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Keweenaw National Historical Park: Heritage Partnerships in an Industrial Landscape

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KEWEENAW NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK:
HERITAGE PARTNERSHIPS IN AN INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPE

By
Scott Fisher See

A DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In Industrial Heritage and Archeology

MICHIGAN TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY

2013

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This dissertation has been approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in Industrial Heritage and Archeology.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	vii
Abstract.....	xi
CHAPTER ONE. CALUMET, MICHIGAN AND INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE	1
Preservation, Interpretation and the Power of Place.....	8
Industrial Heritage and the U.S. National Park Service	12
Alternative Industrial Heritage Models	18
Calumet, Michigan	24
CHAPTER TWO. THE NATIONAL PARK IDEA	25
The Calumet Downtown Development Authority	26
Lowell, Massachusetts	30
CLK Foresight.....	33
NPS Involvement.....	36
Calumet National Park	40
The Options Report.....	44
Secretary of the Interior Visit.....	48
North versus South	50
Legislation!.....	52
The Idea Expands	56
Disappointment and Success	58
CHAPTER THREE. DEFINING THE PARK	61
Boundaries	63
Commission.....	65
Park Name.....	67
Environmental Contamination.....	70
Growing Opposition by the NPS	71
NPS Study.....	79

Local Differences of Opinion.....	82
Study of Alternatives.....	86
The Local Preferred Option.....	93
Legislation - S. 1664 and H.R. 3227.....	100
Emory Kemp Visit.....	105
Waiting for the EPA.....	109
Senate Subcommittee Hearing on S. 1664	111
The Home Stretch	115
Success!.....	117
CHAPTER FOUR. THE KEWEENAW NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK ESTABLISHMENT ACT	121
Findings	121
Park Boundaries	124
The Role of the NPS	129
The Advisory Commission.....	135
CHAPTER FIVE. BUILDING THE PARTNERSHIP	148
William O. Fink.....	151
Park Boundaries	153
The Advisory Commission.....	154
The General Management Plan	157
Partnerships – Cooperating Sites.....	163
NPS Presence	167
Development Pressures.....	170
Government Shutdown.....	175
The Legacy of William O. Fink	178
CHAPTER SIX. DEFINING AN NPS PRESENCE	181
Revising the General Management Plan.....	182
Frank Fiala	192
Completing the GMP.....	193
Taking a Stand.....	199
Building an NPS Presence	207

Suspension	216
New Ideas: Transportation	219
Quincy Smelter.....	222
Formalizing the Partnership.....	225
Fiala’s Legacy.....	230
CHAPTER SEVEN. BALANCING THE OBJECTIVES	232
James Corless	233
Big Hairy Audacious Goals (BHAGs)	234
Keweenaw Heritage Grant Program	240
Quincy Smelter.....	244
Park Signage.....	249
Partnerships	252
Visitor Center	256
Corless’ Legacy	260
CHAPTER EIGHT. CLARIFYING THE VISION	262
Calumet Visitor Center.....	263
Partnerships	265
Advisory Commission.....	271
Pflaum’s Challenges Ahead.....	279
CHAPTER NINE. LESSONS, ASSESSMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	282
Lessons.....	282
Is the park a success?.....	284
Where is the park?.....	294
What is the park?.....	301
Suggested Improvements	308
Increased Partnership Focus.....	310
Reduced / Refined Scope	313
Commission Sustainability	315
State Funding and Philanthropic Support.....	318
Conclusion.....	321

BIBLIOGRAPHY	323
CHAPTER FIGURES.....	333
Figure 1-1, Calumet and Hecla Shaft-rockhouse.....	333
Figure 1-2, Calumet and Hecla Industrial Core	334
Figure 1-3, Aerial of Calumet and Hecla’s Industrial Core, 1940s	335
Figure 3-1, Bob Davis, Sue Cone, and Bill Rosemurgy (left to right).....	336
Figure 4-1, Calumet Unit Map, Inset of NHP-KP/20012-B	337
Figure 4-2, Quincy Unit Map, Inset of NHP-KP/20012-B	338
Figure 5-1, Park Celebration at the Calumet Theatre, <i>Daily Mining Gazette</i>	339
Figure 5-2, Keweenaw NHP, NHP-KP/20012-B	340
Figure 5-3, Mine Street Station.....	341
Figure 6-1, Inside front cover of the General Management Plan, April 1998	342
Figure 6-2, Partnership Concept, Keweenaw NHP General Management Plan	343
Figure 6-3, Historic Quincy Water Tower	344
Figure 6-4, Portage Health Sign	345
Figure 7-1, Cooperating Site Sign.....	346
Figure 7-2, Second Cooperating Site Sign	347
Figure 7-3, First Heritage Site Sign.....	348
Figure 7-4, Welcome to Calumet Sign	349
Figure 7-5, New Calumet Unit Sign	350
Figure 7-6, The Parknership Umbrella	351
Figure 9-1, Grand Canyon NP Sign	352
Figure 9-2, Dayton Aviation Heritage NHP Sign.....	353
APPENDIX I – PUBLIC LAWS	354
Public Law 102-543, Approved October 27, 1992	354
Statement on Signing Legislation Establishing the Keweenaw National Historical Park.....	363
Public Law 106-134, Approved December 7, 1999.....	364
Public Law 111-11, Approved March 30, 2009	365
APPENDIX II – KEWEENAW NHP BHAGS	366
APPENDIX III – KEWEENAW HERITAGE SITES.....	371

Acknowledgements

Ten years ago, my wife, Deb, and I made the decision to move our small family to Houghton, Michigan. We were returning to the place where we met, and the place where we both had earned undergraduate degrees. After twelve years in the corporate world, I had become restless. I wanted to do something that combined my interest in history with my corporate experience. With Deb's encouragement, I returned to school to pursue a graduate degree in Industrial Archeology. After two quick years, however, I felt that I needed more. Once again, with Deb's support, I applied for the doctoral program in Industrial Heritage and Archeology. I was excited about the possibilities, and I knew there was a lot to learn.

