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BLACK-AMERICANS IN MICHIGAN'S COPPER MINING NARRATIVE

By

Brendan Peltó

A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

In Industrial Archaeology

MICHIGAN TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY

2017

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This thesis has been approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE in Industrial Archaeology.

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This thesis has been a labor of love a long time in the making. I am writing this in 2017, having first been introduced to the story of Pete Verdine in 2013 when I was a student in Michigan Technological University's archaeological field school at the former site of Clifton, Michigan, located a few miles east of Eagle River, the primary focus of the work here. While still writing this thesis, I went on to conduct my Ph.D. coursework in American Culture Studies at Bowling Green University.

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I hope this thesis provides a starting point for future research into the lives of Black Americans on the Keweenaw, past and present, and encourages the formation of a more diverse and inclusive community in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

Brendan Peltó
July, 2017

ABSTRACT

This thesis details the Phase 1 archaeological investigation into Black-Americans who were active on the Keweenaw Peninsula of Michigan during the mining boom of the 1850s-1880s. Using archaeological and archival methods, this thesis is a proof-of-concept for future work to be done that investigates the cultural heritage of Black Americans in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

Chapter I: Introduction

Much has been written about the Euro-American settlement of the Keweenaw Peninsula, a land mass in the Northwest of Upper Peninsula that is as far north in Michigan as one can go by car, foot, horse, or otherwise. Most of what has been written has focused on the copper mining industry, and the settlements and cities that formed around it, with much of the cultural focus on those of European descent, such as the Germans, Cornish, Finnish, Italians, and Irish. Historians Larry Lankton and Alison Hoagland (Lankton and Lankton 1997, Lankton 1991b, 2010b, Hoagland 2010) have been the most prominent scholars to focus on the cultural history of the Keweenaw, though Amateur historians such as Clarence Monette and Steve Lehto (Lehto 2007, Monette 1994, 1995, 1999, 1989a, 2000, 1980, 1976, 1977, 1978a, 1989b, 1997, 1993, 1985) have also written extensively on the topics; the former providing in depth, though scattered accounts; of nearly every community and mine in the written history of the region.

At the start of the research for this thesis, it was suspected, based on anecdotal evidence from descendants, as well as a few secondary sources, such as the newspaper article written by Bessie Phillips in 1916 about rumors about Black Americans being buried in the Eagle River Cemetery, that Black Americans had more of a role shaping the communities of the Keweenaw, specifically, Eagle River, than previously written about. This thesis serves as a proof-of-concept for future work that evidence of the contributions of Black-Americans to the story of copper can be recovered using

archival, and archaeological methods. This thesis proves the proof-of-concept using archival and phase 1 archaeological methods to look into the lives of Pete Verdine, and his family, Martha Lorasch Verdine and Mary Amelia Verdine.

Recovering Forgotten History

What has been lacking from these histories is the inclusion of the black population of the region. This oversight is likely due to the fact that little can be found in primary sources relating to black and African Americans in the region, aside from census records, (1850a, 1860, 1870b, 1880, De Bow 1853) which are not always a trustworthy source due to census taker bias. The term Black American will primarily be used in this thesis, rather than African-American, to discern the difference between Americans born black in the United States, and Americans who were potentially born in Africa. According to a recent study, 78% of Black Americans prefer the prefix Black to African, as it displays a place of one's own birth, rather than reflecting that of their ancestors (McCloud 2011)

What has been written about Black and African Americans in the Upper Peninsula has mostly come from amateur historian Valerie Bradley Holiday, whose book Northern Roots explored records that provided evidence of Black and African American cultural contributions to the Yooper culture, including the introduction of the sport of dog-sled racing in 1880 (Bradley-Holiday 2009) by an Black-American barber in Marquette.

One of the most cherished primary sources of the early copper mining community of Clifton is the The Diary of Schoolmaster Henry Hobart, a school

teacher from Vermont who never seemed amused with the citizens of Clifton nor his students. In one passage from July 10, 1863 he wrote “four darkies came into town last evening and are going to give a miserable, silly show tonight, and miners will doubtless give their quarters to witness their foolish actions...I should prefer patronizing a good sound lecture” (Hobart and Mason 1991). Hobart’s condescending language, which was common speak by whites at the time, toward the black performers coming into Clifton is somewhat surprising, given the census data that showed black Americans were living and working in these communities in both working class and prosperous jobs, including as miners (William Gaines, who would move to Marquette after an injury resulting from falling rocks near the Cliff (Bradley-Holiday 2009)), Harriet “Fanny Wells” a servant at the Phoenix Hotel and also the local undertaker (1860, 1870b, 1880), and Pete Verdine, cook, (1850a) sailor, convicted murderer (1860), and physician for the Phoenix Copper Mining Company (1870b, 1880).

Despite a paucity of period references, like that of Henry Hobart’s, and a lack of discussion in the popular historiography of the region, census records indicate that there was a sizeable African American population on the Keweenaw Peninsula during the 1850s and 1860s. Their stories go beyond the fascinating tale of the Verdines or the Gaines Family – the latter most notably written by Valerie Bradley-Holiday in her book, Northern Roots (Bradley-Holiday 2009). In 1850, Pete Verdine was the only person listed as Black. This number grew to 99 in 1860. In 1861, Houghton County was divided into Houghton and Keweenaw counties. The 1870 census shows a

decline in African Americans in the towns of Keweenaw county, but this is also representative of the decline in overall population, as much of the mining industry moved to the Portage Lake area of Houghton county, and the Keweenaw saw a population decline that continues into the modern day. The decline of Black Americans in both Houghton and Keweenaw counties may be due to the fact that the Civil War had ended, and white workers returned to the region and took over many of the jobs, and also that many Black Americans went further south to find employment opportunities.

The Cliff Mine and Clifton

The story of Eagle River and its citizens, like the rest of the Keweenaw, need to be situated around the formation and success of the Cliff Mine and its community of Clifton. Clifton, and the rest of the Keweenaw were considered to be beyond the boundaries of civilized life when first formed in the 1840s (Lankton and Lankton 1997).). Over 550 miles from Detroit, the Cliff Mine and Clifton, the first successful efforts of the region, were as isolated and as rugged of a frontier as any other in the continental United States at the time (Pelto 2014). It also offered eight month winters with heavy lake effect snowfall that made settlement a challenge. There was a strong desire by many however to tame the land, and harvest the native copper – metallic copper found beneath the ground that has not been alloyed with any other elements – that was seemingly abundant, according to the report of State of Michigan Geologist, Douglass Houghton, whom in 1841 first ventured to the Keweenaw and reported back on the potential riches. Houghton gave a warning with his report however, stating that

many would lose a lot of money trying to mine this copper, and advised that it was not worth the risk (Gohman 2010). His advice was ignored by thousands, and prospectors began to flood into the Keweenaw Peninsula, so much that the United States government set up a War Office in Copper Harbor to lease plots of land (Gohman 2010). The title of “War Office” comes from the office’s association with the Department of War, which at the time controlled mineral rights. From here, communities like Clifton, Eagle River, and Houghton grew, mixed in ethnicity, and beginning the process of ethnogenesis for a new, yet informal, cultural identity in the United States, the Yooper. The communities of the Keweenaw were far from the rest of the settled United States, and in need of workers willing to face the dangers of the mines; Black-Americans were able to find sanctuary within these communities, mostly free from the harsh restrictions placed upon them in other regions of the country. The early mines of the Keweenaw were funded by known abolitionists (Gohman 2010, Lankton 2010b), and recent work by Cheryl Janifer LaRoche states that iron smelters served as major stops for the underground railroad, as dangerous working conditions left the work open to black Americans seeking any opportunity possible that allowed for freedom (Laroche 2014). There has been no evidence that African Americans came to the Keweenaw specifically for the purpose of working in the mining industry, aside from William Gaines (Bradley-Holiday 2009), however, it is not a far stretch to think that black Americans looking for opportunities in the iron regions of the Upper Peninsula found themselves a little further north in the Copper Country. The abolitionists who funded the mining in the Keweenaw appear to have been as open

minded as any of the era, commissioning black American Robert S. Duncanson, a painter of the famed Hudson River Valley School , to paint “Cliff Mine, Lake Superior” in 1848.

Figure 1 Robert S. Duncanson's "Cliff Mine, Lake Superior." 1848. (F. Ward Paine, owner)

Duncanson was a self taught painter who was commissioned by a Methodist minister named Charles Avery to paint the portrait of the Cliff, a work which allowed him to break into the mainstream art world, and find success until his death in 1872 (Staff 1995). Self taught in New York, Duncanson moved to Detroit, where he found better luck getting commissioned work, though he would exile himself to Canada and the United Kingdom during the Civil War; prior to the commission of the Cliff Mine, he struggled finding paying jobs in the art world, but after, he was able to find success in

doing landscape paintings (Staff 1995), and is now forever tied to the story of the ‘world famous’ Cliff Mine.

Clifton, as well as surrounding areas that grew at the same time, such as Eagle River, Eagle Harbor, and Houghton, were a new type of community in the United States; one that was isolated from much of the world, and did not have a dominant ethnic group. While evidence does show that people tended to live with people from similar backgrounds (Lankton 2010b, 1850a, 1860, 1870b, 1880, Monette 1999, 1977, 1978a), the communities were small enough that most resources and service centers needed to be shared. For example, Pete Verdine was known to attend church services at the Catholic church in Clifton (Phillips 1916), as well as the Holy Redeemer in Eagle Harbor (Church 1858). The fluidity of Pete between the communities of Clifton, Eagle River, and Eagle Harbor show a need to compare the available material culture from the region and era, in attempt to better understand how a Black man and his family lived circa 1850-1880 in progressive, yet still racially restrictive communities.

Black American History in the ‘Story of Copper’

Pete was not the only active Black-American to reside in the Copper Country. William Gaines story is equally fascinating. His story, per Valerie Bradley-Holiday is that he was enslaved by his father until he was 18, at which point he was given his freedom, but was required to purchase the freedom of his wife from his father, from his father. Initially working as a sailor, he would eventually find work with a local mining company as a driver; he was driving a wagon when he was injured by falling rock, at which point he moved his family to Marquette, and found employment as a

stagecoach driver (Bradley-Holiday 2009). Today, the Gaines family descendants still gather at “Gaines Rock” to celebrate their heritage in the Upper Peninsula (Filmore 2017).

The stories of Black-Americans in the Keweenaw during the copper boom help illuminate the changing ideas of citizenship in the United States during the antebellum and post-Civil War era, and “historical [and industrial] archaeology [offer] one of the many vantage points from which we can begin tease out citizenship [belongings and desires]” (Camp and Nassaney 2013). The cases of both of Pete Verdine and William Gaines, they made transitions from what could best be described as non-citizens (both were enslaved at one point) to active and valuable citizens of their respective communities.

Archival research also provided information about other Black Americans of the Keweenaw, with several notable people, other than the Verdines, making the study of Black Americans during the ‘Story of Copper’ a viable project for future archival and archaeological research. These other individuals include Harriet “Fanny” Wells, a woman rumored by Verdine descendants to have lived on land with the Verdines, and possibly having a child fathered by Pete. Harriet Wells first appears in the census records in 1860, listed as a servant for Colonel William Wright, owner of the Phoenix Hotel (1860). Harriet Wells was later listed as an undertaker (1870b), and it is thought that she performed her work at the Cliff Mine’s carpentry shop (Monette 1978a, Phillips 1916).

Henry Hart was initially a “laborer” in the 1860 census, but later it is known that he became a soldier for the Union Army (Monette 1977), and returned to work for the Copper Falls Mine. He was killed in a mining accident in 1872 (Phillips 1916). While Henry Hart was listed as “black” in the 1860 census, he was listed as white in 1870 (1870b)

Figure 2 Photo of Henry Hart's Tombstone.

<http://www.usgwarchives.net/mi/keweenaw/photos/tombstones/evergreen/hart19670nph.jpg>

Figure 3 Photo of William Gaines on his homesite. Date Unknown. <http://www.viewsofthepast.com/topics/fr-towns-marquette.htm>

Figure 4 View from Gaines' Rock in Marquette Michigan <http://www.viewsofthepast.com/topics/fr-towns-marquette.htm>

The absence of black Americans from the historical record of the Upper Peninsula is problematic, but it does not need to continue to be. The marginalization of voices in history comes with the destructive power dynamics of racial formation, and the voices that are given prominence are typically those that have been dominant (Trouillot and Carby 2015). Pete Verdine is an example of a man who arrived in the Keweenaw having once legally been someone else's property per the law of the United States, however, by the time of his death, he was serving the community he lived in in a position of prominence; despite this, he still is not found in any of the major texts, and remains a mystery amongst the primary sources of the Keweenaw Peninsula's historical collections.

The Verdine Family

Pete Verdine, known in popular folklore as 'Black Pete' is the primary case study for this thesis. Having lived a fascinating life as a likely escaped slave, family history says he escaped from Louisiana and made his way to what is now known as Eagle River, where he resided with Native Americans until the mining companies began to claim the land, at which point he purchased a Block 19, Lot 1 from the Phoenix Copper company (1850b) and found work as a cook at the Bridge Inn (1850a). At some point between 1850 and 1857, Pete met Martha Lorasch, a Bavarian immigrant in the Copper Country, and they had a child in 1857, named Mary Amelia

VERDINE, PETER				(50-5)	NAME	Verdine (Church
DESCRIPTION	Height	Complexion	Age	Race	Sex	1858). Houghton
	5'9 1/2"		48	B	M	County would not
CONVICTED	AUG. 14, 1858		COUNTY HOUGHTON			allow Pete to live
CRIME	Murder 2nd. degree		TERM	9 yr.		with Martha and
ESCAPE			RETAKEN			Mary Amelia, and
PARDON						charged him with
DISCHARGE (expiration of sentence)	MAY 22, 1866					
DEATH						
MH-127 (1986)		Jackson Prison		DEPARTMENT OF STATE		

the crimes of seduction and unlawful cohabitation (1857), forcing Pete to build a

Figure 5 Pete Verdine's Prison Record from Jackson State Prison, from the State of Michigan archives.

second home on his property to provide for his family. It was during the summer of 1858 that Pete was indicted with Murder by Houghton Country for the murder of under-sheriff James Rodgers, a crime which would be reduced to manslaughter (1857), though recorded by

Jackson Prison		
SOURCE	PAGE	REMARKS
B	6	Right forefinger off. Scar on left shoulder.
D	6	
A	V-71	
E	160	
OCCUPATION		Sailor
BIRTHPLACE		Florida

Figure 6 Pete Verdine's Prison Record from Jackson State Prison

the Michigan State
Prison as second
degree murder . While
serving his sentence,
Pete inexplicably
removed his right

forefinger and mailed it to the governor of Michigan:

“Pete Verdine, a convict in Michigan State Prison, the other day coolly and deliberately laid his finger, laid it on a block, took an axe, and cut it off close to the hand; rolling the finger up in paper, he gave it to his keeper, saying to him ‘Send it to the Governor as an evidence of the truth.’ He had been endeavoring to get pardoned, and being fearful that the Governor would not believe all set forth in his petition, offered this strange evidence of veracity.” (Unknown 1859)

Why Pete thought this bizarre act of self-mutilation would work is unknown, however, he did only serve 8 of his 9-year sentence. The finger was not likely the culprit behind his early release however, as it was sent one year in and seven years prior to his exit.

