistee is Proof," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Dec. 30, 1928, 1927 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB. The two large fires that Kidder reported consumed 160 and 40 acres respectively. He blamed the problems of both fires on the failure of telephone service and not on the fire tower employee or fire fighting crew.

⁷⁰ Lewis Walker and Benjamin C. Wilson, *Black Eden: The Idlewild Community* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002), 29-46 and "Idlewild Summer Resort Development Company," Box 242, C-8067, Securities Bureau collection, Commerce Department, SAM.

⁷¹ John Fraser Hart, "A Rural Retreat for Northern Negroes," *The Geographical Review* 50, no. 2 (April 1960), 159-163; Ronald J. Stephens, *Idlewild: The Black Eden of Michigan* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishers, 2001), 13-58; and Walker and Wilson, *Black Eden*, 54-58. The community also challenged gender roles. In common parlance, Idlewild was where "men were idle and women were wild." For a fictional depiction of this unique Idlewild community dynamic in the 1990s, see Pearl Cleage, *What Looks Like Crazy on an Ordinary Day* (New York: Avon, 1997). For an example of how the rural resort impacted the development of a middle-class urban youth in the 1950s, see Robert B. Stepto, *Blue as the Lake: A Personal Geography* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998).

⁷² Anna-Lisa Cox, *A Stronger Kinship: One Town's Extraordinary Story of Hope and Faith* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2006) has chronicled this type of hope and pride for nineteenth-century African American residents of Covert Township in Van Buren County in southwestern Michigan. Cox demonstrates that while such havens were rare in the Midwest, they were not unknown. From the 1920s through the end of legal segregation, Idlewild was the best example of a black resort amidst white residents in the Midwest.

⁷³ This perspective that the cutover was land that nobody wanted was best represented by the MSC bulletin by Conservation Commissioner, author, and Traverse City resident Harold Titus. Harold Titus, "The Land Nobody Wanted: The Story of Michigan's Public Domain," MSC Agricultural Experiment Station, Special Bulletin 332 (April 1945).

⁷⁴ "Urge Extension of Resort Facilities by Reforestation," *Grand Rapids Press*, June 2, 1922, 1920 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁷⁵ "Urge Extension of Resort Facilities by Reforestation," *Grand Rapids Press*, June 2, 1922, and "Forest Foresight," *Grand Rapids Press*, June 3, 1922, 1920 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁷⁶ "Ikies (sic) Plan to Reforest Mason," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Nov. 2, 1924, 1920 binder, and "Ludington Dentist Is Father of Unique Idea for Providing Tourists' (sic) Trees, Scouts' (sic) Cash," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Jan. 3, 1926, 1925 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

Founded in 1922, the Izaak Walton League was a very important conservation organization for sportsmen. For other information on the Izaak Walton League in Michigan, see Kates, *Planning a Wilderness*, 103-108.

⁷⁷ Despite his donation here, Saunders was not an advocate of public forestry. He claimed that decades of high property taxes discouraged property owners from fighting fires and ultimately had pushed them off their cutover tracts. He advised people to be leery of reforestation claims made by the state until it consistently provided fire protection. "Cadillac Man Gives Views on Problems of Cut-over Lands," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Feb. 4, 1927, 1927 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁷⁸ "Lumberman Gives Cadillac Site for Municipal Forest," *Grand Rapids Herald*, April 22, 1925, 1925 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁷⁹ For an overview of this early work to establish tourism in Northern Michigan, see Wilbur O. Hedrick, "Recreational Use of Northern Michigan Cut-Over Lands," Special Bulletin 247 (East Lansing: MSC Agricultural Experiment Station, 1934).

⁸⁰ Frank M. Sparks, "No Section Offers More to the Brainy Farmer than West Michigan," *Grand Rapids Herald*, March 18, 1922, and Sparks, "Manistee Co. Farmer Came to Michigan 11 Years Ago and Prosperity Has Been his Ever Since," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Dec. 23, 1922, Featured Farmers clippings file, CB. The series had proved popular the first winter, so Sparks wrote another installment of profiles during the winter of 1922-23.

⁸¹ R.E. Anderson, "State's Cut-over Lands Lure Big Ranchers to Stock Huge Farms," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Dec. 14, 1919, 1915 binder, and "Large Stock Ranch Near Cadillac to Be Sold," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Oct. 4, 1923, 1920 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁸² "Fortune Was Picked from Bushes in Manistee Region this Year," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Sept. 24, 1922, 1920 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁸³ "Farming Sand," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Sept. 1, 1928, and Ben L. Taylor, "Banks to Back New Industry," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Nov. 18, 1928, 1927 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁸⁴ Poles were another significant ethnic group in the region, but they predominantly resided in the cities. There are few studies of the residents' lives during the cutover time period. The most helpful texts are the residents' memoirs. Since they are often memories of the authors' childhoods, these memoirs have many gaps in regards to the lives of adults. While not necessarily in the area of West Michigan that is the subject of this dissertation, some memoirs that do talk about life in the Great Lakes cutover are Julie Anderson, *I Married a Logger: Life in Michigan's Tall Timber* (New York: Exposition Press, 1951); Curtis Stadtfeld, *From the Land and Back* (New York: Scribner, 1972); Jolie Paylin, *Cutover Country: Jolie's Story* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1976); Beatrice Schmitt Henshaw, *Backward, Turn Backward: Recollections of a Childhood in Northern Michigan* (Ann Arbor: Historical Society of Michigan, 1986); and Betsy Lorentzon, *Life on the Edge of Slashings* (Tustin, Mich.: Shinglemill Press, 1993).

⁸⁵ Louise V. Armstrong, *We Too Are the People* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1938), 142-150 and Philip A. Korth, "Boom, Bust and Bombs: The Michigan Economy, 1917-1945," in *Michigan: Visions of Our Past*, ed. Hathaway, 221-223.

⁸⁶ Other Anishnabeg who did not live within the communal organization of a band were much more likely to live in poverty. For example see "Scion of Noted Chief Pontiac Found in Squalor Near Sharon," *Grand Rapids Herald*, November 17, 1923, "Native Americans 1920-" binder, Carl Bajema clippings file, Grand Rapids History & Special Collections Center, GRPL.

⁸⁷ Armstrong, *We Too Are the People*, 195-201; James M. McClurken, "Wage Labor in Two Michigan Ottawa Communities," in *Native Americans and Wage Labor: Ethnohistorical Perspectives*, ed.

Alice Littlefield and Martha C. Knack (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 78-85; and Eric Perkins, "Ethnoarcheological Investigations at the Indian Village Site Manistee County, Michigan" (East Lansing: Michigan State University Department of Anthropology, 1998) 89-112.

⁸⁸ "State Indians, Treaty-Armed, Fight for Billions in Land," *Grand Rapids Herald*, June 13, 1926, and "Greed for Land Perils Traverse Indians," *Grand Rapids Herald*, April 2, 1927, Native Americans 1920- binder, Carl Bajema clippings file, Grand Rapids History & Special Collections Center, GRPL. There are numerous other articles on Native groups fighting for land rights in the binder.

⁸⁹ "Scion of Noted Chief Pontiac Found in Squalor near Sharon," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Nov. 17, 1923, and "Rights of Indians Must Be Decided by Oceana Jury," *Grand Rapids Herald*, March 31, 1928, Native Americans 1920- binder, Carl Bajema clippings file, Grand Rapids History & Special Collections Center, GRPL. Despite numerous court battles, a consistent code for Anishnabeg game rights has continued to remain elusive.

⁹⁰ Donald J. Weir and Christopher J. Marzonie, *Hydroelectric Plant Historical Review* (Jackson: Consumers Power Company, 1991), 33-41 and Newaygo County Society of History and Genealogy, *Newaygo County, 1850-1920* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2006), 33-34.

⁹¹ Weir and Marzonie, *Hydroelectric Plant Historical Review*, 24.

⁹² For a discussion of the Pere Marquette River, a free-flowing (never dammed) river, see David N. Cassuto, *Cold Running River* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994). For an argument about how the dams on the Muskegon River impacted the ecology of the watershed and why they should be removed, see Jeff Alexander, *The Muskegon: The Majesty and Tragedy of Michigan's Rarest River* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2006).

Robert W. Righter, *The Battle over Hetch Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) has explored how environmentalism grew from the battle to stop the building of the O'Shaughnessy Dam in the Hetch Hetchy Valley of California. John Warfield Simpson, *Dam!: Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Park* (New York: Pantheon, 2005) has discussed how dam removal can be considered an environmental act.

⁹³ "Michigan's Bankrupt Fifth," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Aug. 20, 1925, 1925 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁹⁴ Fred A. Grimes, "Over One-Fifth of State Fails to Pay Up Taxes," *Grand Rapids Press*, Sept. 14, 1925, 1925 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB. In the face of this problem, an editorial in the *Press* called for a coherent plan for idle lands throughout the state. "An All-Michigan Plan for Idle Lands," *Grand Rapids Press*, Sept. 8, 1925, 1925 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁹⁵ Arthur W. Stace, "Michigan's Own Forests: Past-Present-Future" (Lansing: Supt. of Public Instruction, 1928), 5.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 9-13.

⁹⁸ "Manistee May Get Back Its Title of 'Lumber Capital,'" *Grand Rapids Herald*, Aug. 13, 1925, 1925 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

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VOLUME II

By

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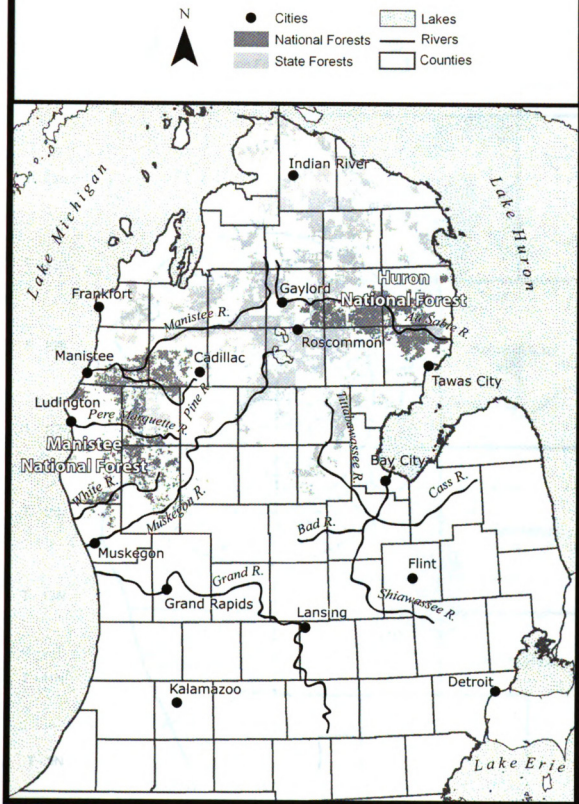
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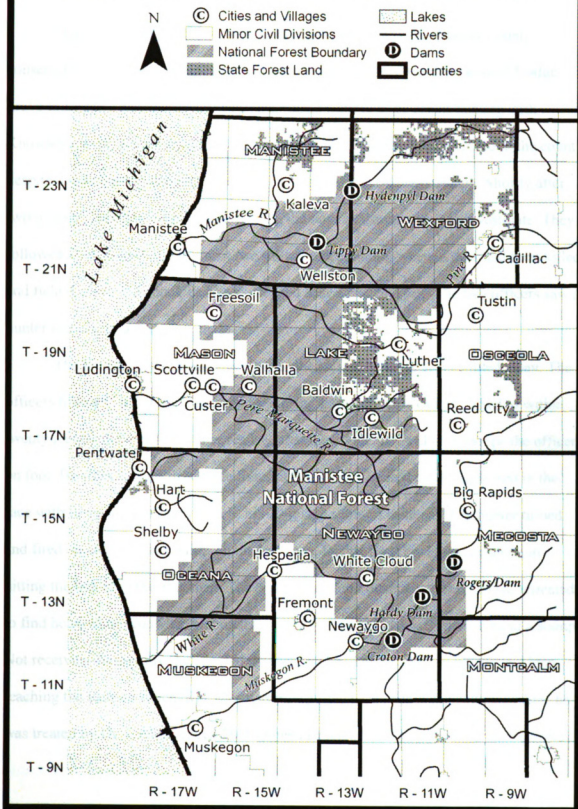
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Map 2: Public Forest Land in the Lower Peninsula



Map 3: Manistee National Forest Purchase Unit



Chapter Five: The Making of the Manistee National Forest, 1932-1936

During the mid-afternoon on Sunday, November 13, 1932, Mason County conservation officer Frank Knowles and Mecosta County fire warden Leonard Dodge drove to Logan Township in southeastern Mason County to go rabbit hunting with Knowles's sons, Walter and Jack. Since deer hunting continued to be closed in the county despite a rebound in population, the men were alert for possible poachers. Shortly after two o'clock, they heard a shot and, leaving the boys in the car, went to investigate. They followed a winding trail for almost two miles before finding where a deer had been killed and field dressed. The buck had been dragged near a trail and left. The two officers saw a hunter in a clearing and gave chase.

The hunter spotted them when he reached a nearby ridge and sprinted away. The officers followed him for a mile steadily closing ground. Knowles had closed to within twenty feet by the time the hunter realized that he would not be able to escape the officers on foot. He wheeled and fired three times at Knowles. The first shot caught him in the face with fine shot. As Knowles fell, his 20-gauge shotgun went off. The hunter turned and fired on Dodge grazing him on the left knee. Dodge fired his 16-gauge shotgun hitting the hunter in the abdomen. The hunter staggered behind a stump. Dodge retreated to find help, while Knowles, bloodied from the wound to his head, rested behind a stump. Not receiving further fire, he crawled through the bracken away from the scene. Upon reaching the Ruhsert ranch, Knowles was transported to his home in Scottville where he was treated by Dr. C.M. Spencer. He had been struck by eleven pellets of varying sizes

on his forehead and lower face. Luckily none of the pellets hit him in the eyes despite the damage to his face around them.¹

Meanwhile, Dodge returned to the scene with Charles Talquist, a local resident, and rabbit hunters Don Carpenter and Joe Albrecht. Behind a stump they found Maxim McCumber weakened from a loss of blood and exposure on the crisp November afternoon. His Remington rifle lay at his side.² McCumber was taken to Paulina Stearns Hospital in Ludington for treatment. His wounds were severe and the next morning he had surgery to remove the shot from his abdomen. However, his condition remained grave and he died on Tuesday, November 15 just before noon from his injuries.³

The 52-year old McCumber died before being able to make a statement to police about what happened in the forest that November afternoon. The long-time resident and farmer left behind a widow and five school-aged children. He was quietly buried from a small church in Carr Settlement near his home on November 17. Despite desires from the neighbors to challenge Knowles and Dodge, the family did not make a statement beyond asking that an independent investigation be made into the events surrounding the shooting.⁴ County prosecutor Peter Von Sprecken ordered such an investigation to be led by Sheriff George Colyer. While an election recount slowed the investigation, the inquiry focused on an assessment of the scene and the ballistics of the firearms used. McCumber and Knowles had a prior history that impacted the investigation into the 1932 encounter. Three years earlier Knowles and conservation officer Bill Kidder of Tustin had caught McCumber poaching deer. Knowles had arrested McCumber who pled guilty and paid his seventy-five dollar fine for poaching. However, he told Knowles that he would kill him on sight if he ever saw him in the woods again.⁵

It was into this context that federal officials initiated land purchasing for a national forest in western Michigan during the 1930s (See Maps 2-3). Like in other parts of the country, local residents fiercely objected to conservation laws that restricted their access to fish, game, and firewood.⁶ Clashes over game laws like this one between Knowles and McCumber demonstrated the depth of local contestation. Yet despite this resistance local residents were not rejecting reforestation or other conservation measures that came with the Manistee National Forest. Rather they were demanding that the developing land ethic and federal policy should take care of their needs for food, clothing, shelter, and fuel in addition to the needs of nature. Therefore, since the Manistee National Forest did not challenge, and in some ways aided, the ability of local residents to meet their needs, it was embraced by them while other conservation efforts like game laws were rejected.

The creation of the Manistee National Forest Purchase Unit

Just before the McCumber shooting incident, Americans had gone to the polls and elected Democrat Franklin Roosevelt over the incumbent Republican Herbert Hoover for president. This change signaled not only a shift in the role of the federal government in addressing the economic crisis of the Great Depression, but also a new aggressiveness in the scope of national conservation policy. Hoover had approached American life with optimism and idealism. He thought that the free market would check overconsumption of natural resources, improve the economy through increased production, and reward hard work from the average American citizen. This philosophy prompted him to promote corporate self-regulation with local and state oversight as the means to minimize the

abuse of natural resources. Hence, while Hoover supported the conservation ideals associated with the Republican Party, he desired to see them executed by local government.⁷

Roosevelt, on the other hand, considered the lack of government regulation during the 1920s anathema to sound, sustained economic growth. He wanted to jumpstart the economy by investing tax money into it. This investment would largely be through distributing aid to citizens through direct aid and work relief. This work relief was in the form of public works that often were focused on reforming land use that promoted reforestation, fire suppression, or outdoor recreation initiatives. As part of the New Deal, Roosevelt implemented policies of aid and relief in the form of emergency recovery and the reconstruction of society. His conservation policy was a critical element of both stages.⁸

Among immediate relief efforts proposed during the administration's first one hundred days was a program of work relief aimed at reducing unemployment as a means of stabilizing worker wages in private companies. This program, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), sought to hire young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five to complete conservation work throughout the country. The program grew rapidly and the Roosevelt administration recognized that existing land holdings were not sufficient to handle the vast numbers of young men that they wished to hire in the CCC. Faced with this dilemma, Roosevelt decided to expand the national forest purchase program. He allocated twenty million dollars of executive branch funds to the National Forest Reservation Commission (NFRC)⁹ with the goal of consolidating holdings in existing national forest purchase units.¹⁰ USFS leaders recognized the opportunity that

this money represented. They immediately petitioned the president to allow additions to existing purchase units and the creation of new units where conditions were favorable to do so.¹¹ This latter provision allowed the USFS to target areas on which they had previously been unable to create purchase units or buy land because of a lack of funding. The NFRC argued that financial hardship limited conservation work by states and private landowners and heightened the need for federal involvement. The commission sought to expand purchase units in areas with watershed denudation and soil erosion as it had done for twenty years, but it also wanted to purchase submarginal farmland. In the commission's view, these farms constituted a waste of human and material resources that could be economized by their purchase and reforestation by the federal government. Thus, land purchases would reform both land ownership and economic circumstances in cutover areas.¹²

The Midwest and the South experienced immediate expansions in the number and size of purchase units. Of the twenty-eight purchase units created during the second half of 1933, all but two were in these regions of the country.¹³ In the first six months of 1934, the NFRC purchased over 4.2 million acres. Comparatively, only 4.9 million acres were purchased from the passage of the Weeks Act in 1911 until Roosevelt's inauguration in 1933.¹⁴ The success of that policy and the success of the CCC pushed the NFRC to designate twenty-four new purchase units during 1935 mostly in the Upper Midwest and the South and an expansion in size of nineteen existing purchase units.¹⁵ This expansion of public land created immediate work for the CCC. Much of this land was tax-reverted, denuded, burned-over, or cutover. Throughout the eastern United States, CCC enrollees erected fire towers, fought fires, built fire lines, eradicated pests, and planted trees on

these newly purchased lands. Planted seedlings were not necessarily an impressive sight, but local citizens and government officials were well aware of the environmental crises throughout the country and recognized the significance of trimming the fire danger during the unusually hot and dry summers of the mid-1930s.¹⁶

It was in this context that the NFRC created the Manistee National Forest Purchase Unit on August 30, 1933. Since Michigan had passed an unlimited enabling act in 1923, the cutover was open to such a designation. The original purchase unit covered 390,000 acres in Mason, Lake, Manistee, and Wexford counties. The report on the region prepared by the USFS stated that 66,120 acres were cutover or burned-over land while 351,000 acres needed to be replanted. Only 3,000 acres were being used for commercial timber at the time. Given these conditions, the USFS determined that the average price would be about two dollars per acre and that the area would be able to support twelve CCC camps. The commission's long-term hopes consisted of site creation for recreation, game management, and commercial timber production. These three areas would serve as the means by which the local economy could be stabilized to improve the living conditions for families in and around the national forest.¹⁷

Purchases began immediately. Michigan sold all of its tax-reverted land in the purchase unit to the federal government – 68,329 acres, at \$1.25 an acre. The sale's approval by the NFRC on October 30, 1933 established a strong federal presence in the region. About 83,000 acres were purchased from private owners during 1934, so within a year and a half, the federal government controlled nearly 40% of the land in the purchase unit. Since delinquent taxes had to be paid on these purchases, the four counties in the purchase unit collected \$22,000 in back taxes from these initial purchases.¹⁸

Generally, any land offered for sale was unceremoniously approved for purchase. USFS representative Leon Kneipp would present purchase summaries to the NFRC and if the funds were available, its members would approve the purchase. Many purchases met the requirements of the Weeks Act that watersheds be protected. It was accepted that other lands would fall under the Clarke-McNary authorization of land for timber production. But before long, owners of other lands within the purchase unit started to offer their lands for sale as well. These lands were nearly exclusively useful as recreational areas; however, this purpose was not covered in either piece of the legislation used for purchase. Since these lands came at a much higher cost per acre, their purchase was debated within the NFRC. Kneipp argued that such land was needed to increase the value of the whole forest and were necessary for the long-term viability of these lands as public holdings. Secretary of War George Dern and Representative Roy Woodruff (R-Mich.) quickly agreed that recreation was an important consideration. Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes, however, dissented. Ickes argued that recreation was the responsibility of the Parks Service and that replicating such a function in the USFS was both costly and unnecessary. He further posited that forest management and recreational management were quite different and that the USFS was unprepared for such work.¹⁹

This debate over the nature of land in purchase units was significant in its potential impact as to what land could be purchased in the eastern national forests and for its role in the battle over territory by federal agencies. The NFRC provided a battleground for a fight over control of federal conservation agencies. Ickes sought to limit the function of the USFS, a part of the USDA, in an effort to expand the role of the Parks Service, which was under his direction in the Department of the Interior.²⁰ The argument

that the Parks Service had sole authority over recreation was not accepted by any other member of the commission. Kneipp reiterated that the issue was really about whether the land should be publicly or privately held since that point would determine whether or not the land should be purchased. Since there were no national parks anywhere near the purchase unit, such purchases could only be completed by the USFS. Representative Wall Doxey (D-Miss.) contended that the land should be purchased and that issues regarding its management by the USFS or the Parks Service should be determined later. Naturally, the land did fall under USFS management that established prime recreational sites in the Manistee National Forest.²¹

In addition to the normal land sales within the purchase unit, the NFRC entered into a unique partnership with Michigan regarding land exchanges in 1934. Michigan was a cash-poor state during the Depression, but its leaders strongly desired to increase the size and amount of land in state forests and parks. Since it had a significant number of acres within national forest purchase units, the state proposed to exchange this land for land purchased by the NFRC. The federal government would provide the administration of the sales. Therefore, the state would not accrue any expense to acquire new lands that it desired while the federal government would get the land it wanted after all. Even though the exchanges were based on the values of the land and not the acreage, the system essentially allowed for a doubling of lands under public control. Even if the state had been paid for the tax-reverted land that it was providing to the NFRC, there was no guarantee that it would in turn have used that money for its own land procurement.²²

The purchases from private owners were completely voluntary. No land was condemned unless such proceedings were necessary to perfect the title. Five types of

private owners comprised the bulk of the land sales. Companies and wealthy land holders sold large blocks of land sometimes as large as whole townships. The companies were thrilled at the opportunity to sell since the land was denuded, had little resale value, but still required the payment of property taxes. A third group was comprised of charitable organizations that had received the land as a donation. These organizations had little use for the land and its sale offered them much needed cash with which to carry on their work. The sellers of smaller parcels generally fit into one of two groups: wealthy urbanites and poor farmers. The extra-local urbanites held the land as a real estate investment for speculative or recreational purposes. These sellers were likely divesting themselves of the land to shore up their finances because of the Depression. Local farmers, though, wanted to extract themselves from the financial ruin that they found on their marginal land in the hopes of creating a promising future.²³

The economic fortunes of the wealthier companies and individuals were bolstered by the sale of this land. Even in worse case scenarios, the cash from these land sales allowed for the payment of debts and the stabilization of company or individual finances. If circumstances were better, this new influx of cash allowed for other investment that spurred economic growth. The NFRC understood these purchases as liquidating private capital in order to continue or to develop industrial operations. In this way, the purchase of land by the NFRC served as an indirect economic stimulus that created new sources of capital in the flagging economy that offered relief far beyond the purchase unit boundaries.²⁴

The situation for poor landowners, however, was dire. While some farmers had sound enough personal finances to parlay the sale of marginal farmland into the purchase

of better land, many others saw their finances decline from a sale. Often the sale of the land was barely enough to cover the back taxes on the land. One of the requirements of the sale was that the title be cleared through the payment of property taxes that were owed.²⁵ These property tax payments were a huge boost to the coffers of states with purchase units. Undoubtedly this opportunity to collect taxes during tough times was a key reason for state support of federal purchases. But when most or all of the payment for the land went to the state for property taxes, the farmer and his family became not only poor but landless as well. These citizens were encouraged to move to the cities in the region where there were greater prospects for employment and more efficient poverty relief. Many farmers accepted this circumstance as preferable to the embarrassment of losing the land to the state for unpaid taxes. Many other farm families resisted, clinging to the desperation that they knew in order to avoid what they perceived as the humiliation of being dependent on the state. Clearly, poor farmers struggled to decide between these two unfortunate alternatives.²⁶

The purchase of land in the Manistee National Forest Purchase Unit was widely welcomed by residents of the region. It had become widely recognized that agriculture was not appropriate on much of the cutover. The failed and abandoned farms created land that the state did not want, while there were other farmers at the brink of creating more of this land. The purchase of this submarginal farmland absolved local and state governments of responsibility for it. People of all backgrounds embraced the opportunity to sell land as a means of stabilizing personal finances during this economically difficult period. There was concern among local officials about giving the federal government the means to be involved in what they considered to be local affairs, but their opposition

wilted in the face of handling the economic, social, and ecological dilemmas of the region on their own.²⁷ During the crisis of the Great Depression, job creation and land management by the federal government trumped all other concerns.

The fact that land sales were voluntary had a lasting impact on the nature of the national forest. The land ownership pattern consisted of parcels of public land interspersed with privately owned land. The lack of solid blocks of contiguous ownership meant that the federal government needed to develop new management methods for eastern national forests. Likewise, private owners had to reconceive their own land uses in the midst of the national forests that attracted numerous recreational users.²⁸ Some landholders used their properties as a base for their own recreational forays; while others provided food, gasoline, equipment, or other services to turn a profit from the increased tourist traffic. Regardless, the newly planted forest quickly became a dominant force in the local economy. The large scale of federal involvement in the eastern forests was new and largely welcomed by local citizens who experienced these new public lands as creating uses for land that were not successful for agriculture and offering residents jobs that improved economic stability that had been weak since the decline of the logging industry thirty years earlier.²⁹

Early management of the forest

Early management of the national forest was quite simple. The USFS attempted to grasp the circumstances of the cutover, purchase land, assess that land, and introduce a management policy for it. The management policy established by the USFS sought the eradication of fire, the establishment of a nursery, and the replanting of the forest. The

broader policy also included management plans for grazing, wildlife, water resources, and recreation. While these policies were consistent with standard USFS management of the era, there was an added expectation by both the Forest Service and local residents that the creation of the national forest would ultimately provide jobs. Therefore, management choices were made to create such conditions.

Forest Service employees completed assessments of cities to grasp the demographic and economic conditions of the area. The resultant case studies provided Al Miller, the first forest supervisor, and Earl Tinker, Region 9 supervisor, with information on the varying conditions throughout the purchase unit.³⁰ The area in the Manistee River watershed for instance was cutover with only scattered stands of quality trees that had the potential of developing into marketable timber. 87% of the land was either idle or had poor second growth of oak or aspen on it. Manistee had no sawmills and only one pulp and paper mill in production, and USFS plantings would take over thirty years to mature enough for pulp and over sixty years before the pine could be cut for lumber. Manistee County's 1930 population of 17,409 residents was far smaller than the 1900 figure of 27,856 people and there were currently 1,423 relief cases, up from an average of 67 prior to the Depression. In the face of these dire circumstances, Miller and Tinker postulated that a full-scale lumber industry could employ 1,400 men in four mills and address the needs of 7,000 people. Shifting that many unemployed workers into the mills would stabilize the tax base in the county because the stumpage taxes would pay half of the taxes on working farms. The ensuing tax cut and supplemental forest work would be enough to prompt farmers to remain on their farms. These farms in turn would have a whole new market of paying customers for their products.³¹

Other studies found similar conditions in Mason and Wexford counties. The conditions in Lake County were the worst within the purchase unit: 47% of its residents were on relief; Baldwin's sawmills had burned since 1895, leaving little significant industry in the area; meager stands of existing hardwoods were cut to make farm implement handles; and its bleak sand lands yielded only a few starvation farms. Miller concluded that the land was only appropriate for forests. Summer tourism was the only economic support for the county as the population tripled during that season. Miller thought that various forest industries could be reintroduced to the area under federal control in the coming years.³²

The land purchase summaries corroborated Miller's conclusions about the condition of the land and its viability. Sand plains were the most frequent type of land purchased; rarely did marketable timber stand on it. The land value of the initial purchases was often less than three dollars and the average purchase price was close to two dollars an acre. Once the worst of the land had been purchased, the average land value settled between three and six dollars an acre. Even on these lands, though, the average purchase price remained around three dollars. Between 1933 and 1941, the average land value was \$3.61, while the average purchase cost \$2.98 per acre.³³

While numerous parcels, large and small, came into federal ownership during this period, the process was far from smooth. Unlike in other purchase units, there were no large landholders, besides the state, that sold large swaths of land all at once. It was estimated that 80% of the owners were non-residents of Michigan. These owners were obviously much more difficult to contact and were not affected by local canvassing for potential sellers. The result was that the owners of over 40% of the land had not been

contacted by the end of 1936. Oil speculation was rampant in Michigan during the era and most of the sales had to be completed with former owners retaining the mineral rights. Finally, because of years of land speculation in the region, titles were often defective and had to be processed and cleared by the state. Despite these obstacles, the NFRC had purchased about 300,000 acres by Christmas 1936 with an additional 180,000 acres in the midst of being processed.³⁴

Since Roosevelt had made the money for purchases available in order to have a site for CCC work, most of the early work in the forest was completed by CCC enrollees. While some of the enrollees were from the cutover or nearby cities, most of them were from the major urban centers of the Lake States. As in the rest of the country, the CCC was expected to achieve four major ends. First, it would employ young men thereby removing them from dangerous idleness and giving them a sense of discipline. This employment met the second goal of removing them from the unemployment lines, which would concentrate new jobs into the hands of their fathers and heads of households. Third, it would also bolster family finances since twenty-five dollars from every month's pay for a CCC enrollee would be sent to his parents. And finally, the work of CCC men would address dangerous and inefficient conditions throughout the American countryside. These goals coalesced to promote the conservation of both natural resources and young men.³⁵

Michigan was an important site for CCC work in the United States. The state had the sixth most camps and the second highest total located in state forests. Forest fire suppression and tree planting were main projects for enrollees in the state. Michigan led the nation with 485,000,000 trees planted by CCC workers. Enrollees built the

Roscommon Forest Fire Experiment Station, a unique site for the study of forest fires in the Great Lakes. Improvements on fish and game habitat consumed numerous man-days in order to improve fishing and hunting as recreational pursuits. CCC workers also eradicated pests and expanded recreational opportunities at various sites around the state. Project sites in Michigan had been prepared during the fall of 1932 by the Department of Conservation. The department had conducted a survey of possible conservation projects that could be done if federal money became available. The prioritization of projects helped direct the location of the first CCC camps in the state.³⁶

These goals of the CCC were not easily achieved. All of this work was completed with a work force that constantly needed to be retrained because enrollment periods were only six months. A great deal of instruction appeared in camp newspapers. These sections gave enrollees information on planting methods, upcoming projects, the reasons for completing different tasks, instructed them on conservation, and the wider planting and nursery work in the national forest. This information amidst the social gossip and personal information of the camp papers served as vital preparation for the work that the men needed to complete. This preparation ensured success on CCC job sites by creating high morale and well-informed enrollees.³⁷

The CCC not only made these improvements in the conditions of the cutover, but offered local manufacturers and businesses a market for their wares. Young men provided labor, but manufacturers had to supply the tools. Food and supplies were often provided locally from grocers and farmers. These economic benefits were immediate in bolstering the finances of merchants and the whole community.³⁸ Furthermore, Michigan CCC enrollees were sending home \$112,000 monthly to over 4,500 families by the end of

1934. Hence, the impact of the CCC influenced not only local communities, but the hometowns of the enrollees as well.³⁹ The effects of the work projects, meanwhile, were long-lasting in altering the nature of the cutover.

These changes began once the land had been purchased. Forest supervisor Al Miller, his foresters, and the CCC quickly implemented several aspects of their management policy. The first efforts were to eradicate wildfires from destroying natural regeneration as well as existing and future forest plantings. The fire control plan was to keep fires to a minimum. Given the extensive history of the USFS in fighting fires, methods and equipment used elsewhere were introduced in Michigan. Lookout towers were built and manned to spot fires quickly. Efforts were made to educate the public on the danger of fires in an effort to decrease the number of man-made fires. Maps were made of cover and fuel types in order that response times and danger levels could be identified. The CCC significantly added to the man-hours available for fighting fire so the USFS reduced its goals for an acceptable number of acres burned. Also, drills were conducted to decrease their response time.⁴⁰

These efforts dramatically reduced forest fires in the region. While it was common to burn thousands of acres a year prior to the establishment of the forest, the amount burned was consistently smaller than that once the new fire plan was implemented. From 1934-1949, there were only three years (1939, 1945, and 1946) in which the number of acres burned exceeded one thousand in a year. Four times (1935, 1936, 1937, and 1949) during that span the acreage burned was less than five hundred. Despite numerous dry years during this 1930s, public cooperation, USFS diligence, CCC availability, and better equipment stifled the fire threat throughout the purchase unit.⁴¹

The other major initiative was reforestation. The first order of business in this large scale endeavor was to create the stock of seedlings necessary for this work. On March 1, 1934, CCC workers began to clear eighty-seven acres just east of Wellston for the Chittenden Nursery. Built on the site were a pump house, a warehouse, oil storage, and a residence/office. Buildings for cone storage, seed extraction, and a greenhouse were later added. In addition to the buildings, the grounds had thirty-five acres of seed beds. Named for MAC forestry professor Alfred Chittenden, the nursery was hailed as the largest in the United States. The first planting of sixty-five million seeds took place in October of that year. The plantings at the nursery were primarily white, red, and jack pine as well as some spruce, cedar, and hardwoods. Originally, it was expected that the nursery's capacity would be over one hundred million seedlings, but decisions to keep seedlings in the seed beds longer to make them more hearty, pushed that number down to between twenty-five and fifty million.⁴²

In addition to providing an inexpensive stock of seedlings for planting in the national forests in the Great Lakes, the Chittenden Nursery provided employment for one hundred local residents making it an important employer in the area. The USFS was understandably proud of the nursery and on October 25, 1936, Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace toured the facility in a trip to Michigan. Wallace was pleased with the efficiency of the operation, particularly in how it reduced the cost of replanting by eliminating the need to purchase seedlings.⁴³

Most seedlings were ready for replanting after three years, though during the first few years much of the stock was replanted after only one year in the seed beds. The process for replanting was to first prepare the soil for the seedlings. Unwanted growth

was removed and the area was furrowed or scalped to make for easy work. Planters would then use a planting bar to create a hole in the soil. The tree was set and the soil was tamped into place, often with the planters boot heel. A planter could set between 1500 and 3000 trees in a day.⁴⁴

To protect the newly planted forests, CCC enrollees worked to eliminate pests that threatened the seedlings. A project to poison grasshoppers that were feasting on new growth was completed in 1936. Poisonous bait was mixed in camp and then spread in new growth forests to attract the insects. The work was considered successful since surveys done afterward found up to sixty dead grasshoppers per square yard.⁴⁵

The sight of new plantings was on-going in the spring and fall in the growing forest. The USFS with the help of the CCC planted 101,154 acres from 1934-1942 in the MNF. Reforestation efforts were concentrated in the areas with the greatest need. Over thirty thousand acres were replanted in Lake County with another twenty-two thousand in Newaygo County. Manistee and Wexford counties both had approximately seventeen thousand acres planted. Areas where the forest was naturally regenerating had fewer acres planted. Oceana County only had 3,482 acres planted in the national forest, while Muskegon County had a mere 107 acres.⁴⁶ In a few short years, particularly with the rapid rate of growth of pine trees, the cutover was converted from a denuded district to an area with many healthy stands of pines. The change was so swift that the national director of the CCC, Robert Fechner, isolated the reforestation work in western Michigan as a sign of renewed productivity on lands that had long been idle.⁴⁷

In addition to reforestation, the USFS, Michigan Department of Conservation, and the CCC worked on the improvement of outdoor recreation areas in and around the

national forest. Dozens of campgrounds and picnic areas were constructed at scenic locations throughout the forest. CCC labor improved Ludington State Park on Hamlin Lake by creating modern campgrounds, picnic facilities, swimming beaches, and hiking trails. The Newaygo Lakes Picnic and Winter Sports Area was constructed on a bluff between White Cloud and Newaygo. It featured two ski runs and a double toboggan slide for winter recreation, while having a boat dock, diving board, and picnic area for summer fun.⁴⁸ These recreational sites offered tourists many inexpensive options where they could spend their leisure time throughout the year. Support for this work was strong among local residents as they thought it would invigorate the economy with tourism dollars.

Recreation work probably was the aspect of CCC labor that remains most used today. In addition to the Newaygo County Picnic and Winter Sports Area, the CCC built a similar recreation site at Caberfae in Wexford County. Enrollees built dozens of campgrounds and picnic areas in the national forests and state parks. Amenities were added around fire towers to encourage tourists to visit. Enrollees constructed bathhouses, latrines, picnic tables, benches, and fire pits. Hiking trails were constructed and marked. Landscaping was added to beautify park sites. An entire camp was dedicated to the construction of Ludington State Park. This work of the CCC radically improved the condition of facilities for outdoor recreation in the state. Such improvements encouraged local and state officials to promote tourism further as the solution to the economic ills of the region.⁴⁹

Though these forms of outdoor recreation were important for tourism, the most important were dependable fishing and hunting. CCC enrollees planted trout and made

stream improvements. Enrollees worked at state hatcheries building stock as well as planting fry and fingerlings in lakes and streams. Over twenty-two million fish were planted in the first three years of the CCC in the state. Enrollees improved streams by putting logs and stones in the rivers to deflect the current so that they would dig pools and build gravel bars while checking bank erosion.⁵⁰ While modern science has questioned the long-term efficacy of such measures, the work did bolster game fish numbers in the short term throughout Northern Michigan and the Upper Peninsula.⁵¹

Using CCC labor and staff field biologists, USFS officials worked with state conservation officers to create game habitat in the recovering forest and in game refuges.⁵² The whitetail deer herd in the Lower Peninsula had been largely decimated by 1921. This problem was largely connected to fires that destroyed habitat and fairly constant hunting pressure, thus in 1926 much of the Lower Peninsula was closed for deer hunting. The moratorium on hunting was designed to allow the population to rebound. The preferred habitat for whitetail deer is on the edge of cover with a strong preference for young forest growth. Hence, the management pattern of the USFS to prevent fire and replant forests created much improved habitat for whitetail deer. The population grew rapidly during the first half of the 1930s to the point that by the winter of 1935 there were some cases of starvation among the herd. The population was especially strong in eastern Mason, western Lake, and northern Newaygo counties. These encouraging results prompted the Michigan Department of Conservation to extend hunting south as far as Oceana and Newaygo counties in the western part of the state in November 1936.⁵³

Given the ten-year moratorium on hunting in the area, there was a need to educate the public on hunting laws and safety. Check stations were established to survey hunters

on deer seen and to get accurate kill numbers in order that the herd could be properly maintained. In the MNF, there were check stations located between the north and south branches of the Pere Marquette River to assess the herd where it was deemed the strongest. Figures from this eighty square mile sample area concluded that 1,370 hunters killed 279 mature bucks and 31 spike horns. The 89 weighed deer averaged 157 pounds field dressed including an 11-point that tipped the scales at 275 pounds.⁵⁴

These kill numbers represented less than 20% of the estimated deer herd in the area. This number was considered satisfactory by the Department of Conservation and was not expected to have a negative effect on the overall population. There was, however, a sharp decline in buck kills in the area over the next three years. Part of the reason for this decline was the improvement in habitat throughout the region and the management of the herd to a stable level, but the census figures by 1939 were so low as to suggest that the open season might not be working and that the reintroduction of the season may have been premature. These figures mirrored problems with game management throughout the state. Yet, the success of the return of deer hunting seasons prompted an expansion of deer hunting as a form of outdoor recreation particularly after World War II. The rise and fall of game populations has provided an ongoing challenge of management for state conservation officers ever since.⁵⁵

Fire suppression, reforestation, the development of sites of outdoor recreation, and game management were all part of New Deal vision of remaking the landscape in order to instill purposeful use into underutilized areas.⁵⁶ The region ceased to be cutover and became a new forest. These changes created work for locals and extra-locals alike, altered the physical landscape, and crafted new sites for tourism that was becoming an

increasingly important part of the local economy. Ironically, the restoration of forests, fish, and game to the cutover masked the labor necessary to make it happen. The goal was that tourists would not see the labor and land management that had occurred and continued on the landscape, but instead see the place as natural if not wild. The success of these efforts prompted not only the influx of tourists to the region, but also local support as they anticipated the wealth that these tourists would bring.⁵⁷

Boosterism for the Manistee National Forest

The changes to the cutover and the improvement of outdoor recreation activities created strong support for the national forest among community boosters. Newspapers recorded local interest in developments on USFS management projects and CCC field work. They also issued strong advocacy for a changed vision of the cutover. No longer was it considered as agricultural land in waiting, rather the cutover was to be the pine forests renewed. Clearly some of the rhetoric in the newspaper columns was an effort to resurrect the glory days and wealth brought by the lumber industry. However, these appeals for reforestation were more than nostalgia; they also were a look ahead toward new economic prosperity based on supplying manufacturing industries with wood, as well as tourism and outdoor recreation.