As I began my PhD coursework in the fall of 2006, I decided that I wanted to know more about Keweenaw National Historical Park. Deb and I were huge fans of the National Park Service, and had visited over 130 national park sites by that time, but I had never really thought about what went on behind the scenes. I kept hearing that Keweenaw NHP was "different" – what did that mean? Fortunately, my advisor, Larry Lankton, and one of my professors, Kim Hoagland, were well acquainted with the park. Larry had served on the park's Advisory Commission, and Kim was now the chair of the Commission. I did not really know what an Advisory Commission was, but I was ready to find out.

Today, seven years later, I find myself employed as the Commission's executive director. I have a job that allows me to work with a fantastic group of people interested in heritage management. From the dedicated Commissioners, to the talented NPS professionals, to the dozens of enthusiastic local history volunteers, I am constantly amazed at the efforts put forth to preserve and interpret the story of copper. I could not have predicted this outcome when I left my corporate job, but I am thrilled at where this journey has taken me.

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Abstract

Keweenaw National Historical Park: Heritage Partnerships in an Industrial Landscape

Scott F. See

This dissertation examines the genesis and development of Keweenaw National Historical Park in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. After the decline of a once-thriving copper mining industry, local residents pursued the creation of a national park as a way to encourage economic development, revitalize their community, and preserve their historic resources. Although they were ultimately successful in creating a national park, the park that was established was not the park that they envisioned. Over the next twenty years, the National Park Service, the park's federal Advisory Commission, and the communities on the Keweenaw Peninsula struggled to align unrealistic expectations with the actual capabilities and limitations of the park.

The first chapter of this dissertation includes a short history of the decline of the copper industry in and around the village of Calumet, Michigan. This chapter also includes a discussion about the techniques and challenges of preserving and interpreting industrial heritage. Chapters 2 and 3 cover the events from the initial park proposal, to the expansion of the original idea, to the establishment of the park. Chapter 4 includes an examination of the enabling legislation and a discussion about the opportunities and challenges it provided. Chapters 5 through 8 cover the tenure of each of the four NPS superintendents as they navigated the complexities presented by a park model that was part partnership park and part traditional national park. Chapter 9 includes some key lessons, an assessment of the park's success, and some considerations for the future. In particular, Chapter 9 argues for an increased focus on the partnership aspects of the park, a reduction in the perceived scope of responsibilities, and a renewed effort to rally the existing partners in pursuing additional philanthropic support for the overall park.

CHAPTER ONE. CALUMET, MICHIGAN AND INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

The Keweenaw Peninsula on Michigan's Upper Peninsula was the site of the nation's first capital-intensive mining rush. Men arrived on the southern shore of Lake Superior in the early 1840s - well before the "forty-niners" headed west to the California gold fields.¹ Explorers, miners and businessmen came to the area following reports of large deposits of native copper. Mining companies soon established impressive industrial facilities to service their ever-increasing underground works. By the late nineteenth century, a network of thriving communities also existed to serve the needs of the companies and the growing population. This relationship between town and mine was particularly evident in the villages of Calumet and Laurium. The industrial core of the largest mining company in the area, the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company (C&H), lay between the two villages. Calumet and Laurium owed their existence to C&H, and in many ways, the communities and the company existed as one living entity. While these were not "company towns" in the conventional sense, the industrial structures, buildings, and waste materials left upon the landscape provided a sense of place for the original inhabitants, as well as for those who followed.

For most people, hard rock mining was, and is, a mysterious undertaking. Unlike open pit mining where immense craters convey the size of the operation, the progress of hard rock mining lies underground, hidden from view. Descriptions that include depths of

¹ David J. Krause, *The Making of a Mining District: Keweenaw Native Copper, 1500 – 1870* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 134-135.

shafts, miles of drifts, or tons of material hoisted attempt to give some sense of scale, but these portrayals often fall short of really conveying the true scale of the work. If it is impossible to visualize the extent of the underground mine, and the extracted metal is no longer present, then one other indicator offers a method to convey the scale of the overall operation: the size of the surface plant constructed to support the mine.²

In his book *Hard Places*, Richard Francaviglia commented on the allure of mining structures, “The headframes, ore bins, concentrators, and smelters...are among the strongest visual signatures of mining district landscapes. These are liable to be the largest structures with the boldest profiles and the oddest angles.”³ The most recognizable industrial structures constructed at the Michigan copper mines were the shaft-rockhouses (Figure 1-1). Shaft-rockhouses sheltered the actual shaft opening and housed various rock sorting and processing mechanisms. They also served as the entrance and exit to the mine through which men, materials, and product passed. More than any other industrial structure, the shaft-rockhouse identified the site as a mine. These structures became a symbol for the mining companies and a source of identity for the miners themselves, but they did not work alone.⁴ The mining companies also constructed hoist houses, boiler houses, chimneys, dry houses (changing facilities), machine shops, blacksmith shops, storage buildings and administrative offices. The

² Waste rock piles are another indicator of mining activity. Unfortunately, many of the rock piles in the area have slowly disappeared as various entities have crushed the rock and hauled it away for other uses.