Despite Pete’s fascinating story, little has been written about him, despite some accounts which can be best described as folklore, and reflects the racist views of White America during the time they were written. In 1917, Bessie Phillips, historian of Eagle River and reporter for the *Daily Mining Gazette* wrote

“Black Pete was a peculiar character of the early days. He was six feet tall, his skin shiny black, and he always wore a large black and white check shawl instead of a coat. On Sundays, he always attended services at the Cliff Mine, driving there with one of his steers hitched to a wagon with a wooden rod cut in the woods for a whip. He also termed himself a doctor, using medicines which he made from herbs, and there are people still living here who remember being sent to his home for medicine. He lived

near the old school building, just as one enters town, and he would shell a large pan of hazel nuts and bring them to the school for the children, so they would not be afraid of him” (Phillips 1917).

Accounts like this do not match the primary sources, which show Black-Americans living in the Copper Country as prosperous members of society, and not just oddities to the norm. Historical records and oral histories portray Pete as a dedicated family man, and he did not just declare himself a healer, but actually served as a Physician for the Phoenix Copper Mining Company (1870a).

While Pete would overcome his life as an enslaved man, a blue-collar worker, and a convicted felon, he was never able to be fully accepted as white by the community, nor was his Bavarian born wife or their daughter. Their acceptance into the community was always overshadowed by the color of Pete’s skin, and this had an impact on all family members: Pete and Martha were not allowed to be buried in the Eagle River Cemetery when they died, and had to be buried on the outskirts, with unmarked graves (Germain 1987). Mary Amelia Verdine, Pete and Martha’s daughter, married a French Canadian man 2 decades her senior (1881), and died in 1931, never able to attend school due to her race ¹. Her children however, could pass as “white” in the Copper Country, and could receive educations and move beyond the stigma of America’s racist past, despite some lingering hatred from individuals in the community who would insist that the Verdine descendants were “devil’s seed”.²

¹ Per oral history with a descendant

² Per oral history with a descendant

Mary Amelia's life as a mixed-race child in an ethnically mixed, but predominantly European based community, with Native American communities on the periphery, is a subject that deserves to be explored. The archaeology of childhood is seldom explored; however, Mary Amelia's life, and childhood in particular, much of which she spent fatherless while Pete was serving his sentence, was something that fascinated me while considering the story of the Verdines. Prior work at a potential boarding house in Clifton revealed a doll, most commonly a child's toy, and I was curious if any signs of childhood would be found at the Verdine home spaces.

According to historical archaeologist Jane Eva Baxter, "children are a significant demographic component (40-65 percent) of most documented social groups, from foragers to industrialized nations, and can be expected to have created portions of the archaeological record" (Baxter 2005a). Evidence from Jennifer Ogborne's (Ogborne 2013) research in Coloma, Montana suggest that children were active residents of the mining boarding houses further west, it should not be an exception that the residents of Keweenaw mining towns also had a domestic life beyond their work in the mines. Given the fact that many of the workers from the Montana copper boom migrated from the Keweenaw (Finn 2012b), it should be safe to assume many of the same traditions also carried over.

Mary Amelia's life in comparison to the children of other industrial communities of the Keweenaw is of interest, because there is no written record of Black-American or mixed race children in the region. As noted earlier, children, via the diary of Clifton schoolmaster Henry Hobart (Hobart and Mason 1991), and the

archaeological evidence discovered at the potential boarding house in Clifton (Pelto 2014), did play an active role in these mining communities, and comparing how Mary Amelia's life compared to those of other children, which according to family record, was far from equal, is vital in understanding the dynamics of the Verdine household.

The first step in answering questions about the Verdine homesites began with finding out more about the life of Pete Verdine. The locations of the homes and land he owned were determined from information gathered from the MTU and Copper Country Archives as well as the Keweenaw County Clerk's office. The archival collection at MTU provided me with the tax information and parcel details, while the tract book at the Keweenaw County clerk's office helped provided a detailed history of transactions that took place regarding these parcels of land, as well as their location in Eagle River. Pete's first two homes were located on the back lots of two privately owned homes, while the home he would live the remainder of his life in was now owned by the State of Michigan, specifically the Michigan Department of Natural Resources and the Michigan Department of Transportation (the latter being due to the parcel of land's location to State Highway M-26). On Block 19, Pete initially owned lot 1, where records indicate he had two homes built (1857-1870). Following his incarceration and the lawsuit with Simon Mandlebaum, the lot was divided into half, and Martha Verdine retained ownership of half of block 19. In 1870, Martha had ownership of Lot 4 of Block 21 (1857-1870); this location matched the descriptions from earlier newspaper articles that indicated that Pete was a healer who lived near the Eagle River School (Phillips 1916).

Research Questions

The 2012 Michigan Technological University (MTU) archaeological field school was the first year to focus on the community of Clifton; the company town associated with the Cliff Mine. Part of the funding agreement with the Keweenaw National Historic Park was that there would be public archaeology days; days where the public could come and take tours of the sites, see excavation in action, and ask questions of the professors, field directors, and students. One of the visitors came from Ohio, a woman who was visiting the site because she had familial ties to the mine. She stated that her ancestor, ~~which~~ who she knew very little about, was an African American, and was known as both an herbalist and a healer. At the time, she thought this ancestor was a woman. During the 2013 field school, I was tasked with analyzing census data from Clifton, which was a community designated within Eagle River in 1870 and Phoenix in 1860. To my surprise, there were several African Americans listed in the Eagle River census data. One of these citizens was Pete Verdine, who in 1880 was listed as a physician, but in 1850 was listed as a cook. He was absent from the 1860 census, though his prison record from the time indicated his occupation was a sailor (1850a, 1860, 1870b, 1880) .Research into Pete Verdine's name in the MTU and Copper Country archives yielded interesting results. Pete was missing from the 1860 census because he was serving 8 years of a 10-year prison sentence in the Michigan State Prison in Jackson, MI. He had been sentenced to 10

years for second-degree murder of the deputy Sheriff John Rodgers. Houghton County court records show that Pete Verdine was convicted of manslaughter (1857), however, his prison record from Jackson shows that he was serving for 2nd degree murder . This was following Pete's conviction for seduction of his future wife Martha and unlawful cohabitation with Martha and their daughter, Mary Amelia. It also occurred in the same summer that Pete was arrested for the illegal selling of liquor in Clifton, as well as settling a \$250 lawsuit with a local land owner, Simon Mandlebaum (1857).

The search for archaeological, ethnohistorical, and archival evidence of Black Americans in places such as the Keweenaw; areas dominated by the history of Euro-American immigrants, is vital to crafting a holistic narrative of the American frontier in the 19th and 20th century. It is also important to the creation of a welcoming environment in the contemporary, adding to the public memory of a diverse community; one which tells people from all backgrounds that their history matters and that they have a place in the community. The story of Pete, Martha, and Mary Amelia Verdine is one of resistance, perseverance, and growth, during an era of rapidly changing views toward race and ethnicity. Their story is just one of many in the Keweenaw, which deserve to be explored and included in the "Story of Copper" and in other areas of the American west/Frontier; stories which expand on the history of the United States and give forgotten agency to people that have been marginalized in the records for centuries. The history of the Keweenaw has been touted as one of racial equality, thanks to the abolitionist efforts of its northeastern U.S. investors.

This is somewhat of an historical illusion however, as the stories of people of color have largely been overlooked, granting a cloak of invisible white privilege to stakeholders of the Keweenaw and its industrial heritage. This has allowed generations of residents “living within a cloak of invisibility of white privilege [to consider themselves and their history] race neutral” (Kinney 2016). Exploring the heritage of Black Americans on the Keweenaw is the start of what will be a long process of lifting this cloak, restoring forgotten agency, and making a more inclusive and diverse history of the “Story of Copper” in Michigan. The Keweenaw is unique in its status as a former frontier region, that saw a drastic population shift due to industrialization, and deindustrialization, and is now open to become a regenerative frontier with its unique offerings of education (Michigan Technological University and Finlandia University), a growing art scene (studios and residencies can be found from Houghton on the south end to Copper Harbor on the north), abundant “wilderness” and two national parks. The result of this process, and the Keweenaw’s status as a frontier anew, is ideally a contemporary community that finds itself becoming more inclusive and diverse, and better suited to deal with modern issues of social injustice and inequality.

Pete’s story is fascinating, and deserved more attention than it had received, which up to this point, has been little more than tales shared between family members and some folklore from the early 20th century. The story of Pete’s struggles and ability to return to Eagle River to live with his family and serve as a physician for the Phoenix

Copper Mining Company raised other questions about African Americans in Michigan's Copper Mining Boom. Specifically:

1. What role did African Americans play in the Copper Mining Boom of the Keweenaw Peninsula in the mid 19th century?
2. What were the living conditions like for an African American citizen in Houghton and Keweenaw Counties during the 1850s – 1880s?
3. How does this recovered history help understand Black-American identity and communities on the Keweenaw? How did being identified as Black impact how one was viewed in a mid 19th century mining community?

Chapter 2 of this thesis will focus on a literature review of relevant materials to set a theoretical foundation for the research project. Chapter 3 will provide an explanation of research method, including archaeological and archival research, and a laboratory analysis of the materials recovered from the Verdine homesites. Chapter 4 is a conclusion, which will explore the implications of the findings, as well as provide ideas for future research that can, and should be, conducted on the Keweenaw Peninsula relating to Black-American and other marginalized histories. Appendix 1 consists of the archaeological catalog from the two sites at Eagle River. Appendix 2 contains the 1860, 1870, and 1880 censuses of Houghton and Keweenaw County for everyone that was listed as “black”. Appendix 3 is an overview of the linguistic record, which potentially could serve as a stepping stone into future research regarding Black-Americans in the Upper Peninsula.

This thesis serves as a proof-of-concept that archaeological and archival research into the lives of Black Americans in Michigan's copper mining narrative is possible. The archival research already conducted will be able to serve as a springboard into future research, and the phase 1 archaeology conducted in Eagle

River, Michigan also shows promise for future phases to take place. Future research will allow for more history of Black Americans, as well as other ethnic groups, on the Keweenaw to be recovered, thus, making a more inclusive history, filling in the gaps that currently exist.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Foundations

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to lay the foundation of the theoretical work of the thesis. This chapter explores the ideas of race and ethnicity and how they have developed over the last two centuries, how they relate to class in the United States, and how anthropologists, specifically archaeologists have analyzed them. The Verdine household had a dualism of identities, one which produced, as seen in news accounts of the Verdines, what Baudrillard would have referred to as a Simulacra – an image or representation of something (Calle and Baudrillard 1983) – not genuine, but a type of simulation. They were portrayed in historical documents as caricatures, ones that “never existed in reality, yet assumed the status of authenticity because of pervasive belief in it (Mullins 2011). This can be seen in the community’s understanding of the Verdines and Pete’s unflattering moniker of “Black Pete” as well as in historical accounts written by Bessie Phillips and Peggy Germaine (Phillips 1917, Germain 1987). By exploring how anthropologists have thus far examined Black American Material culture, and how race and ethnicity have evolved over time, the Verdine household, as well as other black Americans residing in the Keweenaw since the Copper Boom of the 1840s, can reclaim their proper historicity.

As this is a Phase 1 project, much of the theoretical discussion here is provided as a suggestion for future phases of the project, and how to interpret the archaeological

record based on the research questions presented in chapter 1. Future phases of archaeological work should be able to provide more material to work with, and therefor, more material to be interpreted.

Race and Ethnicity

It is important to discuss the concepts of *race* and *ethnicity* prior to exploring the meaning behind the archaeological record of either a *race* or *ethnicity*. These are socially constructed terms used to categorize people; this is both an institutional force as well as a personal choice, as it provides a social identity in a diverse world.

Particularly in writing about 19th century race relations, it is imperative to recognize the division between black and white, as enforced by the white. The story of Pete Verdine and his family, particularly his daughter Mary Amelia, shows how the Verdine family ethnicity was transformed from being antebellum era black to post-Civil War and progressive era white; this transformation can be seen in the attitudes from the community toward the family following Pete's return from Prison, and through Mary Amelia's life, and through future generations of the Verdine family.

While much of the regional history of the Keweenaw discusses people in terms of their ethnic group, this is historically misleading. The word *ethnicity*³ did not materialize in most discourses until the mid 20th century (Zelinsky 2001). It was as late as 1974 that the Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal lamented the fact that he was unable to find the word in his dictionary (Myrdal, Sterner, and Rose 1975). Wilbur

³ Officially, as in it did not appear in dictionaries. It had been a term used for several decades, and one that was highly debated in the scholarly journal *Menorah* in the 1920s.

Zelinsky, writing in 2001, provided two definitions of ethnicity that merit consideration. The first:

The Ethnic group is any substantial aggregation of persons who are perceived by themselves and/or others to share a unique set of cultural and historical commonalities (Zelinsky 2001).

And the second, written in dissatisfaction with the generic nature of the first:

The ethnic group is a modern social construct, one undergoing constant change, an imagined community too large for intimate contact among its members, persons who are perceived by themselves and/or others to share a unique set of cultural and historical commonalities, which may be real or imagined. It comes into being by reason of its relationships with other social entities, usually by experiencing some degree of friction with other groups that adjoin in physical or social space. Levels of awareness of its existence can vary considerably over time and in accordance with circumstances. Ethnic groups can exist within a hierarchy that ranges from the smallest aggregation meeting the stated criteria to a politically sovereign national community or even beyond to entities transcending international boundaries. For individuals, affiliation with the ethnic group may either be mandatory or a matter of personal option, one susceptible to

change and contingent upon political and social circumstances
(Zelinsky 2001).

This second, more fleshed out definition provides historicity to a complex concept that has been used and applied by people in the New World, especially in extremely diverse mining communities that attracted people from around the world. In a larger sense, this definition helps place the African American community in a more interesting social context within the mining communities of Michigan's Upper Peninsula (discussed in greater detail later), a region which when viewed from the lens of the north/south racial divide, was as far north as one could get at the time while still being in the United States. While race was a socially constructed organization tool imposed on people, ethnicity, in most cases, was self-imposed, and a way to construct, manage, and confirm one's own social identity. This was particularly useful in mining towns such as Eagle River and Clifton, where people from around the world came together, and people needed to find like-minded others to associate themselves with.

The term *race* is just as complex, if not more so, than ethnicity. A social construct, it is more of a divisive term, than a unifying. Ethnicity is used as a "counterpoint to race – a counterpoint that establishes the boundaries and meaning of race" (Hattam 2007). Simply put, ethnicity, along with the social construction of race, is what separates European groups, such as the Irish, Germans, and Jewish populations, from being considered black. There is both a fully conscious aggressive racism, and acts of microaggressive racism that function on the sub-conscious levels through modern history, as a means of justifying social hierarchies, working alongside

the hyper-aggressive racisms that manifest in hate groups and speech, such as the KKK, and in American history as the institution of slavery, Jim Crow laws, and general attitudes of supremacy that still exist today. Karen Fields and Barbara Fields have coined the term *racecraft* as a way of historically navigating the construction of race and racism in the modern world, a term which they define as:

Fields and Fields have modeled *racecraft* along the lines of *witchcraft*.