Initial local support was tied to the immediate employment that the forest offered to unemployed men in the area. In addition to the CCC, Civil Works Administration (CWA) and National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) workers cleared and constructed telephone lines, built truck trails, cleaned roadsides, and prepared pine barrens for planting.⁵⁸ The demonstration of these employment opportunities encouraged workers to

support the coming of even more jobs in the permanent forest. Earl Tinker was quoted as suggesting that 2,200 workers would be needed in the state of Michigan. These workers would be selected from families on relief in the areas with national forests. The short-term goal was to create permanent communities of forest workers where families would have “a comfortable home, a few acres of ground for a garden, fruit, chickens, possibly a cow, and about six months cash income from work in the forest.” In the long-term, it was hoped that timber sales from the forests would pay for the program.⁵⁹

This early promise of employment encouraged workers to endorse the creation of the forest, while the promise of an improved economy and an answer to problematic land policies drew the support of civic organizations. The Manistee Board of Commerce issued a statement detailing expressions of support from farmers, sportsmen, and resort investors for the benefits of the national forest to the region: “Citizens here, as they gradually approach complete realization of what the national forest will mean in the future, are unhesitant in saying that the move is one of the most important made in this section in years.” The national forest would relieve farmers from submarginal farmland, pump tax dollars back into the local economy, halt erosion, recreate forests, improve fish and wildlife habitat, and create recreational opportunities where there had previously only been barren waste. The board anticipated that the forest would become “the green Eden for all of West Michigan.”⁶⁰

The USFS did not just wait for these positive responses from the public; it courted them through public relations events that demonstrated their work to local citizens. Al Miller went to schools, churches, and civic organizations to explain the USFS’s plans for the forest. At a meeting of the Men’s Club at the Manistee Methodist Episcopal Church,

Miller traced the life cycle of a tree under forest management from the planting of seeds in a nursery until the time of a timber harvest. The Forest Service also had a traveling exhibit that demonstrated its work that would appear at local festivals, sportsmen's outings, and other community activities. Furthermore the public was invited to inspect USFS projects. In July 1934, Miller encouraged the public to visit sites being prepared for fall planting through furrowing and scalping. All of these activities were designed to encourage residents to take ownership of the public land in order to decrease the fire threat, but also to engender good feelings and political support for the USFS and its work.⁶¹

In addition to these efforts to engage local citizens into the work of the Forest Service, counties created special forest committees to work with the forest supervisor on issues that concerned the community. These committees advised the USFS as to what recreational improvements that the community desired and formally address any issues that the community had with USFS work. The USFS for their part encouraged the formation of these committees in order to maintain positive civic relationships. These bodies also contributed extensively to promotional literature that was developed on the national forest. Resulting booklets could be distributed to potential tourists and local politicians as a means of rallying their support for the USFS.⁶²

Newspapers also published accounts of the work of the USFS. All work from forest surveys to tree plantings was followed closely by the press. Activities that addressed community concerns received extensive press coverage. Thus, reports of stream improvements, wildlife surveys, and recreational development were given particular attention. Cooperative efforts on such improvements with local organizations

were common. Sportsmen's groups, like the local chapter of the Izaak Walton League, worked on habitat improvements for fish and wildlife as well as in game surveys. These efforts to include the community in USFS plans furthered local support.⁶³

These cooperative relationships were reminiscent of work done by early state conservationists like Charles Garfield and Filibert Roth to generate local support. The earlier initiatives had created the conditions by which local opposition was assuaged and support was produced. Hence, the groundwork had been laid for the cooperative negotiation of conservation policy. This precedent had familiarized and incorporated civic leaders, newspaper editors, farmers, sportsmen, women's club members, and churchgoers to the goals of reforestation. This cooperation between state officials and local residents transitioned smoothly to the restorative work of the USFS.

The only negative press that the Forest Service received was when services were cut or local communities felt that they might lose some of the bounty of the national forest. Cuts to CWA jobs were the cause of anxiety for work relief recipients in the cutover. Business and community leaders in Manistee fought efforts to move the forest headquarters to other locations because it would limit their power to push for the management plans that they desired. Officials in other communities lobbied for ranger stations and fire towers in their communities because of the influence they could have on local rangers to petition for improvement projects or CCC camps in their communities.⁶⁴

The location of forest headquarters and district ranger stations was not the only political battle related to the forest. Numerous individuals became involved in the debate over the most appropriate name for the national forest. Al Miller stated that it was unlikely that the national forest would carry the name Manistee since national forests

were traditionally not named for cities, counties, or living persons. Manistee area boosters adamantly wanted to keep the name and were quick to point out that the name for the purchase unit had come from the river not Manistee city or county. Other communities understandably were less enthusiastic with the suggestion to keep the name Manistee because they thought that they would be shortchanged in publicity in the new tourist market. A tourist brochure from the mid-1930s published in Cadillac referred to the forest as the “Algonquin National Forest.” The *Cadillac Evening News* urged their readers to send in their suggestions for a new name for the forest. Readers responded with the unlikely monikers of Lone Eagle, Sitting Bull, Champlain, Woonanawa, Rainbow, Roosevelt Rainbow, Northwood Park, Arbutus, and Anemone.⁶⁵

Even residents from outside of the purchase unit boundaries became involved in the naming process. The Michigan Forestry Association and the Michigan Association of Municipal, County and Public Utility Foresters wrote letters in support of naming the forest after Charles W. Garfield for his work on launching the reforestation movement in Michigan. The *Grand Rapids Herald* also backed this suggestion. University of Michigan museum director W.B. Hinsdale recommended the name Mascouten Park. The name would be in honor of the Mascouten tribe who lived in western Michigan prior to the arrival of the Odawa and Ojibwa tribes of Anishnabeg who had pushed them south into Illinois. Hinsdale reasoned that the Odawa and Ojibwa already had forests named in their honor in the Upper Peninsula and Minnesota, while the Huron, Wyandotte, Potawatomi, Miami, and Sauk all had lakes, rivers, cities, and counties in Michigan named for them.⁶⁶ While the names Garfield and Mascouten were more sensible than other suggestions, the *Manistee News-Advocate*’s letters to the local congressmen were convincing enough to

encourage them to campaign for no name change when the purchase unit became designated as a national forest. Manistee remained the name for the national forest.⁶⁷

Newspaper support was extensive as the periodicals reported that the relief work being done in national forests was critical to the country's ability to extricate itself from economic ruin. The *Grand Rapids Mirror* suggested that all men and women should be interested in reforestation because it added to the wealth of the state and nation by creating work and a supply of lumber for industry, agriculture, and energy needs. Hence the work of the four national forests in the states was of interest to everyone. Kendrick Kimball of the *Detroit News* suggested that the Manistee National Forest was a place that would create much needed jobs for people of the region and the state in both reforestation and industry. Further he saw the forest as creating recreational opportunities for sportsmen and tourists that would similarly boost employment.⁶⁸

All of these newspaper articles on the forest created a new vision of the cutover. Whereas it had been a place of great forest wealth that dissolved into a site of desolation amidst failed farms; now reforestation brought new hope for this barren land. As Kimball wrote, "Today we see it alternately as a stumpy plain, as a sandy barrens where a few popples bend and sway in the wind, and a maze of cut-over slashings, where tumble-down houses and empty barns proclaim the defeat of those who attempted to live by agriculture. Succeeding generations will know it, however, as a pine studded empire built by the Government to restore the days of the "timber barons," when the area was self supporting and relief roles and unemployment were unknown."⁶⁹

This new vision of the cutover was the cornerstone for support for the USFS efforts in the eastern national forests. Local residents, who before and since looked to the

government with suspicion, were flooded with the optimism that this new vision of the land gave them in such a dark economic times. The forest came to be seen as the solution for all their ills. As Kimball optimistically proclaimed in his article, the forest would bring cash from tourists, rain for crops, an end to floods and droughts, and jobs for all men. Kimball predicted that even the Michigan grayling would come back from extinction “as water temperatures are lowered to the iciness of yore.” This optimism tied to the new national forests, particularly when coupled with visible signs of renewal, prompted men who were otherwise suspicious of all that the federal government wrought to sell their land on the promise that a new prosperity would settle throughout their communities. Previous efforts to reforest the cutover were always small and within the bounds of promoting the dominant agricultural vision. But the new vision, possible because of the economic crisis of the Great Depression, allowed for the wholesale renovation of land use throughout cutover, burned-over, and agriculturally marginal lands in the eastern United States.

The expansion of the Manistee National Forest Purchase Unit

The high level of interest exhibited in the number of willing sellers of land in the Manistee National Forest Purchase Unit and the involvement of the state convinced the NFRC at their March 7, 1935 meeting to expand the purchase unit to include cutover lands to the south. This new area encompassed 506,880 acres of land primarily in Muskegon, Newaygo, and Oceana counties that was suitable for recreational use. The NFRC targeted 406,000 acres for purchase, an ambitious percentage of the new area. Six new CCC camps were added in these new sections to expand conservation work. While

the boundaries of the purchase unit were modified slightly several times after 1935, this expansion represented the last major addition to the purchase unit.⁷⁰

Unlike with the northern section of the purchase unit, this southern section had better overall prospects. Located in the southwestern portions of the revised purchase unit, Muskegon County had over half of its land in farms and orchards, while areas along Lake Michigan and inland lakes had become resorts. The lumber industry, the area's main economic enterprise in the late-nineteenth century, had been replaced by other wood product and manufacturing industries. The weakness in these industries was the need to import all of their raw materials. A renewed forest would supply industries with wood for their enterprises and offer another stable form of employment to residents.⁷¹

A comparison between assessments from the northern and southern parts of the purchase unit makes it clear why a higher percentage of land was purchased in the north than in the south. The USFS targeted purchases on areas where the situation was dire. Muskegon had much better hopes for recovery than Manistee, Ludington, Cadillac, and especially Baldwin. Furthermore, letters from forest supervisors soliciting land sales from land owners within purchase unit boundaries asserted that the USFS had no interest in agricultural lands. Rather the search was for lands with sandy soil that were in danger of tax reversion. Fewer acres were improved for agriculture in the northern half of the purchase unit. Therefore, the USFS focused their purchase efforts there making the forest much more consolidated in the north than the south.⁷²

These limitations on the applicability of the purchase program to the southern part of the Manistee National Forest Purchase Unit indicate the weakness of the NFRC expansion of purchase units in the eastern United States. The growth of the purchase

program included some areas where land sales never really took root and the national forests never came to pass. The exuberance of the New Deal planners had begun to extend beyond the original emergency work in an effort to recraft land use throughout the country. These efforts would become bogged down during the late New Deal when promoters tried to consolidate and make permanent the policy changes enacted during the initial thrust of emergency relief. The greater centralization of government power was open to attack as the material needs of the people changed.⁷³

Despite these later limits on their zealous pursuit of land, the NFRC in 1935 bragged about their accomplishments in Region 9 where the Manistee Purchase Unit was located. It authorized the purchase of nearly one and a half million acres in nine states during the 1934-35 fiscal year. Over a hundred thousand acres of denuded land were replanted and eleven nurseries were in operation. Timber sales and receipts had increased in the region, while fire damage was reduced through the hard work of 195 CCC camps. Recreational sites along with fish and wildlife management increased the appeal of these lands for travelers. In short, their opinion was that the goal of sustained employment in stable communities with strong schools, industries, and businesses was well on its way to being reached.⁷⁴

Amidst all of the work of purchase and management of this new federal land, it became clear that a solution to the problems of the cutover had been found. This land that had remained undeveloped under private ownership had been given new life under federal control. The federal government had acquired a place on which to enact its work relief initiatives. The state secured relief from the headaches of tax delinquency and management of scattered parcels. Burdened landholders received a way to unload land

that they could not manage or did not want. Local residents hoped that this change would bring jobs and a stable economy. Tourists had new sites on which to access the joys of outdoor recreation. These promises sold everyone who had a stake in it on the idea that this new land use policy for the region would be good for each of them.

Notes for Chapter Five

¹ “Three Injured in Sunday Gun Battle,” *Ludington Daily News*, Nov. 14, 1932, Government – Department of Natural Resources folder, Local history vertical file, WPV; “2 Conservation Officers, Law Violator Shot,” *Manistee News-Advocate*, Nov. 14, 1932 and “Game Warden Shot by Deer Hunter,” *White Cloud Eagle*, Nov. 17, 1932, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM; and “Nov. 13 entry,” 1932 Journal, Box 1, Wilbur Charles Kidder papers, BHL.

² Knowles had been hit with buckshot that McCumber had packed into a homemade shell. Obviously, if McCumber had fired a rifled round into Knowles’s face, it would have killed him.

³ “Gun Battle Fatal to Max McCumber,” *Ludington Daily News*, Nov. 15, 1932; “Condition Still Critical,” *Manistee News-Advocate*, Nov. 15, 1932; and “McCumber Dies of His Wounds,” *Manistee News-Advocate*, Nov. 16, 1932, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM.

⁴ “McCumber Funeral Set for Thursday at Church in Carrs,” *Ludington Daily News*, Nov. 16, 1932 and “Many Attend Rites,” *Ludington Daily News*, Nov. 18, 1932, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM.

⁵ “Three Injured in Sunday Gun Battle,” *Ludington Daily News*, Nov. 14, 1932; “2 Conservation Officers, Law Violator Shot,” *Manistee News-Advocate*, Nov. 14, 1932; and “Searching Investigation Is Promised by Officers Into McCumber Death,” *Ludington Daily News*, Nov. 20, 1932, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM.

⁶ Louis S. Warren, *The Hunter’s Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) and Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

⁷ Kendrick A. Clements, *Hoover, Conservation, and Consumerism: Engineering the Good Life* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2000). For a discussion of Hoover’s interest in decentralized regulation on conservation issues, see Donald C. Swain, *Federal Conservation Policy, 1921-1993* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).

⁸ Edwin Amenta, *Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 4-17 has framed the nature of FDR’s New Deal policies as relief and work programs in contrast to later welfare programs. According to Amenta, the New Deal was actually a process of five stages to complete three separate initiatives: recovery, reconstruction, and consolidation. Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996) has traced how the final of these three initiatives failed to be completed. Also see Kenneth Finegold and Theda Skocpol, *State and Party in America’s New Deal* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995) for an exhibition of how Roosevelt’s theory of emergency relief and economic reconstruction were formulated in the National Recovery Administration and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Sarah T. Phillips, “FDR, Hoover, and the New Rural Conservation, 1920-1932,” in *FDR and the Environment*, ed. Henry L. Henderson and David B. Woolner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 107-152 has contrasted Hoover’s “state-sponsored volunteerism” with Roosevelt’s new rural conservation that joined the rehabilitation of human and natural resources as the means to recovery. For a fuller exposition of Phillips’s analysis, see Sarah T. Phillips, “Acres Fit and Unfit: Conservation and Rural Rehabilitation in the New Deal Era” (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 2004). A.L. Riesch Owen, *Conservation under FDR* (New York: Praeger, 1983) has touted the administration as achieving more for conservation than the initiatives of any other president.

For FDR’s plan of land acquisition and unemployment relief, see “Report on Program of Combined Land Acquisition and Unemployment Relief Suggested by President-Elect Franklin D. Roosevelt,” Dec. 1932, Item 124 in *Franklin D. Roosevelt & Conservation, 1911-1945*, vol. 1, ed. Edgar B.

Nixon (Washington: GPO, 1957), 126-129 and Letter from William G. Howard to FDR, Dec. 28, 1932, Forests 1933-34 folder, Box 1, Forests File (149), FDRL.

⁹ The NFRC had been created by the Weeks Act in 1911 to oversee land purchases made by the federal government for the expansion of national forests. The commission was comprised of the Secretaries of War, Agriculture, and Interior, two senators and two representatives (one Democrat and one Republican from each chamber of Congress), and a permanent secretary. The Secretary of War was the chairman of the NFRC, which meant that he approved the agendas and ran the meetings. The USFS had a representative that proposed issues for members of the NFRC to consider. These issues included the creation and expansion of purchase units, the approval of specific purchases, and the debate of special circumstances that arose during the purchase process. Policies were determined by simple majority votes by commission members, most of which were unanimous. Some issues that needed to be addressed by the NFRC included changes to title exemptions in land sales, the purchase of recreational parcels that were usually more expensive than other lands, the purchase of properties for special USFS use like a ranger station, and for any snags in a land sale that required government action.

¹⁰ Purchase units were designated areas with precise boundaries where the USFS could attempt to secure purchases of land from private owners. If enough land was procured within a purchase unit, usually about 20% of the total acreage, the area was recommended to the president for designation as a national forest. If 20% of the land was not obtained, purchase units could be abandoned and the land resold.

The twenty million dollars for land purchasing authorized by FDR came from money budgeted as part of the National Industrial Recovery Act. Harold K. Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service: A History*, centennial ed. (Durham, N.C.: Forest History Society, 2004), 217.

For information on the discussions between the USFS, USDA, and the White House about the allocation of this money during the FDR administration, please consult, Letter from Robert Y. Stuart to Louis M. Howe, April 19, 1933, Item 139; Letter from Henry A. Wallace to FDR, June 16, 1933, Item 156; Memo from FDR to Wallace, June 24, 1933, Item 157; and Memo from Stuart to Wallace, July 12, 1933, Item 163 all in *Franklin D. Roosevelt & Conservation*, vol. 1, ed. Nixon, 154-158, 182-184, 191-193. Also see, Letter from Stuart to FDR, June 28, 1933; Letter from F.W. Coleman to Lewis W. Douglas, July 8, 1933; and Executive Orders 6160 and 6208, Forests 1933-34 folder, Box 1, Forests File (149), FDRL and Letter from George Dern to FDR, May 12, 1933, CCC April-May 1-15, 1933 folder, Box 1, Civilian Conservation Corps File (268), FDRL.

¹¹ Letter from Stuart to Wallace, April 18, 1933, Forest Service Apr-May 1933 folder, Box 8, Forest Service File (1-C), FDRL. To this letter, Stuart attached a map of the eastern U.S. on which he marked the existing purchase units and perspective purchase units. At this point, Manistee was not even under consideration.

¹² NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1933* (Washington: GPO, 1934), 1-3.

¹³ Ten new purchase units were created in the Midwest: Illinois (2), Michigan (1), Minnesota (1), and Missouri (6). The South had the other sixteen purchase units: Florida (1), Mississippi (5), North Carolina (3), South Carolina (2), Texas (4), and Virginia (1). The other two units were located in Vermont and Puerto Rico. NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1934* (Washington: GPO, 1935), 1.

¹⁴ NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1934*, 4.

¹⁵ NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1935*, 1. This increase in the number of purchase units included one in Michigan's Upper Peninsula (Gogebic) and fourteen in states not usually thought of for their forests: Indiana, Iowa, North Dakota, and Ohio. Among the PUs that were enlarged in size was the Manistee PU.

¹⁶ These environmental crises included erosion of soil through wind and rain, wildfires, pests, botanical diseases, and the farming of submarginal lands. These crises were coupled with human suffering to drive New Deal conservation policy. For a further exploration of the relationship between national environmental crises and government policy, see Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Richard Lowitt, *The New Deal and the West* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); Phoebe Cutler, *The Public Landscape of the New Deal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Cornelius M. Maher, "Planting More Than Trees: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement, 1929-1942," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2001); Sara M. Gregg, "From Farms to Forest: Federal Conservation and Resettlement Programs in the Blue Ridge and Green Mountains" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2004); Phillips, "FDR, Hoover, and the New Rural Conservation," 107-152; and Sarah T. Phillips, *This Nation, This Land: Conservation, Rural America, and the New Deal* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1-20.

For studies on New Deal programs to address these concerns with the environment and agriculture, see Richard S. Kirkendall, *Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1966); John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967); Van L. Perkins, *Crisis in Agriculture: The Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the New Deal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); Theodore Saloutos, *The American Farmer and the New Deal* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1982); David E. Hamilton, *From New Day to New Deal: American Farm Policy from Hoover to Roosevelt* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Jess Gilbert and Alice O'Connor, "Leaving the Land Behind: Struggles for Land Reform in U.S. Federal Policy, 1933-1965," in *Who Owns America?: Social Conflict over Property Rights*, ed. Harvey M. Jacobs (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998): 114-130; and Jean Choate, *Disputed Ground: Farm Groups that Opposed the New Deal Agricultural Program* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2002).

¹⁷ "Minutes, August 30, 1933," Binder 26, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA and H.P. McConnell, *Historical Summary of Land Adjustment and Classification, Region 9, 1929-1962* (Milwaukee: USFS, 1962), 38.

A series of editorials in the *Grand Rapids Herald* urged Michiganders to support the creation of the Manistee National Forest. "A New National Forest," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Aug. 11, 1933; "National Forest Advantages," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Aug. 18, 1933; and "The Manistee National Forest," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Sept. 1, 1933, 1930 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

¹⁸ "Summary of Lands Recommended for Purchase – Manistee Purchase Unit," Binders 27-43, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA; "National Forest Land Purchases Bring in Back Taxes to Counties," *Manistee News-Advocate*, Feb. 13, 1935, Jan. 1934-March 1935 folder, News Articles File, HMNF; and Carl M. Saunders, "Vast Project Spreads Over Four Counties," *Grand Rapids Herald*, Aug. 31, 1933, 1930 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

¹⁹ "Minutes, January 21, 1935," Binder 45, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA.

²⁰ Ickes attempted to consolidate both the Parks Service and the USFS into a Department of Conservation that he would head. His effort failed and the two services remained in their separate departments. Samuel Trask Dana and Sally Fairfax, *Forest and Range Policy: Its Development in the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980), 151-155 and Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service*, 238-245. For a study of the battles in the 1920s and 1930s between the USFS and the Parks Service, see William E. Leuchtenburg, "Roosevelt, Norris, and the 'Seven Little TVAs,'" in *The FDR Years: On Roosevelt and His Legacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 164-178 and Hal K. Rothman, "'A Regular Ding-Dong Fight': The Dynamics of the Park Service-Forest Service Controversy during the 1920s and 1930s," in *American Forests: Nature, Culture, and Politics*, ed. Char Miller (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997): 109-124.

²¹ “Minutes, January 21, 1935,” Binder 45, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA. Ickes would argue this point whenever it came up. It was at issue again in the Manistee National Forest in 1939. “Minutes, June 1, 1939,” Binder 87, and “Minutes, July 6, 1939,” Binder 93, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA. For a summary of the NFRC logic, see NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1934*, 3.

²² “Minutes, May 10, 1934,” Binder 33, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA and NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1935*, 2-3. This exchange had a dramatic effect on state forests and parks in Michigan. Probably the most significant purchase by the NFRC for exchange with the State of Michigan was with Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company for 2,285 acres in the Upper Peninsula. This purchase became the Tahquamenon Falls State Park. In exchange the NFRC received 83,000 acres from the state. “Minutes, September 30, 1936,” Binder 69, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA.

For more information on how the Michigan legislature had budget woes during the Depression and lacked the funding to support the Conservation Commission’s work, see Helen Foster, *1921-1946: Twenty-Five Years of Conservation in Michigan* (Lansing: Office of Information and Education, 1960), 8, 80-82.

²³ This categorization of the land sellers are from my own analysis of NFRC purchase summaries in the Manistee National Forest Purchase Unit. Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA.

²⁴ NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1933*, 1.

²⁵ Occasionally the land was not even worth enough to pay the property taxes as was the case with a purchase from Earl Tyler of Muskegon. On May 25, 1938, the NFRC approved a purchase of 80 acres in Newaygo County’s Beaver Township (T 15 N, R 14 W) for \$180. On January 26, 1939, the NFRC approved paying an extra \$12.63, because the property taxes that Tyler owed were in excess of the purchase price by that amount. “Minutes, May 25, 1938,” Binder 79, and “Jan. 26, 1939,” Binder 81, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA.

²⁶ NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1933*, 3. The NFRC considered such submarginal farms a waste of human and material resources. They encouraged residents to work on building the forest or to relocate to nearby cities and look for industrial work. This vision of the purchase program conforms to Sarah Phillips’s analysis that New Deal conservation sought to conserve human as well as natural resources. Phillips, “FDR, Hoover, and the New Rural Conservation,” 141.

²⁷ Louise V. Armstrong, *We Too Are the People* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1938), 179-189 contends that the problems with the local officials were either greed or incompetence. She characterizes their resistance to federal programs as either being because of a fear that they would lose power or an inability to milk the programs for their own financial gain.

²⁸ Dennis L. Lynch and Stephen Larrabee, “Private Lands Within National Forests: Origins, Problems, and Opportunities,” in *The Origins of the National Forests: A Centennial Symposium*, ed. Harold K. Steen (Durham, N.C.: Forest History Society, 1992): 198-216, has offered a preliminary consideration of this issue when the first forest reserves were established from the public domain. Their focus was on the western U.S. where private lands were much more isolated than in eastern national forests. The purchase of land in the east, rather, than the mere designation of it as reserved from the public domain created more scattered federal holdings. Furthermore, in the east recreation was a much more prevalent land use for these private holdings as was simple occupancy that was removed from the occupant’s place of employment or

financial considerations. Hence, issues like grazing and mining, important in Lynch and Larrabee's assessment, have little relevance in the east.

²⁹ USFS chief Ferdinand Silcox promoted national forests in the eastern U.S. because they stopped the boom/bust cycle of economics that was common with the lumber industry. See the speech attached to Memo from Silcox to FDR, Nov. 4, 1935, Forest Service 1935 folder, Box 9, Forest Service File (1-C), FDRL.

³⁰ Region 9, also called the North Central Region, was comprised of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, North Dakota, Ohio, and Wisconsin. David E. Conrad, *The Land We Cared For: A History of the Forest Service's Eastern Region*, ed. Jay H. Cravens. (Milwaukee: USFS, 1997), 51-66.

³¹ A.F. Miller, "Case History – City of Manistee, Michigan," March 23, 1935, Information Historical – Manistee folder, Keep Current File 1680 – History, HMNF.

³² A.F. Miller, "Case History – City of Ludington, Michigan," "Case History – City of Cadillac, Michigan," "Case History – City of Baldwin, Lake County, Michigan," March 23, 1935, Information Historical – Manistee folder, Keep Current File 1680 – History, HMNF.

³³ "Summary of Lands Recommended for Purchase – Manistee Purchase Unit," Binders 27-106, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA.

³⁴ R.C. Fraunberger, "The Banana Belt Baby" *The Banana Belt*, December 1936, Region 9 Bulletins, 1934-37 Box, HMNF, 1-2. HMNF surveyor Carol Waite used the forest's GIS system to tabulate that in November 1943 the forest owned 340,000. This figure points to the fact that NFRC numbers were often a bit inflated because they measured the number of approved purchases, not the ones that already taken place. Leon Kneipp told the commission whenever allocated money was running low that 10% of approved purchases would never happen and that this estimate was conservative. "Minutes, May 26, 1936," Binder 68, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA.

For information on oil speculation, see Jonathan Eyler, *Muskegon County: Harbor of Promise* (Northridge, Calif.: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1986), 106-107.

³⁵ Investigations of the CCC are beginning to expand, but Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, is still accepted as the standard study. For more popular accounts of the CCC, see Leslie Alexander Lacy, *The Soil Soldiers: The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Great Depression* (Radnor, Pa.: Chilton Book Co., 1976); Perry H. Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942* (Montpelier, Vt.: Merrill, 1981); Robert Allen Ermentrout, *Forgotten Men: The Civilian Conservation Corps* (Smythtown, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1982); and Charles A. Symon, *We Can Do It!: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Michigan, 1933-1942* (Escanaba, Mich.: Richards Printing, 1983).

Neil M. Maher, "'A Conflux of Desire and Need': Trees, Boy Scouts, and the Roots of Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps," in *FDR and the Environment*, ed. Henderson and Woolner, 49-83 has discussed how FDR connected human and natural resources in CCC work, essentially killing two birds with one stone. Maher, "Planting More than Trees" has explicated how working in the CCC gave men an appreciation for the natural world that was important later in the environmental movement. David E. Shi, *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 202-261, did not go as far as Maher in his claims about the impact of the CCC on enrollee views of the environment, but he did claim that this work taught young men the "rigors and joys of rural life", 234-235.

Critics of New Deal conservation programs included wilderness advocates and rural homesteaders who were being resettled from marginal farmlands. These citizens did not oppose ideas of conservation but they did not think that their removal was necessary to make it come to pass. Paul Sutter, "New Deal Conservation: A View from the Wilderness" in *FDR and the Environment*, ed. Henderson and Woolner, 87-106 has explicated the complex relationship of wilderness advocates to New Deal conservation

programs. Gregg, "From Farms to Forest," has chronicled the rejection of resettlement efforts by the farmers of submarginal soils in Vermont and the failed resistance of mountain farm residents in Virginia. Cutler, *The Public Landscape of the New Deal*, 116-144 has discussed resettlement related to subsistence communities in the Appalachian Mountains, to greenbelt suburbs, to migrant labor camps, and the to reservoir creation in the Tennessee River valley during the New Deal. Stuart Chase, *Rich Land, Poor Land: A Study of Waste in the Natural Resources of America* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1936), 262-287; Carroll W. Pursell, "Government and Technology in the Great Depression," in *Technology and Choice*, ed. Marcel C. LaFollette and Jeffrey K. Stine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 165-177; and Phillips, *This Nation, This Land*, 83-107 have exhibited the TVA as one government-sponsored effort to extend the reach of electricity and machines in the American landscape and culture.

³⁶ In 1933, MFA executive secretary Herbert Dreher of Owosso sent a letter to members that they should inform L.R. Schoenmann of the Michigan Department of Conservation of "any worthy conservation projects that might be carried out" with funds and labor from the NRA and the CCC. Letter from Herbert Dreher to MFA members, Nov. 21, 1933, Correspondence – 1933-1941 folder, Box 1, Frederick Wheeler papers, BHL.

Such work during the New Deal was among the last consequential acts for the MFA as a citizen's organization. During the 1930s, it slowly became co-opted into the forestry program at Michigan State College. From the late 1920s through the Great Depression, MSC professors Alfred Chittenden and Paul Herbert directed the work of the MFA. Their leadership eventually resulted in the merger in 1941 of the MFA with an association of professional conservationists with ties to the college. "MFPA Timeline," Michigan Forestry and Park Association, <http://www.mfpa-isa.org/>.

Civilian Conservation Corps, "Memorandum for the Press, Release to Morning Papers, Monday, July 13, 1936," LOM; Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army*, 138-140; Symon, *We Can Do It!*, 2-4; Roger L. Rosentreter, "Roosevelt's Tree Army: Michigan's Civilian Conservation Corps," (Lansing: Michigan Dept. of State, 1986), 3; Alison T. Otis, William D. Honey, Thomas C. Hogg, and Kimberly K. Laskin, *The Forest Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-1942* (Washington: USDA, 1986), 11; and William B. Botti and Michael D. Moore, *Michigan's State Forests: A Century of Stewardship* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2006), 56-58. The first CCC camp in Michigan was Camp Raco founded in the Upper Peninsula on May 2, 1933.

³⁷ Citations of forestry news in CCC camp papers are too numerous to cite definitively. Nearly every camp had a newspaper and nearly all had an article that informed enrollees of these forestry issues. For examples of camp papers in Michigan, see CCC Camp Newspapers collection, BHL. For a broader study of camp newspapers, read Alfred Emile Cornebise, *The CCC Chronicles: Camp Newspapers of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2004).

³⁸ "Fifth Anniversary of CCC," transcription of radio broadcast of Lee Roy Schoenmann on WKAR East Lansing on March 26, 1938, Folder 33, Box 803H, Lee Roy A. Schoenmann papers, UAHC, 2. The need for tools delayed the start of work in many areas, but in Michigan the forestry schools at the University of Michigan and Michigan State College lent the CCC tools so that work could begin immediately. Rosentreter, "Roosevelt's Tree Army," 3.

³⁹ Rosentreter, "Roosevelt's Tree Army," 12-13. John Holmes of Mio wrote FDR to state his appreciation for the CCC in how it improved the forest, young men, and local business. Letter from Holmes to FDR, undated, CCC Misc. June-Aug. 1933 folder, Box 6, Civilian Conservation Corps File (268), FDRL.

⁴⁰ Fire Control Plan Atlas and Superseded Material Atlas, HMNF. Fire Lookout Towers – historical folder, Keep Current File 1680 – History, HMNF.

⁴¹ W.J. Emerson, "History of Area Burned in Forest Fires on the Lower Michigan National Forests, 1911-1954," transcribed from a poor copy by John Davis, April 7, 2005, HMNF.

⁴² “Chittenden Nursery is One Year Old Tomorrow,” *Manistee News-Advocate*, Feb. 28, 1935, Jan. 1934-March 1935 folder, News Articles File, HMNF; “Chittenden Nursery Annual Report,” 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, Chittenden Nursery File, HMNF; and “Wellston-Dublin Homecoming,” July 1-3, 1939, Chittenden Basics folder, Chittenden Nursery File, HMNF. Most white pine was grown as 1-0 or 3-0 stock, though, some was 2-1. Red pine was usually 2-0, while jack pine was 1-0. Cedar, hemlock, and spruce all grew under 3-0 conditions, while hardwoods were 2-0. In stock numbers the first digit is the number of years in a seed bed, while the second number is the years in a transplant bed. Due to decreased demand for stock and production declines the nursery was closed in 1973.

⁴³ *The Banana Belt*, December 1936, Region 9 Bulletins, 1934-37 Box, HMNF, 5.

⁴⁴ “Reforestation Activities on the Manistee Purchase Unit,” transcription of radio broadcast of Tom Lotti on WKBZ Muskegon on May 15, 1936, MNF 1936-37 folder, Radio Broadcasts File, HMNF.

⁴⁵ Grover Choate, “A Billion Million Hoppers,” *The Banana Belt*, December 1936, Region 9 Bulletins, 1934-37 Box, HMNF, 56-57.

⁴⁶ “Acres planted 1934-1942 by county as of Dec. 31, 1942,” Administrative Statistics vol. x, Keep Current File 1680 – History, HMNF; “Fifth Anniversary of CCC,” transcription of radio broadcast of Lee Roy Schoenmann on WKAR East Lansing on March 26, 1938, Folder 33, Box 803H, Lee Roy A. Schoenmann papers, UAHC, 4-5 and Symon, *We Can Do It!*, 56.

⁴⁷ Otis, et al, *The Forest Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 61.

⁴⁸ “Start Work on Recreation Area,” July 18, 1940, *White Cloud Eagle* and “Toboggan Slide to be Ready for Week-End,” Dec. 12, 1940, *White Cloud Eagle*, both in News Articles File, HMNF. This park has had numerous uses since it closed as a recreation area, but Newaygo County is attempting to renew this earlier use and is in the process of rebuilding the toboggan run.

⁴⁹ CCC, “Memorandum for the Press,” 7; “Fifth Anniversary of CCC,” WKAR broadcast, 6-7; and Merrill, *Roosevelt’s Forest Army*, 140.

⁵⁰ CCC, “Memorandum for the Press,” 4-5; “Fifth Anniversary of CCC,” WKAR broadcast, 6; and Merrill, *Roosevelt’s Forest Army*, 140.

⁵¹ For a detailed study of how fish planting and hatcheries may undermine the long-term viability of a fishery, read Joseph E. Taylor, III, *Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999). For history on the nature of fish culture in the federal government during this era, see Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 123-126.

⁵² The first state refuge had been started in 1913 near Grayling on land donated by Erasmus Hanson. Such refuges provided habitat for declining wildlife populations.

⁵³ R.D. Burroughs, “Public Land in Michigan: A Review of Management” (Lansing: Michigan Dept. of Conservation, 1958), 2-3; Foster, *1921-1946*, 22-41; and Dave Dempsey, *Ruin and Recovery: Michigan’s Rise as a Conservation Leader* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 117. Michigan Dept. of Conservation, “Deer Hunters Reports, 1932-1934,” and “Summary, Deer Census Drives, 1936,” Flat Files, LOM demonstrated the rise in the whitetail deer population throughout the northern Lower Peninsula during the early 1930s. “Deer Hunting on the Manistee Forest,” transcription of radio broadcast of William Hopkins on WKBZ Muskegon on November 10, 1936, MNF 1936-37 folder, Radio Broadcasts file, HMNF.

⁵⁴ "The 1936 Deer Kill on the Manistee National Forest," transcription of radio broadcast of William Hopkins on WKBZ Muskegon on January 12, 1937, MNF 1936-37 folder, Radio Broadcasts file, HMNF.

⁵⁵ Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery*, 117-119 and Donald I. Dickmann and Larry A. Leefers, *The Forests of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 203-209. Lisa M. Fine, "Rights of Men, Rites of Passage: Hunting and Masculinity at Reo Motors of Lansing, Michigan, 1945-1975," *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 4 (Summer 2000): 805-823, has detailed how hunting served as a social rite and a contractual right for working-class men in Michigan after World War II. Daniel Justin Herman, *Hunting and the American Imagination* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 145-155 has also explored the relationship between hunting and masculinity.

⁵⁶ Cutler, *The Public Landscape of the New Deal*, 1-7.

⁵⁷ James Kates, *Planning a Wilderness: Regenerating the Great Lakes Cutover Region* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 89-113; Thomas G. Andrews, "'Made by Toile'?: Tourism, Labor, and the Construction of the Colorado Landscape, 1858-1917," *The Journal of American History* 92, no. 3 (Dec. 2005): 837-863; and Lawrence M. Lipin, *Workers and the Wild: Conservation, Consumerism, and Labor in Oregon, 1910-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

⁵⁸ "Manistee CWA Forest Quota is Reduced," *Manistee News-Advocate*, Feb. 15, 1934; and "Gives Report on Work Done in Forest Area," *Manistee News-Advocate*, March 7, 1934, Jan. 1934-March 1935 folder, News Articles File, HMNF.

⁵⁹ "15,000 Workers in 100 Forest Communities Needed, Tinker Says," *Manistee News-Advocate*, June 21, 1934, Jan. 1934-March 1935 folder, News Articles File, HMNF. In Bayfield County, Wisconsin, the Drummond Forest Community was created to resettle displaced farmers from marginal farmland to better 20-acre tracts. Vacated land was reforested, while the new farms were to produce truck crops, eggs, chickens, and milk for local markets. Furthermore, one member of each family was eligible for six months of work in the Chequamegon National Forest. However, the Drummond Forest Community failed to support agriculture or steady forest employment. Within ten years the government terminated the project and many resettled farm families moved away. For a description of life in Drummond, see Sidney Henderson, "An Experiment in Forest-Farm Resettlement," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics* 22, no. 1 (Feb. 1946): 10-21 and Robert Gough, *Farming the Cutover: A Social History of Northern Wisconsin, 1900-1940* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 186-191. For a critique of the Drummond Forest Community in an effort to improve public forest homestead programs, see Henry Gilbert White, "Public Forest Homesteads," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* 27 (1941): 169-180. No such resettlement communities were attempted in the Manistee National Forest.