³ Richard Francaviglia, *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), 48.

⁴ Scott F. See, “Industrial Landmarks: The Shaft-Rockhouses of Michigan’s Copper Mines” (master’s thesis, Michigan Technological University, 2006).

companies then filled the space between these structures with railroad tracks, roads, power lines, and piles of supplies or waste materials. The combined presence of these industrial structures often dominated the surrounding landscape.

From 1867 to 1884, Michigan's copper mines produced almost seventy-three percent of the US copper production.⁵ During this period, C&H was responsible for over half of Michigan's output. The company mined a rich native copper deposit called the Calumet conglomerate lode. The abundance of copper in the lode, combined with shrewd business practices, allowed the company to prosper. C&H was the most successful company in the district, and the surface plant at its mine reflected this success (Figure 1-2). The company also constructed impressive milling and smelting facilities at nearby locations. By 1900, the surface plant at the mine included the following: twelve shaft structures (eight shaft-rockhouses and four smaller shafthouses); nine engine houses that enclosed a total of twenty-two separate steam engines; four boiler houses with five associated chimneys; five man hoist buildings; ten large maintenance facilities; and over three dozen smaller buildings.⁶ In particular, the chimneys and the shaft-rockhouses projected a presence over the surrounding communities. Two of the chimneys were two hundred and fifty feet tall, while the other three ranged from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty feet tall. These chimneys acted as beacons that announced the

⁵ William B. Gates Jr., *Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1969), 198.

⁶ Prescott F.C. West, Untitled [map], August 7, 1900, C&H Drawer #120, Calumet and Hecla Engineering Drawing Collection, MTU Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections, Michigan Technological University.

location of C&H's operation. At seventy feet tall, the eight shaft-rockhouses were shorter, but still impressive when compared to the ten to twenty foot tall houses located nearby. One visitor to Calumet in 1904 noted the presence of the these signature structures by stating that "This large settlement is more evidently a mining community [when compared to other towns in the area], because the big shafthouses of the Tamarack and Calumet & Hecla mines soar above the streets and dominate the surrounding houses in a lordly way."⁷ The structures of the C&H mine not only identified the industrial activity as mining, they also provided an identity to the local communities; this was a town of mine employees, and the people that served them.

The eventual decline of the copper industry had a devastating effect on the local communities. By the 1920s, it was increasingly difficult to mine the remaining copper deposits profitably. The mines reduced their workforces, and many miners moved to new mines out west, or went to work in the growing automobile industry in Detroit. During this time, C&H still had financial resources at its disposal, but it began to focus its efforts on copper deposits outside of the Calumet conglomerate lode. C&H acquired smaller mining companies throughout the area, and began looking at reprocessing its own waste materials to extract additional copper. On the conglomerate lode, the company began removing the last remaining pockets of easily accessible copper; C&H went after the underground pillars of rock that provided support to the large openings in the mine. The decision to remove the pillars meant short-term gains for the company,

⁷ Thomas A. Rickard, "Copper Mines of Lake Superior – I," *Engineering and Mining Journal* 78 (1904): 586.

but it also meant that the mine was no longer safe to operate.⁸ In 1939, C&H ended its mining operations on the Calumet conglomerate lode. C&H now owned an impressive surface plant that no longer had a workable mine to service. Unfortunately, C&H shut down its facilities just in time for the scrap metal drives of World War II. Soon, the sounds of demolition crews replaced the sounds of an operating mine. Along the conglomerate lode, Calumet lost all of its shaft-rockhouses and shafthouses; four of its five towering chimneys; and all of the massive steam engines, hoists and compressors that once served the mine. Most importantly, the structures that disappeared were the very elements that originally provided Calumet and Laurium with their mining identities; the mine was still there, but the vacant space on the surface now hid its existence (Figure 1-3).

As the decades wore on, local workers and residents held out hope that C&H would find new deposits, reopen old shafts, or discover other ways to regain its former prominence, but none of these dreams materialized. Universal Oil Products (UOP) acquired the C&H operations and assets in April 1968. Following a labor strike later that year, UOP decided to lay off all the former C&H workers and close the remaining shafts in April 1969. The loss was especially shocking to the Village of Calumet given its former paternalistic ties to C&H, its isolated location, and a lack of any realistic replacement for the industry that had provided for its residents for so long.

⁸ Larry D. Lankton, *Cradle to Grave* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 254.