They argue that this is not merely due to “mischievous superstition”, but instead relating the two words because they are both “imagined, acted upon, and re-imagined, the action and imagining inextricably intertwined...the outcome is a belief that presents itself to the mind and imagination as vivid truth” (Fields and Fields 2014). Racecraft can be considered a form of *habitus*, customs and values normalized through social and individual practice; reifying each other to a state of normalization; it is not static and can shift through both context and time (Bourdieu 1977), as is seen with the social mobility of Pete Verdone and his descendants. The concept of racecraft, the idea that race is a continuously reimagined social construct that has been believed in for centuries, if not millennia, is important to consider as one browses the archaeological record searching for specific clues to a person’s phenotype and ancestor’s continent of origin. For example, when analyzing artifacts, it is important to consider who would have owned such items at that time, and what the specific context of the item might have been; how does the artifact compare to other sites, either

African American or otherwise? For example, Jim Deetz at the Parting Ways site notes how faunal remains were cut differently between white and black households, and that the appearance of Native American style ceramics (Colonoware) were more prominent in the households of black Americans (Deetz 2010). How do ceramic and faunal assemblages compare to what has been found at European-American homesites? What separated Pete Verdine from the other residents of Eagle River and Clifton are the same misguided social concepts that divide the nation today, though in contemporary times this division is not legislated.

It is important to acknowledge the role ethnicity and race played in forming communities in the early days of the European-American-settled Keweenaw. Ethnicity specifically played a large role in how one obtained employment, and how social groups would form and where they would gather. Cornish miners would come to the Keweenaw and find employment with the local mines by using the simple reference of “cousin Jack” (Lankton 1991b). Furthermore, communities arose around ethnic identities, often recognized by the mining companies, who would name neighborhoods in the company towns “Limerick” or “Swedetown” (Lankton 2010b), to identify which ethnicity resided there. In Eagle River, boarding houses such as “The German House” (1860, Monette 1978b) were safe havens for people of an ethnic group to be amongst their own cultural and linguistic groups, and provided places to blow off steam and drink on

days off. One of the most famous examples of an ethnic group establishing their own place in the Keweenaw during the mining era is the Italian Hall in Calumet, where the 1913 massacre occurred (Lankton 2010a). Black Americans did not have an established social club that is known of, but census records indicate that many Black Americans residing in Eagle River worked for U.S. Army Colonel William Wright at the Phoenix Hotel (1860), a luxury hotel on the shores of Lake Superior, near where the docks were built coming into Eagle River – which also may explain Pete Verdine’s employment as a sailor in the mid 1850s . While many black Americans were employed by Colonel Wright, this was not a hotel for them; it served wealthy individuals looking for an escape and copper investors checking in on their investments.

Issues that arose due to Pete and Martha Verdine’s marriage and child rearing must also be viewed in an historical context. At the time of Mary Amelia’s birth, miscegenation, the dated term for the previously unlawful unions that resulted in the creation of offspring , was declared to be “a crime against nature” and that:

the preservation and progress of a race, is a moral duty of the races. Degeneration is evil. It is a sin. That sin is extreme. Hybridism is heinous. Impurity of races is against the law of nature. Mulattoes are monsters. The law of nature is the law of God. The same law which forbids consanguineous amalgamation

forbids ethnical amalgamation. Both are incestuous.

Amalgamation is incest. (Hughes 1854)

This argument from Henry Hughes, a sociologist, as horrendous as it sounds, and pseudoscientific views on race and ethnicity, were popular thought in the mid 19th century, including in the free northern United States, including Houghton County. Houghton County at the time had laws in place that restricted co-habitation by a man and woman who were perceived to be different races (unlawful cohabitation), as well as against these couples having children (seduction) (1857). It is of interest, that Henry Hughes, as well as anthropologists at the time, who primarily had imperialistic motivations used the term ethnical, a term which we now know lacked a proper definition at the time, though used by early anthropologists in the imperial age of anthropology, to classify groups of people other than whites (Trigger 1989) ; yet, it is being included in a scientific treatise on the study of humans. This points to its linguistic advent as a means of, what we now would refer to as pseudo-science, separating people into distinct categories, and contributing to the popularity of scientific racism. Furthermore, Hughes' *scientific* treatise invokes religion as law, and as a means for justifying his own scientific decision. The picture painted by Hughes' description of European and American views on miscegenation provides insight into the tragedy that marked much of the Verdine family's beginning on the Keweenaw. While Pete Verdine and Martha Lorasch were allowed to wed in 1872 (when daughter Mary Amelia was already 15), 29 out of the 50 states still had laws against miscegenation and Claude Levi-Strauss wrote "modern American society combines a

family exogamy, which is rigid for the first degree, but flexible for the second or third degrees onwards, with a racial endogamy which is rigid or flexible according to the specific state” (Lévi-Strauss 1969b, a). It was not until 1967 that the U.S. supreme court “[invalidated] all anti-miscegenation laws as unconstitutional” in the case of *Loving v. Virginia* (Sheffer 2013). The example of miscegenation in the United States and its gradual acceptability though time and geography is an example of how *racecraft* has played out in U.S. history. The Verdine household was considered an abomination by legal standards prior to the Civil War, but after emancipation and the passing of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, the Verdines were able to have their family gradually more accepted by white society.

African American / African Diaspora Archaeology

Previous archaeological work on the Keweenaw Peninsula has primarily focused on technical systems of mines, and while social histories have been written about the Keweenaw’s mining boom, they have broadly focused on Euro-Americans (Lankton 2010a, 1997, 1991a, Hoagland 2010), or focused on a specific Euro-ethnicity, such as the Finnish. (Kaunonen 2009, 2010). Amateur historians have been extremely active in the region, writing microhistories of towns (Monette 1978b), biographies of notable individuals (Comstock 2013), and sensationalized true crime (Lehto 2007, Longtine 2014). Recently, a book was self-published that started to explore the histories of African Americans in the Upper Peninsula, primarily in the iron-mining region of Marquette (Bradley-Holiday 2009).

Outside of the region there has been noteworthy work conducted on social life and race and ethnic relations in mining communities, including Kelly Dixon's work in Virginia City, Nevada (Dixon 2005a), Mark Warner's Work in Sandpoint, Idaho (Spinner et al. 2011), Mary Beaudry at the Boots Mill (Mrozowski, Ziesing, and Beaudry 1996, Beaudry 1989) Jennifer Ogborne and Kelly Dixon's work in Coloma, MT (Ogborne 2013), Donald Hardesty's extensive work in Silver City (Hardesty 2010), Sam Sweitz's research in Cripple Creek (Sweitz 2012), and Catherine Spude's work in Skagway, Alaska (Spude 2006, Spude, Mills, and Gurcke 2011). These sites will be useful in comparing life in a mining boom town, particularly Dixon's work in Virginia City, which analyzed artifacts from known African American sites of the mid to late 19th century. Other sites will be useful in comparing Clifton and Eagle River homes to other mining boom towns of the same era, and will allow for a discussion of how people living in Michigan's Keweenaw peninsula compared to those in other mining regions.

Significant archaeological research pertaining to African American home-sites in the United States, both pre-civil war and antebellum era, has also been conducted including work at sites in New Philadelphia (Fennell 2010, Shackel 2003, 2010), the W.E.B. Dubois homesite in Massachusetts (Battle-Baptiste 2011), Long Island (Hayes 2013), Annapolis Maryland (Shackel, Mullins, and Warner 1998a) ; these projects have aided in the current understanding of the Verdine Sites, which lack any record other than the archaeological by providing limited context of how African Americans consumed material culture in other parts of the nation during this period.. Furthermore,

the archaeological data recovered from this project has been contextualized through the broader archaeological African American diaspora research out there such as the work done by Singleton (Singleton 1995), Ogrundian and Falola (Ogundiran and Falola 2007a), Orser (Orser Jr 1998), Wilkie (Wilkie 1995), and Franklin (Franklin 1997, 2001a, b). This research has been useful in providing insight into how African culture dispersed into the New World; evidence that has been useful in interpreting other archaeological sites of the African Diaspora. As oral history states that Pete was originally born in Africa, knowledge of diffusion of African cultures into the Americas could be crucially important to further research. The archaeological record should be interpreted not only from an American and African American standpoint, but also from an African one.

Charles Orser has been extremely prolific in his writing regarding race as a focus of archaeological interpretation, and the methods and theory he suggests have been useful both in the field and in the analysis of the archaeological record. Specifically, his book Race and Practice in Archaeological Interpretation has been a guiding text as it illuminates the idea that “the true power of race lies in its ability to allocate power, privilege, and wealth” (Orser Jr 2013). In the broadest scope of this project, the Verdine household, and the Verdine ancestry, will be contextualized within the socio-economic landscape of an industrial boom town of the 19th century. Using world-systems theory that incorporates itself well into modern-world archaeology (Orser 1996), the multiethnic Verdine household can be analyzed against the broader network in which they were enmeshed. World-systems theory and “the

structural framework [it provides] offers an intellectual grid upon which issues of race and racialization can be understood” (Orser Jr 2013). Looking at the Verdine households as being on the periphery, or semi-periphery of this mining boom region will aid in understanding the role the Verdines and other African Americans played in the largely white community. Orser views the construction of race as a political endeavor (Orser 2001), and to better understand the true identities that are constructed, and representation of self, “interactions at the household or community level” must be studied (Orser 2001, Wilkie 2000). Wilkie suggests using the concept of *lifeworld* coined by Jurgen Habermas, in which a collection of “behaviors, expectations, norms, and communicative acts that comprise daily life and serve to link individuals” (Orser 2001, Wilkie 2001, Habermas 1984). This concept is similar to Bourdieu’s *habitus*, and allows for an interpretation of identity formation outside of the social constructs of race alone. Using this concept, Wilkie argues that from an early age, people learn what is expected from them by both their families and their communities, and that scholars need not essentialize any of the components from race, gender, or social class while exploring the formation of identities in the past

Bourdieu’s theory of practice (Bourdieu 1990, 1977) also plays pivotal role in understanding the complexity of the Verdine household, in the even more complex social network of the Keweenaw Peninsula. Simply put, Practice Theory is “how social beings, with their diverse motives and their diverse intentions, make and transform the world in which they live... it is a dialectic between social structure and human agency working back and forth in a dynamic relationship” (Bourdieu 1977).

Orser argues that “practice theory provides an elegant and powerful perspective for an archaeological effort to engage racialization” (Orser Jr 2013). Orser states that to confront the topic of racialization, archaeologists should start by first considering racism due to its “overt concentration on the role of racialization in creating and maintaining systems of social stratification” (Orser Jr 2013). The theory of practice, as originally written has evolved over time, with input from Bourdieu himself, as well as others, lending itself to more applications, such as archaeology. Bourdieu would say that any type of definition of habitus and practice goes against the notion of his theory, and that “any attempt to formalize it ...misrecognizes the unpredictability and ambiguity of the situations in which the concept is exercised” (Hodder and Hutson 2003). Timothy Pauketat has given practice theory its most accessible definition for the archaeologist, defining it as “the continuous and historically contingent enactments or embodiments of people’s ethos, attitudes, agendas, and dispositions” (Pauketat 2001). This definition is useful in looking at black American history, especially the Verdine household, as there was such dynamic change in how the family lived and was viewed between 1850 and 1880. The changes that occurred during this period were contingent upon what was happening on a larger scale in the United States with black American civil rights and liberties. Pauketat says that the use of practice theory in archaeology prevents human action of the past from being essentialized as a “scientific project with goal directed performances”(Orser Jr 2013, Pauketat 2001). The problem with this essentialization is that it allows entire cultures to be linked to a series of discreet behaviors (Orser Jr 2013).

With practice theory, comes the term of “habitus”, a term which has often been misused and misunderstood. In his refinement of practice theory, Pierre Bourdieu states that the habitus is “most effective in situations where weak or nonexistent rules apply and where learned dispositions can quietly govern action” (Bourdieu 1990), and simplifies the theory of practice into a pseudo-mathematical formula

$$\text{“}[(\text{habitus}) (\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice”}$$

drawing on the works of Marx and Engels in the evolution of his own theory. This formula proves itself useful for understanding the cultural dynamics of the Verdine household, with the three habitus of the the family being shaped by forms of capital that the family embodies (social, cultural, symbolic), and adding the field – or “the loci of cultural production and history” (Orser Jr 2013). This formula can also be applied to the ancestry of the Verdine household, and the discussion of racialization in the contemporary. Changes in the practice of the Verdine household can be examined through changes in class status – as Pete moved from cook, to sailor, to prisoner, to physician – and tied back to the idea of racecraft. Pete, as a black American, navigated up the social and class ranks, as he gained more social and economic capital. This increase in social and economic capital allowed for a growth of social power. Power, as Eric Wolf interprets Bourdieu, must be seen in relational terms, and “the manner in which inequalities of power and social privilege are sustained through generations without conscious recognition or full scale revolt” (Wolf 1990) should be examined. To understand the ethnogenesis of the individuals of the Verdine household, and African Americans in the Copper Country in general, practice theory

has been instrumental in “[weaving] together individual moments of practice, precisely contextualized in time and space, and in the process, [making] perfect history” (Pauketat 2001). In understanding the ethnogenesis of a mixed race family that occurred in multiple stages (Pete and the community / Martha and the community / Pete and Martha / Mary Amelia’s public and private socialization), it is important to understand all of the components that go into an individual’s practice, formed by the structure of the world around their homespace.

James Deetz writes in his seminal book In Small Things Forgotten that “piecing together black history on a local level is a fascinating and often frustrating process of assembling fragments to form a coherent whole” (Deetz, 1977). Thankfully, he, and historical archaeologists like him, can do so, because without their efforts, stories such as Cato Howe's would not be told. Howe was an African American who served in the revolutionary war on the side of the patriots, taking part in monumental moments of American history such as the Battle of Bunker Hill, yet his skin color is not represented in most depictions of the battle. His involvement, and others like him, while necessary for victory, were not a point of pride for those who originally wanted to tell the story of the American Revolution, therefore, it was recorded , but not highlighted. It can be said that common people do not always appear in traditional presentations of history, and Cato Howe would be included in such that demographic as well, but since “archaeology is a vital contributor to our understanding of all America's common folk, and what their life meant to them, it is doubly so in the case of our understanding of the black experience in America” (Deetz, 1977).

Written records available for Cato Howe and the other African Americans at the Parting Way Site in Plymouth, MA were limited to probate records. The probate record from Howe's death in 1824 values his estate at \$61.82 (Deetz 2010). For the time, and for a soldier who served in the revolutionary war and was entitled to an \$8/month pension, this value was rather low. After excavation of the site, "Deetz identified ceramics, architectural remains, and faunal remains where the evidence did not agree with his expectations" (Spencer-Wood, 1987). High end ceramics, hand-painted cream-wares, and costly (sought after) Chinese porcelains were amongst the remains found in the architectural remains, which themselves did not fit the norm of the area. Because of the sparse written documentation relating to Howe and life in the Parting Ways community, Deetz says "[i]n some respects, such investigations take on some of the aspects of prehistoric archaeology" (Deetz, 1977). An interesting statement, because what was found at the site is usefully compared to the probate record (a primary source) to show that it does not give an accurate depiction of the life of Cato Howe. If primary sources can be so misleading, how can they be a trusted source for early African American history? According to Deetz, "[t]he archaeology tells us that in spite of their lowly station in life, they were bearers of a lifestyle, distinctly their own, neither recognized nor understood by their chroniclers" (Deetz, 1977). The artifacts, including high end material culture, and faunal remains discovered (chopped bones vs. sawn) do not reflect a great deal of African-isms, but it does show how African Americans "employed material culture to resist and oppose the dominant white society and to create meaning in their everyday lives at different

times and in different places” (Spencer-Wood, 1987). The features found at the Parting Way site do provide a glimpse into a larger African culture that was present in the Americas. Unlike the typical hall and parlor floor-plan employed by the Anglo descended residents of New England, the homes found at Parting Ways bare closer resemblance to the shotgun houses found in the American South and Haiti, an architectural style that originated in West Africa. Anthropologist John Vlach first argued the connection that these shotgun houses in the United States were the “end of a path that leads from West Africa through the West Indies to the port city of New Orleans” (Deetz, 1977). Not all agree on this interpretation of the shotgun house, as some see shotgun houses as a “response to constrained urban lots while others see it inextricably linked to [New Orleans] substantial nineteenth century African American population” (Edwards, 2009). Either side of the argument provides the Africans living at Parting Ways a deeper connection to a culture other than the dominant Anglo culture of New England.