⁶⁰ "Opinion On New Forest Given," *Manistee News-Advocate*, June 21, 1934, Jan. 1934-March 1935 folder, News Articles File, HMNF.

⁶¹ "Shows Work of Forest Service," *Manistee News-Advocate*, Jan. 29, 1935; and "Public Invited to Inspect Work Being Done in National Forest; Prepare for Fall Field Planting," *Manistee News-Advocate*, July 18, 1934, Jan. 1934-March 1935 folder, News Articles File, HMNF; and "Forest Service Makes Exhibit," *White Cloud Eagle*, April 11, 1940, News Articles File, HMNF.

⁶² "Forest Committee Is Needed," *Manistee News-Advocate*, March 15, 1934, Jan. 1934-March 1935 folder, News Articles File, HMNF.

⁶³ "Bear Creek to Be Improved in Near Future," *Manistee News-Advocate*, July 11, 1934; "Deer Populations High in Forest," *Manistee News-Advocate*, Dec. 1, 1934; "Cruisers Start Forest Survey," *Manistee News-Advocate*, Jan. 28, 1935; "Deer Abundant, Food Short in Forest Area," *Manistee News-Advocate*, Feb. 13, 1935; "Forest Service to Conduct Extensive Lake and Stream Improvement Program in Area," *Manistee News-Advocate*, Feb. 16, 1935; "Start Plans for Developing Camp, Summer Home Sites in

Manistee Forest Area," *Manistee News-Advocate*, Feb. 19, 1935; "150,000 Acres Are Cruised," *Manistee News-Advocate*, April 3, 1935, all in Jan. 1934-March 1935 folder, News Articles File, HMNF.

⁶⁴ "Forestry CWA Hours Reduced," *Manistee News-Advocate*, Feb. 19, 1934; "CWA Payroll is about \$7,000," *Manistee News-Advocate*, Feb. 24, 1934; "Grand Rapids after Forest Headquarters," *Manistee News-Advocate*, Feb. 13, 1935; "Keep Forest Headquarters in Manistee," *Manistee News-Advocate*, Feb. 27, 1935; and "Wexford Co. to Have New Camps," *Manistee News-Advocate*, April 5, 1935, Jan. 1934-March 1935 folder, News Articles File, HMNF.

⁶⁵ "Forest Will Not Keep Name of Manistee," *Manistee News-Advocate*, March 9, 1934 and "News-Advocate Wants to Retain Name of Forest," *Manistee News-Advocate*, March 14, 1934, Jan. 1934-March 1935 folder, News Articles File, HMNF; "Cadillac on the Inland Lakes," Naming of the Manistee National Forest File, Keep Current File 1680 – History, HMNF; and "Letters to the Editor," *Cadillac Evening News*, 1934-35, Naming of National Forest papers folder, Keep Current File 1680 – History, HMNF.

⁶⁶ "Push Efforts to name Forest for C.W. Garfield," *Manistee News-Advocate*, Feb. 22, 1935 and "'Mascouten' is Latest Forest Name Suggestion," *Manistee News-Advocate*, March 26, 1935, Jan. 1934-March 1935 folder, News Articles File, HMNF, and "Means Nothing," *Grand Rapids Herald*, May 21, 1935, 1930 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁶⁷ "Manistee Now Permanent," *Michigan Conservation* 5, no. 2 (July 1935), 6.

⁶⁸ "Reforestation in the Making," *Grand Rapids Mirror* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1935): 16-17, 28, 30, in Michigan Forests and Forestry folder, Box 21, USFS Newspaper Clippings file, FHS and Kendrick Kimball, "Jobs Will Grow with the Trees in Michigan's New Forest," *Detroit News*, Nov. 3, 1935 in Manistee National Forest folder, Keep Current File 1680 – History, HMNF.

⁶⁹ Kimball, "Jobs Will Grow"

⁷⁰ "Memo 7, Minutes, March 7, 1935," Binder 50, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA and "U.S. Buys Nawaygo Tracts for Forest," *Grand Rapids Press*, Aug. 26, 1935, 1930 binder, Michigan Reforestation clippings file, CB.

⁷¹ A.F. Miller, "Case History – City of Muskegon, Michigan," March 23, 1935, Information Historical – Manistee folder, Keep Current File 1680 – History, HMNF.

⁷² Letter from R.G. Schreck to Gordon Ebertz, March 1, 1930, Form letter to land owner folder, Huron National Forest Files, HMNF. Schreck was the Huron National Forest supervisor during this time. While I was unable to unearth any such purchase solicitation letters from Manistee National Forest supervisor Al Miller, there is no reason to believe that they would be much different in tone or content.

⁷³ Brinkley, *The End of Reform*, 7-12.

⁷⁴ NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1935*, 33-36.

Chapter Six: The Manistee National Forest as Permanent Land Policy, 1936-1943

Once the United States Forest Service began reforesting the Manistee National Forest Purchase Unit, the next step was to make the forest permanent. To make this step the forest had to be integrated into the community identity. As the benefits of restorative scientific management came to be recognized, local residents embraced a land ethic that protected natural resources for long-term human use. This shift to active involvement in land management by local residents assured the success of reforestation efforts and expanded the work to other areas such as soil conservation.

The embrace of reforestation as a permanent land-use solution, however, did not come without contestation. Race and class divisions demonstrated the blind spots of federal, state, and local officials who sought to enact conservation policies. Furthermore, differing views on public access to natural resources were at the heart of a couple of court cases. This debate illuminates the challenges of managing natural resources in a mix of private and public land ownership. This management was particularly of concern when it came to fish, game, pests, and water that moved through the forest regardless of property boundaries.

Despite these points of contestation, which will be discussed later in the chapter, citizens embraced the MNF as the solution for the cutover. The forest expanded tourism and made it the centerpiece of the local economy. Public land relieved the problems of the cutover, while increasing the value of private property used as the site of summer retreats. In this way, the coming of the national forest met Gifford Pinchot's definition of conservation as "the greatest good for the greatest number over the longest run."¹

The Manistee National Forest Festival and other local festivals

Most citizens of the cutover in western Michigan celebrated the coming of the Manistee National Forest and the possibilities that it offered economically. The Manistee Board of Commerce tried to capitalize on the possibilities of the forest by creating a festival to draw tourists to the city. An association of concerned citizens in Manistee led by Jack King organized themselves to host the first Manistee National Forest Festival in 1936. The festival, held annually for four days around the Fourth of July, helped establish a local identity, romanticize the history of the region, increase tourism, and educate visitors on conservation.

The Manistee National Forest Festival and other festivals in the area functioned as performance for local residents through which to make sense of the new use for the cutover. Festivals helped to redefine local identity by rooting residents in the region as a reforested (as opposed to agricultural) place. This identity made citizens loyal to the new forest management plans and its goals for the future. In this way, local festivals were a means by which to make sense of the new forest and begin to value it.²

In this process of creating local identity, the festival manipulated historical memory and local culture to eliminate unsavory elements.³ The Anishnabeg were romanticized while their marginalization was ignored. Lumbermen and shanty boys were recalled as heroes without regard to the devastation that they wrought. Pioneers were praised while their work to create an agricultural paradise was banished and replaced by a strong endorsement of the national forest. Military valor was lauded while the horrors of war were not mentioned. While this historical memory possessed more romance than accuracy, its uplifting tone attracted tourists to the festival and made it an economic

success. At the same time, local residents were using nature to create and affirm the community identity as people who care for the land that sustains them. Furthermore, planners of the festival reclaimed the forest as a malleable space that could not be destroyed, even though the previous forty years had been about dealing with that destruction. This retelling of the relation of humans and nature in the past was recreating their relationship in the present by finding a mythical balance in the relationship that had not existed since at least statehood. This remade social memory and the myth that came out of it allowed local residents and visitors to notice only human harmony with nature rather than the more destructive elements of the relationship of humans and nature.⁴

Yet before the festival could have these impacts it had to be organized and built. While not necessarily a goal of the planning association, the festival provided relief work throughout Manistee County. The National Youth Administration (NYA) director for the region proposed that young people be hired to build the Indian Village, costumes, and parade floats for the festival. The director considered this work to meet the educational goals of the administration in that it taught both local culture as well as shop skills to young people in the community. The NYA paid the cost of the labor, while the festival association provided the necessary materials through donations from local merchants. This work not only taught the involved youth about the history of Northern Michigan, but introduced them to the Anishnabeg residents of the area. One immigrant girl remarked that she had known nothing about Indians before which had made her scared of them, but that meeting local Odawa youths made them friends rather than a threat. This exposure broadened the cultural awareness of the youth who were involved, which improved racial dialogue in the region.⁵

The festival itself was held from July 2-5, 1936 with each day dedicated to different connections of the city with history or American culture. There was an Indian Village and a festival museum open to the public throughout the festival. Lumberjack games demonstrated the many skills of the old shanty boys and rivermen. Tours of the Manistee National Forest occurred nearly every day. The first day was dedicated to the Army and Navy with two parades, an event featuring the Naval Reserve Fleet, and an American Legion banquet. The second day focused on the reforestation of the region with a dedication at the Chittenden nursery, tree planting, and a fire fighting demonstration. The third day, the Fourth of July, honored the country and marked by parades, baseball, concerts, and fireworks. The final day of the festival recalled the settlement of the county as well as its future development with pioneer costumes, an old time picnic, dedication of the Salvation Army Building, and the first annual meeting of the Manistee National Forest Festival Corporation.⁶

The festival was a huge success with visitors from around the state and tourists from around the country in that it celebrated the revival of the outdoors for residents and tourists alike.⁷ Manistee County relief agent Louise Armstrong reported seeing license plates from Illinois, New York, Ohio, and Colorado. State troopers reported a crowd of fifty thousand in a city of nine thousand residents. The dedication of the Chittenden Nursery was carried nationally on NBC radio during the National Farm and Home Hour. Honored guests of the first festival included Governor Frank Fitzgerald, the director of the Department of Conservation P.J. Hoffmaster, Conservation Commission chairman William Loutit, and MSC forestry dean Paul Herbert. Governor Fitzgerald lauded the MNF as offering the region “365 days of business” in all that it promised for outdoor

recreation tourism.⁸ With such a strong response in the first year of the festival, organizers continued the event using the same themes with minor revisions yearly after that. Parades, fireworks, banquets, dances, Indians, and lumberjacks continued to be mainstays while airplanes, beach sports, and wrestling were added to the agenda.⁹

These festival events restored local pride in their heritage through romanticizing the history of the region and their connections to the nation. Representations of Anishnabeg peoples emphasized the quiet and peaceful daily lives of Woodland tribes. Native crafts, stories, and ceremonies were celebrated through events in an Indian Village constructed for the festival. Local Odawa residents participated in these activities, while the most beautiful young woman in that community was selected as the Forest Princess of the festival in lieu of the customary festival queen. This celebration romanticized Native residents and culture like the Hiawatha pageants that were popular nationally at this time. The presence of tribal members at the festival lent it an air of authenticity, yet their depiction remained as people of an era long-ago. So while these positive representations of the Anishnabeg were better than more savage depictions of the recent past, they also glazed over the important issues of poverty, racism, and cultural isolation experienced in the Native community. Celebrating the region's Native past for one weekend did not remedy the problems of the present manifested the rest of the year.¹⁰

The festival similarly romanticized the region's lumbering past and military contributions to the nation. Lumberjack games and exhibitions glorified the work of the shanty boys and rivermen without revealing the strenuous or dangerous nature of the labor that they provided. Sawyer and axe handling events, tree climbing, log rolling, and boom running served as entertainment removed from the issues of labor and ecology that

were important when such work was common in the forests. These events also ignored the bawdy nature of lumber towns during the late 1800s. The shanty boys were lionized while particular habits like fighting, drinking, and whoring that were considered uncouth and uncivilized were erased from memory. And while it was likely obvious to the city's residents, this celebration of the lumbering past veiled the struggles that the region suffered after the forests were cut and the lumber barons moved west.¹¹

Similarly, the events at the festival only presented the glory of American warriors without suitable reflection. Representations of the military at the festival were in the form of war ships and planes, exhibitions of naval maneuvers, and celebrations of veterans. There were no somber and reflective commemorations admitting to the horrors of war while celebrating the valor of soldiers. Undoubtedly such celebrations of the American military might have made lasting impressions on young men on the eve of World War II.¹²

In terms of tourism, the festival served to draw guests to the region. Furthermore, it spurred conservation education among local residents and tourists. The Chittenden nursery was always open to visitors but such a special event highlighted the work being done there. The USFS used Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) labor to build floats for the parade to demonstrate the work that was being done to revitalize the forest. The Forest Service also created exhibits to be displayed on the festival grounds with USFS personnel available to teach visitors about the reforestation efforts in the cutover. Tours of the MNF could be used to solicit further support of the work being done by the USFS and the CCC in the revitalization of human and ecological resources. And every guest

could take home a seedling as they were being sold as souvenirs at stands on the festival grounds.¹³

The Manistee National Forest Festival was not the only event that romanticized cutover history, nor was it the only one designed to increase tourism to the region. The Michigan Open Guides' Meet was conceived to display the outdoor recreation possibilities in Newaygo, particularly for sportsmen. The meet was held in mid-April and brought together guides from the area to compete in a series of outdoor games on the Muskegon River. These events included a wide variety of demonstration and skill events. Demonstration events included fish cleaning, fly casting, bait casting, and the best equipped fishing boat. These challenges were more of an opportunity to advertise to prospective clients than actual competitions. Other events, like boat poling, boat races, archery, and pistol shooting, had a higher competitive entertainment value. These games served to draw in spectators and reveal the speed and accuracy of local guides. Fun challenges like the spittin' contest hosted by local figure and author Jack Ernest Sharp known to his readers as "Newaygo Newt" clearly appealed to the rougher social customs of outdoor living.¹⁴

The events drew a wide range of outdoor enthusiasts to Newaygo for the Guides' Meet. The casting events were run by the West Michigan Casting Club according to national rules. The National Championship Archery team was invited to town to compete against the pistol shooting champions in an accuracy competition. The fourteen-mile boat race down the Muskegon River was of particular interest to the participants as the three top finishers split one hundred seventy-five dollars in prize money. These special

characteristics of the events helped draw tourists from all over the state, which filled all the available rooms in the county.¹⁵

In preparation for the Guides' Meet, numerous improvements were made in the area. The city commissioned improvements on the north bank of the river to prevent erosion. The State Highway Department repaired roads. The State Conservation Department primed the river by planting rainbow trout and walleyes before the meet and after every competition. These preparations as well as the work of the Manistee National Forest were highlighted in the event sites and the routes that the participants and spectators took to the events. All of these agencies and the State Police constructed exhibits for display at the meet to recruit the support of local citizens and tourists.¹⁶

The souvenir program for the games demonstrated how the meet was an effort to showcase the region to improve the tourist trade and to teach conservation. Essays instructed attendees on conservation work done in the area by the USFS and state officials. Newaygo County was lauded for its fine hunting. In the late-1930s, it was the first county open to hunting whitetail deer when traveling north. This fact was sure to draw the attention of interested hunters from southwestern Michigan who needed to travel north for their hunt. The program expanded its focus beyond deer hunting to comment on how the county had prime areas to hunt pheasants, partridge, ducks, squirrels, red fox, coyote, raccoon, and even black bear. In addition to the celebration of hunting and fishing, guides hosted events for children to teach them about the outdoors and proper conservation behavior.¹⁷

Similarly, Baldwin had developed its own event that celebrated outdoor recreation and drew tourists to the area. Baldwin hosted an annual Trout Festival on the opening

weekend of trout season in Michigan. The festival included a parade, fishing contests, children's games, and demonstrations of trout fishing techniques. Like the other events mentioned above, the Baldwin Trout Festival exposed tourists to the outdoor recreation possibilities in and around the Manistee National Forest.¹⁸

Local festivals of the 1930s were as important as reforestation in remaking the nature of the region into one that was ready to host vacationers in a renewed economy. The emphasis was on the unique character, history, and recreational opportunities that the national forest and state parks had to offer. The festivals helped local residents develop a community identity with the developing forest. Essays in festival programs told the tale of the region's lumbering history and more recent reforestation efforts while overlooking the hard times that citizens experienced.¹⁹ In each instance idealized American notions of individualism, hard work, and the battle to conquer nature were valorized. Such examples were supposed to inspire tourists to engage in outdoor pursuits to join in these values. While these manly virtues were encouraged among tourists, promotional events did not convey them in terms of consumptive culture. The emphasis in every example was on conservation and how if humans changed their perception of nature, their relationship to it would change as well. While lumbermen and shanty boys were celebrated, their destructive actions in the forest were not to be repeated. Tourists were taught to be careful with fires, to plant trees, and to avoid being fish and game hogs. Not only were the forests being recreated, but the cultural values related to rugged outdoor individualism were being reinterpreted as well.

The establishment of the Manistee National Forest

The rapid growth of land purchases and the size of national forests threatened private property advocates. A group of professional foresters concerned about this threat, led by Austin Cary and Franklin Reed, appealed to the NFRC to stop their extensive purchases and start returning forests to private ownership.²⁰ In its report the NFRC responded to this criticism and rejected this recommendation as unsound. It asserted that the costs of ownership and management were greater than the direct returns that the owner could reasonably expect in the short-term. Most individual states as well could not meet the economic demands of these lands since the wealth had been extracted from them. These conditions demanded the attention of the federal government. Federal involvement allowed private owners relief from poor investments and let states focus on the immediate needs of their citizens. With these points at the fore, the commission appealed to Congress to continue the purchase program for the public good.²¹

Roosevelt did not sit idly by while this push for a return to private ownership was being made. He countered with letters to state governors urging them to protect the public interest by further regulating the use of private lands. For Michigan, he stated that 61% of forest land in the state was under industrial ownership, while 23.5% was located on farms. Roosevelt argued that proper management by state and federal officials on the remaining 15.5% of the forests in the state was not enough to ensure the public good. Governor Frank Murphy agreed that proper management was desirable, but discouraged the President from placing too high a regulatory burden on private owners. Ultimately, intensive land regulation was not passed by Congress, but Roosevelt was able to use it to dispel the idea that the public would be best served by private ownership.²²

Meanwhile, the purchase program continued, as did the exchange program with Michigan that the NFRC was quick to laud. Congress cut and restored funding several times before it lagged for good with the entry of the United States into World War II. By that point, the NFRC had purchased almost 250,000 acres in the Manistee Purchase Unit. The majority of that land was in Lake, Newaygo, Wexford, Mason, and Manistee counties. Oceana and Muskegon had lesser amounts, while Montcalm and Mecosta counties had fewer than a thousand acres combined under federal ownership. Additionally, the purchase of over 200,000 acres for Michigan state forests had been exchanged for over 300,000 acres in the state's five national forests. The sum of the land purchased and exchanged pushed the federal ownership in the Manistee Purchase Unit over 300,000 acres.²³

As a result of these land purchases and exchanges, on October 25, 1938, President Roosevelt designated this land the Manistee National Forest by Presidential Proclamation 2306: "Whereas it appears that it would be in the public interest to give such lands, together with certain intermingled public lands, a national forest status," it was proclaimed land purchased within these boundaries was to be reserved for national and public use. This designation, long anticipated by local officials, gave the forest a permanence that it had before lacked. This proclamation cemented the long-term role of the federal government in West Michigan land use policy.²⁴

Given the resistance to government control by local residents in the national forest today, one would think that there was some dissent over the establishment of this forest and the increased presence of the federal government in the 1930s. However, that does not appear to have been the case. The national forest was welcomed by diverse

constituencies in the region. Politically, however, the region had been loyal to the Republican Party since the Civil War. Indeed, Michigan supplied Congress with some of the greatest New Deal critics in Rep. Fred Crawford (R-Saginaw), Rep. Albert J. Engel (R-Muskegon), Rep. Clare Hoffman (R-Allegan), and Rep. Earl C. Michner (R-Adrian).²⁵ Most of the newspapers in the area were still affiliated with the Republican Party during the Depression and pushed party candidates in every election. These newspapers were careful not to respond too critically to NFRC purchases or the work of the CCC that were popular throughout the region. Instead, they withheld publishing developments in the forests that occurred around Election Day and could rally support for Democratic candidates. The Presidential Proclamation naming the forest occurred a week before mid-term elections in 1938, but the *White Cloud Eagle* did not publish the news until November 10. The *Grand Rapids Press* did not publish news of the official declaration at all. Hence, while the MNF had popular support, some citizens and newspaper editors remained critical of it as a threat to cherished notions of private property and home rule that were strong in local politics.²⁶

The designation of the MNF increased scientific land management in the region. Wellington White, who became forest supervisor in 1938, wrote an objectives plan for the forest that he wanted to guide the activities of forest personnel. In the plan, White stated his overall objective in relation to the residents in and around the national forest.

There are 15,000 residents within the Manistee National Forest of whom 40 percent cannot be supported by farming, industry, or other apparent resources than forest lands. Also 6,000 additional forest dependents live immediately outside and adjacent to the National Forest. Consistent with national needs and interests, the primary objective will, therefore, be to manage the development of the forest and use of its resources so as to produce the largest possible sustained benefit to these people.²⁷

White's focus mirrored Roosevelt's notion of conservation as the revitalization of natural and human resources. White stressed that the forest was there for the economic benefit of residents. It provided direct employment and was growing the raw materials for industrial jobs in nearby cities. The activities of rehabilitating the land, therefore, were subordinate to improving economic opportunity for citizens.

Yet the content of the plan was straight scientific forestry: fire prevention, timber management, range management, wildlife management, water management, recreation, land use planning, and education. While White called for these actions on behalf of local citizens, he did not include these citizens within the framework of the USFS's work. When they were mentioned, it was to discuss how they too could be properly managed. Farmers needed to be taught to follow range rules and control their livestock. Communities needed to be guided to make appropriate recreational improvements and consistent land use policies. Residents needed to be informed and educated on USFS policies so that they would remain supportive of the work being done. Hence, while the overall objective was said to be to aid local residents and communities, the actual implementation of that objective hardly considered these people at all beyond treating them as subjects who needed to be trained. While in theory the science existed to serve the people, in reality the management was much more concerned with enacting scientific policies than the opinions or goals of the people. This imbalance between theoretical goals and actual policy would create problems for the Forest Service around the country in the 1960s.²⁸

The effect of National Forest on public and private land in the cutover

The arrival of the Manistee National Forest in the West Michigan cutover marked the arrival of the federal government that had had few prior representatives in the region. Community problems were handled locally unless the state decided to become involved. The purchase of land in the cutover and the creation of the national forest quickly shifted the balance of power to the federal government. The USFS became the largest landholder and employer in the region. While the forest had wide support from local citizens, there was also extensive concern about the government presence in the region.

The federal presence swiftly changed the nature of the land ownership and management in the region. First, many residents still subscribed to the ideology of agricultural boosterism, while recognizing how the land often failed their neighbors in this endeavor. The USFS promptly emphasized the importance of conservation and enacted it upon the hundreds of thousands of acres that it owned. Local notions of land use were swayed because of new jobs and the demonstration that conservation not only worked but could rehabilitate residents' lives by improving the economy. Thus conservation became synonymous with an improved standard of living. This connection infused citizens with a clear land ethic that valued trees, wildlife, and water if for nothing else than its economic value.

Second, for the NFRC and the USFS, the purchase of small parcels was more about land reform than about acquisition. The process of purchasing land was a lot of work and expense for these tracts. Land exchange with the state was the most significant form of land acquisition because of the volume of land exchanged. Purchases of large parcels offered solid, contiguous blocks of land for management. The purchase of smaller

tracts was about removing people from unprofitable lands and integrating them into more profitable sectors of the economy. The limited value of these small purchases was evident in the Manistee National Forest's Land Status volumes. These books consist of township maps with the national forest land shaded and numbered with corresponding explanations as to how and when the parcel was acquired. Review of these books indicated that the vast majority of land was acquired through exchange with the state or the purchase of large tracts. Purchases of small parcels were largely insignificant to the amount of land held in any particular township or the forest as a whole.²⁹

Displaced cutover residents moved to the cities to work in manufacturing plants or they stayed in the area to participate in the new forest-based economy that was developing. Yet, regardless of their decisions, their livelihoods became separated from privately-owned unprofitable land. This step, for better or worse, was necessary for their eventual integration into the market economy. Upon its sale, they stopped looking to their land for their livelihood. While in the short-term, especially given the tough economic times of the Depression, these people might swell the relief rolls; in the long-term they were pushed into wage-labor or service-sector positions. The Roosevelt Administration hoped that this change would result in more prosperous citizens and better land use for the good of the entire country.³⁰

Third, the reforestation of the cutover was a federal act when considered in terms of scale, but public land in the cutover was not limited to national forests. State forests consisted of land that was donated, tax-reverted, or purchased by the federal government for exchange with the state. The state also established parks and game refuges in the area. The national forest and the CCC significantly aided the state parks through the expertise

and labor that they provided. CCC labor built numerous state parks and improved facilities at others. The USFS presence through the national forest gave the state access to management experts that would have been less available if the forest had not been established.³¹

In addition to state-owned lands, counties, townships, and schools also engaged in land management practices of their own. The school forestry movement started in 1930 and many school districts in the cutover owned between ten and three hundred acres of land as a school forest. These forests were planted and maintained by students to foster conservation education and, it was hoped, to become a revenue stream for the school district. Community forests largely served the same purpose for counties, townships, or villages around the state. The city of Manistee established such a forest to be managed by high school students. In addition to student education, the hope was that the community forest would serve as a demonstration of what proper forest management could do in order to promote such management on private lands in the community. By 1942, 123 school and community forests existed in the state.³²

Finally, private forests and agricultural lands were also aided by the existence of the national forest. The prevention of forest fires protected not only the burgeoning forests that had naturally regenerated or had been planted by the CCC, but also private forest plantations, woodlots, crops, and stock animals. The trees slowed erosion by stabilizing the soil with their root systems and by impeding the winds that swept away the thin soils. The enticement of tourists to the area created a whole new market for farm produce without demanding that the goods endure much travel. Local communities were able to lower property taxes as revenue from timber receipts replaced unpaid taxes in the

region. All of these things improved economic conditions for local property holders and encouraged them to invest in conservation efforts on their own lands. Hence, the national forest had a broad impact on the economics, cultural values, and conservation practices of the local community.

Industrial Development

The economic recovery throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s in the Manistee National Forest was not limited to improvements in natural resources and the creation of new venues and events for outdoor recreation. The immediate pre-war period also saw a profound expansion of industrial development in cities throughout the state. Various manufacturing plants connected to the automobile industry opened or renewed operation in Detroit, Flint, Saginaw, Lansing, Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids, and Muskegon. Industries in Muskegon were particularly appealing for residents of the forest. Continental Motors increased employment seven fold to produce tank and airplane engines. Brunswick shifted their production from household items to materials to aid the war effort. Pre-war industrial employment in Muskegon was 14,000, while the post-war average blossomed to 36,000 people.³³

These plants were significant to the cutover for four major reasons. They changed local demographics, created a demand for forest products, introduced middle-class wealth due to unionization, and spewed industrial pollution. The greatest direct impact was that industry created job opportunities that drew residents away from cutover areas. While most of this development came after the major thrust of land purchasing had concluded, it did offer relief for farmers who had not sold their lands in the hopes of the development

of a better situation. People who retained their lands in the southern part of the purchase unit were able to use these factory jobs to stabilize their household finances. Young people left the villages in the national forest for these jobs in the cities. This drain of youth from the communities along with improved roads had a profound and lasting effect on the demographics of the region. Low enrollments triggered school consolidation. Agriculture declined in importance to the local economy even in places with passable soils. Local merchants extended their focus on tourists as their main market. The closure of schools, churches, and stores caused whole villages to fade from significance. The raw population of the forest counties changed very little, but the character of its communities was altered significantly.³⁴

The new urban industries also created a ready demand for forest products. While the forest was initially unable to offer much timber, there were trees that could be made into pulp, plywood, and parts. Gravel and sand quarries were created and expanded to provide other raw materials. The dams that had been built on the region's rivers provided a significant amount of electricity to power these factories. All of these natural resources increased in importance as the factories and forests grew.³⁵

Because the majority of these new manufacturing jobs employed union labor with good contracts that offered significant wages and vacation time, incomes increased and swelled the ranks of the middle class. Outdoor recreation was a significant outlet for this newfound economic freedom and leisure time. Factory workers brought their families to the national forest to camp and hike during the summertime. They returned with their co-workers and friends throughout the year to fish and hunt. Winter recreational pursuits like cross-country and downhill skiing, tobogganing, and later snowmobiling drew them

during that season as well. All of these pursuits would reach a wider audience in the post-war era enlivening economic activity throughout the year in the cutover.³⁶

On the other hand, factories had a less positive impact on the region in the form of industrial pollution. The prevailing winds carried contaminants from industrial smokestacks into the forests. Acid rain created by industrial processes fell on the growing trees. Chemicals were dumped into lakes, rivers, streams, and soil throughout the region. Garbage dumps and landfills altered the land and the air. None of these impacts were as direct as the pesticides and fertilizers applied by the USFS and local residents to forest and agricultural lands, but their impacts have received increased scrutiny since the environmental movement became a mainstream part of American culture in the 1960s and 1970s. Much of the impact of this pollution on the plants, animals, and humans is only beginning to be discovered.³⁷

Finally, industrial activity near the national forest increased with the military buildup in World War II. Michigan was an important center for the manufacture of weapons and supplies. The effects of this expansion of factories rippled throughout the rest of the state. The new Manistee National Forest provided raw materials and manpower for these factories. In return, the forest communities received an increased tourist trade that stimulated the economy. This change utilized the New Deal investment in transportation and recreational infrastructure as well as its efforts to revitalize the region's ecological condition. All of these characteristics worked together to modernize life and society in the former cutover.

Rise of the Land Ethic among Local Citizens

Despite game and land battles with conservationists, local residents were beginning to embrace a definite land ethic that differed from their forbearers. During the heyday of the logging industry, few people had objected to the idea that nature held an excess of resources that for the common good should be exploited for the raw materials to build society. During and after logging the notion that the “plow would follow the axe” was likewise embraced by the overwhelming majority of residents of the cutover. Only as farms failed, land was abandoned, and resources became scarce did residents begin to rethink their vision of the cutover. State forests demonstrated that these lands could be reforested. A renewed demand for wood as a raw material in industry as well as a growing tourism market indicated that such a change could be economically viable. All of these factors pushed residents to cooperate with conservation efforts by the USFS and the CCC and to craft their own activities that manifested this new land ethic.³⁸

Though never mentioned by name in any conservation writings by local citizens, this new land ethic and vision for northern Michigan reflected the conservation philosophy developed by Aldo Leopold from the 1920s through the 1940s. Leopold, a former USFS employee and professor at the University of Wisconsin, emphasized that ecology was about community and that people who see themselves as part of the ecological community will love nature. In his stirring nature observations in *A Sand County Almanac*, Leopold did not embrace the strict utilitarian notions of conservation endorsed by Gifford Pinchot, nor did he express an idea of nature as the place of spiritual uplift in need of preservation as stated in the work of John Muir.³⁹ Rather, Leopold embraced the natural world as the place in which humans lived. The expression of this

view was not global in scope, but intimately focused on the particular plants and animals on his Wisconsin farm. Humans, he believed, needed to interact with the land, plants, and animals in order to live, but they needed to maintain the ecology of these places so that future generations could live as well.⁴⁰

This intimate interaction with the land on which one lived was different from the environmental movement that would become a powerful political force in the 1960s and 1970s. Leopold's land ethic was about living as part of your ecological circumstances and the importance of conservation and revitalization as part of that life. Its thrust was largely local in that it demanded that individuals and communities become aware of their immediate surroundings and to live in harmony with them. Later environmentalism would emphasize large-scale problems and issues that could not be addressed locally or required cooperative or regulatory involvement by the state.⁴¹ These two approaches to ecological issues are not necessarily contradictory – in some profound cases they are complementary. Regardless, these notions are quite different and, despite the claims of some activists or political leaders to the contrary, there is not a direct relation between the two notions. Many people live humbly on their land without becoming involved in, or agreeing with, an environmentalist position. Likewise environmental advocates often are unaware of their ecological surroundings while championing an environmental cause. Such a perspective helps us to understand how the people connected to the Manistee National Forest became converted to a land ethic conscious of local ecology, while many of them would later remain wary of the claims of the national environmental movement.⁴²

Local residents manifested this new land ethic in numerous ways. The strong local support for the creation of the Manistee National Forest and Civilian Conservation

Corps camps demonstrate the increasing importance of land revitalization to local communities. However, it was the more active involvement by civic leaders, students, farmers, and common residents that indicated the depth of this ethic. Land-use planning studies were completed by various counties. Forests were planted and tended by schools and communities. Rivers and streams were reclaimed to improve fish habitat, to stop erosion, and to bolster recreation opportunities. Maybe the most important organization in demonstrating this new land ethic was the local Soil Conservation Districts (SCD). Officially under the national Soil Conservation Service, the SCDs were organized in individual counties from the late 1930s to the early 1950s. Most of these districts were founded by local farmers to monitor and improve soil conditions. While SCDs were guided by a state board, control remained local and democratic as members elected the district's officials. Thus, the SCDs relied on a cooperative relationship between national soil scientists and planners, state officials, local leaders, and farmers that was similar to other conservation work that occurred in Michigan.⁴³

Land assessment and land-use planning developed from early land economic studies that sought to apply the most efficient use to all land in order to maximize productivity. Michigan had been involved in this process from its earliest days as its Land Economic Survey was used as a model for other assessment studies around the country. Michigan remained involved in land utilization conferences and other planning efforts through the 1930s. The U.S. National Resources Board held the duty of monitoring land-use planning activities for the federal government. In Michigan, Democratic Governor William Comstock (1933-1935) founded a State Planning Commission on January 16, 1934 to centralize use and conservation planning for land, water, and wildlife resources

in the state. This body's preliminary report acknowledged how the state had experienced a shift from lumbering to farming to recreation in its northern counties in the last fifty years. It recommended that the state prepare itself for an end of mining, a rise of oil drilling, and shifts in manufacturing and recreation in the future.⁴⁴

In addition to this state and federal work, planning reports were being completed at the county level throughout the state. In West Michigan committees to complete planning reports were organized in 1936 in Oceana, Mason, and Manistee counties. These committees were comprised of local residents who followed the state's methodology to identify land into four categories: land that was suitable for farming and was being farmed; land that was not suitable for farming and was not being farmed; land unsuitable for farming that was being farmed; and land suitable for farming that was not being farmed. To make these assessments, township subcommittees would identify the soil, ground cover, and distance to market for every parcel. They consulted with long-time residents to identify further how the land had been used. These findings were mapped by the county committee in order to make recommendations to Manistee National Forest officials and the leaders of state agencies as to the best land policies for public land in the county. These plans guided both the purchase of land and the identification of parcels that should be sold or designated for other use.⁴⁵

Oceana County's planning committee chaired by Daniel Reed of Shelby concluded that only 2.73% of the land in the county was being misused. Two-thirds of that total was land that should not be cultivated, but might be appropriately used as pasture. Slightly less than half of the land was not appropriate for farming, but nearly all of that land was part of the MNF, state parks, or private forests. Committee members

pushed for forestry, wildlife, and recreational uses to be further developed on this land. They also wanted local residents to be employed to complete these tasks rather than extra-local CCC or WPA workers.⁴⁶

The planning committee in Mason County found 25,000 acres that were being farmed that should not be – 7.9% of the county. Chairman John Houk and the other members recommended that the MNF expand the purchase unit to include thirty-five additional sections, while smaller parcels could be managed by Soil Conservation District officers to prevent erosion. This body could further aid successful farmers by easing erosion problems. The increase of reforestation in the county when combined with land already designated for forests meant that nearly 60% of the county was now considered poor for farming.⁴⁷

While Mason County had a small farming section, the amount of land in Manistee County suitable for agriculture was the smallest of these three counties. Its planning board found that 56.8% of the county was already in the process of being reforested, while 7.2% should be removed from agriculture. These classifications along with the acres dedicated to streams, lakes, villages, and roads left only a third of the county for farming. This diverse board, chaired by Harry Gillespie, was comprised of farmers, foresters, conservation officers, school officials, bankers, and sportsmen. These members did not recommend that the farm families be relocated, but that as the land became available it should be converted to pasture or forest, thereby relieving it from intensive use.⁴⁸

These committees considered themselves to be bastions of democracy. Representative of the cooperative elements of conservation policy that brought together

local citizens and government advisors, residents comprised the majority of committee members with state and federal officials assigned to work in the region serving as informed non-residents. Every township had its own subcommittee that gathered the body of information for the report. These members considered themselves a bottom-up planning body that was intimately aware of the economic and social problems experienced by themselves and their neighbors. Hence, their conclusions painted struggling farmers as industrious and allocated the blame for failure on poor soils and low crop prices. This shift to blaming the land and markets rather than the farmer indicated how the critiques of land economics had infiltrated local thought about agriculture. During the period of settlement, success and failure rested firmly on the shoulders of the farmer, but by 1940 the means to farm success were not viewed as being so clear cut.⁴⁹

The committees considered community involvement the key to renewed economic and ecological success in the region. The committee encouraged schools to start their own forests and urged state and federal officials to hire local residents to complete the requisite reforestation and erosion prevention work. Schools and communities throughout the cutover responded by starting their own forests. These forests were to demonstrate and teach conservation principles, to provide recreational opportunities for local residents, and to provide future sources of income from timber sales. By 1943, there were 425 school forests covering over 50,000 acres in the state. Most of the forests were derived from tax delinquent lands that had reverted to the state. The State Land Board offered them to school districts free of charge for wildlife sanctuaries, forestry enterprises, or public recreation. School and community officials received help from local extension agents, conservation advocates, and USFS foresters in

directing management plans for these parcels while students and residents did the work. These forests gave citizens hands-on applications to better understand and implement their changing vision of the land and its proper use.⁵⁰

Local residents, often through their local Soil Conservation District, became involved in river and stream restoration during this time period as well. Stream banks were stabilized to limit erosion by planting various grasses to hold soil in place. Many of these sites were high rollaways that had been used by logging companies to deposit logs into the river for spring drives. With the end of logging in the region, the exposed soil on these high embankments had continued to silt the rivers. Workers also cleared streams of impediments that restricted water flow. In the interests of fish propagation, residents aided conservation officers from the Department of Conservation and local fish hatcheries in completing fish surveys, building fish ladders, and releasing fry into rivers and streams. These activities demonstrated how the ecological relationship of land, water, plants, and animals was a vital part of the local land ethic.⁵¹

The first soil conservation district in West Michigan was established in southern Muskegon County on December 6, 1938 through a district referendum. Behind strong backing from the local Granges and the *Muskegon Chronicle*, the SCD was approved by a vote of 200 to 5. Olaf Hostad was named chairman and county extension agent Carl Knopf was the secretary. Kenneth Bull, Victor Anderson, Alwin Woodard, and Gustav Rollenhagen served as directors. As was the case nationally, the district sought to plant trees on public and private land for erosion control caused by heavy rains and strong winds. Williard Hildebrand, the district technician, started a nursery in April 1939. The North Muskegon Soil Conservation District, a similar organization handling the northern

half of the county was formed September 14, 1939 by a vote of 126 to 3. Most of the first year for both SCDs was spent signing up farmers to participate, increasing education about SCD methods and goals, evaluating land for planting, and consulting with experts from state and federal agencies.⁵²

Land was assessed and designated to different classes based on its quality and the most efficient use. The best land needed the least work. The worst land was planted to pasture or trees. The farmland that had the most complex conservation plans was where agriculture was appropriate but needed to be managed to keep it that way. This land was planted to specialty and cover crops on a rotation cycle, strip cropped, contour cultivated, or even terraced. During the early 1940s land that needed to be reforested was planted by farmers, district cooperators, and labor from the CCC, WPA, and the county jail. Initial plantings were on farms with sandy soil but quickly it expanded to other farms as well. Idle and abandoned land was almost always reforested. These plantings were primarily red and white pine, though jack, pitch, and scotch pine as well as various other conifers were also planted. These plantings were designed to create woodlots and windbreaks throughout the county. Additionally, erosion prevention was done on gullies and highways. Public education about appropriate conservation practices accompanied all of this work.⁵³

Farmer response to the education sessions about erosion was very positive for the SCDs. Even farmers on the very best soils quickly grasped the effect of water erosion on their fields. By the summer of 1940, the South Muskegon Soil Conservation District had more applications for farm planning than they had technicians to manage the requests. All the townships in the district agreed to plant trees on the land that they owned. 11,000

acres in just half of the county were in need of immediate reforestation. All of this work created problems in securing enough labor and planting stock to complete the work. These problems only worsened throughout the course of the war.⁵⁴

In addition to the plantings being done by the SCD, the South Muskegon SCD formed a cooperative for members who wanted to sell timber. Mature stands of timber were rare in western Michigan during the early 1940s. Farmers who had woodlots or naturally regenerating stands that needed to be cut had ordinarily been forced to negotiate sales with logging companies individually. This cooperative agreement allowed farmers to sell their logs jointly, which raised the price eleven dollars per thousand board feet. Clearly such a change drew increased interest in the SCD from farmers. This fact allowed SCD officials even greater opportunity to sell the idea of erosion prevention to prosperous farmers.⁵⁵

These conservation practices grabbed the attention of the local press and business establishments. The *Muskegon Chronicle* frequently ran news stories on conservation, especially the work of the SCD. Local radio station WKBZ created programming and advertising that highlighted conservation work. The County Board of Supervisors expressed appreciation for SCD work and continued appropriating \$1500 for work done on county land. Cities in the county also made use of SCD expertise in their conservation programs. S.J. Linck, a banker in Ravenna, required farmers to get a district plan for their farms before filing loan applications. Linck thought that the work of the SCD technicians made the bank's money more secure on such loans. This wide range of support indicated the increased commitment that local citizens were making to conservation in Muskegon County.⁵⁶

Farmers in Mason County initiated similar work in 1940 on the basis of the county's land use study. The major concerns at the time were wind and water erosion in the western part of the county that was predominately comprised of orchards and other fruit farms. Harold Larson headed the effort in the county. Joseph Ruba, Evron Kistler, and Carl Odean were the first elected directors. Since approximately one-third of the land in the county was publicly owned at the time, their work needed to be much more cooperative with the USFS. This relationship helped fill their needs for forestry expertise and planting labor given the USFS personnel and connections to other federal agencies.⁵⁷

Land-use planning committees and soil conservation districts represented an expansion of the cooperative work between government officials and local residents on the issues of conservation and the growth of a developing land ethic among local residents. This cooperation gave local residents control over local policy decisions with the benefits of expert scientific and management advice. Their inclusion in the process of determining land policy kept the two groups from being at loggerheads with each other over proper resource management. Furthermore, their involvement in the decision making process helped educate local residents about the need for conservation policies. This process allowed them to craft their own land ethic that would protect forest resources from within the community rather than through outside coercion. This support was in sharp contrast to the resistance that local residents had toward conservation policies related to fish and game.