Conversations about leveraging the tourism industry began almost immediately after the closure of the mines. While local boosters had been trumpeting the natural resources of the area since the 1930s, a push now emerged to celebrate the copper mining industry. Once mining had ceased, UOP found itself with an abundance of land holdings (234,000 acres) and a large collection of industrial buildings, machinery, and artifacts. In 1971, UOP enlisted the help of Barton-Aschman Associates of Chicago to explore the development opportunities for these resources. A central recommendation of the resulting report was the creation of tourist destination called Coppertown USA. Coppertown would include “a motor hotel, festival plaza, copper exhibition center, ethnic and cultural center, restaurants, cafeterias, pubs, boutiques, an 80-foot high monument to the copper miner; a year-round center for shopping, dining, entertainment, education, and conferences.”⁹ Barton-Aschman estimated that it would require a \$12,000,000 investment to make the proposed development a reality. Although UOP actively sought partners in the project, and the local community created a non-profit organization dedicated to the idea, the required funding never appeared. The only significant remnant of the proposed project lives on as the Coppertown USA Museum housed in C&H’s former foundry pattern shop.

Through the 1970s and 80s, many of C&H’s former industrial buildings found new purposes. In addition to the Coppertown Museum, C&H’s former machine shop became home to a building supply business, the local school district converted the C&H gear

⁹ “Unveil Coppertown concept for Calumet-Laurium,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, April 4, 1973.

house into a bus garage, an electronics company moved into the locomotive roundhouse, and the company's magnificent office building became doctors' offices. All of these buildings retained some of their original character, and their re-use helped ensure their continued existence. Sadly, however, the original purposes of these buildings began to fade, and visitors to the area in the 1980s were unlikely to appreciate the significance of the remaining buildings.

In addition to the loss or reuse of the industrial buildings, Calumet also began to lose other historic buildings. One of the most distressing losses was the destruction of the Italian Hall in 1984. Built in 1908, the hall was the scene of a terrible disaster during a labor strike in 1913. As the result of someone apparently yelling "Fire!" during a crowded Christmas celebration, seventy-three people, mostly children, lost their lives in the rush to exit the building. In 1941, this event gained additional national recognition with the release of Woody Guthrie's song "1913 Massacre" which presented a labor-biased narrative of the event. By the 1980s, the building was empty and in poor shape. Although a local preservation group formed to save the building, no one had the funds required for the needed repairs. The building was demolished in 1984.¹⁰ If the citizens of Calumet wanted to preserve what was left of their rich history, now was the time to act.

¹⁰ Alison K. Hoagland, *Mine Towns: Buildings for Workers in Michigan's Copper Country* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 228.

Preservation, Interpretation and the Power of Place

Although it is possible to gain an understanding of historical events through written or photographic sources, history happens in places and events give these places meaning.¹¹ Another way to describe this phenomenon is that places are “filled” with memories through human interaction and activities.¹² In essence, future generations can gain a richer understanding of historical events if they can actually visit the place where the events happened. For example, one can read about what it was like to work in an early-American textile mill, but a trip to the preserved mill buildings and company housing in Lowell, Massachusetts, allows a visitor to experience the physical environment that influenced the lives and working conditions of the people who lived there.¹³ This connection to the past also extends beyond the individual buildings and structures. If we accept the idea that physical places are important to understanding history, then we must also consider the wider landscape of the specific place and the integrity of the elements within it.

Landscapes are the physical settings that surround specific places. They illustrate the ways that humans interact with nature and provide context for the important places

¹¹ David Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* (Amherst: UMass Press, 2001).

¹² Ludomir R. Lozny, “Place, Historical Ecology, and Cultural Landscape: New Directions for Cultural Resource Management,” in *Landscapes under Pressure: Theory and Practice of Cultural Heritage Research and Preservation*, ed. Ludomir R. Lozny, 15-26 (Springer, 2006).

¹³ Cathy Stanton, *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press 2006).

within them.¹⁴ Because landscapes can include seen and unseen elements, any changes or disturbances on the landscape can affect the memory of the place; the removal of a landscape feature has some obvious, and some not so obvious, implications.¹⁵ For example, the removal of historic mine rock piles certainly impacts the ability to understand the past mining operation, but the removal might also affect the memories of the people who rode their snow sleds on the piles when they were children. In a similar manner, additions to the landscape can also negatively impact the importance or value of the place. Many believe that the commercialization surrounding the Gettysburg Civil War battlefield diminished the ability of that particular site to help tell its story; modern intrusions on the landscape make it difficult to appreciate what the soldiers experienced.¹⁶ If the cultural landscape itself is not protected, important contextual elements may be lost. The management of landscapes is just as important as protecting the discrete sites within them.

Heritage management professionals struggle against a host of competing factors in an attempt to protect physical places and their surrounding landscapes. Modern development pressures, financial constraints, safety concerns, and even the scrap value

¹⁴ Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick. *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

¹⁵ Ludomir R. Lozny, "Place, Historical Ecology, and Cultural Landscape: New Directions for Cultural Resource Management," in *Landscapes under Pressure: Theory and Practice of Cultural Heritage Research and Preservation*, ed. Ludomir R. Lozny, 15-26 (Springer, 2006).