Deetz’s work at Parting Ways reflects Mark Leone’s statement, “approaches in historical archaeology often do not rely heavily on documentary materials to build on an understanding of how to use artifacts...the give and take between the excavated and the associated written materials, while certainly healthy, is often not used precisely” (Leone, 2007). The written record, in the case of Parting Ways, a probate record, as it is the situation for many historical archaeology sites, does not properly reflect the relationship between material culture, race, and class. If Deetz were to have based his analysis of the artifacts found at Parting Ways on the written record alone, the

understanding he came to about resistance and individuality would not have been achieved; archaeologists should use the written record, but not accept it on face value alone. The statement also works in reverse, as we would not have known the Verdine homesites were African-American settlements had the written record, in this case, census records, told us otherwise.

Archaeological Context of Race, Ethnicity, Class, and Gender

The concepts of race, ethnicity, class, and gender are important factors in creating a holistic picture of the past. The archaeological record can help reaffirm what is already known, but it can also provide insights that failed to make the written record. Understanding the Verdine household, and the dynamics of an African American/Bavarian household in a white mining community requires more than knowledge of African American history and practices; the role of women and children is also instrumental in understanding how individuals lived on the sites in question. Work on identifying class and gender roles in the archaeological record is vast, and this research draws on the work by Spencer-Wood, and the consumer-choice model utilized by many Historical Archaeologists (Baughner and Spencer-Wood 2010, Spencer-Wood 1999, Sweitz 2012), Gilchrist (Gilchrist 1999), Hays-Gilpin (Hays-Gilpin and Whitley 1998), and Battle-Baptiste (Battle-Baptiste 2011). Mary Beaudry's work on gendered work in industrial communities has also been invaluable (Beaudry and White 1994, Beaudry 2011, 1989). These works have provided comparative material, and have laid the foundational archaeological theory that was required to analyze the Eagle River and Clifton sites. The comparative evidence from

these sites provide insight into how class, race, gender, and age played roles in similar mining communities. These past research efforts lay the foundation for understanding how class, race, ethnicity, gender, and age played out in the similar mining communities of Eagle River and Clifton.

Class is one of the most overlooked aspects of social identity in the historical record. LouAnn Wurst argues that “whether linked with race, ethnicity, and gender, or with status, historical archaeologists almost exclusively ignore the concept of class as a formation” (Wurst 1999). Class of black Americans has been difficult for historians and historical archaeologists to classify as much of the classical historiography such as Ira Berlin’s “Slaves without Masters”, Cohen and Green’s “Neither Slave nor Free” and Jerome Handler’s “The Unappropriated People” “speak to the ambivalent status of free people of color wherever they resided in the United States” (Singleton 2001). Orser has argued that “class operates in society as an identity constructed by individuals as well as a structure that is “real” within it”.. Wilkie argues that race operates in a similar manner: as an identity imposed upon and contended with by individuals, but also as a larger societal structure”(Wilkie 2001). In this regard, the idea of *racecraft* could be substituted for *classcraft* in most situations, to help get beyond the simple interpellation that Althusser suggests occurs when seeing material culture, in the case, relating to black Americans, “you know it when you see it”(Althusser 2014), and force historical archaeologists to recognize ethnoracial identities through the context of their social assignment. As Mullin’s states “material symbolism is shaped by consumer’s social position, which has two

fundamental dimensions, loosely described as conscious and structural” (Mullins 2011). The double consciousness put forth by DuBois and later Gilroy agrees with this, and that “explicitly framing social position this way can, on one hand, recognize group and individual experience, and on the other, acknowledge the structural conditions that shape local conditions and inform how that experience is perceived and articulated”(Mullins 2011). Defining a site by the material culture in some cases, can point to specific ethnoracial influences (Shackel, Mullins, and Warner 1998a, González-Tennant 2011, Ogundiran and Falola 2007b, Hauser and Florida Museum of Natural History. 2008, Deetz 1965), however, in many cases, this is not possible. The fluidity of class in 19th century America must be understood, and “ the key to understanding class is not simply the act of defining the structure, but rather the movement between different levels” (Wurst 1999).

Black Feminist Archaeology

As race is a social construct, the framework of the theory of Black Feminist Archaeology pioneered by Battle-Baptiste and Franklin will be a valuable theoretical lens in analyzing the practice of the white Martha Verdine, whose social capital was altered by her love affair and marriage with Pete. It is equally important to reflect upon Mary Amelia’s life, as both a child, and as the Verdine who owned the *homespace* (Battle Baptiste’s combination of bell hooks’ homeplace and the theories of yardspace typically used in African archaeology) the longest (inherited from her father’s death circa 1882, and maintained until her death in 1931). Black Feminist Archaeology, as defined by Battle-Baptiste, is a “methodology that allows for a larger

dialogue of how [anthropological theory, ethnohistory, the narrative tradition, oral history, material culture studies, Black and African-descendant feminisms, and critical race and African Diaspora theories] can be combined and used as lenses through which to understand the intersectionality of race, gender, and class in the past” (Battle-Baptiste 2011). Understanding how Mary Amelia’s practice was formed and changed throughout her life on the Keweenaw, and specifically in the Verdine homespace, is critical to understanding how played out in the 19th and 20th century Keweenaw Peninsula. Mary Amelia, unlike her parents, was born on the Keweenaw Peninsula, and spent the entirety of her life there. Her racialization and worldviews were formed in the turbulent antebellum and post-civil war years, and she navigated a world between white and black in a community that public memory (as well as historical records) states was progressive, though still ruled under the laws of the United States, which promoted inequality among races and ethnic groups.

Gender is a topic that has been difficult for archaeologists to cover, however, according to Margaret Purser gender can not simply “be dug up”, the evidence is always there, but archaeologists need to determine what gender means in the record (Purser 1991). Gender and race should not face any more obstacles than gender alone in the archaeological record, however, archaeologists need to be aware of both in their interpretations. The evidence exists, and can be discussed, if the archaeologists are willing to figure out ways of interpreting them. As a phase 1 project, this is a suggestion for future phases of archaeological investigation into not only Eagle River, but the entire copper mining region of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

Archaeology of Childhood

Children are often overlooked in the archaeological record, which is unfortunate as they are a substantial portion of any reproducing community. The Keweenaw is no exception, and past research at the Clifton site has yielded evidence of their historicity, including toys from the 1860s found at the site of a boarding house (Peltó 2014). Particularly true in the 19th century, “adults and children may be part of the same labor communities, and therefore linked by their shared material culture – identifying children is therefore not limited to finding child-specific categories of material culture and is not inherently separate from the investigation of activities traditionally considered to be places of adult action” (Baxter 2005b). Jane Eva Baxter (Baxter 2005b, 2008, 2005c) has been the most outspoken advocate for children in the archaeological record, and her published work has served as a guide for identifying the roles of children in these households. Other works on the archaeology of childhood include (Schwartzman 2005) and (Moore and Scott 1997). Though not archaeology-based research, Janet Finn’s work on the children of Butte, Montana’s mining boom has also been an important reference and comparative source (Finn 2012a) in that it is one of the only ethnographic accounts of children who actually grew up in a mining boom town of the American west.

As it is suspected that the Verdine household consisted of only Martha Verdine and the child, Mary Amelia Verdine, from 1858-1866, the impact of the latter on the archaeological record may be very telling of the household’s practice, and the ways in

which the biracial Mary Amelia was socialized in a predominantly white environment. Mary Amelia is also an important subject of the archaeological record because according to court documents, the less than 1 year old child was granted all of Pete Verdine's belongings when he was imprisoned, including the family land – giving the infant child more historical agency than her mother, at least that's how it appears on paper. Because “the distribution of artifacts in the archaeological record is most generally considered to be a reflection of past behaviors, and understanding of children's work and play behaviors may serve as a useful link between cultural ideas of socialization and the archaeological record” (Baxter 2008).

While the archaeology of childhood remains an area that is not widely explored, the possibilities for recognizing children as agents have always been there. As Jane Eva Baxter states, “the activities and material culture of children extend beyond the small or often absent category of child specific artifacts...age-based categories of personhood – old, young, or in-between - are central to the organization of social groups and, like gender, are an integral part of all archaeological deposits” (Baxter 2008). Researching children, in this case, the life of Mary Amelia, can provide vital insights into how households and communities functioned. Like race and gender, childhood is always visible in the archaeological record, they are features of social organization and archaeologists need to “embrace a research perspective that recognizes [race, childhood, and] gender as critical vantage point[s] for understanding the archaeological record and interpreting relationships in the past (Baxter 2008). As this work represents Phase 1 of a possibly larger archaeological project, not much can

be said about childhood, or childhood as related to race, but the potential is there to be explored in future phases of this project.

Household Archaeology

Consumer-choice theory, which is often used in household archaeology, has been useful in analyzing household goods and waste, including ceramics and faunal remains. The framework of this theory “involves the application of [world]-systems theory at the level of the household to organize the multivariate consideration of factors involved in consumer behavior” (SpencerWood 1987). This method helped place the analyzed households “within the context of these larger societal norms and fashions, tempered by their own individual experiences, desires, and opportunities” (Sweitz 2012). It is also important to consider the literature specifically targeting African American consumer culture, such as Paul Mullins’ work in Annapolis, and viewing the archaeological record from the perspective that “African American material meaning was both circumscribed and empowered by a network of racist codes and racialization” which Mullins states “constrained African American privileges, [while also] providing a launching pad for an utterly politicized African American material symbolism (Mullins 2011). Paul Gilroy’s idea of “double consciousness” provides a theoretical foundation for how African Americans balanced being both African and being American (Gilroy 1993) by introducing the concept that households such as the Verdines were torn between two worlds. The idea of double consciousness would view the Verdine household as “the confrontation between two opposed yet independent cultural and ideological systems and their attendant

conceptions of reason, history, property, and kinship” (Gilroy 2000). Gilroy’s argument for double consciousness is linked to Patricia Hill-Collins’, saying that “Hill-Collins argues that the western traditions of thinking and thinking about thinking to which the human sciences are bound have systematically tried to separate these privileged activities from mere being...this insight is linked in her argument to criticism of the pernicious effects of the dualistic, binary thinking in which one partner in the cognitive couple is always dominated by its repressed and subjugated other half - male/female, rational/irrational, nature/culture, light/dark” (Gilroy 1993). He states that Collins’ use of the word black “covers the positions of knowing and being” (Gilroy 2000), which leaves the question to be asked, how did the Verdine household identify itself? Returning to the concept of *racecraft*, this view of African American material culture enables it to be looked at as a form of resistance, a point which is often romanticized by academic archaeologists, allowing subjects who lack agency in the written record to have it in the material. Similarly, James Deetz viewed the archaeological record as a resistance to whiteness when he researched the sites at *Parting Ways* (Deetz 2010). While resistance may have been the case in many archaeological sites relating to African Americans, especially in the 19th century, they could also be viewed as attempts at assimilation into white culture, and a means by which they attempted to be accepted by the oppressive hierarchy being created by imaginary racial and ethnic divisions. Stacey Camp points out:

Although some marginalized groups used consumption to express their desire to be treated as fully naturalized citizens, not all

individuals harbored the same feelings about consumption and citizenship. Beliefs regarding citizenship and consumption vacillated just as much as the parameters of citizenship shifted over the course of American history; consumption practices hence changed across time periods, regions, and even within the same cultures, ethnic groups, genders, households, and classes”, (Camp 2013).

The focus of this thesis on the black aspects of the Verdine household is a result of the lack of evidence for black life on the Keweenaw during the Copper Boom. As Laura Wilkie points out, the targeting of one identity over another is not necessarily one of “researcher bias” but a reflection of displacement of discourses from one identity to another (Wilkie 2001). The struggles of Mary Amelia Verdine, and her descendants, also reflect Hill-Collins concept of “intersecting oppressions” (Wilkie 2001, Hill Collins and Bilge 2016). Little has been written, and few records have been uncovered, about black or mix-raced women living in the Keweenaw, either during the Copper Boom or any time after, however, research into the census records show that they were active contributors to the community, particularly during 1860-1870. The decline of Black Americans in Eagle River after 1870 represent a trend in population movement that fits all ethnic groups in the Keweenaw, moving to locations in the region where mines were more active. As the Cliff and Phoenix mines began to decline during the 1860s,

mining and smelting in Calumet and along the Portage Lake increased production (Lankton 1997, Lankton 1991b, Fields 1996, Lankton 2010b).

Figure 7 Barbershop -Calumet. "Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections. Nara Photograph Collection. Nara 42-149. Undated.

In the heat of the #blacklivesmatter social movement, and in favor of increasing diversity awareness in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, the archaeology of the Verdine homesites can also be seen as a political action through the praxis of archaeology. Praxis, as defined by Randal McGuire refers to "the distinctively human capacity to consciously and creatively construct and change both the world and ourselves" (McGuire 2008a). Reframing the history of the Keweenaw to include the African population is a political action in the sense that it confronts alienation from the historical record. McGuire, one of the more radical archaeologists of the

contemporary, has made strong arguments for the political nature of archaeology, and the bonding elements that its knowledge can produce, and aid in mending social rifts, and restore public memory, based on case studies involving his ethnographic and archaeological fieldwork in Mexico, and also the coal strikes of Ludlow, Colorado (McGuire 2008a). Prior to considering the political nature of archaeology, McGuire had laid out a theory for Marxist archaeology, which introduced a “humanistic, dialectic Marxism” (McGuire 1992) in the discipline. The power struggles between races, ethnicities, and classes, as seen in the archaeology of various Keweenaw copper mining communities, and the strong relationship between social standing and capital interests, make a Marxist approach to interpreting the archaeological record a practical choice. Racial and ethnic differences have been in tandem with differences of class for most of the history of the United States, and to ignore the impact of class, and the ability, or inability in the case of marginalized populations, to move between classes, is an important idea to consider when discussing how racial and ethnic identities were formed. Race and capital have gone hand in hand for many centuries, and frontier locations such as the Keweenaw were not exempt from this aspect of the processes of racialization. According to Rebecca Kinney, “the racialization of a place is not a symptom of capital but is produced by and in relationship to capital” (Kinney 2016). This can be seen in the hierarchy of mining jobs based on ethnic identity from the 1850s up until the strike of 1913 (Lankton and Lankton 1997, Lankton 1991b, 2010b).