Troubles in the National Forest

Despite this public involvement in conservation and support for the national forest and the CCC, race and class divisions affected access to opportunities. The infusion of the federal government, relief policies, and CCC enrollees upset a pre-existing tenuous balance among the residents. Powerful representatives of the state or federal government, many of whom were not native to the region, often prompted policies and actions that discriminated against people based on their class or race. These class and race divisions created a charged atmosphere that cutover residents had not known before.

The enforcement of local game laws was a particularly volatile issue between local residents and state officials. Conservation officers and game violators continually fought over the application of these laws. While few confrontations ended in death like the McCumber case, many fights were waged that developed into bitter feuds that had numerous chapters. For example, Lake County conservation officer Karl Kidder and fellow officers arrested Darnel Brown, John Brown, and Rodney Bartlett for spearing fish on April 8, 1936. The arrest was dramatic as Kidder tackled Darnel Brown as he tried to escape. Though Brown was acquitted at a jury trial on April 27, the incident clearly angered Brown and he sought out Kidder and his friends. He got into an argument with Ford Kellum, a friend of Kidder's, at the Fishermen's Ball in Baldwin on April 25. On the night of May 1, Kidder went to find Brown after the May Pole Dance. He found him at the Pacific Hotel and the two had an abbreviated fight. According to Kidder, when the two were pulled apart, Brown told him that "if he ever caught (Kidder) in the woods he would either spear or shoot (him)." Kidder was determined not to allow Brown to cause him more trouble.⁵⁸

Infused within this case were elements of class tension and resistance to authority. Kidder arrested Brown and his companions for spearing. Spearing was simply the use of a spear to kill fish, a technique that had been used by the Anishnabeg. This method was used by the lower class because it increased the chances of a swift kill and ordinarily eliminated the waiting associated with bait and fly fishing. Their goal was to secure the fish for food. Sportsmen objected to this method of fishing on the grounds that it failed to give the fish a “sporting” chance. Thus, the laws banning this method were based more on sport than on its impact on fish numbers. Lower-class individuals found this discrimination as to the means of fishing as unjustly impinging on their rights to procure food. Therefore, they rejected the logic of the upper-class values of sportsmen and the authorities, like Kidder, who chose to enforce it. Brown’s spearing, therefore, identified his class and his response to Kidder was a rejection of his authority.⁵⁹

Though Brown threatened to kill Kidder, local residents rarely instigated confrontations with authority. Rather they resisted game laws by ignoring them. They fished, hunted, set fires, and gathered wood in defiance of the law. Conservation officers were depicted as an enemy of a free society and law-abiding citizens. If caught and arrested, the response of local residents depended upon the type of trial that they received. If their fate was to be determined by judges, they most often pled guilty and paid the fine. However, a jury trial before their peers was preferred. Most local residents were either poachers themselves or had family members who were. This situation meant that a jury was always sympathetic to defendants in conservation violation cases. The verdicts on such cases were almost always for acquittal regardless of the evidence against the accused. Darnel Brown and his friends were found not guilty by a sympathetic jury,

as were Sidney Welch and Carlton Shoots in February 1937.⁶⁰ The situation was so farcical in Lake County – the poorest part of the cutover – that in 1936 Colonel William Bergin, the assistant chief of field administration for the Conservation Department, declared that enforcement would be cut if resident juries did not hand down more convictions. Obviously such a threat only emboldened local residents to resist more and undermined the ability of conservation officers in the local districts.⁶¹

Racial attitudes of conservation officers affected their enforcement policies throughout the region. Conservation officers had a good sense of which local white residents were potential poachers. They watched these men closely, while they assumed that white tourists were sportsmen. These fishermen and hunters routinely had their licenses and game caches checked to ensure adherence to game laws, but these investigations were either random, a part of mandatory road-side checks, or based on tips. African-Americans residents and tourists and the Anishnabeg, however, were suspected without cause. Conservation officers checked all men from these backgrounds when they encountered them in the field. Even the smallest violations were prosecuted in these cases.⁶²

Racial bias by federal officials manifested itself in land purchases for the Manistee National Forest. On March 3, 1938 the National Forest Reservation Commission (NFRC) found a solitary lot of 0.115 acres a half mile south of Baldwin for sale in the proposed purchases. This lot was priced at \$526.27, which translated to \$4,576.28 an acre. Most purchases in Lake County at the time were between two and four dollars an acre, so the purchase of this lot was bound to draw the attention of members of the commission. The lot, as Leon Kneipp explained, was located on Michigan Highway

37 and would be used for an expansion of the Baldwin Ranger Station. Kneipp admitted that other buyers were interested in the land to construct a gas station, which was what drove up the price. Representative Roy Woodruff (R-Mich.) considered this price “highway robbery” and expressed the position that he did not understand why the USFS was challenging for this land when a private owner so clearly wanted it. Secretary of War Harry Woodring asserted that if the land was not in a bidding war the asking price would fall to a tenth of the present price within three or four years. Kneipp expressed the concern of the USFS that there had been considerable investment in developing the current ranger station and that a gas station next to it would negate the work that had been done to make the site a permanent office.⁶³

This debate over the price of a small parcel of land would not have been significant if the commission had voted on the issue then, but Region 9 Supervisor Lyle Watts went on to explain that beyond the work that had already centralized forest operations at this ranger headquarters the nearby “colored settlement” of Idlewild was considered a “nuisance” to USFS activities. He asserted that a gas station at this site “would be patronized by an undesirable class of people.” The building of the expanded ranger station and requisite machine shops, Watts continued, would discourage this sort of development. While NFRC records indicated that the need to curb the expansion of African-American business into Baldwin gave the commissioners pause, the high cost of the lot discouraged them from making an immediate decision and the purchase was tabled.⁶⁴

The matter emerged again at a meeting of the NFRC on January 26, 1939, during which the commission considered a long line of special cases from all over the country.

Exorbitant prices were the main point of contention for many of these cases. Most of these cases dealt with lands that had valuable standing timber or recreational value attached to them. For example, within the Manistee National Forest the purchase of 529 acres of prime lake frontage for \$24.77 an acre was considered a great deal by the USFS because that price was less than two-thirds of the actual value of the site. It was in the context of the discussion of these other special purchases that the issue over the one-ninth of an acre in Baldwin was again raised. It was unclear what had occurred in the intervening ten and a half months, but discussion of the case was brief. Woodruff's concern about the price of the land and the threat of the building of a gas station that would draw "an undesirable class of people" near the ranger station was reiterated, but the meeting minutes did not recount any further discussion of the issue. They merely stated that Woodruff admitted to having "been mistaken at the other meeting" and that he withdrew his objections to the purchase. In light of Woodruff's reversal, the purchase was approved.⁶⁵

While the reason for Woodruff's change of heart was unclear, the bias of Watts and other USFS officials against African Americans in the region was quite apparent. Residents of Idlewild were singled out based on their race as being a threat to the functioning of the ranger station. Such an attitude from prominent officials of the USFS could not have had a positive effect on race relations in the region during the era of land purchasing. Since white residents in much of the area rarely interacted with African Americans or the Anishnabeg, these official actions created an increased air of suspicion around racial minorities.⁶⁶

This suspicion manifested itself on Sunday, June 23, 1940, in regards to a stolen car and black CCC enrollees of Company 2695 at the Camp Stronach outside of Manistee. Early that afternoon, state troopers found the car of P.W. Schnorbach near the camp. Schnorbach, a resident of Manistee, had reported the 1939 Ford sedan stolen Saturday morning. Three enrollees who were found in the vicinity were arrested and taken into custody at state police headquarters. State Trooper Oramel O'Farrell and his partner investigated the theft in the camp. Commanding Officer G.S. Branch was away from the camp at the time, so his subordinate Alfred Plaenert worked with the troopers on the inquiry.⁶⁷

O'Farrell, in the course of his questioning, threatened various enrollees and struck one of them. News of these acts quickly spread through camp and enrollees responded by rocking police cars and putting sand into their gas tanks. O'Farrell called for backup, which prompted a response not only from state police but from vigilante locals who surrounded the camp carrying a variety of weapons. A stand-off ensued until Branch returned to the camp that evening, quelled the enrollees, and urged the troopers to disperse the local residents.

The police investigation soon exonerated the arrested enrollees and no one from the camp was charged with the crime. But the events at the camp created a tense atmosphere between enrollees and local residents. The *Manistee News-Advocate* called for enrollees to be placed under tighter supervision when they went to town, but camp educator Amos Washington and camp doctor Harvey Whitfield objected to the *News-Advocate's* labeling of the enrollees as dangerous given the lack of evidence that they had committed any crimes. An anonymous enrollee, unconvinced that justice would be served

if left in the hands of local officials, wrote an appeal to Senator Charles Diggs for help. Diggs's inquiries in Washington prompted the CCC to send Harold Chafey for a full investigation. Chafey concluded that enrollees were unfairly suspected of the crime. He requested that the state police discipline Officer O'Farrell. Plaenert was blamed for allowing the situation to escalate in the absence of Branch and was discharged from his post.

While incidents like this one were rare at the four camps comprised of black enrollees in and around the Manistee National Forest, it demonstrated the tension in the communities related to their presence.⁶⁸ Communities in Northern Michigan unexposed to African Americans often had an irrational fear of blacks that was based in national prejudices.⁶⁹ Manistee residents judged these enrollees based on their race as other black enrollees faced suspicion and discrimination from the community.⁷⁰ While no Camp Stronach enrollees were deemed to have been involved with the stolen car, racial unrest escalated in Manistee after the incident. It took a CCC investigation and the involvement of Senator Diggs to calm local fears about the black enrollees near the city.⁷¹

Amid these class and race biases, external conservationists battled local residents for power over the area's resources. By the 1930s changes in cutover ecology limited contestation to a couple of areas – game management and land development. Poor local residents depended on fish and game for sustenance. Conservation laws, however, were crafted based on the management priorities of sportsmen and biologists who sought to manage the schools, flocks, and herds for selective seasonal harvesting. These values conflicted greatly with hunting for markets or food, which were the dominant uses by local residents. As enforcement of game codes increased, the incompatibility of these

differing notions of appropriate use for fish and game came to a head in local resistance both extra-legally and in their unwillingness to convict poachers.⁷²

The USFS likewise imposed its own notion of appropriate land development. The example of the land purchase in Baldwin demonstrated inherent racism in policy decisions about who could take advantage of the benefits of the national forest. Likewise, the purchase of land for recreational use was ostensibly to create equal access for all public citizens. Federal officials acknowledged that these purchases would restrict development of private resort and recreational venues in the region by making many of the best sites open to the public. In this way, the USFS was imposing policies that promoted the rights of the public over private rights by creating a national commons – public lands that were under federal control. This limit on individual autonomy reflected the federal ideology manifested in many New Deal projects that the public good trumped private enterprise. Public support for the communal good over private gain has been rare in American society.⁷³ In this instance, it took the dire economic circumstances of the Great Depression to create a context in which this ideology of the public good could momentarily transcend the American ideal of individual agency.⁷⁴

Despite these points of contestation, there was a great deal of agreement between extra-local officials and local residents about appropriate forms of conservation and restoration in local ecology. Local residents supported land reform, fire prevention, reforestation, fish stocking, and habitat restoration throughout the region. All of these efforts promised improved economic fortunes for residents. The federal government understood them as the answer to endemic economic and social ills that had become a burden on the state's finances and future. While the end uses of these resources were not

identical for these two groups, the means of replenishing them were compatible. Hence, efforts to revitalize the region economically through changes to its ecology were only contentious when the values of extra-local officials and local residents clashed.

Taggart Supreme Court Case

The contest over appropriate land use in the former cutover was also about who could dictate control over private land. In Home Township in northern Newaygo County lies the Little South Branch of the Pere Marquette River. In the spring of 1940 frustrated with trespassing by fishermen on his property, William Taggart, the owner of section six, contacted the Big Rapids Land & Development Company, the owner of section five, about making the meandering three miles of river on the two sections impassible for fishermen. Taggart and representatives of the land company erected sheet piling and wire fencing along each side of the stream and excavated an eight-foot channel where the river entered and left their two sections. The channels made it impossible for fishermen to wade up or down the river and the fencing kept fishermen from trespassing across their land to fish.⁷⁵

Shortly thereafter fisherman Herbert Davis found the river in this condition, brought the matter to the attention of conservation officers, and filed suit against Taggart and the land company for the right to fish. The Attorney General Thomas Read and the Director of Conservation P.J. Hoffmaster assumed the suit from Davis and argued that the state controlled use of navigable rivers. The state believed this case was about its authority to manage this river and others that had similar conditions. The Department of

Conservation had planted trout in the river for forty years, most recently earlier that spring, so it had a vested economic interest in keeping the river open to fishing.

At issue in the case was whether or not the river was indeed navigable, thus under state jurisdiction according to the Northwest Ordinance. The plaintiffs argued that previous judicial questions regarding navigability had been determined on whether or not the river was floatable. They argued that since the river had been used to float logs during the lumbering boom in the region that the river was indeed navigable. The defendants countered that such conditions only existed during the spring thaw or in times of very heavy rainfall. This limit on the river's floatability meant that the river was not navigable in any real sense. The circuit court justices decided two to one in favor of the defendants on the basis that the condition of the river was similar to previous cases regarding the navigability of the Pine River.⁷⁶

The state appealed its case to the State of Michigan Supreme Court. The justices agreed with the circuit judges that the navigability of the river was a judgment decision based on the time of the year and the weather. The justices, however, decided the case primarily on the history of fishing in the area. They argued that since anglers had been fishing the river for at least fifty years and that the state had been promoting this activity, a precedent had been set in regards to the river's access for fishing. They reasoned that since Taggart had not objected when conservation officers had informed him of their intention to the plant of fish in the river that spring that he had given his consent that fishing was an acceptable activity. Thus, in defense of the interests of the state to manage its rivers for the outdoor recreation activity of fishing, the Supreme Court decided seven to one to reverse the decision of the circuit court.⁷⁷

This case demonstrated the shift that had occurred in terms of natural resource management in the state during the previous fifty years. Limited interference with private owners had given way to active scientific management of resources. Unlike similar legal changes in the eastern United States, the goal was not industrial use but recreational use.⁷⁸ State control and management of land, water, fish, and game was seen as vital to protecting economic investments for tourism. This management, however, had the potential to clash with the desires of landowners and residents since water flows and fish swim crossing artificial human boundaries and disregarding human control.⁷⁹ When the concerns of local residents were not considered or dismissed, shootouts, riots, or litigation sometimes resulted. But when the state communicated with local residents and compromised on their means of management, policies were largely supported by these citizens.

Differing views of conservation in the forest

In the forty years from 1890-1930, the vision that all land could and should be used for farming had waned in Michigan. Much of the cutover had proven unprofitable for agriculture and the lack of any other use resulted in the land being considered a failure or a waste. Numerous citizens and politicians of the state had pushed for a government-led reappraisal of the cutover for the purpose of putting it to better use. The Great Depression weakened public allegiance to the ideal of private property. The political and economic might of the federal government overcame timid state politicians and meager treasuries to draw the national forest on the map. This victory for conservation was widely embraced by local citizens, yet not all of the changes were accepted

unconditionally. Still, residents did change their vision of the land. They relinquished visions that they lived in an agricultural nirvana and accepted the forest as a response of sound stewardship. This concession shifted their economic outlook toward a dependence on forest management, outdoor recreation and tourism as their main sources of income. They came to understand the natural world as an ecological community in which they lived. This world view pushed them toward a new understanding of the relationship between the components of their ecosystems. In response, they sought to develop management plans with which they could best utilize the forest without destroying these resources. This new respect for the land and water on which they lived represented a new land ethic for these citizens.

While residents embraced and participated in reforestation, soil conservation, and stream improvement efforts, they resisted other parts of the conservation policy. They openly rejected fish and game laws that imposed bag limits and season restrictions. They dismissed the preference for hook and line fishing over their methods of netting or spearing. While the law was written based on hunting for sport, most local residents were hunting for food or economic gain. This distinction too created substantial conflict with officers of the state. These differences should not be understood as a violation of the land ethic as much as an indication of variations in it between the views of local residents and government officials.

These battles over appropriate conservation policies also demonstrated race and class fissures in the society. On the one hand, impoverished families received heretofore unseen levels of assistance from the state and federal government. On the other hand, biases in this aid distribution and specific conservation policies limited the ability of the

poor to resolve their financial troubles. Property tax burdens pushed them off their lands. Game laws restricted their procurement of fish and game for sustenance. The enforcement of timber theft laws curtailed the ease by which they were able to get wood as a building material or fuel. In these ways, conservation policies did target the poor. The renewal of the forest in northern Michigan, therefore, changed much more than the landscape.

Despite these problems, the transition from forest to farm to forest again was a fairly smooth one. There was no rebellion against the federal government, though some residents would have preferred more local control. Private owners and the USFS developed compatible management plans for their contiguous lands. The federal government had become a powerful player in the region's local politics, although once land was surveyed, purchased, and reforested, the government served more as a silent partner than the proverbial bull in a china shop. Local owners used their land for outdoor recreation or to serve the wants of fishermen, hunters, or tourists. The USFS, on the other hand, mainly went about the quiet work of management done away from boisterous town hall meetings instead preferring the flutter of aspen leaves or the creaking of white pines in a stiff wind. These owners of private and public lands learned to coexist amidst the various forms of land ownership and use that came to be the norm in the region.

Notes for Chapter Six

¹ For an elaboration on this utilitarian claim of conservation, see Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1947); Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); Bob Pepperman Taylor, *Our Limits Transgressed: Environmental Political Thought in America* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 14-27; Char Miller, *Gifford Pinchot and the Making of Modern Environmentalism* (Washington: Island Press, 2001), 151-162; and James G. Lewis, *The Forest Service and the Greatest Good: A Centennial History* (Durham, N.C.: Forest History Society, 2006).

² David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 1-5. For another example of how festivals were used to craft a community identity see Jane Adams, *The Transformation of Rural Life: Southern Illinois, 1890-1990* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 221-224 for a discussion of the Cobden (Ill.) Peach Festival.

³ David E. Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 247-267.

⁴ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage, 1995), 3-19.

⁵ Louise V. Armstrong, *We Too Are the People* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1938), 439-456.

⁶ "Manistee Forest Festival Association souvenir program – 1936," MNFF program collection, BHL. For a further discussion of dedicating different days for memorializing different parts of the city's history, see Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 47-52.

⁷ The festival appealed to the national tourist impulse that connected the land to American identity. The fact that it was a *national* forest festival appealed to this vision of nature and the country. Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 3-5.

⁸ Armstrong, *We Too Are the People*, 456-459; "Manistee Forest Festival Association souvenir program – 1936"; and "Festival Workers Are to Meet Tonight," *Manistee News-Advocate*, June 30, 1936 and "Festival Hailed as Success," *Manistee News-Advocate*, July 6, 1936, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM.

⁹ "Manistee Forest Festival Association souvenir program – 1937, 1940" MNFF program collection, BHL; and July 2 entry, 1938 Journal, Wilbur Karl Kidder papers, BHL.

¹⁰ Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 3-14, has considered what American culture expects from Indians and how Natives have defied these stereotypes in the twentieth century. Even though they were never removed from the Manistee area by Americans, their presence there was still viewed as unexpected by tourists and other newcomers to the region. Armstrong, *We Too Are the People*, 195-200.

¹¹ "Manistee Forest Festival Association souvenir program – 1936, 1937, 1940."

¹² "Manistee Forest Festival Association souvenir program – 1936, 1937."

¹³ Armstrong, *We Too Are the People*, 429-432 and "Manistee Forest Festival Association souvenir program – 1936, 1937."

¹⁴ "1940 Michigan Open Guides' Meet, Newaygo, Michigan – Souvenir Program," April 12-14, 1940, Michigan Documents Reading Room, LOM.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ "Newaygo to be Host to Sportsmen at First Open Guides' Meet April 12-14," *Fremont Times-Indicator*, March 7, 1940; "Newaygo Prepares to Fete Michigan Tourist Guides," *Fremont Times-Indicator*, March 28, 1940; "Guides' Meet at Newaygo to be Week-End Event," *Fremont Times-Indicator*, April 11, 1940; and "Forest Service Makes Exhibit," *White Cloud Eagle*, April 11, 1940, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM.

¹⁷ "1940 Michigan Open Guides' Meet, Newaygo, Michigan – Souvenir Program," April 12-14, 1940, Michigan Documents Reading Room, LOM.

¹⁸ "Baldwin to Host Trout Festival," *White Cloud Eagle*, April 25, 1940, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM. This event was likely aided by a change in game laws that moved opening day of trout season from May 1 to the last Saturday in April. Clearly such a change targeted urban sportsmen who would only be able to fish the season opener if it fell on a weekend.

¹⁹ "Manistee Forest Festival Association souvenir program – 1940," MNFF program collection, BHL.

²⁰ "Minutes, Jan. 22, 1936," Binder 65, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA. Cary had worked for the USFS and Reed was the executive secretary of the Society of American Forestry. Its publication, the *Journal of Forestry*, had published a series of critical articles in recent issues.

²¹ NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1937*, 1-4.

²² Letter from FDR to Frank Murphy, March 15, 1938, Item 763; Letter from Murphy to FDR, May 26, 1938, Item 787; and Letter from FDR to Murphy, July 16, 1938, Item 809 all in *Franklin D. Roosevelt & Conservation*, vol. 2, edited by Nixon, 199-200, 226-228, 250-251.

²³ NFRC, *Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the Year Ended June 30, 1940*, 12, 18, 28. A series of tables indicated the amount of land purchased and exchanged by the state and the counties as well as the cost for the land in dollars and per acre. The national exchange program was summarized in Table 6. The NFRC attempted exchanges with fifteen states, but Michigan was the primary player in these exchanges. Exchanges with Michigan totaling 325,145 acres represented over 85% of state land exchanges with the NFRC. Mississippi had the second highest total of acres exchanged with 40,853.

At the time of the Presidential Proclamation naming the Manistee National Forest, Al Miller stated that the USFS owned 314,224 acres. "Manistee Forest Reality Since October 25," *White Cloud Eagle*, Nov. 10, 1938, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM.

²⁴ "Presidential Proclamation 2306: Manistee National Forest – Michigan," Presidential Executive Orders and Proclamations microfiche, Law Reading Room, LOC. See Memo from Wallace to FDR, June 20, 1938; Memo from Acting Secretary of the Interior to D.W. Bell, Oct. 14, 1938; Memo from D.W. Bell to Homer Cummings, Oct. 19, 1938; Memo from Cummings to FDR, Oct. 24, 1938; and Memo from M.H. McIntyre to Wallace, Oct. 31, 1938, Forest Service 1938 folder, Box 10, Forest Service File (1-C), FDRL.

²⁵ Roger L. Rosentreter, "Roosevelt's Tree Army: Michigan's Civilian Conservation Corps," (Lansing: Michigan Dept. of State, 1986), 13-15.

²⁶ The *White Cloud Eagle* was published weekly on Thursday, while the *Grand Rapids Press* was published daily. "Manistee Forest Reality Since October 25," *White Cloud Eagle*, Nov. 10, 1938.

²⁷ W.I. White, "Objectives and Priorities in the Administration of the Manistee National Forest," July 1, 1941, Plans folder, Miscellaneous Forest and Other Reports file, HMNF.

²⁸ White, "Objectives and Priorities," 2-9. Paternalistic policies ostensibly based on science were the norm for federal agencies in the middle of the twentieth century. The hegemony of federal authority was called into question in numerous movements during the 1960s and 1970s. In relation to the USFS, I refer to the controversies that erupted related to clearcutting and terracing in the Monongahela and Bitterroot National Forests. Samuel Trask Dana and Sally Fairfax, *Forest and Range Policy: Its Development in the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980), 225-229; Thomas R. Cox, Robert S. Maxwell, Phillip Drennon Thomas, and Joseph J. Malone, *This Well-Wooded Land: Americans and Their Forests from Colonial Times to the Present* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 255-257; and Paul W. Hirt, *A Conspiracy of Optimism: Management of the National Forests since World War Two* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994). Monographs that tell the tales of mistakes made by the federal government in pursuits of scientific management are becoming more numerous. For examples related to conservation concerns, see Nancy Langston, *Forest Dreams, Forest Nightmares: The Paradox of Old Growth in the Inland West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995); Joseph E. Taylor, III, *Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999); Nancy Langston, *Where Land and Water Meet: A Western Landscape Transformed* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003); and Pete Daniel, *Toxic Drift: Pesticides and Health in the Post-World War II South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

²⁹ Manistee National Forest Land Status Books, Lands Office, HMNF.

³⁰ James Glasgow, "Muskegon, Mich.: The Evolution of a Lake Port" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1939), 96-98.

³¹ R.D. Burroughs, "Public Land in Michigan: A Review of Management" (Lansing: Michigan Dept. of Conservation, 1958), 6-8; Helen Foster, *1921-1946: Twenty-Five Years of Conservation in Michigan* (Lansing: Office of Information and Education, 1960), 82-87; and Dave Dempsey, *Ruin and Recovery: Michigan's Rise as a Conservation Leader* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 93-96, 114.

³² Foster, *1921-1946*, 62-63; Helen M. Martin (ed.), *They Need Not Vanish: A Discussion of the Natural Resources of Michigan* (Lansing: Michigan Dept. of Conservation, 1942), 162-163; and Alex Karkula, "City of Manistee Establishes Community Forest," *R-9 Bulletin* 11, no. 3 (Oct. 1939), R-9 Bulletins 1938-1941 box, HMNF.

³³ Jonathan Eyler, *Muskegon County: Harbor of Promise* (Northridge, Calif.: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1986), 108-111.

³⁴ Hazel H. Reinhardt, "Social Adjustments to a Changing Environment," in *The Great Lakes Forest: An Environmental and Social History*, ed. Susan Flader (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 205-219.

³⁵ Richard A. Skok and Clarence B. Buckman, "A Status Report on the Great Lakes Forest: New Resource Concepts and Management Issues," in *The Great Lakes Forest*, ed. Flader, 223-242.

³⁶ Lisa M. Fine, "Rights of Men, Rites of Passage: Hunting and Masculinity at Reo Motors of Lansing, Michigan, 1945-1975," *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 4 (Summer 2000): 805-823 and Lawrence M. Lipin, *Workers and the Wild: Conservation, Consumerism, and Labor in Oregon, 1910-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

³⁷ David S. Shriner, "Acid Rain: Implications for the Lake States Forests," in *The Lake States Forests: A Resource Renaissance*, ed. William E. Shands (St. Paul, Minn.: The Lake States Forestry

Alliance, 1988): 153-165; Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery*, 139-193; and Donald I. Dickmann and Larry A. Leefers, *The Forests of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 11-12.

³⁸ These conditions were similar to the involvement of local residents in conservation discussed by Richard W. Judd, *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 1-12. He has argued that local residents initiated conservation measures in New England during the nineteenth century. Familiarity with the land and human impact on it prompted efforts to stave off harmful effects. Their support ultimately made conservation viable in the region.

³⁹ There are numerous good arguments as to how the dualism of conservation and preservation is inadequate for understanding debates over environmental policy. I concede many of these points, but grasping the perspectives of Pinchot and Muir is still a common starting point in a study of American environmental philosophy. The best biographies of each are Miller, *Gifford Pinchot and the Making of Modern Environmentalism* and Stephen Fox, *John Muir and his Legacy: The American Conservation Movement* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1981). For the rise of conservation and the splitting of the movement into conservation and preservation camps, see Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*; Elmo R. Richardson, *The Politics of Conservation: Crusades and Controversies, 1897-1913* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962); and Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).

Scholars who offer a sound critique of this approach to understanding early-twentieth century environmental policy and philosophy include Taylor, *Our Limits Transgressed*; Louis S. Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Robert W. Righter, *The Battle over Hetch Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Ben A. Minteer, *The Landscape of Reform: Civic Pragmatism and Environmental Thought in America* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006).

⁴⁰ Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac and Sketches Here and There* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949). For a fuller understanding of Leopold's career and ecological philosophy, see Susan Flader, *Thinking Like a Mountain: Aldo Leopold and the Evolution of an Ecological Attitude Toward Deer, Wolves, and Forests* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1974); Curt Meine, *Aldo Leopold: His Life and Work* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); and Julianne Lutz Newton, *Aldo Leopold's Odyssey* (Washington: Island Press, 2006). For explications of the land ethic and its implications, see J. Baird Callicott, "The Conceptual Foundations of the Land Ethic," *In Defense of the Land Ethic: Essays in Environmental Philosophy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989): 75-99; Richard L. Knight, "Aldo Leopold: Blending Conversations about Public and Private Lands," in *Aldo Leopold and the Ecological Conscience*, ed. Richard L. Knight and Suzanne Riedel (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002): 34-45; and Minteer, *The Landscape of Reform*, 115-152.

⁴¹ Samuel P. Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) and Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement*, rev. ed. (Washington: Island Press, 2005).

⁴² I would argue that this skepticism about environmental claims can be largely explained through two reasons. Local residents, despite or maybe because of the national forest, adhere to a deep private property rights philosophy. Additionally, residents maintain a strong skepticism of extra-locals. Environmentalists, particularly those from outside the region, often espouse positions that would undermine home rule which can alienate local residents who may be sympathetic to the larger environmental goals.

⁴³ Richard S. Kirkendall, *Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1966), 146-149.

⁴⁴ U.S. National Resources Board, *State Planning: A Review of Activities and Progress* (Washington: GPO, 1935), 46-47 and Jack Van Coevering, "Planning Body Paves Way to Guided Future," *Detroit Free Press*, March 17, 1935, 1935-1936 folder, Box 1, Jack Van Coevering papers, BHL.

⁴⁵ *Oceana County Land Use Planning Report* (Hart, Mich.: Oceana County Planning Committee, 1940), 38-47; *Intensive Land-Use Planning Report for Mason County* (Scottville, Mich.: Mason County Planning Committee, 1940), 4-6, 10-11; and *Land Use Planning Report – Manistee County* (Manistee, Mich.: Manistee County Planning Committee, 1941), 6-7, 83.

⁴⁶ *Oceana County Land Use Planning Report*, 3, 38-47, 83-113.

⁴⁷ *Intensive Land-Use Planning Report for Mason County*, 1, 4-6, 10-15.

⁴⁸ *Land Use Planning Report – Manistee County*, 2, 40, 80-82.

⁴⁹ *Oceana County Land Use Planning Report*, 4-5, 24-27, 38-40, 84-100; *Intensive Land-Use Planning Report for Mason County*, 17-21; and *Land Use Planning Report – Manistee County*, 3-4, 80-83.

⁵⁰ R.J. Baldwin, "Extension Division Reports – Forestry," *Annual Report of the Michigan Board of Agriculture, 1943* (Lansing: publisher, 1943), 178; Alex Karkula, "City of Manistee Establishes Community Forest," *R-9 Bulletin* 11, no. 3 (Oct. 1939), 29; "Semiannual Report of the South Muskegon Soil Conservation District," June 30, 1940, South Muskegon Soil Conservation District meeting minutes and reports folder, Permanent District Records file, MCCD; and John H. Carroll, "A Study of School Forests in Michigan," (East Lansing: MSU Agricultural Experiment Station, 1958).

⁵¹ Letter from J.S. Cutler to C.R. Enlow, April 28, 1941, General Correspondence – Michigan State folder, Box 123 – Massachusetts—Michigan, USDA Soil Conservation Service Project Plans & Reports collection, 114-1176(A), NARA.

⁵² "Diary of the South Muskegon Soil Conservation District – 1938-1940," Permanent District Records file, MCCD.

⁵³ "Soil Conservation District Work Plan – 1939," North Muskegon Soil Conservation District meeting minutes and reports folder, Permanent District Records file, MCCD.

⁵⁴ "Semiannual Report of the South Muskegon Soil Conservation District," June 30, 1940.

⁵⁵ R.J. Baldwin, "Extension Division Reports – Forestry," 178-179.

⁵⁶ "Annual Report of the South Muskegon Soil Conservation District," December 31, 1942, South Muskegon Soil Conservation District meeting minutes and reports folder, Permanent District Records file, MCCD.

⁵⁷ "District Establishment," History of organization file, MLCD.

⁵⁸ April 8, April 25, April 27, and May 1 entries, 1936 journal, Box 1, Wilbur Karl Kidder papers, BHL.

⁵⁹ John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, 3rd ed. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001), 72-87, has depicted the "sporting" values of upper-class fishermen. Taylor, *Making Salmon*, 168-169, has demonstrated how class divides were central to the objections of sportsmen about spearing.

⁶⁰ In an incident reminiscent of the one with Darnel Brown, Kidder and Carl Wender fought with Welch and Shoots when they arrested them on Nov. 4, 1936 for illegal hunting. April 27 and Nov. 4 entries, 1936 journal and Feb. 17-18 entries, 1937 journal, Box 1, Wilbur Karl Kidder papers, BHL.

⁶¹ "Says Lake County Won't Co-Operate," *Grand Rapids Press*, Sept. 12, 1936, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM. Karl Kidder reported that conservation officers in Lake County were very angry at Bergin for that statement. Bergin met with Harry Duffing and Russell Martin in Baldwin on Sept. 17 to discuss the situation. Sept. 17 entry, 1936 journal, Box 1, Wilbur Karl Kidder papers, BHL.

⁶² Karl Kidder chronicled in his official journal the disdain for racial minorities held by himself and other conservation officers. Racial slurs indicated his lack of respect for African Americans and Native Americans. For examples, see Nov. 17 and Dec. 21 entries, 1936 journal; March 6 entry, 1937 journal; and Oct. 9 entry, 1938 journal, Box 1, Wilbur Karl Kidder papers, BHL.

⁶³ "Minutes, March 3, 1938," Binder 77, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ "Minutes, January 26, 1939," Binder 81, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA. The land purchase summary for the Manistee National Forest confirmed that this purchase was indeed made from Eva Brown of Baldwin and that rights to "a 5-room dwelling and 1 out bldg." were reserved for sixty days after the deed was signed. "Summary of Lands Recommended for Purchase, January 26, 1939," Binder 85, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA. The Baldwin Ranger Station is still located on this site.

⁶⁶ "Minutes, January 26, 1939," Binder 81, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1958, 95-27, NARA.

⁶⁷ Information for this paragraph and the following paragraphs that deal with this incident were drawn from the following sources: Letter from anonymous enrollee to Senator Charles C. Diggs, June 25, 1940; Harold G. Chafey, Report on June 23, 1940 incident at Camp Stronach (F-70); and Letter from Charles H. Kenlen to Diggs, Aug. 21, 1940 all in Manistee F-70 folder, Box 104, Camp Inspection Reports, Division of Investigations, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 35-115, NARA. "Police Hunt Stolen Car," *Manistee News-Advocate*, June 22, 1940; "Stolen Car is Recovered," *Manistee News-Advocate*, June 24, 1940; and "CCC Enrollee Conduct Discussed at Meeting," *Manistee News-Advocate*, June 25, 1940, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM.

⁶⁸ John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967), 88-101 and Charles A. Symon, *We Can Do It!: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Michigan, 1933-1942* (Escanaba, Mich.: Richards Printing, 1983), 99-105.

⁶⁹ Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), xi-xvii. While MacLean's discussion centered around the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia, her observations on the nature of prejudice would apply to the racism found in this example.

⁷⁰ "CCC Enrollee Conduct Discussed at Meeting," *Manistee News-Advocate*, June 25, 1940 Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM.

⁷¹ Harold G. Chafey, Report on June 23, 1940 incident at Camp Stronach (F-70); and Letter from Charles H. Kenlen to Diggs, Aug. 21, 1940 all in Manistee F-70 folder, Box 104, Camp Inspection Reports, Division of Investigations, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 35-115, NARA.

⁷² For a more thorough discussion of how the enforcement of conservation ideals by extra-local officials impacted local residents and transformed American landscapes, both public and private, see Warren, *The Hunter's Game* and Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature*. Despite recounting a broader and much more contentious battle between local residents and outside environmentalists than the one I describe here, Benjamin Heber Johnson, "Conservation, Subsistence, and Class at the Birth of Superior national Forest," *Environmental History* 4, no. 1 (Jan. 1999): 80-99, also has elucidated how differences in class and values in nature complicated the establishment of a national forest in the Upper Great Lakes. Steven Hahn, "Hunting, Fishing, and Foraging: Common Rights and Class Relations in the Postbellum South," *Radical History Review* 26 (1982): 37-64, has explicated how conservation laws were used to control poor laborers, both black and white, and how these laborers resisted in the post-Civil War South.

⁷³ While rare, I do not mean to insinuate that this case is the only one available. Also see, Gary Kulik, "Dams, Fish, and Farmers: Defense of Public Rights in Eighteenth-Century Rhode Island," in *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America*, ed. Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985): 25-50.

⁷⁴ It is interesting to note how this ideology actually conflicted with the game law enforcement discussed above. Daniel Justin Herman, *Hunting and the American Imagination* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001) has expounded on how the American sportsmen embodies American notions of rugged individualism and democracy. Yet as the state extended the enforcement of game laws endowed with the values of the sportsmen, the federal government was remodeling land use and development based on notions of the common good that trumped individual rights. This point of contradiction remains relevant today as fishermen and hunters continue to comprise a significant portion of recreational users of the national forest.

⁷⁵ All information in this paragraph and the following paragraphs about the Taggart case comes from the filed decisions of the circuit and supreme courts, Karl Kidder's journal, and newspaper accounts. "Opinion and Dissent," 1940 State of Michigan Circuit Court for the County of Newaygo, *Read & Hoffmaster v. Taggart* and *Read & Hoffmaster v. Big Rapids Land & Development Company* and "Opinion and Dissent," *Attorney General v. Taggart* and *Attorney General v. Big Rapids Land & Development Company*, October 1943 State of Michigan Supreme Court, both in Taggart case folder, Box 18, Jack Van Coevering papers, BHL; June 6, June 11, June 14, June 17, June 18, and June 19 entries, 1940 journal, Box 1, Wilbur Karl Kidder papers, BHL; "Memories Recalled in Taggart Case," *Ludington Daily News*, June 18, 1940; "Taggart Defends River Dredging," *Ludington Daily News*, June 19, 1940; and "Judges Ask for Briefs in Injunction Against Taggart," *White Cloud Eagle*, June 20, 1940, all from Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM.

⁷⁶ Judge Earl C. Pugsley and Judge Herman Dehnke decided with the defendants, while Judge Fremont Evans dissented.