¹⁶ Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

of historic resources all threaten the ability to preserve important places.¹⁷ If local property owners find that their structure is a threat to public safety, or they prioritize the value of the raw materials contained in the structure over its ability to be a window to the past, it may be extremely difficult to preserve the structure. Some seemingly abandoned historic structures are also susceptible to vandalism or theft solely because of a belief that no one cares about them. For many historic resources, the key to their survival is an understanding of their importance. Freeman Tilden, who worked with the National Park Service, stressed this connection when he quoted a park service administrative manual that said, "Through interpretation, understanding; through understanding, appreciation; through appreciation, protection."¹⁸

Preserved historic resources and landscapes are important by themselves, but their value increases immensely by having an interpretive component that makes a connection with a visitor. Ideally, a visitor should be able to personalize the history in some way and walk away with a better understanding of the story behind the physical remains.¹⁹ There are many techniques used to make these connections. Guided and self-guided tours, interpretive brochures, signage, waysides, movies, and smartphone applications all provide methods to interact with various audiences. For those interested in creating an engaging and effective interpretive experience, this wide variety of

¹⁷ Marilyn Palmer and Peter Neverson, *Industrial Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 1998).

¹⁸ Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957)

¹⁹ Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1998).

interpretive media choices can sometimes obscure the most important part of the experience – the actual content of the interpretive message itself.

Beyond the basics of determining the audience and specific messages to convey, interpretive scholars provide several overarching guidelines on how to create an effective interpretive message. First, the interpretation of a site should include multiple perspectives without taking sides. There is usually no one story or “true history” that captures the complexity of the site, and telling multiple stories helps the site appeal to a wider audience and connects with more visitors.²⁰ Sharing multiple perspectives also may involve presenting the conflicts of the past and the present. Although an initial reaction might be to avoid depressing the public with stories of labor strife, accidents, or ethnic conflict, the negative aspects of a story are just as important to an understanding of the past.²¹ Finally, an effective interpretive experience should move beyond the superficial and explore the hard questions behind the resources.²² For a deindustrialized landscape, the interpretive message should explain why the industry died, where the workers went, and what resources are missing. The stories behind the remaining artifacts and structures may be interesting, but the answers to the hard questions provide more opportunities to make a real interpretive connection.

²⁰ Gail Brown, “Wounded Knee: The Conflict of Interpretation,” in *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape*, ed. Paul A. Shackel, 103-118 (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001).

²¹ Teresa S. Moyer and Paul A. Shakel, *The Making of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park* (Plymouth, UK: AltaMira, 2008).

²² Mike Wallace, *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1996), and Teresa S. Moyer and Paul A. Shakel, *The Making of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park* (Plymouth, UK: AltaMira, 2008).

Industrial Heritage and the U.S. National Park Service

In countries around the world, national parks are places that produce and distribute collective memories.²³ National parks protect the places that are important to these countries – places that tell their stories and define their identity. In the United States, the National Park Service (NPS) manages 398 national park units. The mission of the NPS is to preserve, “...unimpaired the natural and cultural resources and values of the national park system for the enjoyment, education, and inspiration of this and future generations.” While the national park system began with some of the country’s most important natural areas, the system also has a long history of protecting important cultural and historical sites.²⁴

President Ulysses S. Grant signed the bill that created Yellowstone National Park on March 1, 1872. While there were earlier activities that focused on the preservation of natural resources in Arkansas and California, Yellowstone was America’s first national park. Over the next sixty years, Congress established dozens of national parks and national monuments, largely in the Western half of the country, for the preservation and interpretation of large natural areas and prehistoric cliff dwellings. In the beginning, Congress looked to a collection of federal departments, including the War Department, to manage these special places. Then, on August 25, 1916, Congress created the

²³ Joel Bauman, "Tourism, the Ideology of Design and the Nationalized Past in Zippori/Sepphoris, an Israeli National Park," in *Marketing Heritage: Archaeology and the Consumption of the Past*, ed. Yorke M. Rowan and Uzi Baram, (Walnut Creek, CA: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).

²⁴ Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks, Shaping the System* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 2005).

National Park Service to care for the growing set of parks. With the exception of the short-lived Mackinac National Park in Michigan, and the addition of Sitka National Monument in 1910, however, the system remained almost entirely free of historical parks until the 1930s. Although many of the large natural parks contained historical resources within their boundaries, it was only with the addition of several colonial parks - George Washington Birthplace National Monument (1930), Colonial National Monument (1930), and Morristown National Historical Park (1933) - that the system began to include park units dedicated to historical themes. In August 1933, at the request of NPS director Horace Albright, President Franklin Roosevelt signed an executive order that transferred an additional forty-four federally-managed historical parks, memorials, battlefields, and other monuments to the national park system. The NPS was now firmly in the business of protecting historical resources.²⁵

As the system grew, the types of park designations also grew. In addition to the designations mentioned above, the NPS also added national historic sites, recreation areas, parkways, lakeshores, seashores, rivers, and preserves. In 1938, the NPS began managing the first two national historic sites, Salem Maritime National Historic Site (NHS) in Massachusetts and Hopewell Village NHS in Pennsylvania. Hopewell Village NHS, which later became Hopewell Furnace NHS, is notable not only because of its status as the second national historic site, but also because it was a site dedicated to the iron industry. Adding an iron plantation to the national park system was probably about

²⁵ Ibid., 29.

as far from Yellowstone as one could imagine. Thirty years later, however, Congress added another iron-themed site with the addition of Saugus Iron Works NHS in 1968.