It is also important to consider that the year in which Mary Amelia Verdine was born, and the year that Pete Verdine was sentenced to the state prison for second

degree murder, was the same year, 1857, of the *Dred Scott* supreme court ruling, which declared African Americans to be citizens of the United States, but not entirely human, in the eyes of the government. Questions of citizenship, especially in industrial communities of the 19th century, which attracted large numbers of immigrants, have been explored archaeologically by Stacey Camp, who looked at “how people have expressed their beliefs about national belonging and American citizenship with material culture” (Camp 2013). While for all intents and purposes Pete Verdone may not have been considered a citizen under the law, according to Camp, people that were not citizens within the scope of the law may have had their own ways of conceptualizing their national belonging (Camp 2013). As will be discussed later in the analysis, the lack of Africanisms in the archaeological record may be significant in the sense that it shows the desire to be an accepted member of the community, though it may also represent a layer of the double consciousness, and the formation of class in the post-Civil War United States.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Lab Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methodology used in researching the Verdine homesites, and the larger story of African Americans on the Keweenaw Peninsula during the copper boom of the mid 19th century. This chapter will also include a discussion of the laboratory analysis of the material that was recovered from the Verdine homesites. The discussion here relates to phase 1 archaeology, and is a starting point of interpretation for future phases.

Archival Research

At the Michigan Tech and Copper Country archives, I was able to access information relating to Pete Verdine and his family, such as census records, and court documents. Information about deeds and sales of land relating to the Verdine homesites was recovered from the Keweenaw County Court House.

Field Work Methodology

The owners of Block 19 Lot 1 were willing to allow us to perform an archaeological investigation of their property. Permits were required to work on Lot 4 of Block 21 as it was state owned, and making matters more complex, owned by two different agencies, with the DNR holding mineral rights, and MDOT holding surface rights. Lot 4 of Block 21 had been owned by Pete's daughter, Mary Amelia, until her death in 1931, at which point ownership went to the Phoenix Copper Mining Company, then later to the Calumet and Hecla Mining company, and eventually

ending up in the hands of the State of Michigan. Lot 1 of Block 19 had remained empty from 1870 until 1910, when a home was built on the front portion (on Main Street). While living on Lot 1 of Block 19, Pete had 2 homes built (1 for himself, and 1 for Martha and Mary Amelia) totaling \$1,000. He also owned two horses and two wagons valued at \$375

Figure 8 Map of Eagle River, showing the location of Block 19, which was owned by the Phoenix Copper Mining Company and sold to Pete Verdine, where he built two homes valued at \$1000

(1857-1870). Further research should compare the value of Pete Verdine's possessions to other residents of Eagle River. Collecting this data will allow for a socio-economic comparison to be made between the Verdine household and other residents in the area, who may have had a higher social status. It will also be useful in comparing the Verdine household to other Black Americans on the Keweenaw, many of whom were listed as servants and did not have their own land.

Ground Penetrating Radar

Figure 9 Photo of the 2015 MTU Geophysics Field School on Block 21. Photo by author.

The use of ground-penetrating radar in archaeology was used as an exercise in archaeological field work, in hopes of finding opportune spots to conduct shovel test pits. Ground penetrating radar can be useful to archaeologists who need to cover “a large area in a short period of time , with excellent subsurface resolution of buried archaeological features and their related stratigraphy” (Conyers and Goodman 1997). Typically, geophysical surveys such as ground penetrating radar are used to explore very large areas, however, it can still be useful for cases such as the Verdine households where the area is known as close to exactly as possible; it is best practice to expand the survey beyond the area, at least “3-5 times the area of known features...allowing the geophysical character of the [features] to be compared to the surrounding earth where there are no features” (Bevan 1998).

Lot 1 of Block 19 had undergone a few zoning changes over the last 162 years, including the division of the lot following Pete's incarceration, and a joint agreement between residents in the early 20th century to donate part of their lots to the expansion of Main Street. This led us to believe that the house that currently was standing on the first half of Lot 1 of Block 19 would not have been placed over the same location as the Verdine home sites. An overgrown alley at the rear of the lot was Main Street per an 1855 map, so we decided to begin plotting out our shovel test pit locations based on that. We also enlisted the help of MTU's geophysics field school, who assisted with using a ground penetrating radar system

The geophysics field school team began their search at the top of the hill that Lot 19 is situated on. This included scanning around the current standing structure. The results yielded nothing notable. A quick investigation underneath the current standing home, a basement with a dirt floor, presumably a former living space that the current home was constructed over, revealed artifacts that were burned in a fire; these do not appear in the catalog for this project, but artifacts included late 19th century ceramics, glass, and tobacco pipe stems.

Results at the bottom of the hill of Lot 1 Block 19, yielded no useful information. The quick scan at Block 21 also was not of much use. This was not as disappointing as it might seem however, as there was already a clear understanding of where shovel test pits should be conducted based on the study of the older maps, tract book records, and visible features.

Shovel Test Pits

Shovel test pits (STP) at the Block 19 location began by doing a preliminary investigation into the layout of the property, determining where Main Street used to run, and looking for both the current property's boundaries, as well as the historical boundaries. Starting at the western edge of the property, there were 5 transects made separated by 5 meters each. These were all marked with flags. Using each flag as a starting point, we then walked south along the lot, marking a location to test every 10 meters. This style of survey is done to produce an arbitrary structure to the shovel testing, the grid that is formed then "serves as a guide to the segregation of [artifacts and features] to horizontal location" (Deetz and American Museum of Natural History. 1967). Once the grid was laid out, the STPs were dug to a depth of 50cm and a diameter of 15-20cm, or more, depending on whether any significant artifacts, ecofacts, or features were discovered. Due to the large area covered in the first phase of an archaeological project such as this, probability sampling is used as a "means of mathematically relating small samples of data to much larger populations" (Fagan and Durrani 2013). There are three types of probability sampling: systematic sampling,

random sampling, and stratified sampling. The method we used in this first phase is known as systematic sampling, a sampling scheme in which archaeologists “choose

Figure 10 Volunteers digging shovel test pits at Block 19. 2015. Photo by author.

one interval at random, then selects others at equal intervals from the first one[, a] method which is useful for studying artifact patterning on a surface site” (Fagan and Durrani 2013). While useful in phase 1 surveys, it is possible that the artifacts recovered represent a “biased pattern if the archaeological material also falls at regular intervals” (Fagan and Durrani 2013). The stratigraphy of the soil provides important information on how sites were used, abandoned, and often reused over time. Due to some abnormalities in the ground, including locations that looked like

they could have housed features, archaeological evidence that is not portable, 52 STP sites were plotted out.

The depth of these STPS can be used to analyze the stratigraphy of the site, and can help date the materials found within. The deeper one goes, logically the older the material would be, with “multicomponent sites [being] built up over the years by constant deposit of debris on top of debris” (Deetz and American Museum of Natural History. 1967). Logically speaking, the materials on top are the newest, and most likely related to contemporary times, such as plastic bottle caps, modern wiring, and other commonly found 20th and 21st century artifacts. These may seem useless, but as one goes deeper into the earth, and notices changes in soil, they are useful in comparing how the different layers of stratigraphy relate to one another. In most cases, sterile subsoil was reached near 50cm, that is, soil that no longer produced any evidence of human activity. This is fitting for the area, and while the region has been occupied for over 5,000 years by indigenous peoples, what is known about this activity is that they primarily were active along the shores of Lake Superior, and further south (Martin 1999). It is likely that deposits will go deeper if this work continues into other phases, specifically at locations along the transects where it is suspected that buildings existed. This is most likely to be on Lot 21, where the land has remained mostly undisturbed since 1931, and there are visible mounds and remains of mortar where a house likely stood.

At Block 21 three transects, running from north to south, were established at 10 meter intervals. Shovel testing locations were then laid-out from east-to-west at 10 meter intervals along each line for a total of 21 testing locations per transect. Lot 21 is characterized by a steep slope that runs down to the Eagle River, leaving a relative narrow swath of flat land to the lot line suitable for building. The lot has an unusual shape due to it being the first lot in the village of Eagle River, and its adjustment to the curving of M-26. Lot 21 had one remaining feature, though likely not

from the

Verdine family, a wooden shed that was falling apart, and appeared to have been used for storage by contemporary neighbors.

There also is a standing structure that appeared

to have been a habitation. The oral history we were given suggested it might have been occupied by a bachelor uncle into the 1950s. There was a tremendous sheet midden spread down the slope toward the Eagle River, with materials dating to the first half of the 20th century (at least the top layer of the midden was from this period). On the south portion of the lot, there was a mound, now

Figure 11 Volunteers digging shovel test pits at Block 19. 2015. Photo by author.

surrounded by nearly 100-year-old trees, that looked like the location of a cabin, based on the size and shape of the mound. Due to time and budget constraints, and that this was a phase 1 survey, greater attention was not given to the mound, though in future phases, it should be investigated more thoroughly.

Lab Analysis Methods

Artifacts were collected from the STPs, bagged and marked with the appropriate provenance, returned to the lab, cleaned, cataloged, and examined for any significant details. Artifacts discovered at Block 19, lot 1 included ceramics, cut nails, faunal remains, metal scraps, 1 tobacco pipe stems, glass, and food debris (notably a cherry pit). Block 21, Lot 4 had much of the same material, but there was more evidence of ceramic artifacts, no pipe stems, and there was also a significant amount of mortar on the mound where one of the homes is believed to have once stood. Terminus post quem (TPQ) was determined for the artifacts which it was possible for. These artifacts include ceramics, nails, and metal fragments. The potentially oldest artifact on the site could date no earlier than 1771 (Deagan et al. 2017, Noël Hume 2001), a fragment of creamware; the youngest artifact cataloged could date no earlier than 1927, a clay pigeon (Synapse 2017). Most datable artifacts were from the mid 19th century. Unfortunately, there were not enough ceramic artifacts to apply George Miller's CC Index formula (Miller 1991), nor were there enough pipe stems to present a realistic presentation of site date based on the formula found in Deetz's In Small Things Forgotten (Deetz 2010).

Overall, the STPs from Block 19 and Block 21 yielded little to work with in terms of laboratory analysis, though they did reveal spots which would likely be fruitful if a full excavation were to occur.

The artifacts from the Verdine home spaces were analyzed and cataloged, with the most extensive analysis given to the ceramic assemblages. The majority of ceramics unearthed were white improved earthenware or earthenware. In future phases, Suzanne Spencer Wood's consumer-choice model should be able to provide insight into how the Verdines chose the material culture for their homesites.

Below is a table of ceramics recovered from Block 19 and Block 21 in Eagler River:. Most of the terminus-post-quem dates fit into the suspected 19th century occupation of the spaces, though there are a few that date earlier, to 18th century periods. This could have been material that was passed along from the Native American residents of Eagle River, who had extensive interaction with the French during the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries.

Block 19, Lot 4 Ceramics

Ceramic Type	Frequency	Percentage
White Improved Earthen-ware	3	21%
Earthen-Ware	2	14%
Stone-Ware	3	21%
Pearl-Ware	1	7%
Mocha-Ware	3	21%
Rockingham	1	7%
Red-Ware	1	7%

*Table 1 Block 19 Ceramics***Block 21 Ceramics**

Type	Frequency	Percentage
White-Improved Earthenware	20	54
Stone-Ware	3	8
Pearl-Ware	1	2.7
Red-Ware	2	5
Mocha Ware	8	21.6
Earthenware	3	8

Table 2 Block 21 Ceramics

Future phases of archaeological work at Block 19 and 21 should use George Miller's CC Index model "to gauge the cost of an entire ceramics assemblage by calculating the cost of the individual refined earthenwares that it includes, based on index values" (Miller 1991). This method allows households to be compared on a social-economic level to other households in the community. Furthermore, it provides more information to work with Spencer-Wood's consumer-choice model of household archaeology (Spencer-Wood 1987, Spencer-Wood 1999)

Chapter 4: Conclusions and Recommendations

While the Verdine family, and other Black-Americans discussed in this thesis have a fascinating history that can be further researched, based on archaeological lab work discussed here, there is not much that can be said about the material culture that would tell researchers about how black Americans lived during Michigan's copper boom. However, the work done in Eagle River during the Summer of 2015 serves as a proof of concept that further archaeological and archival research can be conducted into the lives of Black Americans on the Keweenaw Peninsula, and the Upper Peninsula in general. The work done so far has shown that Black Americans were more active agents in the 'Story of Copper' than previously thought, and that their impact on the foundational years of these mining communities, based on what has been recovered, warrants future research. Further research is needed to have a better understanding of how the lives of black Americans on the Keweenaw during this period compared to the lives of other ethnic groups. More archaeological research is also needed to explore the differences between classes on the Keweenaw at this point in history; the Keweenaw is rich with potential comparative histories, and an in depth investigation into how different ethnic groups lived there would be useful for expanding the cultural history of the region. A full excavation into the Verdine home sites is suggested, as well as an archaeological survey at the site of the old Phoenix Hotel, which still has some structural remains standing following a fire in 1911 (Monette 1978a). The hotel was owned by Colonel William Wright and his family

until 1896, when it was bought by a “Mr. Daley”, whose family still owns the property. In 1896 it was self-declared as “without doubt...the best hotel in the country” (Unknown 1896). William Wright employed several black Americans during the 1860s, at least 12 according to the 1860 census, many of whom came from southern states (1860), however, many of the same names do not appear in the 1870 census(1870b), though there is an increase in black Americans listed in the census in other areas of the Keweenaw, especially Houghton, post-Civil War(1870b, 1880).

It is also recommended that oral histories be conducted with descendants of the Verdine family. While some of this work has been done, there is more to uncover, including the possible of correspondence between Mary Amelia and one of her cousins for several years, up until her death in 1931. These letters are rumored by descendants to contain information on Mary Amelia’s daily life throughout the early 20th century, up until her death in 1931.

Furthermore, there is a hand written 5-page letter from Pete Verdine, to his 1 year old daughter, which has proven difficult to transcribe, but with the right eye, may reveal much about who he was, and how he hoped his daughter to live during his incarceration. It is known that in this letter, he leaves her his property, including land, horses, and wagons, and not his future wife, Martha Lorasch. This letter is included in the court records relating to his manslaughter charge⁴ (1857). It is likely that he left the property to his daughter, as Houghton County would not acknowledge the

⁴ Though the Michigan State Prison at Jackson will declare it a 2nd degree murder.

relationship between Pete and Martha, declaring their relationship to be one of seduction and unlawful cohabitation.

Out of respect for the dead, it is suggested that the unmarked graves of Pete and Martha Verdine be located using ground penetrating radar, properly marked, and made part of the Eagle River Cemetery. The general location of the graves is well known from the historical record (Germain 1987, Phillips 1917), and based on the information given, can likely be identified by walking the grounds and observing the grave-like imprints just outside of the cemetery. Descendants of the Verdines have stated they would be interested in having this work conducted, however, it would need to be approved by the Village of Eagle River, and would require a restructuring of the current Cemetery. A more probable solution would be to erect a historical marker somewhere with the cemetery, which details the story of the Verdine family, and explains the social context of period, which permitted them from being buried in proper plots.