⁷⁷ Justices J. Butzel, C.J. Boyles, Chandler, North, Starr, Bushnell, and J.J. Sharpe were in the majority while Justice J. Wiest dissented. Butzel wrote the majority opinion.

⁷⁸ Ted Steinberg, *Nature Incorporated: Industrialization and the Waters of New England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), has focused on the legal battles to harness New England's rivers for power to launch industrial development in the nineteenth century.

⁷⁹ Mark Fiege, "Private Property and the Ecological Commons in the American West," in *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J.B. Jackson*, ed. Chris Wilson and Paul Groth (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003): 219-231 and Fiege, "The Weedy West: Mobile Nature, Boundaries, and Common Space in the Montana Landscape," *Western Historical Quarterly* 36 (Spring 2005): 22-47 has made a similar argument in regards to the privatization of water.

Conclusion: A Transformed Landscape – Environmentally and Politically

On September 17, 1940, a group of men and women concerned with reforestation and conservation gathered seven miles north of White Cloud in Newaygo County to remember a fellow conservationist and friend. On forty acres in the Manistee National Forest (MNF), the group dedicated a memorial forest for E.C. Mandenberg. Mandenberg had died the previous year at the age of fifty-two after dedicating his life to forestry in Michigan. A native of Chicago, Mandenberg had earned a forestry degree from Michigan Agricultural College and worked throughout the state promoting reforestation of the cutover. Friends and co-workers remembered his work during the 1920s and 1930s against white pine blister rust as his legacy.

The festivities opened with an invocation by Rev. David Barkley of Cadillac and a speech by forester H. Basil Wales. The former secretary of the state's Public Domain Commission Augustus Carton spoke of the work of his friend for the cause of forestry in the state. White pine trees were to be planted on the forty acres, which the group intended to expand to eighty. Mandenberg's children, Carl, Robert, and Ann, set the first pines as his wife Estelle expressed the family's appreciation. A stone marker in honor of Mandenberg designated the site and there was a parking lot for forest visitors. The group spoke about how Mandenberg, a lover of the forest, would be remembered in perpetuity with a forest of his own.¹

This memorial forest was not unique. Many parcels in national and state forests were planted under memorial forest programs. These forty acres in honor of Mandenberg joined other memorial forests, Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) plantings, and

naturally regenerated oak forests all on federally purchased or exchanged lands to create the MNF. Despite the substantial regeneration of the forest in the cutover, the MNF was not a monolithic, contiguous forest. The MNF was and remains a collection of federally-owned parcels interspersed with privately-owned land. The national forest parcels are more consolidated in the northern sections of the forest, but nowhere does the USFS have dominion over large swaths of land as they do in the West. This situation demanded a new application of the 1920s cooperation policy of the USFS. In areas like the MNF where they could not dominate land management, the USFS had to cooperate with private, state, and local owners who each had disparate notions on how to best use the land (See Map 3).²

The creation of the MNF in the 1930s by the USFS was indicative of an important shift in national land policy. Federal reserve lands had been concentrated in the western United States since the early days of conservation policy in the country. Federal lands east of the Rockies were quite circumscribed until after the Weeks Act in 1911. Even after that act authorized the purchase of land for federal forest management, federal ownership in the East was still minimal and local. Only with the shift in conservation policy reflective of a new theory on the role of the federal government espoused by Franklin Delano Roosevelt did federal land ownership in the East become a vital part of national land policy. This change had lasting effects not only on federal conservation agencies, but on residents throughout the East, Midwest and South that found themselves with a new and powerful neighbor. The consequences of the creation of eastern national forests became the main force in the political, economic, social, and cultural development of these regions in the post-war years.³

Conservation as a Public Value

As federal land use policy, the Manistee National Forest solved the problem of the cutover. Politicians felt freed from debates over land use policy that had increased in intensity over the previous twenty years. Economically, the forest bolstered tourism and gave the region a steady, though inadequate, source of income. Local residents came to terms with their status as citizens of the forest rather than aspiring farmers. Consequently, they helped create a distinct regional culture aware of the four seasons with the spring trout season, morel mushroom collection, and maple syrup making, summer boating and camping, fall bird and deer hunting, and winter ice fishing and cross-country skiing. The forest that had been thrust upon them by federal officials ushered in a new vision of the land and the lifestyle to go with it.

However, the forest did not solve all of the problems of the region. Poverty remained an issue even with the rise of tourism as the region's dominant industry.⁴ Changes in natural resource needs meant that the numerous sawmills anticipated by forest supervisors to get out the cut were not opened. Rather the aesthetic value of the trees trumped their value as timber. So while there is some logging that occurs in the forest, it is far from its main activity. Furthermore federal and state ownership of land in the region was significant and much of the private land fell under extra-local ownership. Hence, local residents were even more dependent on decisions made outside the region for their economic wellbeing. Urbanites reconstructed the forest in the twentieth century, just as the forest had constructed the city in the nineteenth century.⁵

This transformation of the landscape during the early-twentieth century was a crucial part of the development of state power both in Lansing and Washington. In the

late-nineteenth century, Michigan legislators had a limited sense by which they could act. In the face of wildfires and idle lands, Progressive Republican reformers pushed the state to embrace conservation as a civic duty of the legislature. Such a move demanded that the state usurp power from county and municipal government by not returning tax-reverted land for private sale and the tax rolls. Rather the state began to gather that land together into reserves to be reforested and maintained for the public good. Statesmen began to understand the cutover as a place in need of the type of order and structure that only they could provide.⁶

Unlike other progressive initiatives, these conservation activities did not occur in a government office in the capitol or in urban centers. They happened on the land and challenged the notion that democracy functioned best when land was under private control. Hence, while lumbermen supported this expansion of the state because it would free them of denuded land that they did not want, settlers and local farmers balked at state intrusion because they thought it compromised their ability to build thriving agricultural communities in the cutover.⁷

This imposition of state power over local objections in the form of reforestation, game laws, and fire prevention was not unique to Michigan. Karl Jacoby has elucidated how local residents, Native peoples, and immigrants have tried to resist such impositions. Louis Warren has tracked how these same groups were marginalized by game laws. Robert Gough has traced the ways in which subsistence farmers were pushed from their land. And Sara Gregg has explicated how local residents did not share the federal vision of the public good in the creation of parks and forests. Yet in Michigan a cooperative approach resulted in less conflict and an endorsement of a land ethic by local residents.

This different approach does not invalidate the experiences of local people that happened elsewhere; rather it offers an alternative pattern for how conservation policies were enacted in the past and for a potentially better way to implement land use and management policies in the future.⁸

Ironically, Michigan's cooperative model could only take hold because the weak political support for public reforestation in Lansing limited state authority to act in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. The Michigan Forestry Commission was a small body with a small budget that hampered the ability of its few members to enact their grand vision for state reforestation. Rather, Charles Garfield, Filibert Roth and other early conservation advocates were forced to negotiate with local residents lest their plans not take root at all. These early summits over land policy gave local residents a voice in the process. This cooperation bolstered their investment in reforestation and allowed them to recognize the ways that it did not threaten their way of life. Furthermore, Michigan had a network of citizens groups that supported conservation initiatives and directed the structure of state policy. Such organizations allowed the diverse opinions of lumbermen, farmers, sportsmen, women's club members, and tourism promoters to be heard in the process of making state policy. These groups also monitored the activities of legislators and state officials and distributed their observations to their memberships. This role as public informants further solidified the cooperative relationship between citizens and policy makers.⁹

The existence of such a relationship between state officials and local citizens on conservation issues was vital in the vast expansion of public land in the state during the Great Depression. Michigan authorized a broad purchase and exchange policy for the

National Forest Reservation Commission. Michiganders embraced land sales and the creation of new or expanded national forests within state boundaries. Residents sought the work that the new forests brought both under federal agencies and as part of the growing tourism market. Forest and CCC camp supervisors for their part reached out to their local communities to get input and promote local support for their efforts. All of these activities were supported because of their cooperative nature and the developing land ethic held by state residents.

While this cooperative model worked well for establishing state and national forests, the conflicts created in the areas in which it was not applied expose the limits of policy makers during the early-twentieth century. As the arguments over the enforcement of game laws demonstrate, not all elements of conservation policy were made in such a cooperative fashion. Furthermore, divisions around racial biases among whites, blacks, and Anishnabeg were exploited in ways that challenged the viability of conservation policies in the region. So while the Michigan cutover was remade into forests based on a spirit of cooperation, it did have its own measure of the conflict over natural resource conservation existent in other places.

Management Problems and the Future of the Forest

A 1945 report by J.A. Donery demonstrated that the USFS was focused on managing the state's national forests for timber production. He praised changes in the tax code as well as fire protection and planting efforts in the state, while urging further work to combat overgrazing, insects and disease. These efforts, he claimed, would allow for the continuation of limited timber cutting while the depleted forests rebounded to provide

a sustained yield of timber. Yet, at the core of this management strategy was the assertion that both state and federal agencies had to cooperate with private owners in the form of technical assistance in the management of woodlots and in the marketing of the products from the cut. Donery claimed that this cooperation should extend not only to the commercial producers, but also to the owners of small woodlots who desired such services.¹⁰

Yet this cooperation had to go beyond just timber management. Issues of forest management necessarily interact with issues related to game and water access. Limits or changes in these areas demonstrate the locus of power in public decision making about appropriate management. Furthermore, the complexities of land ownership in and around the forest have complicated land management over the last seventy years. Unlike in the western national forests, the USFS does not control large blocks of forest in Northern Michigan. Today the federal government owns slightly over forty percent of the land within the Manistee National Forest proclamation boundaries. A wide variety of individuals and corporations own land in the region and the Pere Marquette State Forest borders the national forest to the east. Additionally, much of the public land is broken into rather small or irregularly shaped parcels that create almost a checkerboard appearance on plat maps. The lack of contiguous space limits management choices and demands cooperation with private owners who neighbor public land.¹¹

Federal and state officials, as well as private owners, all have differing ideas on the best management of the forest. These groups all value a range of uses and the complex balance between the myriad of recreation options, forestry, and animal habitat issues is difficult to maintain. The Michigan Department of Natural Resources is

responsible for the management of fish and game, but these animals are not sedentary. Their movement across property lines complicates both the protection and harvest of these animals. Just a cursory consideration demonstrates the range of problems created by the multiplicity of owners and management patterns in the region.¹²

The core argument of a murder trial appeal illustrated the problems of this complex ownership pattern. In March 2002, Marvin Gabrion was convicted in the 1997 killing of Rachel Timmerman and dumping her body in Oxford Lake in northeastern Newaygo County's Monroe Township.¹³ The location where her body was found was significant, because the lake is nearly surrounded by the Manistee National Forest. This fact resulted in the trial being held in federal court and Gabrion being sentenced to death. Michigan was the first state to abolish capital punishment in 1846, so the jurisdiction of the case was the difference between a life and death sentence for Gabrion.¹⁴ It was over this issue of jurisdiction that his lawyers filed their appeal.¹⁵

Though the appeal failed, it raised significant questions regarding control of public lands in and around the national forest. While public land remains at the center of the economic and social life of the region, it has been threatened regularly since the national forest was established. Upon taking office in 1941, Republican Governor Murray Van Wagoner proposed that the restoration of public land to private ownership "should receive serious study."¹⁶ Even recently state representative Mike Pumford (R-Newaygo) sponsored a bill to authorize the sale of community and school forests if local officials determined that the land was no longer necessary for recreational or educational purposes. This bill passed in 2004 and overturned the mandate that such lands revert to the state if they were no longer wanted by communities or schools.¹⁷ Such efforts to

return public land to private ownership suggest that the future of public forests may not be as permanent as it may appear.

The end of the cutover

On November 3, 1939, the State of Michigan gained control of 2,208,975 acres, most of which was in the Northern Michigan cutover and the Upper Peninsula. For eight years the legislature had placed a moratorium on the tax reversion of land to the state in the hopes that the burden of the Great Depression would lift and that the taxes would eventually be paid. However, by the end of the decade this hope had faded. The addition of these acres nearly doubled the amount of land that the state owned. In 1941, *Grand Rapids Press* journalist Arthur Stace wondered in print what would happen to all that land. The long-time supporter of reforestation noted that there were 300,000 acres within state forest boundaries and another 300,000 within national forest boundaries. That left 1.6 million acres without a clear use. Stace recommended that information from the Land Economic Survey and County Land Use Planning reports be used to identify the best use. Even without looking at that data, Stace assumed that most of the land would go toward state forests, game refuges, and state parks, while other areas would be traded or sold. Unlike in the past, these trades and sales would be done with the appropriate land use already apparent to all parties involved.¹⁸

Stace, unlike his predecessors, saw this tax-reverted land not as a curse on the state, but as an opportunity. He observed that three things had always restricted reforestation efforts: fire, the belief that pine would not follow pine, and the slow growth of trees that made the enterprise economically risky for private owners. Yet, he believed

that these issues had been resolved. Fires were largely prevented and rarely raged over hundreds, let alone thousands of acres, anymore. The superstition about pine regeneration had been definitively proven false. As for the last issue, public land was not limited by taxes, so reforestation could be applied on most of the marginal land in the state. Three new objectives replaced these three old fears. State forests could produce timber, provide recreation, and create local economic stability. That public forests were interspersed with private lands only encouraged their use for recreation by local residents and tourists.¹⁹

The purchase of land by the federal government to manage away the land problem through national forests, land exchanges with the state, a revised vision of land use, and the rise of tourism for outdoor recreation altered the condition of the West Michigan cutover. These changes were long in developing but they coalesced in the 1930s to stabilize the land base and economy throughout the region. As Stace observed, “The Northland has lots of problems left – the problems of county government and county consolidation among them – but the problems of the idle cutovers are well on their way to solution.”²⁰ Stace was right, the region still would have problems – the economy for the worst areas of the cutover have never recovered – but the problem of idle cutover land was becoming a distant memory.

Today the Mandenberg Memorial Forest is largely forgotten.²¹ The stone still rests next to the highway near the intersection of M37 and Five Mile, but the parking lot has long grown over. Tracts of planted white pine are interspersed with mixed oak and pine stands. Commercial prospects for timber would likely require a thinning of the existing stand. The forest suffers like many other public land parcels in the region from the widespread problem of illegal trash dumping. Though passed by thousands of

automobiles every day, visitors are generally limited to trash dumpers and hunters. The condition of the forest likely is not what its dedicators envisioned in 1940, but it is representative of a public forest in the midst of privately-owned land in an economically-depressed region of the state.

The end of the cutover in the 1930s did not mark the end of the debate over how to best use the land of northern Michigan. The USFS managed the MNF for timber production and recreational use. State foresters held similar views, but local citizens used their community forests for a wide range of goals including education, bird habitat, local beautification, and sources of revenue. Private owners had an even greater number of uses for their land. Some areas were used to produce a wide range of agricultural products. Other parcels became vacation spots, resorts, commercial forests, and year-round residences. Some corporations owned land for the production of raw materials or as recreational sites for employees. The cutover ceased to be the land that nobody wanted. It had become a vibrant forest that sustained a wide array of inhabitants, visitors, and uses.

Notes for the Conclusion

¹ "Memorial Forest Dedicated to E.C. Mandenberg," *White Cloud Eagle*, Sept. 19, 1940, Newspaper Microfilm Room, LOM, 1 and "Dedication of E.C. Mandenberg Memorial Forest Program," Sept. 17, 1940, Michigan Reading Room, LOM.

² Dennis L. Lynch and Stephen Larrabee, "Private Lands Within National Forests: Origins, Problems, and Opportunities," in *Origins of the National Forests: A Centennial Symposium*, ed. Harold K. Steen (Durham, N.C.: Forest History Society, 1992), 198-216; Lynne Heasley and Raymond P. Guries, "Forest Tenure and Cultural Landscapes: Environmental History in the Kickapoo Valley," in *Who Owns America?: Social Conflict over Property Rights*, ed. Harvey M. Jacobs (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998): 182-207; and Kevin R. Marsh, *Drawing Lines in the Forest: Creating Wilderness Areas in the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 14-18.

³ The history of eastern national forests and their impact on the communities they encompass remain an understudied part of environmental history. William E. Shands, "The Lands Nobody Wanted: The Legacy of the Eastern National Forests," in *Origins of the National Forests*, ed. Steen, 19-44; Benjamin Heber Johnson, "Conservation, Subsistence, and Class at the Birth of Superior National Forest," *Environmental History* 4 (1999): 80-99; and Sara M. Gregg, "From Farms to Forest: Federal Conservation and Resettlement Programs in the Blue Ridge and Green Mountains" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2004) have offered initial efforts in this regard.

⁴ The continued lack of work in the region reinforces that poverty. In an effort to improve the economic circumstances of Lake County, the state built a state of the art juvenile detention center in Baldwin to create jobs in the area. After only being open for a few years, it was closed as a part of state budget cuts. "Close Prison, Create Problems," *Grand Rapids Press*, Sept. 18, 2005; Tim Martin, "Punk Prison Closing Spawns Suit," *Grand Rapids Press*, Nov. 4, 2005; and Amy Bailey, "Probably the Worst Situation You Can Get," *Grand Rapids Press*, Nov. 27, 2005.

Hal Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 10-28, has argued that embracing tourism as the main part of a region's economy is a "devil's bargain" because that money rarely gets in the hands of local residents or stays in the local community.

⁵ This claim depends on the arguments about the nineteenth-century relationship between Chicago and the Great Lakes forests in William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991).

⁶ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

⁷ For a further discussion at how lumbermen supported scientific management as the best means for progressive conservation, see Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959). For an elaboration at how businessmen courted government regulation during the Progressive Era, see Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism* (New York: Macmillan, 1963).

⁸ Robert Gough, *Farming the Cutover: A Social History of Northern Wisconsin, 1900-1940* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997); Louis S. Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); and Gregg, "From Farms to Forest."

⁹ While acknowledging historical failures to meet the demands of this cooperative style, Dave Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery: Michigan's Rise as a Conservation Leader* (Ann Arbor: University of

Michigan Press, 2001) has touted this legacy of citizen led cooperation between residents and elected officials in implementing conservation policies in Michigan. See also, Dempsey, "Ruin and Recovery: Conservation and Environmental Law in Michigan," in *The History of Michigan Law*, ed. Paul Finkelman and Martin J. Hershock (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006): 148-166.

¹⁰ J.A. Donery, "Supplemental Report – Confidential Forest Resource Appraisal, State of Michigan," Feb. 20, 1945, Michigan folder and J.A. Donery, "Michigan Forests – A Great Resource," preprint from May 1945 issue of *American Forests*, Lake State folder, both in Box 37, American Forestry Association collection, FHS.

¹¹ This condition of land ownership is most apparent through a consultation of township plat maps for the counties in the Manistee National Forest. The various forms of management can be seen in the sequences of aerial photographs taken since the establishment of the forest. For a sample of these aerial photos see the collection at the University of Michigan Map Library.

¹² Mark Fiege, "The Weedy West: Mobile Nature, Boundaries, and Common Space in the Montana Landscape," *Western Historical Quarterly* 36 (Spring 2005): 22-47 has argued how water, plants, animals, and diseases have no regard for human boundaries. Ted Steinberg, *Slide Mountain, or, the Folly of Owning Nature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), has argued that given the malleability of property law the same is often true of the land as well. In a similar vein, Karen R. Merrill, *Public Lands and Political Meaning: Ranchers, the Government, and the Property between Them* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), has explored how differing notions of property resulted in political battles over federally-owned rangeland in the American West.

For a study of how the USFS and private landowners organized management of the Manistee National Forest during its first thirty years, see Robert K. Holz, "The Area Organization of National Forests: A Case Study of the Manistee National Forest, Michigan" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1963).

¹³ Timmerman had accused Gabrion of raping her on August 7, 1996. She and her infant daughter Shannon disappeared on June 3, 1997. Timmerman's body was found in Oxford Lake (Sec. 10, T15N R12W) on July 5, 1997. Gabrion remains a suspect in other murder cases. Ken Kolker, "Lost Innocence," *Grand Rapids Press*, Aug. 10, 1997; Ed White, "Gabrion Jury Back Today," *Grand Rapids Press*, March 16, 2002; and Ed White, "Lawyers: Gabrion Had Other Victims," *Grand Rapids Press*, March 17, 2002.

¹⁴ Historically, Michiganders have been quite proud of their status as the first place in the English-speaking world to abolish capital punishment. David G. Chardavoyne, "The Northwest Ordinance and Michigan's Territorial Heritage," in *The History of Michigan Law*, ed. Paul Finkelman and Martin J. Hershock (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006), 28-32.

¹⁵ Joseph Crawford, "The Marvin Gabrion Trial, Our Very Own Death Watch," *Grand Rapids Press*, March 2, 2002; Ken Kolker, "Gabrion Death Sentence Challenged," *Grand Rapids Press*, April 14, 2006; Nate Reens, "N.C. Case May Put Gabrion to Death," *Grand Rapids Press*, May 17, 2006; and Nate Reens, "Convicted Murderer Stays on Death Row," *Grand Rapids Press*, Aug. 26, 2006. Judge Robert Holmes Bell denied the appeal and upheld the conviction and death sentence. He ruled that "Nothing in the language suggests that the state intended to reserve for itself the authority to second guess the United States as to what prosecutions it might consider necessary."

¹⁶ Murray D. Van Wagoner, "Special Message," Jan. 3, 1941 in *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, vol. 6, ed. Gleaves Whitney (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 2003), 8-26. Van Wagoner wanted to renew the tax rolls and review how public lands were being utilized. He changed his views by the end of his term and promoted post-war planning and land acquisition by the Conservation Commission. Van Wagoner, "Ex-augural Address," Jan. 6, 1943 in *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, vol. 6, ed. Whitney, 41-49.

¹⁷ This law is Public Act 377 of 2004. Pumford introduced the bill on April 21, 2004 and Governor Jennifer Granholm signed it on Oct. 12, 2004. It authorized the sale of public forest land as long as it remained forest. Fifty percent of the sale was to be kept by the local agency and fifty percent was to be deposited in the state treasury. For a critical editorial of an earlier version of this bill by an outdoor writer, see Bob Gwizdz, "Bill to Let Schools Sell Forest Land Ridiculous," *Grand Rapids Press*, Jan. 19, 2002. For a history of the importance of community forests, see Robert McCullough, *The Landscape of Community: A History of Communal Forests in New England* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1995).

¹⁸ Arthur W. Stace, "What Are We Going to Do with 2,208,975 Added Acres?" (Lansing: Michigan Dept. of Conservation, 1941).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 14-19, 30.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 50.

²¹ The author visited the site on April 12, 2006. In asking local residents and law enforcement officials as to its location, no one he encountered had ever heard of the Mandenberg Memorial Forest.

Table 1.1
Lake County Population Statistics, 1870-1950

<u>Township</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Center			111						
Chase	520	1,087	1,169	1,075	999	843	664	684	657
Cherry Valley		119	301	211	239	124	100	139	152
Dover		214	303	396	373	279	212	262	224
Eden		92	120	21	103	173	96	117	124
Elk		156	569	245	221	334	274	266	228
Ellsworth		252	1,949	1,080	799	542	385	476	382
Glencoe		126	94						
Lake	28	90	59	177	201	212	231	234	261
Newkirk				811	624	458	381	427	343
Peacock						91	115	105	127
Pinora		375	890	373	336	313	251	204	250
Pleasant Plains		350	657	416	690	588	671	898	1,220
Sauble						195	160	172	115
Sweetwater					149	102	103	116	120
Webber		115	162	152	205	91	217	376	625
Yates		257	121			92	206	322	429
Lake County	548	3,233	6,505	4,957	4,939	4,437	4,066	4,798	5,257
Baldwin (village)		165	429	343	502	471	518	612	835
Luther (village)			1,084	837	626	396	337	343	314
Marlborough (village)					57				

Luther is located in Ellsworth & Newkirk townships.
Baldwin is located in Pleasant Plains & Webber townships.

Table 1.2
Manistee County Population Statistics, 1870-1950

<u>Township</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Arcadia	175	335	671	881	994	893	717	691	677
Bear Lake	417	777	1,287	1,428	1,584	1,217	1,118	1,228	1,162
Brown	459	533	726	799	752	731	562	521	513
Cleon	85		810	1,237	1,357	906	786	714	642
Dickson					425	429	491	574	505
Filer	376	1,033	2,101	2,283	1,969	1,515	1,127	1,251	1,335
Manistee (city)	271	6,930	12,812	14,260	12,381	9,694	8,078	8,694	8,642
Manistee	3,343	773	2,631	3,128	2,990	1,781	1,344	1,390	1,594
Maple Grove		97	361	508	903	928	877	877	779
Marilla	129	166	341	404	550	507	344	379	322
Norman						399	313	399	447
Onekama	255	684	1,082	920	784	688	687	708	833
Pleasanton	283	481	593	659	685	553	480	451	487
Springdale		102	105	558	581	340	218	258	204
Stronach	281	621	710	791	733	318	267	315	382
Manistee County	6,074	12,532	24,230	27,856	26,688	20,899	17,409	18,450	18,524
Bear Lake (village)				448	504	323	325	327	364
Copemish (village)				429	490	284	266	241	255
East Lake (village)						675	392	412	376
Kaleva (village)									346
Onekama (village)				274	324	252	325	340	435

The city of Manistee and the village of East Lake are in Manistee township.

Bear Lake is in Bear Lake township.

Copemish is in Cleon township.

Kaleva is in Maple Grove township.

Onekama is in Onekama township.

Table 1.3
Mason County Population Statistics, 1870-1950

<u>Township</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Amber	492	747	1,036	1,329	964	819	745	833	887
Branch		400	319	614	409	354	324	417	407
Custer		650	1,287	1,541	1,287	1,327	1,105	1,105	1,122
Eden		589	579	782	815	704	515	575	503
Freesoil	142	318	878	1,112	1,162	865	785	700	659
Grant	125	217	301	569	673	512	357	341	379
Hamlin	124	306	85	293	345	236	283	584	930
Lincoln	165	140	171						
Logan					282	240	198	234	169
Ludington (city)		4,190	7,517	7,166	9,132	8,810	8,898	8,701	9,506
Meade					87	91	101	79	86
Pere Marquette	954	516	944	965	845	773	707	777	1,032
Riverton	538	681	1,203	1,488	1,456	1,102	1,152	1,131	1,095
Scottville (city)					891	1,045	1,002	1,162	1,142
Sheridan			349	461	587	540	422	433	321
Sherman	152	409	550	1,026	1,259	1,035	971	1,019	934
Summit	257	387	508	486	568	504	466	483	563
Victory	314	515	658	1,053	1,070	874	725	804	739
Mason County	3,263	10,065	16,385	18,885	21,832	19,831	18,756	19,378	20,474
Custer (village)				269	277	269	281	237	260
Freesoil (village)			306			210	239	236	208
Fountain (village)						222	223	235	247
Scottville (village)			147	554					

The city of Ludington is in Pere Marquette township.

The city of Scottville is in Amber & Custer townships.

Custer is in Custer township.

Freesoil is in Freesoil township.

Fountain is in Sherman township.

Table 1.4
Mecosta/Montcalm Counties Population Statistics, 1870-1950

<u>Township</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Aetna	335	894	1,122	946	902	784	686	753	815
Big Rapids (city)	465	3,552	5,303	4,686	4,519	4,558	4,671	4,987	6,736
Big Rapids	1,237	549	655	683	668	601	509	607	698
Mecosta	262	759	851	926	887	786	671	713	932
Cutover Total	2,299	5,754	7,931	7,241	6,976	6,729	6,537	7,060	9,181
Mecosta County	5,642	13,973	19,697	20,693	19,466	17,765	15,738	16,902	18,968

The city of Big Rapids is in Big Rapids township.

<u>Township</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Pierson	755	1,572	1,410	1,250	1,129	929	802	805	857
Reynolds	457	1,569	1,804	2,015	1,544	1,295	1,182	1,194	1,236
Cutover Total	1,212	3,141	3,214	3,265	2,673	2,224	1,984	1,999	2,093
Montcalm County	13,629	33,148	32,637	32,754	32,069	30,441	27,471	28,581	5,257
Howard City (village)				1,398	1,046	903	872	839	791
Pierson (village)				215	183	164	144	147	169

Howard City is in Reynolds township, while Pierson is in Pierson township.

County data for Mecosta & Montcalm counties only considers townships that eventually become part of the Manistee National Forest Purchase Unit. County totals, however, are for the entire county.

Table 1.5
Muskegon County Population Statistics, 1870-1950

<u>Township</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Blue Lake	381	307	138	149	143	114	112	189	221
Casnovia	1,094	1,715	1,734	1,940	1,686	1,485	1,292	1,478	1,595
Cedar Creek	660	356	337	367	397	318	382	511	781
Dalton	401	471	638	815	822	652	1,080	1,703	3,113
Egelston	233	218	289	319	377	324	948	1,716	3,941
Fruitland	228	494	580	844	783	612	689	1,040	1,548
Fruitport		880	1,446	927	958	1,073	1,454	2,330	4,464
Holton		892	906	846	915	809	775	925	1,075
Lakeside		1,702							
Laketon	1,039	918	2,204	419	343	333	639	1,077	1,901
Lovell	167								
Montague		1,950	1,967	1,384	1,315	1,160	1,161	392	574
Montague (city)								1,099	1,530
Moorland	194	409	738	868	711	632	836	872	1,063
Muskegon (city)	6,002	11,262	22,702	20,818	24,062	36,570	41,390	47,697	48,429
Muskegon	401	924	1,498	1,316	1,248	3,427	10,232	6,067	12,757
Muskegon Heights (city)					1,690	9,514	15,584	16,047	18,828
North Muskegon (city)				513	352	630	1,370	1,694	2,424
Norton	688	556	723	1,416	919	1,263	3,156	5,613	10,921
Oceana	919								
Ravenna	1,035	1,189	1,466	1,492	1,439	1,280	1,208	1,468	1,544
Roosevelt Park (city)									1,254
Sullivan				447	413	479	542	660	1,020
White River	1,452	508	633	574	461	380	308	389	492
Whitehall	842	1,835	2,014	1,582	1,543	1,307	1,472	1,534	251
Whitehall (city)									1,819
Muskegon County	14,894	26,586	40,013	37,036	40,577	62,362	84,630	94,501	121,545

Table 1.5 (cont'd)

<u>Township</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Casnovia (village)		95	275	177	183	333	254	175	159
Fruitport (village)				311	330	321	379	458	638
Montague (village)			1,623	998	942	845	887		
Muskegon Heights (village)				1,012					
North Muskegon (village)			1,590						
Ravenna (village)							343	451	551
Whitehall (village)		1,724	1,903	1,481	1,437	1,230	1,394	1,407	

Casnovia, Fruitport, Montague, Muskegon, Ravenna, & Whitehall are in their respective townships.

North Muskegon is in Laketon township.

Muskegon Heights is in Muskegon township.

Table 1.6
Newaygo County Population Statistics, 1870-1950

<u>Township</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Ashland	770	1,346	1,489	1,523	1,570	1,430	1,329	1,499	1,784
Barton	383	638	773	743	611	592	421	458	438
Beaver	142	197	409	503	643	458	373	395	352
Big Prairie	403	572	445	394	449	394	916	451	367
Bridgeton	397	388	584	585	516	439	430	559	643
Brooks	974	1,497	1,016	1,009	1,038	1,099	1,018	1,148	1,443
Croton	923	807	706	509	491	394	515	512	538
Dayton	771	1,588	1,958	1,930	2,415	1,263	1,076	1,284	1,523
Denver	777	1,112	1,055	1,193	1,120	886	779	966	1,129
Ensley	606	1,388	1,177	1,164	1,184	938	829	992	883
Everett	231	784	576	390	438	409	388	538	562
Fremont (city)						2,180	2,157	2,520	3,056
Garfield			1,686	1,387	1,410	1,254	1,395	1,462	1,598
Goodwell			339	350	405	431	346	391	294
Grant	77	512	455	612	780	647	792	1,091	1,219
Home			1,016	310	466	245	229	224	137
Lilley						146	150	220	335
Lincoln			695	411	454	352	384	449	425
Merrill						119	131	241	301
Monroe		362	1,066	439	327	232	168	172	142
Norwich		637	910	402	453	336	280	306	281
Sheridan	458	1,181	1,546	1,861	2,360	1,279	1,209	1,379	1,759
Sherman	382	644	625	734	780	651	623	717	855
Troy		185	643	224	217	125	130	120	108
Wilcox		850	1,307	1,000	1,093	1,079	961	1,192	1,395
Newaygo County	7,294	14,688	20,476	17,673	19,220	17,378	17,029	19,286	21,567

Table 1.6 (cont'd)

<u>Township</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Croton (village)		118	125	59	55	37	75		
Fremont (village)		902	1,097	1,331	2,009				
Grant (village)				214	428	473	483	552	646
Hesperia (village)			506	474	462	439	467	535	760
Newaygo (village)	703	1,097	1,330	1,172	1,207	1,160	1,227	1,282	1,385
White Cloud (village)		440	743	595	648	618	615	811	977

Croton is in Croton township.

Fremont is in Dayton & Sheridan townships.

Grant is in Ashland township.

Hesperia is in Denver & Newfield (Oceana Co.) townships.

Newaygo is in Brooks & Garfield townships.

White Cloud is in Wilcox township.

Table 1.7
Oceana County Population Statistics, 1870-1950

<u>Township</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Benona	637	877	1,154	1,173	1,140	873	764	748	692
Claybanks	462	649	798	712	732	621	508	551	544
Colfax	77	185	308	314	465	318	258	282	292
Crystal	181	561	750	665	789	648	506	557	451
Elbridge	524	833	1,180	1,414	1,487	1,234	897	824	928
Ferry	366	629	855	972	991	808	627	755	701
Golden	335	952	955	958	975	738	716	731	724
Grant	208	453	716	840	924	831	772	829	867
Greenwood	249	529	450	482	594	499	364	402	490
Hart	1,004	1,392	1,841	2,396	2,963	2,669	2,802	3,080	1,384
Hart (city)									2,172
Leavitt	316	505	827	1,052	1,071	834	636	698	708
Newfield	265	496	810	874	935	749	780	911	1,155
Otto	135	148	157	171	258	218	201	199	235
Pentwater	1,414	1,278	1,605	1,138	1,237	1,018	821	913	1,251
Shelby	557	1,496	2,470	2,568	2,811	2,625	2,409	2,635	2,848
Weare	492	716	822	915	1,007	918	744	697	663
Oceana County	7,222	11,699	15,698	16,644	18,379	15,601	13,805	14,812	16,105
Hart (village)			757	1,134	1,555	1,590	1,690	1,922	
Pentwater (village)	1,294		1,510	1,061	1,129	956	772	820	1,097
Shelby (village)			994	1,081	1,260	1,288	1,152	1,367	1,500
Walkerville (village)					371	252	250	250	233

Hart, Pentwater, & Shelby are in their respective townships.
Walkerville is in Leavitt township.

Table 1.8
Wexford County Population Statistics, 1870-1950

<u>Township</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Antioch		114	470	657	640	632	478	462	448
Boon		115	764	955	1,153	591	505	637	475
Cadillac (city)		2,213	4,461	5,997	8,375	9,750	9,570	9,855	10,425
Cedar Creek		553	1,603	1,937	2,129	1,405	436	498	455
Cherry Grove		275	216	417	481	403	268	382	583
Clam Lake		620	881	1,009	954	825	670	750	792
Cleon		270							
Colfax	172	375	463	678	754	576	536	511	459
Concord		171							
Greenwood		122	197	375	432	299	195	254	205
Hanover	112	154	209	477	812	509	372	377	323
Haring		728	319	322	418	405	551	629	935
Henderson		194	138	208	253	130	115	110	99
Liberty		109	274	423	370	284	243	285	320
Manton (city)							1,008	1,006	1,085
Selma		233	242	446	823	533	285	468	542
Slagle				460	486	323	336	315	254
South Branch			176	310	380	221	195	238	173
Springville	107	150	306	1,244	1,390	748	590	693	673
Wexford	259	419	559	930	919	573	474	506	382
Wexford County	650	6,815	11,278	16,845	20,769	18,207	16,827	17,976	18,628

Table 1.8 (cont'd)

<u>Township</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Buckley (village)					464	352	236	217	194
Harrietta (village)			335	419	336	226	149	208	152
Manton (village)			661	895	1,069	793			
Mesick (village)					510	318	303	327	359
Sherman (village)				427	260				

Buckley is in Hanover township.
 Harrietta is in Boon & Slagle townships.
 Manton is in Cedar Creek township.
 Mesick is in Springville township.