Over the next four decades, the NPS slowly expanded its collection of industrial-themed sites. In 1974, Congress established Springfield Armory NHS to tell the story of military arms production; Lowell National Historical Park (NHP) (1978) celebrated the textile industry; and rail transportation was the focus of Steamtown NHS (1986). Dayton Aviation Heritage NHP (1992) focused on aviation; Keweenaw NHP (1992) on Michigan's copper-mining industry; New Bedford Whaling NHP (1996) on whaling; and Paterson Great Falls National Historical Park (2009) helped interpret water power and preserve the remains of the industries that thrived because of it.

While the NPS has not ignored the rich industrial history of the United States, it has often struggled with how best to protect historic industrial resources. Not only are most former industrial sites difficult for visitors to appreciate due to their dirty and run-down appearances, but the NPS has also had difficulty with the scale, complexity, and environmental contamination issues of many of these sites.²⁶ For example, efforts to engage the NPS to create a national historical park focused on the steel industry in Homestead, Pennsylvania, failed due to the costs required to save the large number of

²⁶ Constance Bodurow, "A Vehicle for Conserving and Interpreting Our Recent Industrial Heritage." *The George Wright Forum*, 20(2), 2003: 68-88.

industrial structures and artifacts needed to tell the story.²⁷ Furthermore, the NPS's struggle with industrial history in the United States is also evident on the global stage; there are thirty-seven industrial heritage sites designated as World Heritage Sites by the United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture's (UNESCO), and none of them are in the United States.²⁸

In addition to creating national historical sites and national historical parks, one alternative method that Congress and the NPS have used to deal with industrial history is the designation of national heritage areas (NHAs). While not every NHA has an industrial heritage component, the very nature of the NHA management model lends itself to incorporating industrial stories. The NPS describes NHAs as follows:

“National Heritage Areas (NHAs) are designated by Congress as places where natural, cultural, and historic resources combine to form a cohesive, nationally important landscape. Through their resources, NHAs tell nationally important stories that celebrate our nation's diverse heritage. NHAs are lived-in landscapes. Consequently, NHA entities collaborate with communities to determine how to make heritage relevant to local interests and needs.

²⁷ Thomas E. Leary and Elizabeth Sholes, “Authenticity of Place and Voice: Examples of Industrial Heritage Preservation and Interpretation in the U.S. and Europe,” *The Public Historian*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Summer, 2000), 49-66.

²⁸ “UNESCO World Heritage Sites - Industrial Properties,” <http://www.erih.net/links/unesco-world-heritage-sites-industrial-properties-welterbe-werelderfgood-patrimoine-mondial.html> (accessed February 22, 2013).

NHAs are a grassroots, community-driven approach to heritage conservation and economic development. Through public-private partnerships, NHA entities support historic preservation, natural resource conservation, recreation, heritage tourism, and educational projects. Leveraging funds and long-term support for projects, NHA partnerships foster pride of place and an enduring stewardship ethic.”²⁹

NHAs are not units of the national park system. Each NHA has a designated non-profit organization called a coordinating entity that works with the NPS and various local stakeholders to tell a nationally significant story. The affiliation with the NPS allows the coordinating entities to receive technical advice from the NPS, and some federal financial assistance, subject to the entity’s ability to raise a 1:1 match from other funding sources. For the NPS, this approach provides a number of advantages. First, the NPS cannot realistically assume responsibility for every historic resource in the country and the NHA model allows the NPS to funnel assistance into an area while tasking others with the responsibility for the front-line preservation and interpretation of the historic resources. Additionally, by working with local representatives in a public-private partnership, the NPS does not have to take an ownership stake in any of the historic resources within the NHA. For industrial sites, this model helps resolve the concerns mentioned above; the NPS does not have to take responsibility for the environmental

²⁹ “What are National Heritage Areas?,” <http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageareas/FAQ/> (accessed February 23, 2013).

contamination or ongoing maintenance costs if they do not own the resources. Finally, many NHAs are in densely populated areas that are difficult for the NPS to manage. These lived-in landscapes are the polar opposite of many national parks, and make it difficult for the NPS to create a cohesive visitor experience. By giving the coordinating entity and the local organizations the ultimate responsibility, the NPS is able to help tell the story without having to deal with issues in a complex landscape that are normally included in its management assumptions. For example, the NPS can help local historical museums improve their interpretive exhibits without taking responsibility for concerns such as how people get to the museum, where they park their cars, and whether the restrooms are adequate.

Today, there are forty-nine National Heritage Areas. A few of these areas deal explicitly with industrial themes. Rivers of Steel NHA in Pennsylvania focuses on the steel industry; MotorCities NHA in southeastern Michigan tells the stories of the automobile industry; and Silos and Smokestacks NHA in northeastern Iowa helps local organizations interpret the story of agriculture. Other NHAs cover transportation corridors and the industries that lined them. The Illinois and Michigan National Heritage Corridor (established in 1984 as the first NHA), the John H. Chaffee Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor (1986), and the Ohio and Erie Canal National Heritage Corridor (1989) are all examples of NHAs that celebrate industries that utilized rivers or canalways for transportation and waterpower. The NHA model allows the NPS to advance its larger mission in these lived-in industrial landscapes. A basic assumption for

these arrangements, however, is that the local economy is healthy enough to provide significant financial and volunteer resources to match the federal investment in the short-term, and that eventually the community can provide the resources necessary to sustain the activities of the NHA without federal financial assistance.