The role black Americans have played in the Copper Country since the land was taken from the Ojibwe is a vital piece of history that needs to be examined in order to make the history of this predominantly white region more inclusive. With recent events that have occurred on Michigan Tech's campus, and across the country, including acts of hate speech (Bethencourt 2015), it is important to recognize and celebrate the history of the black Americans that helped make the region what it is today. Future phases of archaeological work should be able to provide more insight into the question of how Black Americans contributed to the region's early social

history. There is enough evidence in this first phase to warrant further investigation, and suggest that Black Americans were active agents in communities that were evolving culturally amongst both local and national turbulence.

Future phases of archaeological survey should be compared to similar sites that were home to populations of free Black Americans in the antebellum and Black Americans in general in the post-civil war era. These sites include the work done by Paul Shackel at New Philadelphia in Illinois (Shackel 2011), Shackel's and Paul Mullins' work in Annapolis, Maryland (Shackel, Mullins, and Warner 1998b, Mullins 1999), Edward Gonzalez-Tennant's work in Florida, in places such as Rosewood, Kelly Dixon's work in Virginia City, Nevada (Dixon 2005b), and James Deetz's work at Parting Ways in Plymouth, Massachusetts (Deetz 2010). This comparative analysis will help provide further insight into how Black Americans lived and adapted to life as free citizens of the United States. Shackel's work in New Philadelphia in Illinois provides insight into how Black-Americans lived in the free north. Shackel and Mullins' work in Annapolis is an important work that details how historical archaeology can be used to recover how capitalism helped shape emerging communities, particularly Black-American neighborhoods. Gonzalez-Tennant's research is important to look at for comparative details about how public and private spheres were managed by Black-Americans in the post-Civil War era. Dixon's work in Virginia City is unique because, like the work done here in Eagle River, it recovered many details about a little known Black community in a mining region dominated by white history. Lastly, the work of Deetz at Parting Ways has been instrumental in

its influence on Historical Archaeologists, particularly when it comes to looking at how Black-Americans used material culture as both a means of assimilation, but also as a means of resistance. Future phases will require comparative data from the sites mentioned above, and others that are available, to help frame what is recovered on a larger cultural scale.

The investigation into the roles of race, gender, and childhood are important aspects of the archaeological record, and should not be overlooked in future investigations into archaeological sites of the Keweenaw, or the Upper Peninsula. Understanding the role of Black Americans using the work conducted by the likes of Orser, Wilkie, and Mullins' will be crucial to formulating a detailed interpretation of the lives of early Houghton and Keweenaw County residents.; these scholars have provided important frameworks for identifying racial identity in the archaeological record, as well as evaluating how material culture and race were related to the growth of capitalism in the United States. The framework of Black Feminist Archaeology as presented by Whitney Battle-Baptiste should be implemented, along with the framework for childhood archaeology by Jane Eva Baxter. The two latter frameworks will be important in continuing to tell the story of Martha Lorasch-Verdine and Mary Ameilia Verdine, as they represent a population of people that has been overlooked by most archaeologists.

Restoring the voices of the invisible actors of history will not be an easy task, as history is often viewed as objective and static by the public. Public history and public archaeology play a vital role in establishing new elements of historicity – too

often the public, including legislators and administrators are content with accepting history as it has already been written. Michel-Rolph Trouillot wrote:

Professional historians have made good use of the creation of the past as a distinct entity, a creation that paralleled the growth of their own practice. That practice, in turn, reinforced the belief that made it possible. The more historians wrote about past worlds, the more The Past became real as a separate world. But as various crises of our time impinge upon identities thought to be long established or silent, we move closer to the era when professional historians will have to position themselves more clearly within the present, lest politicians, magnates, or ethnic leaders alone write history for them (Trouillot and Carby 2015).

The public will need to become active with history and archaeology, sharing their stories of Black Americans on the Keweenaw, in order for the veil of invisibility to be fully lifted from the records. Pete Verdone and his family were treated as novelties by many in the historical record (Germain 1987, Phillips 1917), noting their difference, but not their contributions. Census and employment records show that Black Americans were a present ethnoracial group on the Keweenaw from the very start of the Copper Boom, through at least the strike of 1913.

Archaeologists also need to be aware of their own bias and personal interests in shaping history. Archaeologists often blame lack of interest or education in certain aspects of our work from the public as a sign of ignorance (McGuire 2008b), though it needs to be considered that the public have different interest in and ways of knowing the past (McGuire 2008b). Overtime, the history of the Keweenaw has been viewed primarily through the lenses of Finnish and Cornish heritage, (Kaunonen 2010, 2009) as the public chose ethnic groups to represent them. The lack of Black history in the major historical texts should not be seen as an ignorant oversight, but instead seen as

an invitation to have a discourse, one that will educate both the community and the archaeologists.

Appendix A: Archaeological Catalogs

<u>Bloc</u> <u>k 19</u>	<u>E0N0</u>	<u>35cm</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>Frag</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>brown, curved</u>	<u>3.2 cm</u>	<u>1</u> <u>8</u> <u>0</u> <u>0</u>
<u>Bl</u> <u>oc</u> <u>k</u> <u>19</u>	<u>E0N0</u>	<u>35cm</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>frag</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>dark green</u>	<u>2cmx2.5c</u> <u>m</u>	<u>1</u> <u>8</u> <u>0</u> <u>0</u>
<u>Bl</u> <u>oc</u> <u>k</u> <u>19</u>	<u>E0N0</u>	<u>35cm</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>CE</u>	<u>WIE</u>	<u>white</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>white, slight curve</u>	<u>2cmx.5cm</u>	
<u>Bl</u> <u>oc</u> <u>k</u> <u>19</u>	<u>E0N7</u>	<u>49 cm</u>	<u>A</u> <u>C</u>	<u>CH</u>	<u>FE</u>	<u>nail</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>square, cut</u>	<u>1.5cm</u> <u>long</u>	<u>1</u> <u>8</u> <u>1</u> <u>0</u>
<u>Bl</u> <u>oc</u> <u>k</u> <u>19</u>	<u>E0N7</u>	<u>49cm</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>frag</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>clear, thin, flat, float?</u>	<u>1.5 cm</u> <u>long</u>	<u>1</u> <u>8</u> <u>4</u> <u>8</u>
<u>Bl</u> <u>oc</u> <u>k</u> <u>19</u>	<u>E0N1</u>	<u>50 cm</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>CE</u>	<u>PW</u>	<u>transfer</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>blue and white</u> <u>transfer</u>	<u>3.6cm x</u> <u>1.4 cm</u>	<u>1</u> <u>7</u> <u>8</u> <u>4</u>

Bl oc k 19	E0N1	50cm	KI	GL	GL	frag	1	none	thick, rounded	2cm x 1.3 cm	
Bl oc k 19	E1N7	55cm	A C	CH	FE	nail	1	none	square cut,	5cm	
Bl oc k 19	E1N7	55cm	A C	CH	FE	bracket	1	none	2 holes	5.5 cm	
Bl oc k 19	E1N7	55cm	KI	GL	GL	frag	11	none	clear		
Bl oc k 19	E1N7	55cm	A G			cherry pit	1	none	half of a cherry pit		
Bl oc k 19	E1N7	55cm	KI	CE	SW	rhinish	1	none	rhinish blue and grey sherd	2cm x1.25cm	1 8 6 0
Bl oc k 19	E1N7	55cm	KI	CE	CW	creamwa re	3	none	white cream ware frags, 1rim		1 2 2 1
Bl oc k 19	E1N7	55cm	KI	CE	WIE	white frag	1	none			

BI oc k 19	<u>E1N7</u>	<u>55cm</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>CE</u>	<u>FW</u>	<u>red FW,</u> <u>salt</u> <u>glazed</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>red, salt glazed</u>	<u>.75 cm x</u> <u>.5 cm</u>	
BI oc k 19	<u>E1N7</u>	<u>55cm</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>CE</u>	<u>FW</u>	<u>thick</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>burnt</u>		
BI oc k 19	<u>E1N6</u>	<u>Surface</u>	<u>A</u> <u>C</u>	<u>CH</u>	<u>FE</u>	<u>frag,</u> <u>strips</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>wrought iron</u>	<u>4cm x 1</u> <u>cm,</u> <u>2.25cm x</u> <u>1cm</u>	
BI oc k 19	<u>E1N6</u>	<u>Surface</u>	<u>A</u> <u>C</u>	<u>CH</u>	<u>FE</u>	<u>iron</u> <u>scrap</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>burnt, round</u>		
BI oc k 19	<u>E1N1</u>	<u>49 cm</u>	<u>A</u> <u>C</u>	<u>CH</u>	<u>FE</u>	<u>cap</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>Hexagon screw cap,</u> <u>cast iron, modern?</u>		
BI oc k 19	<u>E1N0</u>	<u>50 cm</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>bottle top</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>bottle neck</u>	<u>4 cm</u> <u>long, 1</u> <u>cm</u> <u>diameter</u>	
BI oc k 19	<u>E2N7</u>	<u>60 cm</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>bottle</u> <u>neck</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>clear bottle neck</u>	<u>2.5 cm</u> <u>long, 1.25</u> <u>diameter</u>	
BI oc k 19	<u>E2N7</u>	<u>60cm</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>frag</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>aqua colored, thick,</u> <u>slight curve</u>	<u>3cm x</u> <u>3cm</u>	<u>1</u> <u>8</u> <u>5</u> <u>0</u>

Bl oc k 19	E2N7	60cm	KI	GL	GL	frag	2	none	clear		
Bl oc k 19	E2N7	60cm	KI	GL	GL	frag	1	none	aqua colored, thin frag		1 8 5 0
Bl oc k 19	E2N7	60cm	A C	CH	FE	nail	1	none	wire nail, round with point	3.5 cm long	1 8 9 0
Bl oc k 19	E2N7	60cm	A C	CH	FE	strip	1	none	wrought iron strip	5.5 cm x 3 cm	
Bl oc k 19	E6N1	50cm	KI			cap	1	none	plastic cap, modern		
Bl oc k 19	E6N1	50cm	A C		FE	frag	1	none	wrought iron frag		
Bl oc k 19	E6N1	50cm	KI		CU	rim	1	none	crescent shaped copper rim with perforations	5cm x 1 cm	
Bl oc k 19	E6N1	50cm	KI	GL	GL	frag	1	none	thick opaque frag		1 8 7 0

<u>BI</u> <u>oc</u> <u>k</u> <u>19</u>	<u>E0N6</u>	<u>58cm</u>	<u>A</u> <u>G</u>			<u>half</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>half of a cherry pit</u>		
<u>BI</u> <u>oc</u> <u>k</u> <u>19</u>	<u>E0N6</u>	<u>58cm</u>	<u>T</u> <u>B</u>			<u>pipe stem</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>1.2 cm tobacco pipe stem</u>		
<u>BI</u> <u>oc</u> <u>k</u> <u>19</u>	<u>E0N6</u>	<u>58cm</u>	<u>F</u> <u>A</u>	<u>BN</u>	<u>BN</u>	<u>cut bone</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>bos taurus humerus</u>		
<u>BI</u> <u>oc</u> <u>k</u> <u>19</u>	<u>E0N6</u>	<u>58cm</u>	<u>F</u> <u>A</u>		<u>SH</u>	<u>snail shell</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>1 x 1.5 cm snail shell</u>		
<u>BI</u> <u>oc</u> <u>k</u> <u>19</u>	<u>E0N6</u>	<u>58cm</u>	<u>A</u> <u>C</u>	<u>CH</u>	<u>FE</u>	<u>iron frags</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>flat rusted wrought iron frags</u>		
<u>BI</u> <u>oc</u> <u>k</u> <u>19</u>	<u>E0N6</u>	<u>58cm</u>	<u>F</u> <u>R</u>	<u>WO</u>	<u>WO</u>	<u>charcoal</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>3 small burnt pieces of charcoal</u>		
<u>BI</u> <u>oc</u> <u>k</u> <u>19</u>	<u>E0N6</u>	<u>58cm</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>CE</u>	<u>IS</u>	<u>iron stone</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>iron stone frag</u>		
<u>BI</u> <u>oc</u> <u>k</u> <u>19</u>	<u>E0N6</u>	<u>58cm</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>CE</u>	<u>PW</u>	<u>frag</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>pearlware frag transfer print</u>		

Bl oc k 19	<u>E0N6</u>	<u>58cm</u>	<u>K1</u>	<u>CE</u>	<u>SW</u>	<u>rim frag</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>salt glazed stoneware</u>		
Bl oc k 12	<u>E0N6</u>	<u>58cm</u>	<u>K1</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>frags</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>opaque rim frags</u>		
Bl oc k 19	<u>E0N6</u>	<u>58cm</u>	<u>K1</u>	<u>GI</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>frags</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>olive green thick frags, small curving</u>		
Bl oc k 12	<u>E1N7</u>	<u>55cm</u>	<u>K1</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>frag</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>dark green</u>		
Bl oc k 12	<u>E6N1</u>	<u>50cm</u>	<u>K1</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>frag</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>clear, flat glass frags</u>		
Bl oc k 12	<u>E6N1</u>	<u>50CM</u>	<u>K1</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>frag</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>light blue flat frag</u>		
Bl oc k 19	<u>E6N1</u>	<u>50cm</u>	<u>K1</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>GL</u>	<u>frag</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>none</u>	<u>dark amber medium thickness</u>		<u>1</u> <u>8</u> <u>5</u> <u>0</u>

Appendix B: Census Records

The tables below provide a complete list of individuals listed as black in Houghton and Keweenaw counties in 1860 and 1870 (1860, 1870b). There is a major decline in 1870 for both counties, which may indicate that many people moved south for employment after the war ended. Several individuals, such as Henry Hart, are listed as “white” rather than “black” in the 1870 census. It is also of interesting note that the only Verdine listed as “black” in the 1870 and 1880 censuses of Keweenaw County is a “John Verdine” who has a similar birthdate to Pete Verdine, however, his place of birth is listed as Florida rather than Louisiana. It is possible that Pete went by John after he returned from his incarceration.