Table 2.1
Lake County Race and Gender Statistics, 1870-1950

<u>Category</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Total -- Male	309	1,941	3,755	2,722	2,626	2,313	2,175	2,574	2,655
Total -- Female	239	1,292	2,750	2,235	2,313	2,124	1,891	2,224	2,602
Total Residents	548	3,233	6,505	4,957	4,939	4,437	4,066	4,798	5,257
Native-born White	401	2,363	4,594	4,026	4,053	3,620	3,079	3,571	3,628
Foreign-born White	147	832	1,908	916	877	776	574	500	325
White -- Male			3,752	2,715	2,623	2,291	1,961	2,212	2,073
White -- Female			2,750	2,227	2,307	2,105	1,692	1,859	1,880
Total White	548	3,195	6,502	4,942	4,930	4,396	3,653	4,071	3,953
Negro -- Male			3	3	1	9	208	359	580
Negro -- Female			0	0	4	4	190	360	722
Total Negro	0	1	3	3	5	13	398	719	1,302
Am. Indian -- Male				4	2	13	5	3	2
Am. Indian -- Female				8	2	15	9	5	0
Total Am. Indian	0	37	0	12	4	28	14	8	2
Asian -- Male							1		
Asian -- Female							0		
Total Asian	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

Table 2.2
Manistee County Race and Gender Statistics, 1870-1950

<u>Category</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Total -- Male	3,461	6,969	12,923	14,477	13,657	10,642	8,889	9,506	9,278
Total -- Female	2,631	5,563	11,307	13,379	13,031	10,257	8,520	8,944	9,246
Total Residents	6,074	12,532	24,230	27,856	26,688	20,899	17,409	18,450	18,524
Native-born White	3,394	7,386	14,189	19,132	19,916	16,218	14,145	16,317	17,141
Foreign-born White	2,666	5,121	9,990	8,695	6,728	4,577	3,112	1,926	1,147
White -- Male		12,897		14,465	13,634	10,582	8,810	9,397	9,163
White -- Female		11,282		13,362	13,010	10,213	8,447	8,846	9,125
Total White	6,060	12,507	24,179	27,827	26,644	20,795	17,257	18,243	18,288
Negro -- Male				9	9	10	31	57	47
Negro -- Female				16	11	7	29	50	45
Total Negro	14	16	29	25	20	17	60	107	92
Am. Indian -- Male					14	50	48	52	68
Am. Indian -- Female					10	37	44	48	76
Total Am. Indian	0	9	22	2	24	87	92	100	144
Asian -- Male									
Asian -- Female									
Total Asian	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0

Table 2.3
Mason County Race and Gender Statistics, 1870-1950

<u>Category</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Total -- Male	1,811	5,659	8,758	9,717	11,314	10,168	9,773	10,082	10,438
Total -- Female	1,452	4,406	7,627	9,168	10,578	9,663	8,983	9,296	10,036
Total Residents	3,263	10,065	16,385	18,885	21,832	19,831	18,756	19,378	20,474
Native-born White	2,088	6,559	10,685	13,853	17,031	15,900	15,685	16,912	18,826
Foreign-born White	935	3,118	5,347	4,706	4,485	3,767	2,903	2,293	1,549
White -- Male			8,578	9,555	11,159	10,088	9,687	9,990	10,373
White -- Female			7,454	9,004	10,357	9,579	8,901	9,215	10,002
Total White	3,023	9,677	16,032	18,559	21,516	19,667	18,588	19,205	20,375
Negro -- Male				3	4	13	18	32	31
Negro -- Female				2	2	12	22	33	24
Total Negro	10	26	18	5	6	25	40	65	55
Am. Indian -- Male						67	68	60	34
Am. Indian -- Female						72	60	48	10
Total Am. Indian	230	362	335	319	308	139	128	108	44
Asian -- Male									
Asian -- Female									
Total Asian	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0

Table 2.4
Muskegon County Race and Gender Statistics, 1870-1950

Category	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Total -- Male	8,402	14,784	20,927	18,965	20,863	32,776	43,622	48,034	60,347
Total -- Female	6,492	11,802	19,086	18,071	19,714	29,586	41,008	46,467	61,198
Total Residents	14,894	26,586	40,013	37,036	40,577	62,362	84,630	94,501	121,545
Native-born White	9,409	17,290	26,141	27,060	30,505	50,595	72,328	84,463	107,420
Foreign-born White	5,445	9,199	13,735	9,921	9,991	11,429	10,678	8,145	6,507
White -- Male			20,855	18,933	20,820	32,586	42,686	47,027	56,545
White -- Female			19,021	18,048	19,676	29,438	40,320	45,581	57,382
Total White	14,854	26,489	39,876	36,981	40,496	62,024	83,006	92,608	113,927
Negro -- Male				31	41	141	789	958	3,685
Negro -- Female				22	38	113	587	823	3,697
Total Negro	40	85	105	53	79	254	1,376	1,781	7,382
Am. Indian -- Male				1	1			43	99
Am. Indian -- Female				0	0			62	109
Total Am. Indian	0	11	32	1	1	76	120	105	208
Asian -- Male				1	1			2	6
Asian -- Female				0	0			0	8
Total Asian	0	1	0	1	1	7	4	2	14
Total Mexican									120

Table 2.5
Newaygo County Race and Gender Statistics, 1870-1950

Category	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Total -- Male	3,923	8,376	11,350	9,275	10,151	9,060	8,969	10,064	10,979
Total -- Female	3,371	6,312	9,126	8,398	9,069	8,318	8,060	9,222	10,588
Total Residents	7,294	14,688	20,476	17,673	19,220	17,378	17,029	19,286	21,567
Native-born White	6,110	11,753	16,327	15,225	16,835	15,452	15,473	17,862	20,167
Foreign-born White	1,049	2,788	4,085	2,431	2,345	1,895	1,423	1,187	926
White -- Male			11,307	9,266	10,123	9,047	8,903	9,951	10,748
White -- Female			9,105	8,390	9,057	8,300	7,993	9,098	10,345
Total White	7,159	14,541	20,412	17,656	19,180	17,347	16,896	19,049	21,093
Negro -- Male				9	12	13	62	113	205
Negro -- Female				8	7	18	66	124	218
Total Negro	5	18	46	17	19	31	128	237	423
Am. Indian -- Male					16		4		8
Am. Indian -- Female					5		1		7
Total Am. Indian	130	129	18	0	21	0	5	0	15
Asian -- Male									2
Asian -- Female									1
Total Asian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3

Table 2.6
Oceana County Race and Gender Statistics, 1870-1950

<u>Category</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Total -- Male	3,939	6,444	8,362	8,708	9,561	7,974	7,129	7,691	8,265
Total -- Female	3,283	5,255	7,336	7,936	8,818	7,627	6,676	7,121	7,840
Total Residents	7,222	11,699	15,698	16,644	18,378	15,601	13,805	14,812	16,105
Native-born White	5,336	9,390	12,817	14,172	15,906	13,665	12,357	13,613	15,143
Foreign-born White	1,280	1,917	2,574	2,187	2,167	1,705	1,291	1,046	794
White -- Male			8,202	8,554	9,377	7,847	7,039	7,612	8,187
White -- Female			7,189	7,805	8,696	7,523	6,609	7,047	7,750
Total White	6,616	11,307	15,391	16,359	18,073	15,370	13,648	14,659	15,937
Negro -- Male				24	16	14	13	14	36
Negro -- Female				11	9	8	12	14	34
Total Negro	13	45	36	35	25	22	25	28	70
Am. Indian -- Male				130	168	113	77	65	41
Am. Indian -- Female				120	113	96	55	60	55
Total Am. Indian	593	347	271	250	281	209	132	125	96
Asian -- Male									1
Asian -- Female									1
Total Asian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

Table 2.7
Wexford County Race and Gender Statistics, 1870-1950

Category	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Total -- Male	343	3,903	6,010	9,002	10,937	9,419	8,659	9,114	9,253
Total -- Female	307	2,912	5,268	7,843	9,832	8,788	8,168	8,862	9,375
Total Residents	650	6,815	11,278	16,845	20,769	18,207	16,827	17,976	18,628
Native-born White	585	5,115	8,630	13,629	17,503	15,718	14,954	16,729	17,793
Foreign-born White	62	1,683	2,632	3,177	3,171	2,444	1,826	1,213	811
White -- Male			6,001	8,980	10,889	9,396	8,634	9,097	9,239
White -- Female			5,261	7,826	9,785	8,766	8,146	8,845	9,365
Total White	647	6,798	11,262	16,806	20,674	15,718	16,780	17,942	18,604
Negro -- Male				19	32	18	12	16	8
Negro -- Female				17	28	17	11	15	5
Total Negro	3	16	15	36	60	35	23	31	13
Am. Indian -- Male					15	5	13		5
Am. Indian -- Female					19	5	11		5
Total Am. Indian	0	1	0	0	34	10	24	0	10
Asian -- Male				3	1				1
Asian -- Female				0	0				0
Total Asian	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	1

Table 3.1
1854 Michigan Census of Agriculture

County	Farm Acres	Improved Acres	Corn (bushels)	Wheat (bushels)	Other Grains (bushels)	Potatoes (bushels)	Hay (tons)	Butter (lbs)	Cheese (lbs)	Horses	Cattle	Work Oxen
Lake												
Manistee												
Mason												
Mecosta												
Bloomer	35,996	231	1,276	727	164	1,330	1	2,120	28	7	47	50
Bushnell	22,844	727	2,213	2,877	1,826	1,534	56	4,692	10	9	49	80
Eureka	9,717	3,023	8,103	8,243	5,394	4,994	248	4,220		80	152	166
Fairplain	23,819	1,347	4,922	3,461	4,116	3,373	93	4,400	50	48	83	76
Montcalm	36,617	649	3,087	1,842	654	1,805		1,865		22	7	74
Montcalm	128,993	5,977	19,601	17,150	12,154	13,036	398	17,297	88	166	338	446
Muskegon												
Big Prairie	19,220	2,023	2,539	3,112	236	892				41	11	43
Brighton	25,236	150	145			550				17	12	34
Brooks	32,750	100	360	45	100	555	28	1,430	100	19	9	49
Newaygo	1,904	785	2,100	1,289	495	645	52	260		19	12	20
Newaygo	79,110	3,058	5,144	4,446	831	2,642	80	1,690	100	96	44	146
Oceana												
Wexford												

Counties are in bold. Counties without data were not yet organized in 1854.

Table 3.1 (cont'd)

County	Milch Cows	Sheep	Swine	Mules
Lake				
Manistee				
Mason				
Mecosta				
Bloomer	61		100	
Bushnell	89	98	105	
Eureka	147	644	247	
Fairplain	85	178	167	
Montcalm	59	94	123	
Montcalm	441	1,014	742	0
Muskegon				
Big Prairie	31	41	27	
Brighton	14		42	
Brooks	38		80	
Newaygo	22		33	
Newaygo	105	41	182	0
Oceana				
Wexford				

Table 3.2
1894 Michigan Census of Agriculture – Lake County

Township	Farms	Owned Farms	Tenant Farms	Farmland (acres)	Improved Land (acres)	Unimproved Land (acres)	Horses	Mules	Cattle	Milch Cows	Oxen	Swine
Chase	179	163	16	13,797	7,220	6,577	534	7	695	467	44	607
Cherry Valley	11	11		2,785	476	2,309	23		47	26	8	15
Dover	47	35	12	3,078	1,066	2,012	76	4	90	65	12	127
Eden	6	6		670	145	525	7		42	17	4	5
Elk	3	3		470	112	358	8		16	11		4
Ellsworth	114	104	10	7,400	3,084	4,316	226	2	327	225	35	392
Glencoe	6	6		2,462	195	2,267	13	1	38	31	4	11
Lake	14	9	5	1,111	430	681	33		47	30	6	43
Newkirk	22	21	1	1,592	494	1,098	58	4	66	90	6	38
Pinora	83	81	2	7,100	2,987	4,113	197	2	287	183	34	241
Pleasant Plains	7	4	3	1,000	358	642	41		39	70	8	14
Webber	14	14		1,002	294	708	10		43	28	14	9
Yates	14	13	1	2,640	409	2,231	53		79	28	4	4
Totals	520	470	50	45,107	17,270	27,837	1,279	20	1,816	1,271	179	1,510

Table 3.2 (cont'd)

Township	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Eggs (doz)	Milk (gal)	Butter (lbs)	Potatoes (bushels)	Dry Beans (bushels)	Dry Peas (bushels)	Maple Sugar (lbs)	Hay (tons)
Chase	2,549	5,108	123	14,814	236,212	54,957	62,076	127	4,358	1,365	253
Cherry Valley	193	497		430	8,687	1,683	1,597	8			
Dover	337	919	15	2,098	34,845	10,365	4,616	71	20	1,165	121
Eden	0	73	2	100	4,700	1,460	75	14			
Elk	8	151	2	700	5,600	1,060	100				30
Ellsworth	1,018	2,411	46	4,089	91,620	27,055	12,497	233	123	1,191	206
Glencoe	39	179	4	415	41,805	2,839	655	18	30		18
Lake	172	260	8	241	12,450	2,600	917		157		15
Newkirk	59	451		1,748	24,415	4,370	2,490	62		150	53
Pinora	621	2,385	11	3,720	60,080	19,800	27,542	13	630	770	85
Pleasant Plains	53	458		1,468	23,458	4,643	509				
Webber	76	414		473	10,140	2,479	463				10
Yates	50	546		726	10,538	3,879	820				20
Totals	5,175	13,852	211	31,022	564,550	137,190	114,357	546	5,318	4,641	811

Table 3.2 (cont'd)

Township	Rye (bushels)	Wheat (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Buckwheat (bushels)	Corn (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Apples (bushels)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)
Chase	3,721	8,223	80	204	15,501	24,144	2,733	5	23	1,025
Cherry Valley	1,053	38		362	1,005	105	90			
Dover	653	297		165	5,430	2,756	723	1		250
Eden		12		130	305	12				
Elk					150					
Ellsworth	1,421	735		584	13,869	3,545	1,084			10
Glencoe	735	240			300	800				
Lake	36	499	16	10	886	931	240			
Newkirk	121	257		65	2,560	168	13			
Pinora	1,562	1,984		248	12,045	5,895	1,521			
Pleasant Plains	234	36		44	710	30				
Webber	180	30		81	451		41	2		1,300
Yates	388	40		76	1,400	15	30			
Totals	10,104	12,391	96	1,969	54,612	38,401	6,475	8	23	2,585

Table 3.3
1894 Michigan Census of Agriculture -- Manistee County

Township	Farms		Owned Farms	Tenant Farms	Farmland (acres)	Improved Land (acres)	Unimproved Land (acres)	Horses	Mules	Cattle	Cows		Milch Oxen	Swine
Arcadia	57	51	6	5,677	2,727	2,950	183			266	172	8	262	
Bear Lake	165	154	11	15,123	7,141	7,982	459	3		695	510	20	665	
Brown	90	88	2	9,558	3,885	5,673	245	2		645	359	8	517	
Cleon	92	82	10	10,188	5,060	5,128	335	9		430	293	20	486	
Filer	68	64	4	3,162	1,772	1,390	163			125	258	2	191	
Manistee	129	117	12	6,903	2,802	4,101	291	4		401	539	5	218	
Maple Grove	37	35	2	2,767	615	2,152	61			91	60	9	89	
Marilla	78	63	15	7,121	2,689	4,432	181	4		213	165	4	225	
Onekama	109	99	10	5,901	3,150	2,751	253			249	265	4	253	
Pleasanton	118	106	12	11,455	5,124	6,331	282	4		462	289	16	543	
Springdale	31	26	5	2,486	714	1,772	56			61	41	8	68	
Stronach	11	11	0	932	195	737	17			32	25	3	10	
Manistee (city)	5	5	0	495	395	100	515	2		10	205		6	
Totals	990	901	89	81,768	36,269	45,499	3,041	28		3,680	3,181	107	3,533	

Table 3.3 (cont'd)

Township	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Eggs (doz)	Milk (gal)	Butter (lbs)	Potatoes (bushels)	Dry Beans (bushels)	Dry Peas (bushels)	Maple Sugar (lbs)	Hay (tons)
Arcadia	336	2,001	78	3,403	70,360	19,349	8,485	575	757		115
Bear Lake	776	4,324	98	12,459	193,410	62,423	51,742	660	650	18	472
Brown	376	2,387	3	4,500	138,750	49,999	12,915	123	1,633		406
Cleon	780	3,568	60	11,920	76,550	26,590	17,774	63	122	835	246
Filer	2	2,335	22	2,914	122,765	14,387	9,214	12	202		95
Manistee	86	4,911	6	4,300	139,475	29,975	14,443	34	304		162
Maple Grove	1	1,393	30	1,426	42,700	10,003	2,909	139	36	15	12
Monilla	263	3,003	12	5,470	81,562	19,495	7,655	165	175	70	126
Onekama	239	2,690	2	7,707	121,176	42,166	17,543	170	272		36
Pleasanton	923	3,037	50	8,530	136,255	27,932	14,358	371	928	465	243
Springdale	0	594		897	25,764	7,330	1,751	30	10	200	34
Stronach	2	213		203	7,799	2,194	713	3	20		3
Manistee (city)	0	415		530	10,910	160	1,450		11		21
Totals	3,784	30,871	361	64,259	1,167,476	312,003	160,952	2,345	5,120	1,603	1,971

Table 3.3 (cont'd)

Township	Rye (bushels)	Wheat (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Buckwheat (bushels)	Corn (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Apples (bushels)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)
Arcadia	1,337	1,884	265	205	8,013	7,067	1,236	8	47	285
Bear Lake	2,491	8,697		655	24,777	17,536	7,381	120	43	1,300
Brown	971	2,962	15	723	6,365	11,418	2,562	5	42	
Cleon	908	7,323		222	42,050	6,678	1,796			
Filer	3,457	880	5	72	3,266	2,593	1,885	180	89	1,973
Manistee	1,952	341	356	35	2,257	6,178	2,166	35	40	
Maple Grove	88	419		52	3,245	447	719	2	17	
Morilla	83	2,269		150	17,535	3,517	2,248	5	27	
Onekama	1,723	1,746		75	7,150	5,911	1,273	85	44	760
Pleasanton	1,251	5,559	70	426	29,186	7,763	5,402	322	104	900
Springdale	143	497		130	1,913	684	447	15	3	700
Stronach	165	63	15	112	70	50				
Manistee (city)	134	133	71		175	1,372	550			10,000
Totals	14,703	32,773	797	2,857	146,002	71,214	27,665	777	456	15,918

Table 3.4
1894 Michigan Census of Agriculture – Mason County

Township	Farms Owned		Tenant Farms	Farmland (acres)	Improved Land (acres)	Unimproved Land (acres)	Horses	Mules	Cattle	Cows		Oxen	Swine
	Farms												
Amber	183	163	20	10,564	6,105	4,459	472	2	341	421	23	598	
Branch	39	37	2	3,150	890	2,260	81	2	145	75	16	95	
Custer	147	137	10	11,772	5,838	5,934	386	5	366	282	20	575	
Eden	76	66	10	6,649	3,017	3,632	318		266	227	27	455	
Freesoil	120	107	13	7,889	3,440	4,449	230	8	317	273	10	304	
Grant	71	67	4	4,695	2,069	2,626	158	2	227	252		259	
Hamlin	18	17	1	1,709	357	1,352	29		69	39	4	21	
Pere Marquette	125	121	4	5,468	2,848	2,620	200	4	109	210	2	238	
Riverton	238	220	18	14,572	8,078	6,494	598	13	563	558	50	1,058	
Sheridan	24	23	1	2,785	694	2,091	56	4	73	42	10	102	
Sherman	90	83	7	7,599	3,357	4,242	237	5	354	245	28	303	
Summit	96	87	9	6,141	3,767	2,374	261	2	154	167	8	220	
Victory	136	122	14	9,463	4,555	4,908	371	5	684	427	42	434	
Ludington (city)	7	7	0	273	253	20	383	5	10	274		11	
Totals	1,370	1,257	113	92,729	45,268	47,461	3,780	57	3,678	3,492	240	4,673	

Table 3.4 (cont'd)

Township	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Eggs (doz)	Milk (gal)	Butter (lbs)	Potatoes (bushels)	Dry Beans (bushels)	Dry Peas (bushels)	Maple Sugar (lbs)	Hay (tons)
Amber	428	4,356	34	9,207	217,628	38,196	50,743	104	1,642	380	510
Branch	104	790	3	1,137	42,985	9,761	1,329	25	167	30	113
Custer	794	3,498	86	11,130	106,142	45,910	30,910	202	1,836	460	846
Eden	410	3,056	41	8,211	106,622	24,298	11,533	112	1,639	60	283
Freesoil	214	3,488	16	4,094	101,374	19,028	16,127	74	413	250	333
Grant	88	1,836	29	2,449	91,111	13,473	7,345	66	233		78
Hamlin	0	411		911	22,860	3,670	1,470	19	24	120	49
Pere Marquette	141	2,836	77	5,907	101,610	22,385	9,358	82	448		43
Riverton	674	6,845	144	14,362	291,238	72,643	31,564	245	4,168	773	626
Sheridan	171	563	17	304	15,215	4,352	3,821	16	459		28
Sherman	909	3,319	43	10,573	99,120	32,025	8,726	87	2,354		486
Summit	172	4,085	62	4,702	86,345	19,138	9,376	256	819	1,870	190
Victory	336	3,582	12	11,906	179,835	45,465	14,685	20	1,783	375	864
Ludington (city)	125	340	3		1,000		480		135		30
Totals	4,566	39,005	567	84,893	1,463,085	350,344	197,467	1,308	16,120	4,318	4,479

Table 3.4 (cont'd)

Township	Rye (bushels)	Wheat (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Buckwheat (bushels)	Corn (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Apples (bushels)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)
Amber	2,314	6,792	268	148	24,349	13,940	3,566	261	48	1,700
Branch	10	2,348	83	13	2,645	2,590	638		4	
Custer	1,134	10,512	7	322	26,758	13,816	2,030	440	48	400
Eden	226	5,989		310	12,843	7,843	568	10	16	
Freesoil	772	2,838	12	138	12,050	5,311	2,166	12	35	200
Grant	2,124	739		62	6,512	3,247	1,493	89	27	
Hamlin	150	201			1,510	663	1,193	75		
Pere Marquette	754	1,472		41	12,705	3,317	1,825	2,236	28	2,780
Riverton	721	12,559	189	322	31,172	19,083	4,427	4,028	108	4,600
Sheridan		1,110		10	1,080	1,546	212	10		
Sherman	366	4,169	30	109	5,137	10,512	2,088	38	60	600
Summit	725	3,064	25	286	25,647	6,947	2,504	15,990	70	14,660
Victory	1,817	4,287	299	117	11,045	15,403	2,361	19	30	300
Ludington (city)	35				525	40	184	602	52	1,000
Totals	11,148	56,080	913	1,878	173,978	104,258	25,255	23,810	526	26,240

Table 3.5
1894 Michigan Census of Agriculture – Mecosta County

Township	Farms		Owned Farms	Tenant Farms	Farmland (acres)	Improved Land (acres)	Unimproved Land (acres)	Horses	Mules	Cattle	Cows			Oxen	Swine
Aetna	130	122	8	10,381	4,806	5,575	309	10	442	282	34	394			
	134	119	15	12,256	5,340	6,916	351		524	361	18	669			
	116	102	14	8,757	4,909	3,848	278	4	368	306	10	445			
Big Rapids	125	111	14	9,849	4,704	5,145	290	2	520	293	26	421			
	117	111	6	7,135	3,940	3,195	242	2	304	235	13	251			
Chippewa	172	157	15	14,523	9,979	4,544	566	11	621	451	28	821			
	113	101	12	8,275	4,068	4,207	246		367	213	32	444			
Deerfield	97	93	4	7,123	3,333	3,790	234	1	318	210	24	334			
	220	186	34	15,807	9,745	6,062	599	4	723	516	25	838			
Fork	247	208	39	17,635	9,033	8,602	603	1	658	408	19	701			
	78	71	7	8,281	2,268	6,013	153	2	272	175	16	198			
Grant	130	110	20	12,508	6,122	6,386	323	8	472	381	32	542			
	154	140	14	10,911	5,441	5,470	340	5	352	258	24	510			
Millbrook	97	93	4	6,697	3,243	3,454	253	6	361	249	43	359			
	82	73	9	6,622	2,338	4,284	193	4	266	133	20	289			
Morton	201	162	39	16,375	9,307	7,068	536	4	782	433	34	1,029			
	27	22	5	1,732	1,378	354	436		39	304		71			
Sheridan	2,240	1,981	259	174,867	89,954	84,913	5,952	64	7,389	5,208	398	8,316			

Table 3.5 (cont'd)

Township	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Eggs (doz)	Milk (gal)	Butter (lbs)	Potatoes (bushels)	Dry Beans (bushels)	Dry Peas (bushels)	Maple Sugar (lbs)	Hay (tons)
Aetna	921	3,726	17	13,220	166,304	31,119	48,198	203	605		163
Austin	1,297	5,583	233	7,811	161,890	26,630	29,906	146	1,685		208
Big Rapids	1,305	4,674	38	6,409	94,423	34,520	16,415	76	885	796	387
Chippewa	1,111	3,540	40	5,740	90,448	32,523	18,810	121	3,333	620	444
Colfax	364	2,574	9	6,239	184,590	38,312	19,774	81	901	40	209
Deerfield	2,093	5,193	80	15,103	176,490	48,430	107,886	193	1,643		421
Fork	1,019	2,591	56	6,099	91,520	24,204	9,510	206	1,116	217	152
Grant	921	2,134	33	5,025	106,277	28,976	19,050	107	356	580	319
Green	1,878	5,032	135	8,282	195,350	72,925	39,498	128	2,111	865	691
Hinton	2,389	5,444	81	14,311	75,190	4,043	83,254	39	2,056	795	293
Martin	318	1,730		2,653	66,304	17,337	10,985	75	1,073	100	198
Mecosta	936	5,527	46	6,983	203,900	45,063	21,675	178	1,026	395	256
Millbrook	1,241	3,784	41	14,425	93,646	37,434	35,694	183	2,529	340	193
Morton	413	2,543	74	5,792	96,680	26,550	27,161	9	709		55
Sheridan	579	2,805	26	5,638	56,284	18,326	12,530	88	1,393		89
Wheatland	2,344	6,039	46	15,123	164,107	51,946	63,954	228	3,513	823	403
Big Rapids (city)	99	893		1,470	20,450	2,940	4,865	30	90		123
Totals	19,228	63,812	955	140,323	2,043,853	541,278	569,165	2,091	25,024	5,571	4,604

Table 3.5 (cont'd)

Township	Rye (bushels)	Wheat (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Buckwheat (bushels)	Corn (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Apples (bushels)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)
Aetna	3,847	4,916		445	14,210	8,266	717	75		
Austin	5,976	5,376	30	713	17,398	12,397	2,173	2	3	
Big Rapids	2,911	6,155	95	782	19,736	14,332	1,921		1	50
Chippewa	1,368	6,692	609	572	12,398	15,653	1,773		54	1,000
Colfax	4,253	4,474		272	14,718	5,509	410		5	150
Deerfield	8,407	9,523	20	585	41,122	20,926	1,026	2		
Fork	3,179	4,034		594	16,408	7,211	403	1	11	
Grant	2,401	3,706	161	287	17,173	7,143	1,437			
Green	11,790	11,253	246	711	40,965	26,089	2,399	2	3	2,500
Hinton	4,299	11,426	390	623	27,777	17,430	1,461		8	
Martin	1,007	2,233	36	298	5,143	3,272	173			1,000
Mecosta	4,432	5,069	40	896	27,311	9,714	1,487	8	8	200
Millbrook	2,483	5,417	61	568	16,407	9,219	649	9	3	130
Morton	2,961	3,030		113	14,148	3,062	56			500
Sheridan	1,457	3,654	77	189	9,895	4,377	1,042			350
Wheatland	3,979	15,546	124	345	43,462	19,737	1,826		1	
Big Rapids (city)	488	530		40	3,301	2,842	363		6	
Totals	65,238	103,034	1,889	8,033	341,572	187,179	19,316	99	103	5,880

Table 3.6
1894 Michigan Census of Agriculture -- Montcalm County

Township	Farms	Owned Farms	Tenant Farms	Farmland (acres)	Improved Land (acres)	Unimproved Land (acres)	Horses	Mules	Cattle	Milch Cows	Oxen	Swine
Belvidere	123	118	5	8,620	5,011	3,609	332	6	370	216	22	419
Bloomer	255	214	41	21,052	16,429	4,623	1,054		666	757	3	1,490
Bushnell	284	243	41	21,219	14,232	6,987	797	11	666	503	28	910
Cato	167	155	12	13,327	8,220	5,107	630	20	515	456	25	591
Crystal	254	228	26	17,086	10,292	6,794	694		628	530	20	1,336
Day	120	114	6	9,995	6,786	3,209	380	8	390	268	8	418
Douglass	265	207	58	16,672	9,755	6,917	581		510	411	24	735
Eureka	215	174	41	18,759	14,428	4,331	647		390	429	2	880
Evergreen	228	198	30	15,959	7,793	8,166	590	6	493	349	62	504
Fairplain	216	194	22	18,604	12,592	6,012	749		624	506	40	1,054
Ferris	195	165	30	14,897	8,412	6,485	520	5	548	416	27	800
Home	180	151	29	13,187	7,152	6,035	497	17	619	382	26	435
Maple Valley	289	256	33	20,230	15,477	4,753	836	20	764	727	24	1,147
Montcalm	258	243	15	19,864	13,927	5,937	758	6	711	737	27	1,350
Pierson	103	90	13	9,742	7,065	2,677	396	2	339	327	20	569
Pine	243	223	20	16,646	10,137	6,509	570	6	588	494	49	751
Reynolds	113	110	3	8,133	4,541	3,592	300	5	258	256	37	305
Richland	109	103	6	7,305	3,324	3,981	283		331	196	24	235
Sidney	213	205	8	14,523	8,976	5,547	543	2	360	437	32	597
Winfield	193	170	23	18,036	10,481	7,555	567	8	633	465	22	771
Greenville (city)	15	15	0	1,046	911	135	457	1	21	122		86
Stanton (city)	18	15	3	1,136	884	252	232		37	112	2	76
Totals	4,056	3,591	465	306,038	196,825	109,213	12,413	123	10,461	9,096	524	15,459

Table 3.6 (cont'd)

Township	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Eggs (doz)	Milk (gal)	Butter (lbs)	Potatoes (bushels)	Dry Beans (bushels)	Dry Peas (bushels)	Maple Sugar (lbs)	Hay (tons)
Belvidere	634	4,582	33	10,661	82,950	26,985	38,439	100	377	4	200
Bloomer	7,072	12,302	82	69,904	282,555	25,213	46,567	147	30	5,286	720
Bushnell	5,337	12,059	170	7,143	11,300	3,116	31,901	973			649
Cato	2,181	4,535	16	19,861	136,160	64,179	58,739	77	346	600	728
Crystal	5,359	12,651	339	45,014	225,511	56,000	19,992	263	603	2,892	557
Day	1,876	2,877	19	10,397	117,610	24,895	26,647	405	130		427
Douglass	1,473	6,028	12	25,860	206,127	74,528	71,968	185	961		341
Eureka	2,271	10,583	262	20,316	194,715	57,973	90,039	1,215			450
Evergreen	2,645	7,111	124	35,464	183,638	45,614	21,287	144	68	10	155
Fairplain	2,073	8,236	196	24,194	163,915	52,692	85,745	295		2	520
Ferris	2,114	6,015	10	28,365	167,390	50,338	16,704	212	951	510	510
Home	845	4,230	61	24,929	129,522	43,294	37,331	214	806		769
Maple Valley	3,780	8,371	8	30,645	464,749	59,602	90,856	76	508	50	363
Montcalm	2,246	8,394	71	34,015	241,790	58,872	89,922	135			487
Pierson	846	3,048	8	21,542	143,600	33,000	17,675	8	190		428
Pine	1,187	5,756	14	32,313	151,969	45,498	69,748	93	68	40	138
Reynolds	723	3,116	64	7,069	64,705	20,240	14,478	70	36		58
Richland	479	3,048	7	12,045	113,320	22,775	9,358	71	692		206
Sidney	1,613	5,062	20	12,758	202,645	60,120	74,665	291	30		237
Winfield	3,757	6,044	21	25,398	376,281	55,505	86,044	36	617		605
Greenville (city)	267	636		1,370	12,589	2,538	5,980	53			12
Stanton (city)	226	310		540	11,010	1,950	5,592	16	20		171
Totals	49,004	134,994	1,537	499,803	3,684,051	884,927	1,009,677	5,079	6,433	9,394	8,731

Table 3.6 (cont'd)

Township	Rye (bushels)	Wheat (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Buckwheat (bushels)	Corn (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Apples (bushels)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)
Belvidere	2,190	5,140		600	17,557	9,242	226			
Bloomer	1,970	57,965	3,303	108	98,605	60,002	1,995	9	15	3,820
Bushnell	777	48,777	979	729	62,149	42,533	8,666	20		
Cato	1,264	10,578	250	351	17,202	16,362	1,009			
Crystal	2,622	28,519	120	690	40,366	32,881	2,375	91	61	6,146
Day	2,282	4,736	181	52	15,321	11,171	465	2	33	358
Douglass	4,902	9,333	12	534	34,654	23,171	283			3,500
Eureka	6,256	25,750	92	421	47,712	25,221	5,802	566	100	12,809
Evergreen	5,119	13,016	607	503	26,869	12,249	1,872	44	13	3,140
Fairplain	4,249	31,977	827	279	48,238	34,777	5,247	12		
Ferris	2,149	16,455	18	574	18,801	18,018	1,635	186	35	2,300
Home	2,971	8,401	17	140	16,981	12,137	55			3,000
Maple Valley	3,304	30,592	32	84	22,528	20,579	1,540	9	1	2,500
Montcalm	5,095	29,379	8	160	41,568	30,721	4,321	55		1,400
Pierson	1,795	17,858		54	17,764	12,225	642	20		
Pine	4,976	12,273		350	25,813	18,101	172		2	
Reynolds	5,818	1,765		120	13,030	3,108	413			
Richland	2,363	3,474	43	494	11,572	4,634	319		15	4,000
Sidney	6,726	10,296		12	27,401	16,761	1,053	12	5	
Winfield	4,352	18,429	399	284	27,384	22,258	532			
Greenville (city)	60	886		12	4,050	1,741	253	28	8	1,000
Stanton (city)	695	236		7	3,244	1,487	125		2	240
Totals	71,935	385,835	6,888	6,558	638,809	429,379	39,000	1,054	290	44,213

Table 3.7
1894 Michigan Census of Agriculture -- Muskegon County

Township	Farms	Owned Farms	Tenant Farms	Farmland (acres)	Improved Land (acres)	Unimproved Land (acres)	Horses	Mules	Cattle	Milch Cows	Oxen	Swine
Blue Lake	28	26	2	4,216	1,322	2,894	45	1	96	102	12	75
Casnovia	144	130	14	11,965	8,133	3,832	602		374	437	6	904
Cedar Creek	69	65	4	9,599	3,623	5,976	175		235	176	29	370
Dalton	151	140	11	11,340	5,215	6,125	304	6	447	386	30	299
Egleston	39	35	4	4,672	2,131	2,541	87	1	124	101	8	106
Fruitland	135	125	10	10,102	4,433	5,669	264	3	460	318	51	271
Fruitport	83	76	7	5,520	3,068	2,452	197	6	170	180	14	116
Holton	118	105	13	12,143	6,713	5,430	298	4	393	334	58	710
Laketon	71	70	1	5,524	2,064	3,460	111		145	179	8	159
Montague	60	56	4	5,138	3,672	1,466	288	4	163	303	4	288
Moorland	154	115	39	12,610	6,555	6,055	417	2	466	399	26	455
Muskegon	80	77	3	2,254	1,273	981	144	2	43	242		120
Norton	115	109	6	6,697	3,840	2,857	206	2	114	205	5	173
Ravenna	216	179	37	15,195	10,157	5,038	623		675	628	14	909
Sullivan	37	33	4	2,579	1,019	1,560	75	1	75	70	14	57
Whitehall	24	18	6	2,868	1,645	1,223	244		102	222	2	97
White River	102	89	13	6,935	4,061	2,874	252	1	323	286	12	400
Muskegon (city)			0		0	0	1,000	1		398		0
North Muskegon (city)	7	6	1	298	185	113	68		6	84		8
Totals	1,633	1,454	179	129,655	69,109	60,546	5,400	34	4,411	5,050	293	5,517

Table 3.7 (cont'd)

Township	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Eggs (doz)	Milk (gal)	Butter (lbs)	Potatoes (bushels)	Dry Beans (bushels)	Dry Peas (bushels)	Maple Sugar (lbs)	Hay (tons)
Blue Lake	372	770		2,490	45,644	10,783	772	30			5
Casnovia	2,105	5,166	99	18,900	162,005	50,885	15,221	278		8,311	699
Cedar Creek	1,511	1,578	19	3,141	79,820	26,645	6,041	123	256		332
Dalton	142	3,707	59	5,804	159,939	48,011	11,490	114	178		708
Egleston	168	718	33	1,105	50,200	12,587	2,915	7			130
Fruitland	405	3,025	59	10,039	150,275	32,130	12,553	153	33		221
Fruitport	206	2,783	22	1,720	68,350	19,055	4,042	53	12		245
Holton	3,334	3,812	174	11,311	210,785	42,927	14,806	45	1,727	100	244
Laketon	134	1,440	70	5,915	75,530	23,730	5,658		38		43
Montague	1,041	2,027	62	3,795	78,935	19,043	3,309	81	171		435
Moorland	949	3,006	92	7,056	241,260	55,725	12,978	89	477	325	933
Muskegon	4	1,350	6	1,307	125,409	12,606	6,147				73
Norton	5	5,274	32	14,801	100,475	30,258	10,534	82	15		685
Ravenna	2,488	5,757	106	26,181	202,495	66,137	12,085	102	35	3,210	1,503
Sullivan	78	642	18	980	15,575	4,160	1,020				76
Whitehall	128	956	49	1,077	26,410	8,005	1,589	182			352
White River	376	2,550	45	6,048	88,565	23,980	14,728	26	105		236
Muskegon (city)	0						630	8			
North Muskegon (city)	70	170		67	5,718	908					39
Totals	13,516	44,731	945	121,737	1,887,390	487,575	136,518	1,373	3,047	11,946	6,959

Table 3.7 (cont'd)

Township	Rye (bushels)	Wheat (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Buckwheat (bushels)	Corn (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Apples (bushels)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)
Blue Lake	1,514	95		176	2,610	80	21	60		3,125
Casnovia	333	22,959	317	242	47,577	20,886	4,215	2,585	15	
Cedar Creek	1,258	4,081		178	8,143	3,005	542	328	5	300
Dalton	4,085	1,377		970	13,362	5,129	241	33	10	3,540
Egleston	1,045	458		255	2,583	1,725	207			
Fruitland	3,905	3,668	4	104	15,575	5,183	2,369	187	17	9,300
Fruitport	2,105	1,579	45	528	4,112	1,962	158	20	29	69,320
Holton	2,782	14,307	64	1,053	34,538	13,750	1,394	104	63	1,750
Laketon	1,298	1,195		212	7,933	1,556	306	78	19	11,200
Montague	1,893	10,147	100	40	12,518	10,976	1,664	130	27	28,000
Moorland	942	3,815	309	601	18,476	8,432	568	6	1	
Muskegon	330	520		10	1,685	302	642	25	7	
Norton	1,950	1,934		347	7,127	3,062	662	159	17	500,000
Ravenna	972	19,310	64	156	46,302	21,926	2,014	41	3	200
Sullivan	1,015	614		16	1,891	1,201	50			
Whitehall	1,563	2,057	145	41	3,712	2,116	647	37	13	4,900
White River	3,195	9,133	73	259	22,072	11,889	2,078	133		
Muskegon (city)										
North Muskegon (city)	60			15	240	125	40		12	82,000
Totals	30,245	97,249	1,121	5,203	250,456	113,305	17,818	3,926	238	713,635

Table 3.8
1894 Michigan Census of Agriculture -- Newaygo County

Township	Farms	Owned Farms	Tenant Farms	Farmland (acres)	Improved Land (acres)	Unimproved Land (acres)	Horses	Mules	Cattle	Milch Cows	Oxen	Swine
Ashtand	175	162	13	21,292	10,788	10,504	585	4	740	538	17	1,096
Barton	140	134	6	10,188	5,197	4,991	271	4	382	314	10	538
Beaver	68	58	10	5,451	2,532	2,919	154	3	202	125	34	151
Big Prairie	80	72	8	8,054	3,495	4,559	209	3	300	178	19	459
Bridgeton	122	108	14	11,573	4,728	6,845	263	3	379	242	30	493
Brooks	80	66	14	8,006	3,175	4,831	177	2	135	217	23	229
Croton	91	82	9	8,954	4,523	4,431	247	6	292	201	23	464
Dayton	262	228	34	20,799	14,194	6,605	870	7	679	684	30	1,436
Denver	161	115	46	13,034	7,034	6,000	513	5	520	381	24	589
Ensley	156	142	14	12,269	8,724	3,545	471	2	494	317	12	676
Everett	77	72	5	8,674	2,979	5,695	147	4	240	169	28	312
Garfield	198	189	9	15,267	7,040	8,227	469	4	592	530	48	802
Goodwell	43	37	6	3,737	1,395	2,342	71		157	92	16	134
Grant	87	79	8	5,947	2,630	3,317	176	3	224	142	35	199
Home	20	19	1	1,460	622	838	48		87	43	8	84
Lincoln	68	62	6	5,542	1,752	3,790	84	1	131	97	22	104
Monroe	32	27	5	3,601	473	3,128	69	1	104	65	12	44
Norwich	91	77	14	7,204	2,792	4,412	159	6	343	195	18	250
Sheridan	233	211	22	15,937	9,263	6,674	631	7	694	641	66	1,232
Sherman	128	123	5	10,549	4,886	5,663	270	4	425	325	42	632
Troy	36	32	4	4,091	1,801	2,290	84		371	125	12	244
Wilcox	30	25	5	3,745	1,281	2,464	147	1	122	131	12	69
Totals	2,378	2,120	258	205,374	101,304	104,070	6,115	70	7,613	5,752	541	10,237

Table 3.8 (cont'd)

Township	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Eggs (doz)	Milk (gal)	Butter (lbs)	Potatoes (bushels)	Dry Beans (bushels)	Dry Peas (bushels)	Maple Sugar (lbs)	Hay (tons)
Ashland	2,037	6,089	67	16,175	300,739	57,723	18,904	577	109	1,500	916
Barton	2,364	3,237	47	3,630	159,968	42,577	18,020	23	1,621	1,170	195
Beaver	727	2,027	23	3,705	56,918	10,226	3,518	35	311		397
Big Prairie	841	2,982	31	4,778	110,774	27,275	6,352	400	7		180
Bridgeton	1,347	3,840	171	5,550	73,488	22,416	5,902	141	459	90	161
Brooks	542	2,492	15	4,041	63,815	18,553	3,023	184	25		21
Croton	1,206	2,625	25	9,320	75,764	29,065	7,192	150			232
Dayton	3,716	7,967	244	31,141	342,150	69,640	26,897	119	558	3,687	993
Denver	2,477	3,670	162	9,749	149,350	32,039	10,365	304	85	2,830	402
Ensley	1,427	4,115	30	9,615	9,316	1,000	49,948	203	45	1,000	394
Everett	473	1,540	3	2,886	101,970	20,411	6,986	163	65		119
Garfield	1,299	6,196	61	13,235	250,497	45,496	14,486	181	369		601
Goodwell	126	1,118	24	1,348	40,515	10,352	4,440	52	131		133
Grant	494	2,208	190	2,841	48,696	12,682	10,752	45			214
Home	149	627	12	578	48,070	5,650	2,436		240		
Lincoln	143	1,235	7	2,519	43,435	13,812	3,767	22		120	59
Monroe	114	644		927	18,554	6,510	1,830	53	12		16
Norwich	294	2,209	131	4,307	72,052	22,519	8,269	130	294		103
Sheridan	2,394	8,589	105	28,712	321,632	71,663	21,053	199	1,930	40	815
Sherman	925	3,339	29	11,297	103,370	32,195	5,955	31	129	150	205
Troy	696	779	3	1,035	38,834	9,777	1,111	25	40	15	12
Wilcox	52	652	22	480	1,500	500	3,162	6			82
Totals	23,843	68,180	1,402	167,869	2,431,407	562,081	234,368	3,043	6,430	10,602	6,250

Table 3.8 (cont'd)