Alternative Industrial Heritage Models

Of course, the National Park Service is not the only heritage management entity in the United States. A wide range of management models have been used to preserve and interpret industrial history throughout the country.

Sloss Furnace in Birmingham, Alabama, began producing iron in 1882 and closed in 1971. After closure, the owners donated the site to the Alabama State Fair Authority with the hopes that it would someday become a museum. Unfortunately, the State Fair Authority decided to demolish it instead. The announcement of the demolition plans rallied the community to try to preserve the site. The Historic American Engineering Record, a division of the National Park Service, documented the site in 1976, and the citizens of Birmingham passed a bond measure in 1977 to protect and interpret this excellent example of a twentieth-century blast furnace. The initial bond funds helped stabilize the industrial remains and pay for an administrative staff, while today, the site supports itself through an annual budget from the city, admission fees, private donations, and by offering metalworking classes. In addition, the site raises funds by

hosting weddings, birthday parties, haunted tours, and an annual barbeque cook-off.

While the management at Sloss places a priority on preservation and education, it has also adapted to the reality of using creative means to acquire funds for their primary mission.

In Pennsylvania, city officials struggled to find a new use for the Bethlehem Steel Mill after its closing. Bethlehem was once the second-largest steel producer in the United States. Bethlehem began operations in the 1860s along the Lehigh River, but after 135 years in business, the company closed the mill in 1995 and subsequently filed for bankruptcy in 2001. Today, the former mill site is home to the largest brownfield redevelopment project in the United States.

After the mill closed, development and preservation groups put forth various plans for the 1800-acre site, but the site remained mostly neglected until 2007. In December 2006, the Pennsylvania Gaming Control Board awarded a gaming license to Sands BethWorks Gaming LLC. Sands BethWorks purchased a 124-acre portion of the site and opened the Sands Casino Resort Bethlehem in 2009 and the Sands Hotel in 2011. The casino and hotel complex includes 300 rooms, 3000 slot machines, more than 150 gaming tables, meeting space, and a shopping mall. The Bethlehem site also includes a ten-acre outdoor concert and event pavilion called SteelStacks that uses the remaining blast furnaces as a backdrop. In addition, a nonprofit organization is in the midst of a fundraising effort to create the National Museum of Industrial History on the Bethlehem

property. The museum is expected to house the Smithsonian's 1876 Centennial exhibit of industrial equipment, in addition to other large industrial artifacts.³⁰ The adaptive reuse and new construction at Bethlehem is an evolving story, but it is clear that the private investment at the site has radically changed the historic landscape. The preservation and interpretation of the former steel mill is not the primary mission of Sands BethWorks, but the company is happy to leverage the identity and history of the site where it can.

A third illustration of an industrial site is the Soudan Underground Mine State Park. Located in Soudan, Minnesota, the park provides a unique example of a federal – state partnership in heritage management. When the former iron mine closed in 1962, the mining company donated the site and equipment to the state of Minnesota. The state then added the mine complex to its state park system and began giving historic underground tours. Starting in 1980, a group of university researchers collaborated with the park to conduct physics experiments in abandoned portions of the mine. The underground spaces were so well suited to their experiments that the federal government became involved in the late 1990s. The Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory located in Chicago, Illinois, facilitated the investment of over \$50 million in the mine to conduct neutrino and dark matter research. Today, visitors to the park have a choice of two underground tours – one focused on the historical portions of the mine,

³⁰ Steven A. Walton, Patrick E. Martin and Scott F. See, "Industrial Archaeology in North America: Current Activities and Future Prospects," in 3rd International Conference on Industrial Heritage, November, 2007, ed. Miljenko Smokvina, 55-76 (Rijeka, Croatia: 2010).

and the other that explores the modern physics lab. Both tours involve riding a historic man cage to the 27th level of the mine – about 2,340 feet below the surface. Above ground, visitors can explore the dry house, drill shop, crusher house and watch the hoist in operation as it takes visitors in and out of the mine. Minnesota’s Department of Natural Resources maintains the grounds and equipment with funds from admission fees, state budget allocations, and lease agreements with the physics lab. By providing a venue for modern research, the park is able to operate, maintain, and interpret an important part of the state’s iron mining heritage.³¹

Finally, a small group of steam enthusiasts in Youngstown, Ohio, formed a non-profit organization called the Youngstown Steel Heritage Foundation to save and interpret a Tod steam engine. Built in 1914, the 4000-horsepower steam engine drove a number of steel rolling mill operations before being retired in 1979. The engine then sat idle for fifteen years. In 1995, the group stepped in to save it from the scrap yard. The group disassembled the engine, stored it, and eventually purchased a piece of property to display it. In 2006, the group reassembled the 300-ton engine in the new Tod Engine Heritage Park in Youngstown. The group initially painted portions of the engine to help protect it from the elements, but was eventually able to obtain the funding necessary to construct a display building over the engine. In 2013, the group hopes to restore the engine to working order. The Tod Engine Heritage Park is an excellent example of what a small group of dedicated volunteers can accomplish.

³¹ Ibid.