1860 Houghton County Census, Individuals Listed as “Black”

Name	Location	Birth Year	Birth Place	Sex
John Anderson	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1825	Alabama	Male
Charles Baker	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1810	Michigan	Male
Joseph Baker	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1851	Wisconsin	Male

William Baker	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1852	Wisconsin	Male
Neritt Baker	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1854	Wisconsin	Femal e
John Bates	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1810	Virginia	Male
George Brown	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1835	Canada	Male
Mary Brutler	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1835	Ohio	Femal e
Harriet Butler	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1840	Tennessee	Femal e
Sarah Carocy	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1846		Femal e
Francis Chase	Portage, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1835	Ohio	Male
George Cook	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1832	Wisconsin	Male
George Cook	Portage, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1838	Ohio	Male

Jane Courton	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1827	Kentucky	Female
Louisa Curter	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1826	District of Columbia	Female
John W Curter	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1849	Michigan	Male
Sarah Delenautt	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1819	Louisiana	Male
Charls Delenautt	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1838	Louisiana	Male
William Glavins	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1818	Ohio	Male
Rebecca Glewes	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1835	Virginia	Female
Jane Jeffry	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1830	Virginia	Female
Joseph Jeffry	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1836	Ohio	Male

Hellen Miller	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1811	Virginia	Femal e
Sarah B Miller	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1844	Michigan	Femal e
Major Morphy	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1832	Wisconsin	Male
John Nolland	Portage, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1839	Ohio	Male
Samuel Ralph	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1837	Kentucky	Male
Francis Randolph	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1820	Pennsylvania	Male
Caroline Randolph	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1828	Maryland	Femal e
Francis Randolph	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1854	Michigan	Femal e
Erastus Randolph	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1855	Michigan	Male
Abraham Randolph	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1859	Michigan	Male

Daniel Reed	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1835	Kentucky	Male
Rebecca Richmond	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1820	Michigan	Female
Henry Richmond	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1823	New Jersey	Male
William Thomas	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1839	Ohio	Male
Peter Vandine	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1819	Ohio	Male
Sarah Vandine	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1820	Ohio	Female
Margaret Vandine	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1830	Ohio	Female
Edward Vandine	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1849	Ohio	Male
Harriet Wells	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1821	Kentucky	Female

Francis Wells	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1838	Kentucky	Female
Mary White	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1840	Ohio	Female
George Wilson	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1817	Virginia	Male
George Wilson	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1817	Virginia	Male
John Wilson	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1820	Ohio	Male
Peter Wilson	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1825	Virginia	Male
Lucurcus Wilson	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1835	Michigan	Male
Lycurgas Wilson	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1838	Ohio	Male
Harry Wood	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1832	Ohio	Male

John Abelly	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1832	Hannover	Male
Frank Able	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1819	Preußen	Male
George Abraham	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1838	England	Male
John Acuingick	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1832	Michigan	Male
Eliza Acuingick	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1838	Michigan	Femal e
Josette Acuingick	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1857	Michigan	Femal e
Michael Acuingick	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1859	Michigan	Male
John Adam	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1815	Preußen	Male
Arnold Adams	Copper, Houghton, Michiga n	abt 1824	Preußen	Male
John Adams	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1834	England	Male

John Adams	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1835	England	Male
William Adock	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1840	Ireland	Male
Naylard Agond	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1832	Canada	Male
Eliza Agond	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1838	Canada	Female
Elison Agond	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1858	Michigan	Male
Delia Agond	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1859	Michigan	Female
Charles Aken	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1838	England	Male
David Akir	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1832	Canada	Male
Hactof Akir	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1838	Canada	Male

Rachael Alber	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1827	Weidenberg	Female
John Alber	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1827	Weidenberg	Male
John Alexander	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1830	Hamburg	Male
Menia Alexander	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1834	Brighton	Female
Menia Alexander	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1852	Michigan	Female
Ogeman Allan	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1831	Canada	Male
Mary M Allanson	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1830	New York	Female
James Allanson	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1830	Ohio	Male
James M Allanson	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1849	Ohio	Male
Ellen Allanson	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1855	Michigan	Female

Mary Allanson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1857	Michigan	Femal e
Willibe Allanson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1859	Michigan	Male
Mary Allen	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1839	Maine	Femal e
Lewis Allen	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1841	Canada	Male
John Allenton	Portage, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1827	Ireland	Male
George Alsbar	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michiga n	abt 1825	Weidenberg	Male
Caroline Alsbar	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michiga n	abt 1830	Weidenberg	Femal e
Henry Alsbar	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michiga n	abt 1858	Michigan	Male

Catherine Alsbar	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michiga n	abt 1859	Michigan	Femal e
Peter Alt	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1835	Preußen	Male
John Alt	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1839	Preußen	Male
George Alverd	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1836	Canada	Male
Peter Aman	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1840	Ireland	Male
George Amart	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1822	Brighton	Male
Sarah A Amart	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1825	Brighton	Femal e
William Amart	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1833	New York	Male
William Amart	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1855	Michigan	Male

George Amart	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1858	Michigan	Male
Francis Ambrigash	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1812	Michigan	Male
Michael Ambrigash	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1840	Michigan	Male
Mary Ann Ambrigash	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1842	Michigan	Femal e
Henry Ambrose	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1830	Canada	Male
Adam Ambusder	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1822	Preußen	Male
John Amen	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1835	Bavaria	Male
Waterman Ames	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1830	Baden	Male
Julia Ames	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1842	New York	Femal e
Thomas Amley	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1821	England	Male

Richard Anderbolt	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1829	Baden	Male
John Anderson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1830	Bavaria	Male
William Anderson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1831	Ireland	Male
Caroline Anderson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1835	England	Femal e
Sarah Anderson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1853	Wisconsin	Femal e
William Anderson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1857	Wisconsin	Male
Emily Anderson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1859	Wisconsin	Femal e
Thomas Andrew	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michiga n	abt 1815	England	Male
Eliza Andrews	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michiga n	abt 1814	Baden	Femal e

James W Andrews	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1815	Preußen	Male
David Andrews	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michiga n	abt 1832	England	Male
George Andrews	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1832	Pennsylvania	Male
Henry Andrews	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1832	Ireland	Male
Joseph Andrews	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1832	England	Male
James Andrews	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1833	Pennsylvania	Male
Mary A Andrews	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1835	England	Femal e
William Andrews	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1835	Pennsylvania	Male
Joseph A Andrews	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1854	England	Male

William Andrews	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1857	Michigan	Male
Louis Andubert	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1810	Canada	Male
Edward Anglin	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1831	Canada	Male
John Annons	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1842	Canada	Male
Annold Ansman	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1835	Preußen	Male
Charles Anta	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1832	Preußen	Male
Mary Antellick	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1842	Michigan	Femal e
John Antoine	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1810	Preußen	Male
Sylvester Antoine	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1830	Preußen	Male
William Aplan	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1823	England	Male

Elizabeth Aplan	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1826	England	Female
William Aplan	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1848	Michigan	Male
James Aplan	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1851	Michigan	Male
George Archer	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1840	England	Male
John Ardman	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1829	Preußen	Male
Joseph Ardman	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1834	Preußen	Male
Joseph Argen	Portage, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1836	England	Male
Fredrick Argreth	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1819	Preußen	Male
Frank Arle	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1835	Preußen	Male
Michael Arnell	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1841	Canada	Male

Rodolph Arnold	Portage, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1830	Canada	Male
Samuel Arnold	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1830	Bavaria	Male
Henry Arnold	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1832	Ohio	Male
Henry Arnold	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michiga n	abt 1834	Ohio	<u>Male</u>
Daniel Arnold	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1836	Canada	Male
George Arnold	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michiga n	abt 1838	Ohio	Male
Steven Arnold	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1838	Canada	Male
John Arnst	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1836	Preußen	Male
Benhalt Arnst	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1839	Preußen	Male

Mary Arnst	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1840	Preußen	Female
John Arnst	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1859	Michigan	Male
Barbery Arntz	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1830	Preußen	Female
Peter Arntz	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1830	Preußen	Male
William Arntz	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1855	Preußen	Male
Martin Arntz	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1857	Wisconsin	Male
Marcus Arntz	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1859	Wisconsin	Male
John Art	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1829	Bavaria	Male
William Arten	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1832	Canada	Male
Samuel Artian	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1831	Baden	Male

John Artick	Houghton, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1840	Preußen	Male
Nicholas Artoll	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1830	England	Male
Richard Artop	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1832	England	Male
Nancy Asher	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1818	Michigan	Female
Ann Asher	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1838	Michigan	Female
Daniel Asher	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1840	Michigan	Male
David Ashkaborsh	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1837	Michigan	Male
Jane Ashkaborsh	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1840	Michigan	Female
Edward Ashkaborsh	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1854	Michigan	Male
Susan Ashkaborsh	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1855	Michigan	Female

Mary A Ashkaborsh	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1857	Michigan	Femal e
Remington Ashley	Eagle Harbor, Houghton, Michiga n	abt 1834	Pennsylvania	Male
Joseph Asten	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1858	Michigan	Male
Casper Asten	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1859	Michigan	Male
Henry Asualt	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1839	Weidenberg	Male
Joseph Atkinson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1822	England	Male
Margaret Atkinson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1827	Ireland	Femal e
Margaret E Atkinson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1854	Ireland	Femal e
Mary A Atkinson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1856	Ireland	Femal e

Emily C Atkinson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1858	Michigan	Femal e
Joseph Atkinson	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1860	Michigan	Male
Charlotte Atta	Portage, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1824	Preußen	Femal e
Charles Atta	Portage, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1825	Preußen	Male
Eliza Attikewell	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1825	Wisconsin	Femal e
Moses Attikewell	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1830	Wisconsin	Male
Nancy Attikewell	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1850	Wisconsin	Femal e
Esther Attikewell	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1855	Michigan	Femal e
Charlotte Attikewell	Le Ance, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1857	Michigan	Femal e
John Atwood	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1806	Vermont	Male

Dustin Atwood	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1831	New York	Male
Charles Atwood	Hancock, Houghton, Michig an	abt 1840	Ohio	Male
Phoebe Atwood	Houghton, Houghton, Mich igan	abt 1842	Michigan	Femal e

Table 3 1860 Houghton Census: Individuals Listed as Black

1870 Houghton County Census

Name	Location	Birth Year	Birth Place	Sex
Robert Booker	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1848	Michigan	Male
Erasmus Boyde	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1825	Maryland	Male
Jane Boyde	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1834	Maryland	Femal e
Amelia Henderson	Calumet, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1848	Michigan	Femal e
Ida Powells	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1855	Maryland	Femal e
George W Talbot	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1848	Kentucky	Male

Table 4 1870 Houghton Census: Individuals listed as Black

1880 Houghton County Census

Name	Location	Birth Year	Birth Place
Rosa Anderson	Schoolcraft, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1845	Michigan
William Black	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1858	Canada
William Forrester	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1859	New York
John Maeska	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1860	Michigan
Caraline Randolph	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1823	Maryland

Francis Randolph	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1858	Ohio
Rebacca Randolph	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1863	Ohio
Charles Randolph	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1866	Ohio
Appleton Richey	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1845	Cana
Lilly A. Richey	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1866	Michigan
Lulua C. Richey	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1871	Michigan
Cora F. Richey	Portage, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1872	Michigan
John Washington	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1845	Michigan
Anna Washington	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1848	Canada
Lizzie Washington	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1866	Canada
James H. Washington	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1868	Canada
Charlotte N. Washington	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1870	Canada
George Washington	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1872	Canada
William Washington	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1874	Canada
Ralph Washington	Hancock, Houghton, Michigan	abt 1876	Canada

Table 5 1880 Census: Individuals listed as Black

Appendix C: Regional Linguistic History

The Upper Peninsula has a rich and unique dialect, and part of the work this thesis set out to do was to determine if African American vernacular English had any influence on the language of Upper Peninsula residents. African Americans have been in the Upper Peninsula for just as long as European-Americans, and have played a role in influencing other areas of culture; for example, introducing the sport of Dog Sled Racing to the region (Bradley-Holiday 2009). Literature on the topic of African American Vernacular English (henceforth, AAVE) in Michigan's Upper Peninsula is non-existent, however, several studies have been conducted on the Yooper dialect, notably by Remlinger (Remlinger 2009) and Simon (Simon 2005). Much work has been conducted on AAVE elsewhere, though due to the atrocities of slavery, most of this comes post-bellum, the first significant attempt at collecting authentic narratives through ethnographic-like approaches was done by William Still in 1872 (Finseth 2007). Still, a free born African American from Boston, collected the stories of the enslaved escaping on the Underground Railroad, which he helped to coordinate. While these stories provide great insight into the horrors of the American Slavery Institution, they provide little linguistic insight; they are all written in Standard English, albeit with occasional spelling errors.

The representation of 19th century African American speech is problematic from any angle, as seen in Shirley Wilson Logan's analysis of Sojourner Truth's "*Ar'nt/Aren't/Ain't I A Woman Speech*" (Logan 1995). Originally, abolitionists

published Truth's 1851 speech in a voice that reflected what they imagined the enslaved's idiolect to be. Frances Gage, publishing the speech in 1862, presents Truth as passionate, but not eloquent. Opening with "Well, chilern, whar dar is so much racket dar must be something out o' kilter" (Gage 1863), as opposed to the 1976 version done by Karlyn Kohrs Campbell which begins "Well, children, where this is so much racket there must be something out o' kilter" (Campbell 1989). While there is much difference between these two translations, it is of interesting note that both use the contracted form of "of"; Campbell, in her polishing of the older Gage version, left traces of eye-dialect in, perhaps to indicate Southern Vernacular English (SVE). Without a recording of Sojourner Truth's 1851 speech, or any other spoken words, knowing what was heard in Akron, Ohio that day is impossible. Dennis Preston has written several papers on the problems with eye-dialect in the quest for an authentic voice, saying that the problem begins when linguistic accuracy is sought, but linguistic sophistication is not used in the quest (Preston 1982). While Gage certainly did not apply any level of what would be considered linguistic sophistication to the contemporary, Campbell certainly made an attempt to apply at least a pseudo-sophistication to Truth's words – leaving only small hints of what could have possibly been a non-standard dialect in the form of 2 contracted words (o' and 'cause). Why Campbell would differ so greatly from the Gage transcription, yet be confident that those two words would have been pronounced in such a way, is unknown, however, it raises the question, why bother to infer any dialect at all? Interestingly, whatever dialect Sojourner Truth would have had, it would likely not have been similar to

AAVE or even SVE, as she was born in the North, and her first language was Dutch. When interpretation the value of the transcription of her speech, one must first consider what the goals of the transcriber were (Siebler 2010). Gage, transcribing in the mid-19th century, would likely have been targeting a wealthy, white, male audience of abolitionists, who while may have had a noble cause in freedom for all, also still looked down upon both African Americans and women, and the presentation of Sojourner Truth as a speaker of non-standard English would have come across as less threatening. To many abolitionists, freedom did not mean equality⁵, and there was still a desire for a power hierarchy which placed the white male firmly on top (Stewart 2006).

Dennis Preston has been exploring the folklorists desire to transcribe in eye-dialect for decades, particularly when the transcriber wants to denote ethnicity or socio-economic status. This phenomenon has been dubbed the ‘Li’l Abner Syndrome’, in which intelligibility remains intact, but a false impression of the speaker is created (Preston 1985). When the WPA collected the narratives of the former enslaved in the 1930s and early 1940s, the majority of the transcription was done through eye-dialect, which only condescends to the informant, failing to capture any phonological differences. In an interview with former enslaved Kate Dudley Baumont, the transcriber wrote “I wuz very young when freedom come” (Baumont 1941), though there was no reasoning to write “was” as “wuz”, as phonetically they are the same.

⁵ Many northern abolitionists were influenced by what historian James Brewer Stewart refers to as “Bible Politics” – voting how they would pray, and campaigning for what they thought would earn the most votes.