Township	Rye (bushels)	Wheat (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Buckwheat (bushels)	Corn (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Apples (bushels)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)
Ashland	1,468	23,661	110	374	52,596	24,551	4,238	272	88	4,854
Barton	4,600	3,960	219	336	18,656	14,339	1,363			
Beaver	1,108	2,692	70	134	8,012	4,442	1,356	7		
Big Prairie	4,162	2,636	47	417	17,345	3,205	488	10	11	
Bridgeton	1,365	7,606		636	17,353	4,315	690	48	26	150
Brooks	4,032	1,450		452	9,271	2,324	60	40		
Croton	4,450	4,305		233	25,110	6,048	1,957	170		
Dayton	2,844	33,733	100	861	54,464	34,996	9,063	213	12	1,300
Denver	3,503	12,120		378	39,815	17,833	4,462	24	43	1,455
Ensley	4,381	15,340		213	30,083	15,788	939	695		
Everett	1,356	2,089		38	15,232	2,171	73	10		300
Garfield	1,181	15,278	29	289	20,223	13,422	1,117	203		
Goodwell	1,024	1,139	34	174	3,705	1,428	232			
Grant	581	3,785	95	164	7,253	4,754	265	27		
Home	522				3,310	387	235			
Lincoln	986	869		127	5,310	1,423	21			
Monroe	310	266		45	2,021	353	8			
Norwich	1,866	1,372	62	113	5,094	3,174	583	8	6	
Sheridan	1,812	23,235	18	600	51,560	21,161	2,168		7	1,200
Sherman	2,094	10,145	58	335	13,237	5,507	380		14	
Troy	592	675		124	7,430	1,501	444	5		
Wilcox	752	676		65	1,725	473				
Totals	44,989	167,032	842	6,108	408,805	183,595	30,142	1,732	207	9,259

Table 3.9
1894 Michigan Census of Agriculture -- Oceana County

Township	Farms		Owned Farms	Tenant Farms	Farmland (acres)	Improved Land (acres)		Unimproved Land (acres)	Horses	Mules	Cattle	Cows		Oxen	Swine
Benona	211	191	20	15,265	8,748	6,517	540	13	730	495	16	667			
Claybanks	174	148	26	13,526	7,468	6,058	499	5	495	405	40	567			
Colfax	27	22	5	2,606	1,194	1,412	58	1	118	68	8	152			
Crystal	98	85	13	7,558	4,054	3,504	276	2	382	202	27	515			
Elbridge	183	161	22	11,957	7,277	4,680	516	6	477	362	37	815			
Ferry	131	109	22	11,782	5,607	6,175	391	4	456	258	40	447			
Golden	137	122	15	9,363	5,362	4,001	366	6	312	254	15	468			
Grant	158	145	13	11,341	5,200	6,141	350	3	570	357	44	397			
Greenwood	79	69	10	8,459	3,844	4,615	208	8	232	175	34	423			
Hart	255	220	35	16,704	10,225	6,479	778	4	454	519	32	710			
Leavitt	137	122	15	10,697	4,954	5,743	313	4	419	257	45	472			
Newfield	113	88	25	9,506	4,158	5,348	318	4	387	249	35	382			
Otto	25	25	0	1,951	785	1,166	65		85	60	14	49			
Pentwater	6	6	0	395	201	194	100		29	74	2	18			
Shelby	283	248	35	16,464	11,329	5,135	797	14	606	556	46	699			
Weare	169	146	23	10,988	8,010	2,978	518	3	506	494	35	642			
Totals	2,186	1,907	279	158,562	78,416	70,146	6,093	77	6,258	4,785	470	7,423			

Table 3.9 (cont'd)

Township	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Eggs (doz)	Milk (gal)	Butter (lbs)	Potatoes (bushels)	Dry Beans (bushels)	Dry Peas (bushels)	Maple Sugar (lbs)	Hay (tons)
Benona	1,236	5,689	50	11,654	212,204	55,046	45,334	392	2,139	1,570	236
Claybanks	1,435	4,096	42	12,717	208,620	49,575	19,244	219	1,916	700	547
Colfax	360	1,077	38	2,771	29,548	10,164	1,722	43		1,530	41
Crystals	354	2,015	24	1,937	13,214	4,241	21,059	124	77		150
Elbridge	1,533	5,493	210	16,468	120,959	46,693	54,801	875	51	852	388
Ferry	1,505	5,484	149	7,214	131,914	38,471	17,393	213	176	865	337
Golden	51	3,418	16	10,645	96,590	27,920	24,486	189	786	150	225
Grant	998	3,920	183	10,137	269,065	40,782	37,487	257	193	600	157
Greenwood	2,039	3,400	153	4,182	72,600	18,563	7,869	56	718	500	248
Hart	1,922	9,454	39	19,058	216,429	64,000	51,450	362	321	4,500	570
Leavitt	1,273	3,730	72	10,893	116,645	22,489	15,997	47	191	635	274
Newfield	811	3,217	182	8,207	85,790	19,176	7,398	83	348	1,454	186
Otto	110	527	17	3,009	19,410	6,365	1,930	15			2
Pentwater	0	127	11	130	6,060	1,300	405		50		35
Shelby	1,086	10,375	143	26,761	235,339	72,265	65,455	799	271	8,450	572
Weare	495	5,339	107	12,145	164,440	54,258	78,848	133	856	415	522
Totals	15,208	67,361	1,436	157,928	1,998,827	531,308	450,878	3,807	8,093	22,221	4,490

Table 3.9 (cont'd)

Township	Rye (bushels)	Wheat (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Buckwheat (bushels)	Corn (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Apples (bushels)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)
Benona	3,628	10,969	111	861	50,371	14,986	3,054	3,498		500
Claybanks	996	14,133	30	1,554	19,675	23,346	2,969	955	81	
Coffax	337	1,644		37	8,740	1,681	1,017	16	16	1,085
Crystals	450	5,328		356	28,656	6,158	1,136	136	35	
Elbridge	2,008	13,624	59	451	58,215	13,872	6,735	3,228	176	3,800
Ferry	3,606	6,590		324	32,358	8,050	2,329	298	22	792
Golden	2,160	3,462		207	29,942	5,509	2,961	12,759	46	7,965
Grant	4,183	6,061		598	26,478	6,707	699	655	21	1,040
Greenwood	1,891	8,174	9	809	12,149	8,782	1,069	7	45	
Hart	2,333	10,652	200	1,109	61,015	14,625	10,921	8,524	252	4,400
Leavitt	1,852	6,602	33	245	24,706	8,120	3,014	84	57	
Newfield	2,124	4,436		185	23,403	6,803	2,431	11	12	292
Otto	783	507		105	2,825	1,084	152	2		
Pentwater	75			50	1,060	180	186	115	23	5,000
Shelby	1,848	13,583		1,499	83,985	13,526	5,776	12,460	220	22,680
Weare	2,538	15,614	9	105	37,752	20,061	3,935	620	177	1,140
Totals	30,812	121,379	451	8,495	501,330	153,490	48,384	43,368	1,183	48,694

Table 3.10
1894 Michigan Census of Agriculture – Wexford County

Township	Farms Owned		Tenant Farms	Farmland (acres)	Improved Land (acres)	Unimproved Land (acres)	Horses	Mules	Cattle	Cows		Milch Cows	Oxen	Swine
	Farms	80												
Antioch	87	80	7	6,333	2,872	3,461	203	6	372	190	22	395		
Boon	46	39	7	4,011	2,007	2,004	179	7	221	152	11	188		
Cedar Creek	199	183	16	11,601	5,103	6,498	516	7	428	422	28	483		
Cherry Grove	54	50	4	4,227	1,396	2,831	99	1	253	138	10	107		
Clam Lake	173	161	12	12,321	5,198	7,123	372	5	697	420	28	557		
Colfax	108	92	16	8,339	3,812	4,527	248	2	428	223	31	330		
Greenwood	50	44	6	3,421	1,076	2,345	82	2	120	74	16	90		
Hanover	32	27	5	2,922	1,068	1,854	107	1	94	55	16	75		
Haring	53	47	6	4,135	1,814	2,321	114	4	218	134	5	192		
Henderson	27	25	2	1,969	517	1,452	36		53	34	1	37		
Liberty	54	51	3	3,033	1,078	1,955	94		83	62	13	171		
Selma	81	69	12	5,562	2,240	3,322	133	4	223	134	12	282		
Slagle	3	2	1	438	170	268	7	2	35	11	12	62		
Springville	21	20	1	2,045	435	1,610	137	10	108	101	4	71		
South Branch	57	54	3	4,217	1,695	2,522	37		68	40	8	21		
Wexford	127	111	16	10,507	5,448	5,059	347	1	475	287	10	391		
Cadillac (city)	16	16	0	994	439	555	340	6	25	297		135		
Totals	1,188	1,071	117	86,075	36,368	49,707	3,051	58	3,901	2,774	227	3,587		

Table 3.10 (cont'd)

Township	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Eggs (doz)	Milk (gal)	Butter (lbs)	Potatoes (bushels)	Dry Beans (bushels)	Dry Peas (bushels)	Maple Sugar (lbs)	Hay (tons)
Antioch	891	2,931	32	5,473	89,066	20,301	11,874	315	132	1,544	165
Boon	607	1,237	34	2,462	73,446	17,994	15,615	60	304		437
Cedar Creek	462	4,750	24	16,066	170,358	46,976	28,422	240	587	875	219
Cherry Grove	401	1,618	16	2,620	73,902	19,144	13,599	4	109		74
Clam Lake	471	4,179	31	7,569	183,575	42,999	63,426		368	20	484
Colfax	706	3,118	26	11,307	89,110	33,490	21,505	151	163	875	201
Greenwood	141	1,807	23	4,712	71,770	14,025	5,823	20	87		74
Hanover	76	1,001	150	1,161	21,298	6,663	3,540	30	40		12
Harring	180	993	12	1,235	43,522	13,975	9,100		76	20	60
Henderson	82	875	12	1,237	29,465	7,165	2,382	15	60	130	39
Liberty	12	1,091	17	4,051	29,681	8,749	4,807	43	213	220	40
Selma	280	2,400	66	2,122	78,068	19,968	14,288	104	171	393	93
Slagle	58	285		256	8,690	1,600	906		10		
Springville	92	1,190		3,053	30,700	9,650	1,228	17	190	2,670	44
South Branch	54	724		521	12,600	3,250	11,105	54	4		51
Wexford	629	4,099	36	22,500	158,440	52,535	25,597	244	267	3,322	314
Cadillac (city)	12	325	3	290	13,722	150	2,573				16
Totals	5,154	32,623	482	86,635	1,177,413	318,634	235,790	1,297	2,781	10,069	2,323

Table 3.10 (cont'd)

Township	Rye (bushels)	Wheat (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Buckwheat (bushels)	Corn (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Apples (bushels)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)
Antioch	471	4,225	132	165	23,087	3,877	794	100		
Boon	319	513	12	147	5,427	5,383	592		6	
Cedar Creek	1,707	2,588		509	33,580	5,370	3,473	5	26	1,270
Cherry Grove	436	285		10	4,846	3,360	192			
Clam Lake	746	3,012		163	11,475	11,846	1,434			
Colfax	437	2,599		339	26,970	9,004	2,027		10	
Greenwood	215	501		35	5,095	2,488	606	10	10	
Hanover	424	1,013		16	7,160	520	349			
Harring	801	592		20	4,650	2,542	100		4	
Henderson	271	164		68	3,013	361	437		3	
Liberty	358	531		14	6,145	1,190	1,182		2	20
Selma	463	585		120	9,349	3,817	454		1	20
Slagle		16			130	316	15			
Springville	112	809		96	11,282	1,668	868			
South Branch	50	40		20	1,140	490	166			
Wexford	493	8,250	360	266	20,196	11,559	1,705		10	
Cadillac (city)	60				465	580				
Totals	7,363	25,723	504	1,988	174,010	64,371	14,394	115	72	1,310

Table 3.11
1935 Michigan Census of Agriculture -- Lake County

Township	Number of Farms	Farmland (acres)	Average Acres	Rented Acres	White Owners	Colored Owners	White Tenants	Colored Tenants	Average Value/Acre	Total Farm Population
Chase	117	14,786	126	3,358	98	0	18	0	17	513
Cherry Valley	23	3,190	139	640	18	4	1	0	15	86
Dover	64	6,344	99	1,762	49	0	15	0	19	247
Eden	24	2,831	118	275	16	5	2	1	9	98
Elk	61	5,572	91	718	52	2	6	0	23	259
Ellsworth	88	12,514	142	3,898	71	0	17	0	18	395
Lake	39	3,744	96	360	35	0	4	0	23	194
Newkirk	43	7,771	181	320	42	0	1	0	29	183
Peacock	19	1,017	54	30	6	12	0	1	12	45
Pinora	58	7,221	124	1,804	46	0	12	0	14	238
Pleasant Plains	17	926	54	240	12	4	1	0	15	69
Sauble	40	3,784	95	120	37	2	1	0	23	146
Sweetwater	22	1,781	81	160	18	2	2	0	22	76
Webber	21	2,248	107	400	19	0	1	1	15	69
Yates	16	1,967	123	80	14	2	0	0	6	61
Totals	652	75,696	116	14,165	533	33	81	3	18	2,679

Table 3.11 (cont'd)

Township	White Farm Population	Colored Farm Population	Wheat (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Rye (bushels)	Mixed Grains (bushels)	Hay & Feed (tons)	Corn (bushels)
Chase	513		723	16,380	263	1,024	56	902	13,836
Cherry Valley	75	11	0					60	236
Dover	247		24	559		370		281	4,435
Eden	79	19	50			379		64	370
Elk	248	11	252	272		507	50	298	1,557
Ellsworth	395		257	2,473		592		554	5,157
Lake	194		668	1,601		3		338	1,810
Newkirk	183		235	741	83	414		380	4,210
Peacock	16	29	0			3		30	340
Pinora	238		215	4,216	211	203	672	264	3,066
Pleasant Plains	47	22	0					112	150
Sauble	142	4	200	240	115	387		231	618
Sweetwater	71	5	16	40		58		160	400
Webber	67	2	0					80	100
Yates	57	4	0	46		8		53	280
Totals	2,572	107	2,640	26,568	672	3,948	778	3,807	36,565

Table 3.11 (cont'd)

Township	Potatoes (bushels)	Horses & Mules	Cattle	Milch Cows	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Swine	Goats
Chase	52,688	489	1,093	619	255	4,497	89	201	
Cherry Valley	868	42	144	54	235	280	45	14	20
Dover	21,329	244	487	324	157	1,824	48	54	
Eden	617	60	187	121	2	558	12	24	
Elk	2,766	173	428	295	37	1,382	15	101	
Ellsworth	30,425	315	697	421	266	2,563	191	114	4
Lake	2,450	169	404	238	304	1,435	56	76	
Newkirk	20,101	194	476	261	104	1,428	67	66	
Peacock	335	31	102	43		272		23	2
Pinora	23,802	194	421	248	192	2,066	52	61	
Pleasant Plains	195	12	64	34		757	6	19	
Sauble	2,906	126	299	189	41	726	11	70	3
Sweetwater	1,979	68	253	123	5	693	22	30	3
Webber	603	36	126	59	53	491		16	4
Yates	809	56	148	81	13	477	25	4	
Totals	161,873	2,209	5,329	3,110	1,664	19,449	639	873	36

Table 3.11 (cont'd)

Township	Apples (bushels)	Cherries (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Plums/Prunes (bushels)	Strawberries (quarts)
Chase	1,909	9	3,058	1	98	10	
Cherry Valley							15
Dover	108		10				1,200
Eden						2	29
Elk	21		100		10		2,503
Ellsworth	259				1		8
Lake							
Newkirk	250				10		10
Peacock	75		1,150			4	208
Pinora	1,029	60	455		51		180
Pleasant Plains							
Sauble							32
Sweetwater							
Webber							
Yates	17		25				
Totals	3,668	69	4,798	1	170	16	4,185

Table 3.12
1935 Michigan Census of Agriculture -- Manistee County

Township	Number of Farms	Farmland (acres)	Average Acres	Rented Acres	White Owners	Colored Owners	White Tenants	Colored Tenants	Average Value/Acre	Total Farm Population
Arcadia	92	8,299	90	559	90	0	2	0	24	384
Bear Lake	183	18,395	101	2,408	161	0	21	0	27	811
Brown	122	11,386	93	1,905	109	0	13	0	22	483
Cleon	125	16,120	129	3,187	115	0	10	0	15	531
Dickson	65	6,628	102	780	60	3	2	0	28	300
Filer	64	4,784	75	351	59	0	3	1	31	225
Manistee (city)	5	86	17	5	5	0	0	0	113	19
Manistee	174	14,519	83	1,387	159	1	9	0	33	631
Maple Grove	134	14,869	111	1,170	126	0	8	0	18	546
Marilla	84	12,790	152	1,869	82	0	2	0	13	394
Norman	35	2,339	67	126	25	7	2	1	42	114
Onekama	86	6,786	79	1,735	82	0	4	0	28	366
Pleasanton	119	13,433	113	539	119	0	0	0	23	488
Springdale	56	7,194	128	859	52	0	4	0	12	240
Stronach	27	2,038	75	130	26	0	1	0	10	98
Totals	1,371	139,666	102	17,010	1,270	11	81	2	23	5,630

Table 3.12 (cont'd)

Township	White Farm Population	Colored Farm Population	Wheat (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Rye (bushels)	Mixed Grains (bushels)	Hay & Feed (tons)	Corn (bushels)
Arcadia	384		702	8,004	500	1,296	52	1,237	8,667
Bear Lake	811		1,055	9,274	265	3,186	117	1,830	22,002
Brown	483		1,582	14,565	204	2,373		1,274	17,040
Cleon	531		4,314	3,045		5,185		767	12,221
Dickson	287	13	809	2,874		1,532		465	7,181
Filer	225		123	2,308	50	662		568	3,494
Manistee (city)	19		0	150				13	160
Manistee	629	2	2,839	19,692		548		1,768	22,030
Maple Grove	546		1,773	8,517		4,195		1,237	10,081
Marilla	394		2,245	7,390		2,913		798	8,168
Norman	92	22	125	67		323		80	888
Onkama	366		111	2,177		1,442		449	6,595
Pleasanton	488		2,389	9,265	82	4,589	60	889	13,272
Springdale	240		706	1,918		2,185		411	3,656
Stronach	98		77	1,394		390		178	178
Totals	5,593	37	18,850	90,640	1,101	30,819	229	11,964	135,633

Table 3.12 (cont'd)

Township	Potatoes (bushels)	Horses & Mules	Cattle	Milch Cows	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Swine	Goats
Arcadia	7,865	227	603	282	48	2,418	28	150	16
Bear Lake	39,984	573	1,447	680	22	6,649	28	460	
Brown	19,567	388	1,037	543	7	4,402	15	201	
Cleon	33,751	446	1,093	541	63	6,681	41	199	
Dickson	5,582	237	614	297	38	2,624	21	155	
Filer	4,445	170	438	247	7	2,112		52	
Manistee (city)	230	8	26	20		62			
Manistee	17,260	436	1,365	787	34	5,784	13	102	29
Maple Grove	18,321	407	1,064	689	17	5,582	76	120	
Marilla	31,178	353	1,093	530	250	2,960	62	122	
Norman	777	84	204	128	1	1,182	7	31	3
Onkama	8,693	233	493	225	1	3,461	25	155	
Pleasanton	21,388	382	992	444	192	4,734	94	329	5
Springdale	3,971	175	469	274	45	2,081	79	86	
Stronach	1,318	72	301	126		1,075	12	20	
Totals	214,330	4,191	11,239	5,813	725	51,807	501	2,182	53

Table 3.12 (cont'd)

Township	Apples (bushels)	Cherries (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Plums/Prunes (bushels)	Strawberries (quarts)
Arcadia	6,217	2,887	5,600		142	5	8,262
Bear Lake	55,372	7,731	12,645	30	746	612	107,094
Brown	6,268	170	4,975		116	11	31,276
Cleon	985	13	3,176		152	22	6,866
Dickson	255		25		2	4	1,796
Filer	2,336	432	861	2	97	41	
Manistee (city)	70				12		
Manistee	89,415	10,408	6,118	41	1,223	233	16,140
Maple Grove	366	70	510		32	10	3,562
Marilla	1,497	11	460		76	7	4,660
Norman	4	1				5	225
Onokama	15,119	6,969	36,100		484	96	32,859
Pleasanton	14,058	4,742		60	67	20	6,857
Springdale	339	2	950	10	21	1	125
Stronach							30
Totals	192,301	33,436	71,420	143	3,170	1,067	219,752

Table 3.13
1935 Michigan Census of Agriculture – Mason County

Township	Number of Farms	Farmland (acres)	Average Acres	Rented Acres	White Owners	Colored Owners	White Tenants	Colored Tenants	Average Value/Acre	Total Farm Population
Amber	177	14,348	81	3,501	145	0	31	0	46	713
Branch	53	6,787	128	2,322	48	0	5	0	25	219
Custer	196	19,433	99	6,358	157	0	39	0	44	869
Eden	125	17,872	143	6,220	102	1	22	0	31	519
Freesoil	125	11,445	92	1,415	116	0	9	0	30	563
Grant	82	10,426	127	1,516	74	0	8	0	16	331
Hamlin	46	3,914	85	699	42	0	4	0	31	181
Logan	44	10,961	249	2,540	38	0	6	0	15	219
Meade	17	2,126	125	332	15	0	2	0	13	64
Pere Marquette	104	6,633	64	747	100	0	4	0	66	438
Riverton	284	21,596	76	5,848	235	0	48	0	56	1,213
Scottville (city)	11	235	21	30	9	0	2	0	106	34
Sheridan	73	7,197	99	1,564	68	0	5	0	27	308
Sherman	182	17,786	98	3,622	159	1	22	0	40	713
Summit	103	6,821	66	865	89	0	12	0	89	449
Victory	185	18,260	99	4,114	161	0	24	0	35	791
Totals	1,807	175,840	97	41,693	1,558	2	243	0	39	7,624

Table 3.13 (cont'd)

Township	White Farm Population	Colored Farm Population	Wheat (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Rye (bushels)	Mixed Grains (bushels)	Hay & Feed (tons)	Corn (bushels)
Amber	713		2,603	19,172	338	2,546	1,408	1,876	16,867
Branch	219		1,205	1,829		293	100	469	2,166
Custer	869		8,586	28,091	502	3,157		3,088	13,386
Eden	517	2	4,040	12,016	385	988	425	2,427	9,210
Freesoil	562	1	4,575	15,047	71	1,601		1,181	2,849
Grant	331		1,412	9,118		2,946		805	2,025
Hamlin	181		119	2,656		383	154	282	2,030
Logan	219		1,172	1,765		490		581	4,000
Meade	63		439	1,131		463		332	1,033
Pere Marquette	438	1	365	4,507	200	220		1,265	6,857
Riverton	1,213		7,063	39,393	1,019	2,884	27	3,688	18,208
Scottville (city)	34		115	250	15			57	250
Sheridan	308		1,538	4,640	165	499		472	4,772
Sherman	712	1	6,740	23,529	1,026	2,219	700	1,683	13,143
Summit	449		691	4,521	755	300		1,171	11,779
Victory	791		4,704	37,430	1,133	2,755	212	2,815	12,613
Totals	7,619	5	45,367	205,095	5,609	21,744	3,026	22,192	121,188

Table 3.13 (cont'd)

Township	Potatoes (bushels)	Horses & Mules	Cattle	Milch Cows	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Swine	Goats
Amber	51,891	651	1,304	891	73	8,082	51	207	
Branch	6,271	134	371	205	174	2,440	16	39	30
Custer	63,350	817	2,027	1,226	104	9,077	85	409	3
Eden	36,681	539	1,283	738	409	5,148	164	287	1
Freesoil	27,953	437	953	666		4,569	66	261	13
Grant	11,162	301	704	387	4	3,025	64	162	3
Hamlin	3,868	108	170	119	32	1,223	6	98	
Logan	4,713	184	480	290	154	2,357	125	78	2
Meade	1,751	60	192	110	3	477		20	
Pere Marquette	15,644	296	688	438		3,234	31	86	3
Riverton	104,335	1,210	2,028	1,437	56	13,221	71	365	
Scottville (city)	661	16	39	29	1	189		6	
Sheridan	15,040	244	459	362	69	1,950	79	96	
Sherman	30,580	746	1,566	1,016	83	5,996	94	373	1
Summit	21,067	357	631	404	106	3,279	9	207	
Victory	46,495	715	1,614	993	180	7,935	17	317	
Totals	441,462	6,815	14,509	9,311	1,448	72,202	878	3,011	56

Table 3.13 (cont'd)

Township	Apples (bushels)	Cherries (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Plums/Prunes (bushels)	Strawberries (quarts)
Amber	15,394	628	250		385	42	43,382
Branch	336	1	1,370		8	2	38
Custer	5,122	158	2,715		147	32	4,071
Eden	1,940	97			14	28	1,625
Freesoil	10,811	932	5,206		502	52	2,509
Grant	7,049	22	2,706		290	8	1,100
Hamlin	9,571	83	25		18	51	14,228
Logan	20						100
Meade	4						32
Pere Marquette	15,105	3,946	7,410	10	1,301	798	31,505
Riverton	61,357	22,304	15,434		3,303	1,827	45,247
Scottville (city)	51	2			2		320
Sheridan	1,368	57	150		28	8	450
Sherman	6,552	100	975		268	78	5,321
Summit	60,563	19,695	14,350	31	6,722	5,317	17,916
Victory	10,202	88	240		124	4	8,732
Totals	205,445	48,113	50,331	41	13,112	8,247	176,576

Table 3.14
1935 Michigan Census of Agriculture -- Mecosta County

Township	Number of Farms	Farmland (acres)	Average Acres	Rented Acres	White Owners	Colored Owners	White Tenants	Colored Tenants	Average Value/Acre	Total Farm Population
Aetna	108	13,496	125	3,590	90	0	18	0	16	468
Austin	101	11,196	111	3,642	77	0	24	0	19	409
Big Rapids (city)	36	1,404	39	417	31	0	5	0	75	136
Big Rapids	148	15,330	104	5,760	116	0	32	0	24	616
Chippewa	119	16,091	135	5,384	97	0	22	0	16	479
Cofax	149	17,914	120	3,581	128	1	19	1	23	575
Deerfield	130	16,380	126	4,932	100	0	30	0	20	587
Fork	165	20,260	123	7,604	131	0	34	0	17	712
Grant	113	17,294	153	6,797	95	0	18	0	16	511
Green	184	19,072	104	4,433	154	0	29	1	25	722
Hinton	184	20,153	110	6,234	139	0	45	0	32	664
Martin	130	14,080	108	4,184	104	1	25	0	19	457
Mecosta	104	14,477	139	2,780	91	0	12	0	20	441
Millbrook	208	20,780	100	5,228	154	3	50	0	25	836
Morton	113	12,772	113	3,222	80	9	20	4	19	391
Sheridan	156	20,056	129	7,939	104	6	38	8	18	647
Wheatland	167	19,734	118	5,146	123	4	36	4	29	749
Totals	2,315	270,489	117	80,873	1,814	24	457	18	22	9,400

Table 3.14 (cont'd)

Township	White Farm Population	Colored Farm Population	Wheat (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Rye (bushels)	Mixed Grains (bushels)	Hay & Feed (tons)	Corn (bushels)
Aetna	468		1,155	6,462		2,077	500	821	6,816
Austin	409		145	4,987		695	42	778	3,412
Big Rapids (city)	136		0	1,634				211	2,623
Big Rapids	616		310	13,307	296	654	1,437	1,566	11,396
Chippewa	479		168	12,596	616	582		1,218	10,954
Colfax	567	8	1,380	10,876	60	1,547		1,285	7,517
Deerfield	587		1,480	10,203	65	3,668	187	1,341	5,525
Fork	712		354	10,479	240	790	131	1,364	14,621
Grant	511		524	9,639	29	602		1,177	13,667
Green	716	6	1,220	13,005	90	1,118	360	1,795	22,134
Hinton	664		1,825	23,450	948	3,466	75	1,664	21,668
Martin	456	1	473	10,301	214	1,460		920	7,898
Mecosta	441		646	7,184	70	1,493	160	1,328	6,850
Millbrook	807	29	586	18,790	135	1,420	325	1,244	8,725
Morton	347	44	374	2,186		1,077		407	2,300
Sheridan	584	63	402	6,459		992		942	20,625
Wheatland	713	36	1,497	15,938	425	375	2,231	1,746	21,458
Totals	9,213	187	12,539	177,496	3,188	22,016	5,448	19,807	188,189

Table 3.14 (cont'd)

Township	Potatoes (bushels)	Horses & Mules	Cattle	Milch Cows	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Swine	Goats
Aetna	35,105	374	783	493	111	6,360	51	135	
Austin	25,031	386	698	500	102	3,886	63	174	1
Big Rapids (city)	3,084	49	141	98	93	727	6	13	
Big Rapids	14,926	413	1,313	724	410	4,120	60	214	14
Chippewa	81,620	466	1,228	731	777	4,779	211	95	2
Colfax	53,651	536	1,242	757	388	6,048	85	262	
Deerfield	47,677	526	1,077	670	107	5,354	84	207	
Fork	88,107	594	1,281	854	238	6,259	256	119	
Grant	43,203	411	1,049	674	242	4,030	94	130	
Green	40,322	662	1,646	989	308	8,134	178	172	17
Hinton	119,573	742	1,756	1,048	577	7,960	111	451	2
Martin	70,392	479	922	612	319	6,164	88	101	
Mecosta	24,747	372	951	553	416	7,198	43	136	
Millbrook	140,073	845	1,557	1,055	192	9,370	234	181	1
Morton	30,365	277	459	346	148	4,027	53	90	7
Sheridan	83,283	591	1,127	772	375	8,006	212	131	2
Wheatland	149,132	739	1,541	999	268	10,726	84	299	
Totals	1,050,291	8,462	18,771	11,875	5,071	103,148	1,913	2,910	46

Table 3.14 (cont'd)

Township	Apples (bushels)	Cherries (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Plums/Prunes (bushels)	Strawberries (quarts)
Aetna	1,639	7	965		34		200
Austin	1,232	1,733	2,335		18	2	1,232
Big Rapids (city)	2,422		1,370		127		148
Big Rapids	2,244	148	7,750	20	64	10	95
Chippewa	3,557	4	3,025	8	141	11	25
Colfax	1,994	51	3,200		42	2	
Deerfield	1,133	1,111	1,390		55	4	
Fork	2,919	10	3,775	1	114	20	3,820
Grant	699	6	1,417		60	13	
Green	1,981	10	420	2	57	8	
Hinton	1,993	2	300		72	5	30
Martin	2,230	2	300	2	57	12	60
Mecosta	1,254	46			4		210
Millbrook	1,589	10			31		
Morton	102		520		1		
Sheridan	5,688	34	1,600	1	155	12	
Wheatland	3,055	60	5,225	20	249	33	
Totals	35,731	3,234	33,592	54	1,281	132	5,820

Table 3.15
1935 Michigan Census of Agriculture -- Montcalm County

Township	Number of Farms	Farmland (acres)	Average Acres	Rented Acres	White Owners	Colored Owners	White Tenants	Colored Tenants	Average Value/Acre	Total Farm Population
Belvidere	216	19,550	90	5,301	174	0	42	0	43	881
Bloomer	189	20,804	110	8,009	148	0	41	0	46	812
Bushnell	192	21,994	115	8,396	144	0	48	0	43	790
Cato	180	20,366	113	4,406	152	0	27	0	41	734
Crystal	192	20,436	106	6,789	150	1	40	1	41	837
Day	230	22,810	99	7,088	182	2	45	0	45	1,012
Douglass	208	19,461	94	5,089	169	0	39	0	36	778
Eureka	165	15,545	94	3,394	136	0	28	0	49	660
Evergreen	170	17,801	105	5,489	134	0	36	0	36	743
Fairplain	195	19,809	102	5,337	157	3	32	2	42	748
Ferris	190	19,612	103	7,740	140	0	48	0	33	846
Greenville (city)	13	822	63	55	12	0	1	0	52	64
Home	218	19,865	91	7,319	161	0	56	0	51	909
Maple Valley	243	21,773	90	6,184	192	1	50	0	36	885
Montcalm	165	19,093	116	3,617	149	0	16	0	70	749
Pierston	176	17,976	102	7,644	123	1	52	0	33	705
Pine	170	17,979	106	4,026	141	0	28	0	32	652
Reynolds	145	12,330	85	3,602	110	0	35	0	17	532
Richland	167	16,900	101	7,770	117	1	49	0	26	641
Sidney	215	20,634	96	4,060	184	0	30	0	44	739
Winfield	160	19,716	123	3,616	137	0	23	0	44	684
Totals	3,799	385,276	101	114,931	3,012	9	766	3	41	15,401

Table 3.15 (cont'd)

Township	White Farm Population	Colored Farm Population	Wheat (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Rye (bushels)	Mixed Grains (bushels)	Hay & Feed (tons)	Corn (bushels)
Belvidere	881		1,831	20,853	110	3,785	36	2,329	28,336
Bloomer	812		21,076	49,923	9,792	2,259		2,956	22,278
Bushnell	790		18,386	39,629	3,086	3,264	1,835	2,396	23,029
Cato	734		2,607	31,810	224	2,821	235	1,758	20,983
Crystal	827	10	12,603	27,853	3,689	3,732	1,767	1,821	21,655
Day	1,006	6	5,892	30,837	150	4,478	474	2,640	25,589
Douglass	778		3,254	20,167		5,099	306	1,334	19,754
Eureka	660		4,387	15,117	147	3,176		1,412	8,934
Evergreen	743		5,142	16,701	419	4,663	2,089	1,408	14,408
Fairplain	729	19	7,613	21,245	424	2,228	306	1,425	14,238
Ferris	846		3,513	13,242	261	2,883	896	1,702	8,599
Greenville (city)	64		190	187		33		71	315
Home	909		1,283	20,190	90	2,956	170	1,118	11,129
Maple Valley	882	3	7,863	38,764	140	1,955	150	2,718	17,107
Montcalm	749		8,589	31,551	899	5,921		2,132	10,850
Pierson	701	4	5,404	32,495	722	3,055		2,030	13,211
Pine	652		3,965	21,231	110	5,837	125	1,554	11,359
Reynolds	532		658	1,909		2,678		519	8,405
Richland	640	1	1,521	7,700	90	3,526	428	984	1,853
Sidney	739		6,358	27,261	226	3,361	474	1,793	15,686
Winfield	684		5,501	33,231	200	3,711	4,118	2,170	17,405
Totals	15,358	43	127,636	501,896	20,779	71,421	13,409	36,270	315,123

Table 3.15 (cont'd)

Township	Potatoes (bushels)	Horses & Mules	Cattle	Milch Cows	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Swine	Goats
Belvidere	170,617	829	1,482	967	334	10,030	132	236	6
Bloomer	30,125	890	1,491	967	1,417	11,096	213	690	2
Bushnell	73,920	901	1,637	1,009	1,436	11,897	141	353	1
Cato	177,294	781	2,112	1,150	600	13,288	70	387	
Crystal	37,868	775	1,364	923	1,444	10,563	294	594	9
Day	286,961	1,132	1,937	1,257	227	12,715	72	246	2
Douglass	159,670	809	1,447	896	166	12,260	37	255	1
Eureka	103,148	601	1,171	655	155	6,216	88	181	11
Evergreen	98,545	649	1,267	835	1,107	9,641	41	231	
Fairplain	154,260	761	1,202	802	113	10,174	122	163	
Ferris	84,599	709	1,284	899	487	7,486	154	213	2
Greenville (city)	4,820	28	34	17		594		3	
Home	166,159	927	1,472	1,024	172	9,209	26	188	16
Maple Valley	296,066	1,070	1,838	1,012	101	12,609	9	217	
Montcalm	148,095	792	1,217	683	84	9,344	57	196	
Pierson	118,473	640	1,347	781	60	8,340	32	220	3
Pine	162,984	703	1,294	736	81	10,382	24	205	1
Reynolds	21,909	282	523	302	48	4,858	68	142	4
Richland	32,166	533	942	601	412	6,321	67	268	6
Sidney	187,591	855	1,458	913	160	11,194	82	109	1
Winfield	233,528	808	1,760	996	24	10,605	32	350	
Totals	2,748,798	15,475	28,279	17,425	8,628	198,822	1,761	5,447	65

Table 3.15 (cont'd)

Township	Apples (bushels)	Cherries (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Plums/Prunes (bushels)	Strawberries (quarts)
Belvidere	6,894	19	560	4	107	25	240
Bloomer	1,220	12	5,949	2	395	67	1,500
Bushnell	2,091	31	1,212		84	15	
Cato	2,945	19	1,050	4	135	47	196
Crystal	1,910	35	3,870		207	22	500
Day	8,480	129	15,728		499	165	866
Douglass	6,682	9	1,150	21	127	41	200
Eureka	15,052	107	10,160	109	400	78	3,865
Evergreen	11,966	95	11,415	9	384	86	450
Fairplain	1,971	34	11,065	3	319	54	
Ferris	2,799	49	6,816	3	336	168	100
Greenville (city)	475	7	1,650		28	16	3,000
Home	4,252	38	3,855		177	46	32
Maple Valley	1,725	17	1,450		67	15	1,000
Montcalm	8,842	93	8,526		256	92	60
Pierson	900		1,650		15	7	
Pine	1,532	7	675		56	7	
Reynolds	187	2	2,160		1		525
Richland	632	34	1,060	1	98	35	
Sidney	2,778	26	8,940	12	231	90	
Winfield	2,218	19	2,115	4	107	18	
Totals	85,551	782	101,056	172	4,029	1,094	12,534

Table 3.16
1935 Michigan Census of Agriculture -- Muskegon County

Township	Number of Farms	Farmland (acres)	Average Acres	Rented Acres	White Owners	Colored Owners	White Tenants	Colored Tenants	Average Value/Acre	Total Farm Population
Blue Lake	12	1,300	108	460	7	0	5	0	7	45
Casnovia	270	20,051	74	4,478	205	1	62	0	64	1,015
Cedar Creek	70	7,481	107	1,240	59	0	9	0	39	319
Dalton	105	8,378	80	1,180	90	0	15	0	36	456
Egleston	54	5,335	99	1,137	49	0	5	0	26	190
Fruitland	103	8,367	81	1,071	92	0	11	0	41	412
Fruitport	97	7,042	73	674	92	0	5	0	27	445
Holton	138	11,499	83	2,205	108	0	28	0	42	563
Laketon	93	3,197	34	387	86	0	7	0	81	356
Montague	58	5,336	92	839	55	0	3	0	44	235
Moorland	144	16,445	114	4,829	109	0	33	0	37	567
Muskegon	158	5,100	32	240	149	0	9	0	181	510
Norton	235	5,305	23	187	227	0	8	0	192	1,058
Ravenna	236	21,338	90	7,033	184	0	50	0	39	928
Sullivan	87	7,371	85	984	77	0	10	0	26	439
Whitehall	31	1,030	35	90	30	0	1	0	108	115
White River	73	5,579	76	1,080	64	0	9	0	48	221
Totals	1,964	140,154	71	28,114	1,683	1	270	0	53	7,874

Table 3.16 (cont'd)

Township	White Farm Population	Colored Farm Population	Wheat (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Rye (bushels)	Mixed Grains (bushels)	Hay & Feed (tons)	Corn (bushels)
Blue Lake	45		0	371				116	1,065
Casnovia	1,012	3	15,514	57,655	924	1,476	723	3,541	41,292
Cedar Creek	315	4	1,888	6,955	380	1,168		928	5,498
Dalton	456		374	4,533		897		518	8,710
Egleston	190		150	2,422		1,772		304	3,563
Fruitland	412		264	3,975	15	1,506	34	633	6,770
Fruitport	445		1,162	7,474	35	1,392		523	9,440
Holton	563		4,469	19,896	548	1,567	435	1,989	24,541
Laketon	356		185	349	10	481		113	3,249
Montague	235		3,479	12,884	1,423	451		941	4,399
Moorland	567		5,173	27,276	452	1,053	3,997	1,728	36,856
Muskegon	510		25	539		352		315	5,123
Norton	1,058		998	1,338		225		237	6,633
Ravenna	928		18,076	75,584	1,872	1,929	530	2,989	36,258
Sullivan	439		1,345	7,983	174	2,024		535	7,570
Whitehall	115		144	1,765	40	86	800	281	1,881
White River	221		2,288	13,274	291	939	390	657	9,220
Totals	7,867	7	55,534	244,273	6,164	17,318	6,909	16,348	212,068

Table 3.16 (cont'd)

Township	Potatoes (bushels)	Horses & Mules	Cattle	Milch Cows	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Swine	Goats
Blue Lake	752	26	59	34		1,461	20	5	
Casnovia	98,216	994	2,103	1,291	473	10,654	110	378	14
Cedar Creek	8,372	219	752	408	132	6,744	77	66	5
Dalton	10,055	270	649	452		3,561	54	51	7
Egleston	2,429	120	350	226		3,560	37	6	2
Fruitland	7,373	274	624	416		6,444	29	72	
Fruitport	12,047	306	643	352	1	8,848	38	129	10
Holton	21,290	438	1,204	704	14	9,484	97	140	2
Laketon	1,610	76	183	105		2,074	23	24	2
Montague	4,105	181	510	325	40	3,479	527	34	
Moorland	38,869	600	1,871	970	228	7,257	186	117	2
Muskegon	4,764	83	141	87	100	2,943	21	101	1
Norton	8,722	212	217	194		6,562	75	42	37
Ravenna	35,221	995	2,498	1,476	129	14,694	246	415	11
Sullivan	8,839	273	701	364		4,286	119	77	
Whitehall	1,478	54	105	60		2,124	56	2	
White River	8,714	215	518	323	8	3,111	24	72	
Totals	272,856	5,336	13,128	7,787	1,125	97,286	1,739	1,731	93

Table 3.16 (cont'd)

Township	Apples (bushels)	Cherries (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Plums/Prunes (bushels)	Strawberries (quarts)
Blue Lake	70						
Casnovia	143,239	4,351	218,201	1,016	1,972	2,263	11,478
Cedar Creek	375						
Dalton	96						22,224
Egleston	60		4,310				320
Fruitland	108						16,200
Fruitport	395	1	18,440	5	59	5	26,385
Holton	6,810	25	672	150	66	5	4,346
Laketon	821	5	11,252	4	28	317	4,859
Montague	1,890	7	1,772	16	14	6	1,088
Moorland	4,601	682	2,800	20	84	221	13,450
Muskegon	125	18	2,894		16	11	5,914
Norton	19,425	890	219,023	36	646	186	27,130
Ravenna	2,982	136	19,340	6	266	227	10,826
Sullivan	335				8	2	44,596
Whitehall	1,637	228	901	78	87		16
White River	9,514	1	400	6	30		75
Totals	192,483	6,344	500,005	1,337	3,276	3,243	188,907

Table 3.17
1935 Michigan Census of Agriculture -- Newaygo County

Township	Number of Farms	Farmland (acres)	Average Acres	Rented Acres	White Owners	Colored Owners	White Tenants	Colored Tenants	Average Value/Acre	Total Farm Population
Ashland	191	18,940	99	7,254	136	0	53	1	41	812
Barton	122	13,298	109	2,309	107	0	15	0	20	445
Beaver	116	13,335	115	2,525	93	2	20	1	25	435
Big Prairie	61	7,532	123	1,605	49	0	12	0	13	257
Bridgeton	85	9,819	116	3,474	57	0	27	0	26	361
Brooks	44	4,737	108	1,217	39	0	5	0	25	152
Croton	68	7,056	104	1,532	53	0	15	0	23	254
Dayton	233	18,792	81	5,568	182	0	49	0	45	932
Denver	140	13,351	95	2,947	121	0	19	0	31	548
Ensley	165	16,255	99	4,212	129	0	36	0	32	799
Everett	83	9,549	115	2,323	67	0	15	0	14	345
Fremont (city)	9	303	34	70	7	0	1	0	125	32
Garfield	167	14,778	88	3,841	139	0	27	0	40	738
Goodwell	79	9,876	125	700	74	0	5	0	16	309
Grant	212	14,890	70	1,924	191	0	21	0	41	916
Home	61	10,455	171	448	56	0	5	0	21	252
Lilley	42	11,833	282	2,698	32	2	7	0	17	145
Lincoln	87	11,315	130	4,690	71	0	16	0	21	352
Merrill	24	3,304	138	32	20	4	0	0	17	82
Monroe	36	5,461	152	780	33	0	3	0	11	146
Norwich	74	8,604	116	410	72	0	2	0	19	274
Sheridan	266	19,180	72	4,004	225	1	39	0	44	1,171
Sherman	119	10,881	91	2,771	96	2	21	0	36	519
Troy	60	5,167	86	1,000	55	0	5	0	21	217
Wlicox	85	11,990	141	1,527	69	0	15	0	15	347
Totals	2,629	270,701	103	59,861	2,173	11	433	2	29	10,840

Table 3.17 (cont'd)

Township	White Farm Population	Colored Farm Population	Wheat (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Rye (bushels)	Mixed Grains (bushels)	Hay & Feed (tons)	Corn (bushels)
Ashland	805	7	10,365	40,507	1,160	1,996	1,268	2,208	31,201
Barton	445		471	8,885	69	3,467	283	1,039	21,950
Beaver	428	7	2,028	5,278		2,247		1,181	11,565
Big Prairie	257		619	813		1,945		360	4,025
Bridgeton	361		3,483	8,184	250	2,132		982	10,741
Brooks	151	1	18	283		1,033	26	226	3,721
Croton	254		675	2,598		1,685		560	8,030
Dayton	927	5	10,495	37,420	513	1,179	1,230	3,929	30,628
Denver	548		2,414	13,864		1,311		2,161	15,550
Ensley	799		6,211	18,770	237	2,866		1,639	23,855
Everett	345		477	578		744		444	3,481
Fremont (city)	32		35	960	26			53	405
Garfield	738		7,562	21,757	489	477	2,797	2,454	21,173
Goodwell	309		480	4,146		1,389	535	711	18,985
Grant	916		1,645	15,606	45	1,555	107	1,006	19,914
Home	252		374	1,110		192		1,665	6,390
Lilley	142	3	0	250				956	2,556
Lincoln	352		585	3,031		805		662	3,705
Merrill	73	9	80	236				107	1,138
Monroe	146		0	1,995	40	404		589	6,153
Norwich	274		73	4,689	18	478	42	750	14,167
Sheridan	1,170	1	11,444	41,183	1,159	1,860	1,120	3,125	33,387
Sherman	508	11	5,717	19,122	353	615	1,553	1,397	10,300
Troy	217		284	325		164		595	2,549
Wilcox	347		386	1,742		1,703		654	4,672
Totals	10,796	44	65,921	253,332	4,359	30,247	8,961	29,453	310,241

Table 3.17 (cont'd)

Township	Potatoes (bushels)	Horses & Mules	Cattle	Milch Cows	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Swine	Goats
Ashland	57,254	830	1,584	919	226	14,531	126	325	3
Barton	21,697	410	1,091	626	124	4,405	129	166	
Beaver	9,115	322	987	540	212	3,821	230	85	
Big Prairie	7,199	174	334	171	81	2,128	31	102	
Bridgeton	8,637	301	749	433	101	6,065	62	67	
Brooks	2,493	91	177	106		1,242	4	48	10
Croton	13,647	197	315	182	63	3,231	53	50	11
Dayton	49,162	1,005	2,519	1,266	199	19,127	179	404	8
Denver	16,936	513	1,141	693	366	6,352	185	188	
Ensley	113,683	698	1,305	630	74	7,299	123	298	2
Everett	5,385	185	445	241	54	3,674	41	2,258	4
Fremont (city)	840	26	44	22		762		2	
Garfield	35,675	751	1,692	950	47	14,619	183	441	3
Goodwell	12,775	269	691	389	211	3,087	85	72	2
Grant	39,939	494	1,154	716	16	7,517	47	164	8
Home	9,245	208	625	437	47	2,424	65	33	
Lilley	2,612	83	271	195	98	754	43	14	
Lincoln	6,294	266	522	318	93	3,367	84	100	1
Merrill	1,589	28	138	81	35	307	16	7	
Monroe	4,180	136	459	232	4	1,249	38	56	
Norwich	15,132	257	713	427	257	3,137	121	61	1
Sheridan	53,174	1,021	2,342	1,389	27	23,808	81	383	1
Sherman	36,361	513	1,232	672	15	13,270	18	531	1
Troy	4,055	138	408	317	45	1,435	67	40	
Wilcox	9,026	236	562	272	48	4,508	143	51	
Totals	536,105	9,152	21,500	12,224	2,443	152,119	2,154	5,946	55

Table 3.17 (cont'd)

Township	Apples (bushels)	Cherries (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Plums/Prunes (bushels)	Strawberries (quarts)
Ashland	8,975	221	17,400		47	9	1,042
Barton	2,215	9	1,022		121	25	
Beaver	50		225				
Big Prairie	228						
Bridgeton	5,052	5	500		51	14	100
Brooks	1,365	42	570		3		400
Croton	1,765	8	121		24	7	1,048
Dayton	63,999	372	2,790	9	123	22	1,430
Denver	5,298	16	1,535		96	5	536
Ensley	7,518	60	892		196	44	
Everett	184		200				1,150
Fremont (city)	9,600	470	37,200		6		
Garfield	14,754	76	1,805	20	306	58	154
Goodwell	555	8	80		80		
Grant	1,737	1	1,010		30		430
Home							
Lilley							
Lincoln	840	3	3,335		10	5	920
Merrill	110		400		5		260
Monroe	339	10		4	13	1	
Norwich	807	5	268		208	7	
Sheridan	32,411	2,115	168,949	3	585	266	16,150
Sherman	3,389	27	155		302	35	100
Troy							
Wilcox	332			3			
Totals	161,523	3,448	238,457	39	2,206	498	23,720

Table 3.18
1935 Michigan Census of Agriculture -- Oceana County

Township	Number of Farms	Farmland (acres)	Average Acres	Rented Acres	White Owners	Colored Owners	White Tenants	Colored Tenants	Average Value/Acre	Total Farm Population
Benona	195	17,866	92	3,289	166	1	22	0	38	795
Claybanks	134	13,680	102	3,087	112	1	21	0	38	551
Colfax	53	7,240	137	496	53	0	0	0	16	227
Crystal	112	17,271	154	7,137	99	0	13	0	22	489
Elbridge	186	19,502	105	4,808	152	0	32	0	37	822
Ferry	123	13,942	113	2,666	104	0	19	0	24	499
Golden	130	11,803	91	2,187	118	0	12	0	45	544
Grant	170	13,983	82	2,376	145	0	25	0	33	678
Greenwood	68	7,570	111	1,950	54	0	14	0	35	284
Hart	233	20,946	90	2,838	209	0	18	0	66	1,130
Leavitt	110	17,193	156	7,264	98	0	12	0	23	444
Newfield	101	11,739	116	1,917	90	0	11	0	26	406
Otto	45	5,998	133	1,480	33	0	10	0	19	202
Pentwater	15	1,163	78	116	13	0	2	0	42	31
Shelby	287	19,847	69	3,250	255	0	29	0	68	1,325
Weare	127	15,417	121	3,482	114	0	13	0	40	653
Totals	2,089	215,160	103	48,343	1,815	2	253	0	38	9,080

Table 3.18 (cont'd)

Township	White Farm Population	Colored Farm Population	Wheat (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Rye (bushels)	Mixed Grains (bushels)	Hay & Feed (tons)	Corn (bushels)
Benona	794	1	4,251	14,092	560	4,008	425	1,758	15,981
Claybanks	545	6	6,916	23,948	325	1,929		2,316	14,286
Colfax	227		458	1,921	32	828		622	3,180
Crystal	489		1,918	6,154		5,152		1,222	9,154
Elbridge	809	13	4,377	10,907	17	5,706	350	2,303	26,205
Ferry	499		1,853	2,874		4,507		1,046	14,552
Golden	542	2	1,431	8,085	476	1,144		980	11,640
Grant	675	3	2,378	6,964	45	3,009		1,231	13,845
Greenwood	284		3,284	7,016	533	876		791	14,865
Hart	1,130		1,941	12,402	60	4,448		2,473	41,283
Leavitt	444		1,427	4,854	21	1,752		1,425	7,400
Newfield	406		2,004	6,139	25	2,655	162	1,381	22,887
Otto	202		840	2,798		1,704		375	6,160
Pentwater	31		8	635				100	215
Shelby	1,325		3,692	8,822	115	3,519		1,833	34,416
Weare	653		5,228	20,804	831	6,535	651	1,628	9,412
Totals	9,055	25	42,006	138,415	3,040	47,772	1,588	21,484	245,481

Table 3.18 (cont'd)

Township	Potatoes (bushels)	Horses & Mules	Cattle	Milch Cows	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Swine	Goats
Benona	23,207	609	1,247	654	27	8,205	27	209	
Claybanks	25,603	563	1,316	698	276	6,133	30	242	3
Cofax	12,360	216	695	364	165	1,966	20	78	
Crystal	64,157	417	1,124	516	51	6,153	97	270	4
Elbridge	94,469	672	1,887	894	125	8,245	166	389	1
Ferry	20,361	443	954	522	37	4,566	169	200	
Golden	35,031	389	674	382	9	5,402	24	149	
Grant	19,991	548	1,063	516	10	9,320	125	164	2
Greenwood	13,047	281	727	405	4	4,554	72	119	
Hart	58,694	827	1,423	730	82	10,077	126	364	1
Leavitt	32,469	466	1,406	670	1,459	5,198	140	318	2
Newfield	17,073	381	827	432	185	4,254	398	260	
Otto	5,531	191	342	190		2,320	8	57	
Pentwater	4,432	31	92	57		520		8	
Shelby	55,721	869	1,414	713	16	16,191	75	319	5
Weare	115,075	620	1,623	799	63	6,251		324	
Totals	597,221	7,523	16,814	8,542	2,509	99,355	1,477	3,470	18

Table 3.18 (cont'd)

Township	Apples (bushels)	Cherries (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Plums/Prunes (bushels)	Strawberries (quarts)
Benona	101,350	16,979	1,393	4,064	785	276	12,928
Claybanks	35,560	1,367	2,970	34	501	181	5,376
Colfax	200						
Crystal	2,785	1,680	400		55	20	12,380
Elbridge	27,556	4,682	16,495	5	762	77	1,972
Ferry	5,050	2,005			161	245	8,776
Golden	42,634	19,828	2,720	41	1,214	1,267	7,527
Grant	24,651	5,977	13,375	3	635	116	11,665
Greenwood	5,987	6	500		22	20	1,245
Hart	91,946	56,891	15,042	1,575	3,212	3,473	7,490
Leavitt	50						
Newfield	5,785	765			190		190
Otto	1,315	50					900
Pentwater	5						186
Shelby	132,336	68,500	37,940	1,451	2,446	2,526	57,125
Weare	4,216	4,334	500		314	47	7,782
Totals	481,426	183,064	91,335	7,173	10,297	8,248	135,542

Table 3.19
1935 Michigan Census of Agriculture -- Wexford County

Township	Number of Farms	Farmland (acres)	Average Acres	Rented Acres	White Owners	Colored Owners	White Tenants	Colored Tenants	Average Value/Acre	Total Farm Population
Antioch	84	10,406	124	2,290	72	0	11	0	17	362
Boon	80	9,395	117	1,236	70	0	9	0	10	353
Cadillac (city)	25	372	15	20	23	0	2	0	97	116
Cedar Creek	119	12,668	106	2,186	101	0	18	0	15	471
Cherry Grove	79	7,632	97	600	70	0	9	0	15	295
Clam Lake	152	16,785	110	1,471	145	0	7	0	26	624
Colfax	121	13,759	114	2,071	106	0	15	0	17	495
Greenwood	62	7,262	117	879	54	0	8	0	17	239
Hanover	48	4,960	103	1,291	40	0	8	0	13	189
Haring	60	5,661	94	1,155	49	0	9	0	26	222
Henderson	34	4,114	121	716	30	1	3	0	7	141
Liberty	61	7,319	120	1,467	55	0	6	0	14	260
Manton (city)	16	1,220	76	84	15	0	1	0	23	52
Selma	77	8,420	109	1,113	69	0	8	0	17	364
Slagle	81	8,065	100	1,305	71	1	9	0	13	383
South Branch	51	5,666	111	1,171	44	0	7	0	12	218
Springville	93	9,259	100	2,089	77	0	16	0	17	373
Wexford	97	12,254	126	2,561	81	0	16	0	19	429
Totals	1,340	145,217	108	23,705	1,172	2	162	0	17	5,586

Table 3.19 (cont'd)

Township	White Farm Population	Colored Farm Population	Wheat (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Barley (bushels)	Rye (bushels)	Mixed Grains (bushels)	Hay & Feed (tons)	Corn (bushels)
Antioch	362		198	1,510	60	1,019		797	10,778
Boon	353		315	4,929	15	261		827	7,041
Cadillac (city)	116		5	125				58	101
Cedar Creek	471		141	2,210		263		980	6,131
Cherry Grove	295		70	2,627		74		302	4,740
Clam Lake	624		487	11,821		787	452	1,399	5,195
Colfax	495		970	5,255		846	107	897	7,471
Greenwood	239		424	2,793	116	523	1,148	819	2,423
Hanover	189		353	1,215		600		275	2,450
Haring	222		0	1,148				402	2,170
Henderson	135	6	54	472	20	130		121	2,108
Liberty	260		300	3,775	27	480		766	2,441
Manton (city)	52		0					81	192
Selma	364		113	3,041		421		364	5,680
Slagle	376	7	494	1,963		1,567	75	517	6,020
South Branch	218		350	1,589		145		338	3,880
Springville	373		504	148	90	1,415	47	328	7,351
Wexford	429		1,525	8,640	323	2,427	142	582	15,606
Totals	5,573	13	6,303	53,261	651	10,958	1,971	9,853	91,778

Table 3.19 (cont'd)

Township	Potatoes (bushels)	Horses & Mules	Cattle	Milch Cows	Sheep	Chickens	Turkeys	Swine	Goats
Antioch	12,309	262	711	413	290	3,075	174	128	
Boon	18,489	290	875	490	88	2,647	42	143	
Cadillac (city)	1,978	28	48	37		627		5	
Cedar Creek	56,751	391	875	567	44	3,573	64	106	
Cherry Grove	21,484	205	505	278	98	1,924	45	49	2
Clam Lake	109,920	522	1,270	806	9	6,453	126	204	
Colfax	34,955	397	1,027	656	171	4,648	81	155	
Greenwood	17,207	178	505	275	240	1,805	64	56	1
Hanover	12,179	171	324	198	46	1,240	90	46	
Haring	12,527	133	452	301	117	1,628	46	86	1
Henderson	2,821	112	332	166	73	835	26	26	1
Liberty	21,817	236	632	362	143	1,946	52	106	
Manton (city)	2,442	22	82	54	3	360		33	
Selma	16,385	191	570	356	32	1,918	272	73	
Slagle	13,783	284	716	439	47	2,170	50	143	
South Branch	4,715	180	566	260	70	1,527	53	43	1
Springville	8,475	232	636	326	85	2,562	196	102	2
Wexford	35,613	332	838	500	196	3,972	155	156	
Totals	403,850	4,166	10,964	6,484	1,752	42,910	1,536	1,660	8

Table 3.19 (cont'd)

Township	Apples (bushels)	Cherries (bushels)	Grapes (lbs)	Peaches (bushels)	Pears (bushels)	Plums/Prunes (bushels)	Strawberries (quarts)
Antioch	524	25	2,070		48	4	170
Boon	301	2	4,430		14	22	675
Cadillac (city)	83	19	425	1	21	7	178
Cedar Creek	496	403	330		13	17	578
Cherry Grove	55		360		10	5	740
Clam Lake	1,923	13	3,200		48	38	10,384
Colfax	410	72	545		62	50	2,816
Greenwood	220	4	170		23		
Hanover	178		260		4	3	
Haring	109		1				
Henderson	105	1	35		5	6	920
Liberty	128	14			9	5	120
Manton (city)	225	1,726	130		41	5	
Selma	100	2	310		4	2	
Slagle	97	25	460		3	11	
South Branch	24	1	200				327
Springville	308	2	245		10		
Wexford	1,068	6	360		38	2	1,750
Totals	6,354	2,315	13,531	1	353	177	18,658

Table 4.1
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Number of Farms

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	625	732	703
Manistee	1,311	1,648	1,499
Mason	1,885	2,124	2,011
Mecosta	2,970	2,823	2,676
Montcalm	4,714	4,678	4,493
Muskegon	2,334	2,373	2,036
Newaygo	2,846	3,130	2,836
Oceana	2,650	2,806	2,357
Wexford	1,340	1,779	1,583
State Avg	N/A	2,493.49	2,366.83

Table 4.2
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Average Farm Size in Acres

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	96.7	119.8	125.8
Manistee	87.4	88.0	98.4
Mason	69.6	80.6	91.2
Mecosta	84.2	101.2	105.2
Montcalm	78.8	84.0	88.2
Muskegon	75.0	78.0	85.2
Newaygo	98.9	104.1	111.8
Oceana	80.6	86.8	98.0
Wexford	79.5	83.0	92.7
State Avg	86.4	91.5	96.9

Table 4.3
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Percentage of County Land in Farms

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	16.3	23.7	23.9
Manistee	31.8	40.3	41.0
Mason	41.5	54.2	58.0
Mecosta	68.5	78.2	77.1
Montcalm	80.1	84.8	85.5
Muskegon	54.3	57.4	53.8
Newaygo	51.6	59.8	58.2
Oceana	61.5	70.1	66.5
Wexford	28.8	40.0	39.7
State Avg	N/A	51.5	51.7

Table 4.4
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Farms Owned by Native-Born Whites

County	1900^	1910	1920
Lake	625	461	418
Manistee	1,310	929	900
Mason	1,873	1,268	1,215
Mecosta	2,923	2,048	2,164
Montcalm	4,694	3,411	3,611
Muskegon	2,332	1,274	1,273
Newaygo	2,836	2,245	2,214
Oceana	2,622	2,090	1,795
Wexford	1,339	1,353	1,182

Table 4.5
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Farms Owned by Foreign-Born Whites

County	1900^	1910	1920
Lake		271	285
Manistee		714	594
Mason		841	787
Mecosta		735	470
Montcalm		1,241	866
Muskegon		1,093	758
Newaygo		881	617
Oceana		699	555
Wexford		424	396

Table 4.6
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Farms Owned by Non-Whites

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	0	0	0
Manistee	1	5	5
Mason	12	15	9
Mecosta	47	40	42
Montcalm	20	26	16
Muskegon	2	6	5
Newaygo	10	4	5
Oceana	28	17	7
Wexford	1	2	5

^ In 1900 native-born & foreign-born whites were not separated.

Table 4.7
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Number of Farms Run by Owners

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	567	660	619
Manistee	1,196	1,494	1,366
Mason	1,684	1,936	1,751
Mecosta	2,520	2,470	2,212
Montcalm	3,974	4,061	3,634
Muskegon	1,994	2,023	1,762
Newaygo	2,524	2,790	2,413
Oceana	2,287	2,455	1,953
Wexford	1,192	1,605	1,414
State Avg	81.9%		

Table 4.8
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Number of Farms Managed for Owners

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	5	6	10
Manistee	17	10	19
Mason	28	16	31
Mecosta	21	16	28
Montcalm	39	24	33
Muskegon	23	32	36
Newaygo	19	20	33
Oceana	31	33	30
Wexford	10	14	6
State Avg	1.1%		

Table 4.9
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Number of Farms Run by Tenants

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	53	66	74
Manistee	98	144	114
Mason	173	172	229
Mecosta	429	336	436
Montcalm	701	593	826
Muskegon	317	318	238
Newaygo	303	320	390
Oceana	332	318	374
Wexford	138	160	163
State Avg	17.0%		

Table 4.10
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Gallons of Milk

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	710,838	891,473	846,864
Manistee	1,669,332	1,601,297	1,458,250
Mason	2,147,462	2,132,838	2,548,884
Mecosta	3,078,697	3,951,310	4,251,009
Montcalm	5,802,628	6,254,203	5,691,300
Muskegon	3,346,433	2,711,709	3,043,756
Newaygo	3,498,814	3,193,491	3,055,948
Oceana	2,708,814	2,430,640	3,031,557
Wexford	1,524,202	1,820,578	1,642,763

Table 4.11
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Pounds of Butter

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	171,007	169,336	60,615
Manistee	333,713	366,793	249,426
Mason	471,508	589,039	386,878
Mecosta	678,420	710,051	346,890
Montcalm	1,234,078	1,138,229	536,374
Muskegon	667,386	680,315	191,914
Newaygo	769,712	556,212	242,791
Oceana	639,448	530,667	252,648
Wexford	358,031	441,021	238,377

Table 4.12
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Dozens of Eggs

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	80,920	116,022	117,331
Manistee	273,000	275,917	248,452
Mason	285,720	364,198	323,511
Mecosta	579,270	650,916	554,180
Montcalm	1,317,220	1,364,660	1,152,877
Muskegon	514,920	507,031	489,543
Newaygo	488,620	568,082	556,703
Oceana	493,020	554,431	561,271
Wexford	232,910	309,736	239,087

Table 4.13
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Number of Cattle

County	1900	1910	1920#
Lake	2,285	2,454	1,289
Manistee	5,193	4,448	2,367
Mason	5,342	5,971	1,840
Mecosta	8,950	8,069	2,213
Montcalm	14,283	13,538	4,741
Muskegon	6,907	7,046	1,479
Newaygo	10,785	10,955	2,787
Oceana	7,518	8,220	2,699
Wexford	4,859	4,370	1,418

Table 4.14
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Number of Milch Cows

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	1,278	2,054	2,823
Manistee	3,419	4,527	4,479
Mason	3,811	6,161	6,663
Mecosta	5,606	8,573	9,624
Montcalm	9,839	13,763	14,739
Muskegon	5,503	8,461	7,859
Newaygo	6,491	10,987	10,189
Oceana	4,844	8,174	7,519
Wexford	2,774	4,475	4,882

1920 only includes beef cattle.

Table 4.15
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Number of Horses

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	1,420	1,575	1,896
Manistee	3,041	3,547	3,601
Mason	4,269	5,492	5,433
Mecosta	6,709	7,054	7,553
Montcalm	12,600	12,825	12,670
Muskegon	5,210	5,352	4,971
Newaygo	6,884	7,781	7,927
Oceana	6,259	6,814	6,022
Wexford	3,002	3,775	3,620

Table 4.16
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Number of Mules

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	6	4	39
Manistee	21	11	50
Mason	40	10	49
Mecosta	31	18	40
Montcalm	52	47	57
Muskegon	37	20	51
Newaygo	74	63	141
Oceana	33	34	128
Wexford	112	14	55

Table 4.17
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Number of Sheep

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	5,036	3,779	2,247
Manistee	2,504	3,743	816
Mason	2,571	4,855	2,819
Mecosta	19,308	17,752	7,710
Montcalm	40,382	30,421	11,553
Muskegon	9,237	5,335	2,376
Newaygo	17,782	12,443	9,331
Oceana	10,362	7,077	2,266
Wexford	5,502	3,715	2,349

Table 4.18
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Number of Swine

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	1,590	1,304	1,958
Manistee	4,226	4,443	4,042
Mason	4,609	5,992	5,596
Mecosta	7,842	8,489	8,559
Montcalm	16,419	15,075	13,767
Muskegon	7,719	6,248	7,523
Newaygo	10,116	9,752	9,755
Oceana	7,008	7,722	7,913
Wexford	3,322	3,933	2,973

Table 4.19
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Corn

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	53,600	81,988	125,202
Manistee	167,520	232,112	227,000
Mason	247,340	232,798	221,713
Mecosta	420,400	442,531	538,314
Montcalm	994,430	912,594	739,138
Muskegon	318,890	190,035	316,512
Newaygo	427,850	383,338	549,668
Oceana	475,640	416,548	491,479
Wexford	140,300	237,275	244,393

Table 4.20
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Wheat

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	21,970	13,094	15,104
Manistee	53,220	33,445	41,790
Mason	128,010	150,652	200,214
Mecosta	69,040	80,504	60,259
Montcalm	28,300	232,837	321,526
Muskegon	51,570	68,536	112,944
Newaygo	102,470	129,944	168,554
Oceana	97,760	126,527	130,516
Wexford	69,960	36,625	26,144

Table 4.21
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Oats

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	14,120	51,943	15,364
Manistee	68,280	121,812	36,951
Mason	83,380	208,090	181,032
Mecosta	106,250	276,427	251,546
Montcalm	340,210	598,632	582,548
Muskegon	168,950	223,621	148,754
Newaygo	96,940	293,599	252,322
Oceana	97,780	171,295	128,580
Wexford	72,760	151,005	21,983

Table 4.22
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Rye

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	17,070	32,121	37,444
Manistee	41,200	109,651	106,896
Mason	35,750	44,371	83,888
Mecosta	113,040	200,888	237,202
Montcalm	89,760	270,650	612,836
Muskegon	44,090	31,085	67,418
Newaygo	94,410	115,165	199,305
Oceana	54,390	77,753	150,250
Wexford	25,660	52,670	109,749

Table 4.23
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Barley

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	280	284	244
Manistee	900	290	2,225
Mason	1,610	1,624	5,872
Mecosta	810	2,366	11,350
Montcalm	1,980	4,341	37,701
Muskegon	740	1,045	3,625
Newaygo	1,540	1,420	6,715
Oceana	360	1,576	2,918
Wexford	800	385	371

Table 4.24
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Buckwheat

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	1,970	2,741	1,299
Manistee	4,370	11,413	4,548
Mason	4,110	2,771	1,448
Mecosta	21,900	9,723	7,664
Montcalm	34,470	15,065	6,234
Muskegon	15,710	6,010	2,787
Newaygo	12,880	8,444	4,320
Oceana	12,850	12,426	3,517
Wexford	3,540	10,699	2,631

Table 4.25
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Potatoes

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	95,626	180,983	171,543
Manistee	211,773	585,559	223,703
Mason	287,132	510,598	343,931
Mecosta	538,807	805,856	975,006
Montcalm	1,408,333	2,228,416	1,745,998
Muskegon	270,572	226,574	175,586
Newaygo	327,000	577,354	400,485
Oceana	650,773	843,864	600,493
Wexford	292,918	723,101	558,804

Table 4.26
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Tons of Hay

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	3,477	7,744	15,718
Manistee	10,937	12,986	27,738
Mason	15,990	35,991	45,770
Mecosta	14,662	34,749	55,959
Montcalm	34,320	49,119	92,001
Muskegon	20,830	35,414	56,910
Newaygo	18,110	40,025	67,102
Oceana	15,649	37,250	55,438
Wexford	10,313	14,882	27,087

Table 4.27
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Dry Beans

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	283	2,708	4,386
Manistee	2,289	6,817	17,716
Mason	726	10,336	22,293
Mecosta	5,772	41,614	57,382
Montcalm	23,654	120,148	166,074
Muskegon	4,146	10,756	22,065
Newaygo	5,146	27,568	70,256
Oceana	4,891	35,239	44,739
Wexford	637	5,119	2,944

Table 4.28
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Dry Peas

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	779	5,000	457
Manistee	2,925	2,206	180
Mason	2,116	2,604	1,012
Mecosta	3,428	14,876	1,198
Montcalm	1,704	1,027	1,067
Muskegon	1,257	347	10,737
Newaygo	1,804	6,887	741
Oceana	2,990	2,749	601
Wexford	2,372	19,879	589

Table 4.29
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Gallons of Maple Syrup

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	215	743	453
Manistee	897	1,680	2,187
Mason	352	2,594	2,733
Mecosta	283	2,188	2,223
Montcalm	313	2,969	4,178
Muskegon	1,354	2,232	889
Newaygo	1,180	3,082	3,449
Oceana	2,566	4,956	3,924
Wexford	462	1,126	1,761

Table 4.30
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Quarts of Strawberries

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	15,030	8,907	5,080
Manistee	51,210	39,232	42,785
Mason	350,080	323,676	319,900
Mecosta	37,430	41,205	43,113
Montcalm	73,180	82,509	73,528
Muskegon	249,180	373,363	389,943
Newaygo	46,390	34,439	79,560
Oceana	106,460	148,814	169,654
Wexford	74,130	48,194	23,164

Table 4.31
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Apples

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	6,627	33,602	18,805
Manistee	28,326	201,412	181,661
Mason	38,896	230,944	425,766
Mecosta	34,014	137,446	110,813
Montcalm	73,204	263,513	94,022
Muskegon	46,420	127,401	169,982
Newaygo	68,005	223,129	236,995
Oceana	167,444	419,088	720,359
Wexford	6,892	55,200	29,027

Table 4.32
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Cherries

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	390	582	131
Manistee	1,599	8,413	12,605
Mason	2,477	11,084	15,136
Mecosta	1,731	2,487	719
Montcalm	3,512	2,568	1,424
Muskegon	1,902	2,578	1,432
Newaygo	1,643	2,187	2,347
Oceana	8,263	25,216	34,313
Wexford	461	2,669	1,157

Table 4.33
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Peaches

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	8	369	28
Manistee	167	30,227	3,986
Mason	4,091	143,412	64,498
Mecosta	127	4,405	36
Montcalm	127	17,565	135
Muskegon	1,183	116,045	3,464
Newaygo	436	131,864	2,803
Oceana	20,898	151,541	116,226
Wexford	15	1,172	3

Table 4.34
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Pears

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	42	282	125
Manistee	179	3,708	5,975
Mason	1,202	6,142	10,580
Mecosta	386	1,451	1,600
Montcalm	608	3,219	3,520
Muskegon	570	3,383	2,437
Newaygo	340	2,703	2,765
Oceana	2,586	7,229	13,882
Wexford	109	535	314

Table 4.35
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Bushels of Plums

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	530	506	109
Manistee	1,953	4,213	2,863
Mason	4,861	7,074	14,144
Mecosta	1,233	2,356	474
Montcalm	3,892	1,560	1,423
Muskegon	5,518	2,523	5,061
Newaygo	2,306	1,931	965
Oceana	63,548	27,329	40,477
Wexford	1,076	1,944	390

Table 4.36
U.S. Census of Agriculture
Pounds of Grapes

County	1900	1910	1920
Lake	N/A	23,279	5,565
Manistee	N/A	29,973	18,660
Mason	N/A	117,316	97,965
Mecosta	N/A	65,021	27,461
Montcalm	N/A	173,856	146,245
Muskegon	N/A	226,373	234,347
Newaygo	N/A	90,271	46,515
Oceana	N/A	101,108	82,882
Wexford	N/A	12,085	9,848

Table 5.1
Township Designations – Lake County

Township	Survey Designation	Farming Township	Cutover Township
Chase	T17N R11W	x	x
Cherry Valley	T18N R12W		x
Dover	T20N R11W		x
Eden	T20N R13W		x
Elk	T20N R14W		x
Ellsworth	T19N R11W	x	x
Lake	T17N R14W		x
Newkirk	T19-20N R12W		x
Peacock	T19N R13W		x
Pinora	T18N R11W		x
Pleasant Plains	T17N R13W		x
Sauble	T19N R14W		x
Sweetwater	T18N R14W		x
Webber	T18N R13W		x
Yates	T17N R12W		x

(Some townships had the qualities of both farming and cutover.)

Table 5.2
Township Designations – Manistee County

Township	Survey Designation	Farming Township	Cutover Township
Arcadia	T24N R16W	x	
Bear Lake	T23N R15W	x	
Brown	T22N R15W		x
Cleon	T24N R13W		x
Dickson	T22N R13-14W		x
Filer	T21N R17W	x	
Manistee	T22N R16W	x	
Maple Grove	T23N R14W	x	x
Marilla	T23N R13W		x
Norman	T21N R13-14W		x
Onekama	T23N R16W	x	
Pleasanton	T24N R15W		x
Springdale	T24N R14W		x
Stronach	T21N R15-16W		x

(Some townships had the qualities of both farming and cutover.)

Table 5.3
Township Designations – Mason County

Township	Survey Designation	Farming Township	Cutover Township
Amber	T18N R17W	x	
Branch	T18N R15W		x
Custer	T18N R16W	x	x
Eden	T17N R16W		x
Freesoil	T20N R16W		x
Grant	T20N R17W		x
Hamlin	T19N R18W	x	
Logan	T17N R15W		x
Meade	T20N R15W		x
Pere Marquette	T18N R18W	x	
Riverton	T17N R17W	x	
Sheridan	T19N R15W		x
Sherman	T19N R16W	x	x
Summit	T17N R18W	x	
Victory	T19N R17W	x	

(Some townships had the qualities of both farming and cutover.)

Table 5.4
Township Designations – Mecosta County

Township	Survey Designation	Farming Township	Cutover Township
Aetna	T13N R10W		x
Austin	T14N R9W	x	x
Big Rapids	T15N R10W		x
Chippewa		x	
Colfax	T15N R9W	x	
Deerfield	T13N R9W	x	x
Fork		x	
Grant	T16N R9W	x	
Green	T16N R10W	x	
Hinton		x	
Martin		x	
Mecosta	T14N R10W		x
Millbrook		x	
Morton		x	
Sheridan		x	
Wheatland		x	

(Some townships had the qualities of both farming and cutover.)

Table 5.5
Township Designations – Montcalm County

Township	Survey Designation	Farming Township	Cutover Township
Belvidere		x	
Bloomer		x	
Bushnell		x	
Cato		x	
Crystal		x	
Day		x	
Douglass		x	
Eureka		x	
Evergreen		x	
Fairplain		x	
Ferris		x	
Home		x	
Maple Valley	T11N R9W	x	
Montcalm		x	
Pierson	T11N R10W	x	x
Pine		x	
Reynolds	T12N R10W		x
Richland		x	
Sidney		x	
Winfield	T12N R9W	x	x

(Some townships had the qualities of both farming and cutover.)

Table 5.6
Township Designations – Muskegon County

Township	Survey Designation	Farming Township	Cutover Township
Blue Lake	T12N R16W		x
Casnovia	T10N R13W	x	
Cedar Creek	T11N R15W		x
Dalton	T11N R16W	x	x
Egleston	T10N R15W	x	
Fruitland	T11N R17W	x	
Fruitport	T9N R16W	x	
Holton	T12N R15W		x
Laketon	T10N R17W	x	
Montague	T12N R17W	x	x
Moorland	T10N R14W	x	
Muskegon	T10N R16W	x	
Norton	T9N R17W	x	
Ravenna	T9N R14W	x	
Sullivan	T9N R15W	x	
Whitehall	T12N R17W	x	x
White River	T12N R18W	x	x

(Some townships had the qualities of both farming and cutover.)

Table 5.7
Township Designations -- Newaygo County

Township	Survey Designation	Farming Township	Cutover Township
Ashland	T11N R13W	x	
Barton	T16N R11W		x
Beaver	T15N R14W		x
Big Prairie	T13N R11W		x
Bridgeton	T11N R14W	x	
Brooks	T12N R12W		x
Croton	T12N R11W		x
Dayton	T13N R14W	x	
Denver	T14N R14W	x	x
Ensley	T11N R11W	x	
Everett	T13N R12W		x
Garfield	T12N R13W	x	
Goodwell	T14N R11W		x
Grant	T11N R12W	x	
Home	T16N R12W		x
Lilley	T16N R13W		x
Lincoln	T14N R13W		x
Merrill	T15N R13W		x
Monroe	T15N R12W		x
Norwich	T15N R11W		x
Sheridan	T12N R14W	x	
Sherman	T13N R13W	x	x
Troy	T16N R14W		x
Wilcox	T14N R12W		x

(Some townships had the qualities of both farming and cutover.)

Table 5.8
Township Designations – Oceana County

Township	Survey Designation	Farming Township	Cutover Township
Benona	T14N R18W	x	
Claybanks	T13N R18W	x	
Colfax	T16N R15W		x
Crystal	T16N R16W	x	x
Elbridge	T15N R16W	x	x
Ferry	T14N R16W		x
Golden	T15N R18W	x	x
Grant	T13N R17W		x
Greenwood	T13N R15W		x
Hart	T15N R17W	x	
Leavitt	T15N R15W		x
Newfield	T14N R15W		x
Otto	T13N R16W		x
Pentwater	T16N R18W		x
Shelby	T14N R17W	x	
Weare	T16N R17W	x	

(Some townships had the qualities of both farming and cutover.)

Table 5.9
Township Designations – Wexford County

Township	Survey Designation	Farming Township	Cutover Township
Antioch	T23N R11W		x
Boon	T22N R11W		x
Cedar Creek	T23N R9W	x	x
Cherry Grove	T21N R10W		x
Clam Lake	T21N R9W	x	x
Colfax	T23N R10W		x
Greenwood	T24N R10W		x
Hanover	T24N R11W		x
Haring	T22N R9W	x	x
Henderson	T21N R11W		x
Liberty	T24N R9W		x
Selma	T22N R10W		x
Slagle	T22N R12W		x
Springville	T23N R12W		x
South Branch	T21N R12W		x
Wexford	T24N R12W	x	x

(Some townships had the qualities of both farming and cutover.)

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