The alteration of the ‘as’ to ‘uz’ was a judgement call made by the transcriber, and one that would stigmatize Kate Dudley Baumont as a lower-class English speaker for as long as the record exists. Other narratives recorded by the WPA, such as the one of Anna Maria Coffee, age 89 at the time of interview, are written with dialectical respellings – which could potentially be of use to the current research, but the radical changes that must have occurred between emancipation and the time of interview nearly 80 years later must be taken into consideration. Age 91 at the time of the interview, Anna Maria Coffee lived only a small portion of her life pre-emancipation, giving her over 8 decades of life opportunities to shape and mold her own linguistic history that the generation before hers would not have had on a plantation ⁶. To study the eye-dialect presented as her voice as an indicator of the antebellum AAVE ignores all synchronic evidence of change. Furthermore, the WPA ex-slave narratives have been criticized by historians for statistically misrepresenting the geographical impact of the American Slavery System, as the places where most of the interviews were conducted did not match the geographic distribution of enslaved peoples during the antebellum era (Shaw 2003). In the cases of Baumont and Coffee, they were being interviewed in Ohio, a state which never allowed slavery. The transcriber wrote for Anna Maria Coffee that she said “I doan known my real age, kaze ever time I wux sold dey made my age jest what dey wanted it”(Coffee 1941). In this case, the spelling

⁶ In the early days of the American Slavery System, a consistent dialect may have been difficult to pinpoint as there was a constant influx of newly enslaved people speaking a variety of languages, and linguistic unity was frowned upon by the plantation owners.

of “was” as “wux” does more than simply demote the narrator’s social standing, it could possibly give a clue into what has shaped their dialect. The literacy problem of whether to use eye-dialect or not is problematic, and without any true consensus Albert Tricomi addressed the problem saying that when transcribing formerly enslaved African American

“speech uniformly in Standard English is to affirm, in effect, an ahistorical equality of condition between the racialized groups we call ‘black’ and ‘white,’ while ignoring cultural difference and the distinctive oppressive history of blacks as slaves, the very point nineteenth-century abolitionists were laboring to establish. Yet to render such speech in dialect, especially eye, intimates an attitude of condescension or at least superiority, even though the transcriber’s goal may have been to record ethnographically the distinctiveness of ‘black’ speech” (Tricomi 2006).

Tricomi argues that when Standard English is used to represent the authentic words of a slave narrative is that it makes the readers’ job easier, allowing them to focus on the content rather than the voice (Tricomi 2006).

George Phillip Krapp, working in the 1920s, recognized the exaggerated use of misspellings and grammatical errors to indicate a “southernness” in literary works, and applied the term “General Low Colloquial” to the literary device (Krapp 1925). Attempts have been made at utilizing written sources as authentic linguistic sources, while still recognizing their damning

flaws, such as the method proposed by Sumner Ives, which “takes advantage of data collected by linguistic geographers and assumes that a literary dialect is authentic if a significant number of features used in a literary source are also found in the corresponding present-day dialect” (Ellis 1994). The Ives model may work in some cases, however, it is very problematic when applied to ante-bellum and post-bellum; African Americans, when considering the effects of diaspora, as well as the societal limitations placed on the culture by oppressive white forces. Even the abolitionists of the 19th century played a role in the oppression of African Americans as their transcriptions of events such as Sojourner Truth’s speech in Akron use words to paint a picture of a person who, no matter what, was not quite like them. Ninety years after the Akron speech, transcribers for the WPA – not trained linguists or folklorists – found the need to differentiate the speech of the former enslaved African Americans from that of their own. The black words may have sounded the same as their white words, they certainly had the same meaning, yet the transcribers felt a need to indicate there was something different about the narrator. In most cases, eye dialect does little more than give the impression of an illiterate speaker (Strand 2006). The use, or abuse, of eye-dialect in the WPA transcriptions also spark a debate on the enregisterment of a singular African American dialect – rather than multiple regional dialects as the white population is allowed. As the impression of the illiterate southern

slave continued to be preserved by white folklorists and WPA workers, the etic register expands⁷ (Agha 2005), and without any emic perspectives available, it is difficult to make an argument.

Examining the WPA slave narratives at the level of gender, it appears, if the transcribers were indeed attempting to show a difference, that males were transcribed with significantly less linguistic sophistication than females. The excerpt below from the interview with 93-year-old William Emmons, requires a significant amount of interpretation on behalf of the reader.

Atter mother en I wuz sep'rated, I went to see her onct in a while. I had four sisters en three brothers but I nebber knew much bout em. One my brudders an' I went to de wah togedder (Emmons 1941).

An interview with 86-year-old Clark Heard is perhaps the most interesting of the WPA interviews, with the transcription jumping between Standard English and Eye-Dialect often in the same sentence:

I was born in August, 1851, on a 300-acre plantation in Troup County, Georgia. De plantation was five mile from Wes' Point an' jes' twelve mile from La Grange -- dat's de county seat of Troup County. My father was Amos Heard, born in Charleston, South

⁷ Emic and Etic register were my own interpretations, not Agha's.

Carolina. Don' know what my mother, Delilah, was born --
somewhar in Virginny (Heard 1941).

The lack of consistency in the transcription makes the linguistic authenticity difficult to ascertain, leaving contemporary readers not knowing what was an authentic voice, and what was personal judgement. The transcribers are most likely misrepresenting the African American narrators, a process explored visually by Spike Lee in his 2001 film *Bamboozled*. An exploration of misrepresentation of African Americans in the media, the process of naturalization of racial difference employed by Lee could be applied to linguistics. The argument in *Bamboozled* is that the presentation of differences between African Americans and European-Americans in the media are natural, and not cultural⁸, the same argument that was used by supporters of the American slavery system (Parks 2004). Misrepresentation of the narrators in the case of the WPA interviews creates an imaginary line of demarcation between the white interviewer and the black interviewee. The presentation of the formerly enslaved African American as nearly incoherent and illiterate serves two purposes to the federally supported white-collar WPA workers: it uplifts the perceived nobility of the interviewer's actions⁹ while retaining their perceived elevated status over the interviewee. The mentality and false facade of "separate but equal" thus maintained the linguistic record. The authenticity of African American dialect in these transcriptions and in other literary pieces becomes so questionable that 19th century

⁸ The media in this fictional film, which is of course representative of how Spike Lee saw American Media in the early 21st century.

⁹ The nobility of providing a voice to the otherwise voiceless.

AAVE has more mythic qualities than historicity. 19th century white transcribers would have readers believe that New York born Dutch speaking Sojourner Truth *naturally* has more in common linguistically with southern born English speakers of African origin than she did with the white Dutch speaking population of New York¹⁰.

The question of divergence and convergence is also one of great importance when examining historic AAVE. Linguists such as William Labov are arguing that AAVE is currently diverging further from Standard English than it ever did in the antebellum period (Labov 1985). This divergence, as argued by John Rickford, increases with every generation, and their own attitudes toward black attitude and culture (Rickford and Labov 1999), with every generation seeking to be less “assimilationist” than the previous. In a study of interpreting African American teenagers in Palo Alto, California, interviewees expressed an outspoken criticism of their peers who regularly used Standard English, accusing them of wanting to be white (Rickford and Labov 1999). Anthropologists have long studied cultural groups using differences to set themselves apart from a colonial force, such as Jim Deetz’s study of colonial era American meat cutting, inferring that African Americans cut bone differently simply to make the statement that they were not the same as their white oppressors ¹¹(Deetz 2010) –a phenomena that could explain the odd dialectical choices of both

¹⁰ As would the mid 20th century WPA transcribers.

¹¹ This can of course be found in other scenarios – ceramics, household wares, not just in the cutting of meat.

the WPA transcribers working in Ohio, or of Gage's 1870s interpretation of Sojourner Truth's speech.

In an analysis of the nine understandable WPA recordings that still exist, John Myhill conducted an analysis looking for traces of modern AAVE in the spoken words of the 90-year-old speakers in the early 1940s. What his analysis found was surprising, and unfortunate for those hoping to use these recordings as an early aural source of AAVE for study: very few elements of contemporary AAVE can be found in the actual spoken words of the narrators (Myhill 1995). Noting that these recordings had many non-standard features, the difference between the speaker's dialect and standard English was not comparable to AAVE and Standard English. Not knowing what the spoken norm of the time was, it is quite possible that some "or all of these nonstandard features of AAVE were shared by nonstandard white dialects of the time, so that the decrease in frequency of these features would represent a disappearance of these features in nonstandard dialects in general rather than a convergence of black and white dialects in particular" (Myhill 1995). It is entirely possible, evidence supporting an increased divergence between AAVE and SE, such as "new grammatical features [that] seem to be developing, including the use of past perfects with simple past meaning" (Van Herk 2012) in AAVE.

In a broad history of linguistics in American history, Richard Bailey points out the difference in dialects between Bostonians and the people of

rural Massachusetts to represent a colony wide phenomenon of the development of urbane and rustic dialects (Bailey 2012), with the urbane speakers considering themselves to be the setters of the standard. The argument that Bailey seemed to be making in this work is that location, and even work environment, played more of a role in linguistic identity than one's racial or cultural background. Using the story of an African American slave named Onesimus, who was forced to work on ships docking in Boston, Bailey describes the dialectical voice found in Onesimus' writings¹² to be most similar to "the Atlantic Creole language used on shipboard and in coastal ports" (Bailey 2012). This change of dialect for the work place remains visible in the linguistic record today, most notably discussed by bell hooks on the difference between her work speech and the more comfortable speech she would use when at home or with friends (hooks 2009, 1989). The desire most individuals express in wanting to sound correct in their occupation is described as "linguistic market index" (Johnstone and Mattson 1997), and there is little reason to doubt that the phenomena could not be applied to African Americans on the 19th century American frontier.

When attempting to look at the contributions of African Americans to the Yooper dialect, the approach used by Bailey would seem to be the

¹² Born in Barbados as a slave in the 17th century, it is unknown if these writings were dictated.

most fitting, and the one that makes the least assumptions about the speaker.

The Keweenaw Peninsula, like most other regions of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, were multi-ethnic working communities, which according to the historical and archaeological record, showed signs of a progressive-for-the-time¹³ attitude. It is important to note that the Euro-American settlement of the Keweenaw was mostly European, as the mine owners preferred to use workers who had just arrived in the country, allowing them to mold the new citizens into the type of American the company wanted (Lankton 2010a).

While these companies most certainly did not have linguistic goals for their new workers, the formation of a new dialect was inevitable, as cultures converged with each other, mated, and generations passed. Cultural groups often sorted themselves but converged in the workplace and in the saloons. African Americans likely came to the area with the abolitionist mine owners and managers from Boston, and were not recruited. With strong ties to abolition, and being near multiple known Underground Railroad stations in the Upper Wisconsin, Sault St. Marie Michigan, and perhaps even Marquette Michigan (based on knowledge of Iron Mining regions being important parts of the Underground Railroad) (Laroche 2014), the Upper Peninsula of Michigan also had a need for workers skilled in iron-working, which was a skill many African Americans had acquired from their West-African ancestors (Laroche 2014). Of the early African Americans to settle

¹³ The time in question being 1845-1880, the contemporary is certainly another issue.

the Keweenaw, they were known to work in a diverse array of occupations, including as sailors, undertakers, miners, trammers, hotel maids, and at least one physician. In the small communities of the Keweenaw, Bailey's proposed "talk as you work" approach would be the most reasonable. Furthermore, the enregisterment of AAVE in these communities where African Americans would have been a small population (as high as 10% in 1860, as low as 1% by 1870) would have been a difficult feat, even if the speaker was determined. However, it is unlikely that the physician of mostly white Eagle River, African American John Peter Verdine, sought to differentiate himself from his white patients through the use of what they would have considered to be non-standard English. If anything, records have indicated that Dr. Verdine went out of his way early on (1850) to establish himself as one of them, sharing nuts and sweets with the local school children so they would not fear what the local newspaper described as his "shiny black skin" (Phillips 1916). Standing out in a crowd of European origins, language was yet another arena for the African American pioneers to stand out, and like the white dominated mining landscape, language would have also been a place of struggle (hooks 1990). As a southern African American man who was sued by the County of Houghton for unlawful cohabitation for living with his Bavarian wife and daughter, it is not a stretch to imagine that the regional white dialect was the language

of the oppressive, albeit one Dr. Verdine needed to speak if he wanted to talk to his community (Rich 1966).

Linguistic studies of the Keweenaw Peninsula have been conducted, such as the one by Beth Simon in 2001, which found that despite a shared dialect, people on the Keweenaw still maintained strong ethnic pride, claiming that “awareness of diversity and discomfort with [derogatory ethnic labels] as an expression of awareness were both part of the daily psychosocial life” (Simon 2005). In the study, Simon interviewed 22 subjects, all of whom recalled various derogatory ethnic labels (DELs) that they were called, or that they called others, but none recounted anything related to African Americans, despite census records, employment records, and photographic evidence that indicate African Americans were actively involved in the communities of the Keweenaw, from the start of the mining boom until the decline following the strike of 1913-1914. As an historical artifact, language is “an important dimension of social competition, conflict, or repositioning in contested space” (Simon 2005), making the exclusion of African Americans from these 22 white narratives of the Keweenaw’s past interesting. Would attributing any historical role to African Americans give up valuable historical real estate in the extremely crowded cultural landscape of the early American Keweenaw? An acknowledgement of historical contribution, positive or negative, is an acknowledgement of agency, something that the community, which has

become more conservative in the years since mining began to slow down, may be opting to ignore. In a culture that is dominated by the story of historic mining, connections to the massive debris that is still scattered around the land, much of which is now being taken over by the (myth of) wilderness, the landscape becomes a battleground of cultural heritages. On a critical heritage landscape such as the Keweenaw, minority groups of its past are one mine-shaft tour away from being forgotten from the historical record completely. The subjects interviewed by Beth Simon may not have mentioned the African American population because they never saw them as numerically significant competition for the same historical resources as the Finnish, Cornish, Germans, Italians, or Slovenians. The white European ascended residents of the Keweenaw, despite their differences, maintained similarities in phenotype, allowing for what Mike Hill describes as “invisibly normal” (Hill 1998). It is also worth considering that Simon’s informants dare not speak of the derogatory ethnic labels they knew of for African Americans, as the use of DELs from one skin tone to another carry a far worse social stigma than racially homogenous insults. The informants Beth Simon interviewed had lived through the civil rights era, and had seen multiple transitions in what was deemed acceptable language toward African Americans (Smith 1992), it is probable that they could have recited DELs for African Americans, yet they just refused to, even for scientific research and historical authenticity.

Appendix D: Copyright Documentation

Figure 1: Robert S. Duncanson's "Cliff Mine, Lake Superior." 1848. (F. Ward Paine, owner). The painting is in public domain.

Figure 2: Photo of Henry Hart's Tombstone.

<http://www.usgwarchives.net/mi/keweenaw/photos/tombstones/evergreen/hart19670nph.jpg>. The photo is from the USGenWeb archives, which encourages the use of its database.

Figure 3: Photo of William Gaines on his homepage. Date Unknown.

<http://www.viewsofthepast.com/topics/fr-towns-marquette.htm>

The photographer is unknown, and the picture is in the public domain.

Figure 4: View from Gaines' Rock in Marquette Michigan

<http://www.viewsofthepast.com/topics/fr-towns-marquette.htm>. Photographer unknown. The picture is in the public domain.

Figure 5: 12 Pete Verdine's Prison Record from Jackson State Prison, from the State of Michigan archives. This was written by an employee of the State of Michigan and is in public domain.

Figure 6: Pete Verdine's Prison Record from Jackson State Prison, from the State of Michigan archives. This was written by an employee of the State of Michigan and is in public domain

Figure 7: "Barbershop -Calumet." Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections. Nara Photograph Collection. Nara 42-149. Undated. Used with permission from the Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collection.

Figure 7: 1855 Map of Eagle River, showing the location of Block 19. Map used with permission from the Keweenaw County Clerk

Figure 8: Photo of the 2015 MTU Geophysics Field School on Block 21. Photo by author.

Figure 9: Volunteers digging shovel test pits at Block 21. 2015. Photo by author.

Figure 10: Map of Eagle River from Google Maps, with location of Lot 21 marked.
Map data © 2015 Google.

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