Outside of the United States, there are also a number of creative approaches to celebrating industrial heritage. In the United Kingdom, the Ironbridge Gorge is a World Heritage Site surrounding the world's first iron bridge over the River Severn. The Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust, Limited, is a charitable organization established in 1967 whose mission is to "...excel in researching, preserving and interpreting, for the widest audience, the Monuments, Collections and Social History of the early industry in the Ironbridge Gorge; to enrich the visitor's experience with live demonstrations, hands-on activities and innovative educational programmes." In 2011, the Trust's ten museum facilities at the Gorge received 545,000 visitors.³² As a charity, the Trust primarily supports its annual operations through admission fees, but it also receives revenue through donations, foundation grants, gift shop operations, and events fees. In addition, the Trust has received support for preservation and interpretation projects from the Heritage Lottery Fund (UK), the European Regional Development Fund, the Regional Development Agency, and through commercial sponsorships. While the Trust's operations are profitable, it requires additional funding outside of its operations to care for its large collection of historic resources and structures. Furthermore, the Trust's approach of combining government support with private funding and heritage tourism operations prevents it from becoming overly dependent on any single source of revenue.

³² "Annual Review 2011," The Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust, Limited. <http://www.ironbridge.org.uk/> (accessed March 9, 2013).

In the Ruhr region of Germany, numerous historical sites preserve, re-use, interpret, and celebrate the rich industrial heritage of the area. In particular, the Zollverein Coal Mine in Essen is a World Heritage Site; the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe Industrial Museum operates eight former industrial facilities including the the Zollern II/IV Colliery in Dortmund, and the Henrichshütte Ironworks in Hattigen; and the German Museum of Mining is in Bochum. While each of these sites is impressive in its own right, one of the most creative heritage attractions in the area is Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord.

Duisburg-Nord is a state-run landscape park located on the site of a former blast furnace complex. When the facility ceased operations in 1985, members of the local community wanted to see the complex preserved. Instead of a museum, however, the state adopted a plan proposed by architect Peter Latz that outlined new uses for the industrial structures while striving to retain the historical character of the site. As the site evolved, the gasholder structure became a scuba-diving tank, the power plant became an event hall, a restaurant opened in the switching house, and the public could now climb to the top of one of the blast furnaces to survey the surrounding landscape. In addition, the park installed a series of colored lights to accent the structures at night and draw attention to the park. Today, visitors come to the site for education, events, concerts, recreational activities, or just to sit in the beer garden and enjoy the industrial scenery. The structures at Duisburg-Nord may no longer serve their original purpose, but they are still important to the people of the Ruhr.

Calumet, Michigan

In 1986, a group of people in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan began an effort to create a national park dedicated to Michigan's former copper mining industry. These local park proponents were not experts in historic preservation or interpretation, nor were they experts in the various heritage management models used by the NPS – they could not have described the differences between Yellowstone National Park and Blackstone River National Heritage Area. They did pride themselves in the history of their community, however, and they hoped that the NPS could help.

CHAPTER TWO. THE NATIONAL PARK IDEA

The spark that ignited the effort to turn Calumet into a national park occurred in 1986. Jay Bastian, an employee of the Michigan Department of Transportation, and former Calumet resident, mentioned the idea to Steve Albee at a tourism conference in May of 1986.³³ Albee was a deputy director of the Western Upper Peninsula Planning and Development Region (WUPPDR) at the time. Bastian told Albee that he thought the only thing that could save Calumet was to make it into a national park. In 1978, Lowell, Massachusetts, had successfully leveraged the history of its textile industry to establish Lowell National Historical Park. Bastian suggested that maybe Calumet could follow their lead and make a case for celebrating the copper industry. Although Albee was surprised at the suggestion, he repeated the idea to the members of the Calumet Downtown Development Authority (DDA) in December of 1986. According to Albee, the initial reaction was less than enthusiastic, but it was not too long before the DDA members took action. With additional input from Bastian, as well as discussions with National Park Service personnel at the regional NPS offices and at nearby Isle Royale National Park, the group set out to engage the support of the local community and enlist the help of their local congressional representative.

³³ "Idea: Turn Calumet into a national park," *Daily Mining Gazette*, February 10, 1987.

The Calumet Downtown Development Authority

The membership of the Calumet DDA included business and property owners who were interested in fostering economic development in the area. In 1987, Robert D. Pieti, a downtown Calumet building owner who was also a research accountant at Michigan Technological University in Houghton, led the group. The group also included: Stan Dyl, a curator at the Seaman Mineral Museum at Michigan Tech, member of the Coppertown USA board, and president of the Copper Country Heritage Council; Russ Erkkila, a downtown business owner and president of the Village of Calumet; John Hodges, a downtown building owner and civil engineering instructor at Michigan Tech; John Sullivan, vice-president of UP Engineering and Architectural Associates; Bill Newman, a downtown business owner; and Eloise Greenlee, a downtown business owner.

Bob Pieti became one of the primary drivers of the effort to establish a national park in Calumet. As a Calumet resident and building owner, he was concerned with the declining economy and property values in the area. With regard to the commercial property he owned in Calumet, he told the *Daily Mining Gazette* “I probably couldn’t get half of what I paid for it.”³⁴ This concern led to his involvement with the Calumet DDA to help turn the situation around. More importantly to the overall effort, however, was the support that Pieti received from his employer – Michigan Tech. The effort to create a

³⁴ “National Park is Bob Pieti’s pet project,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, April 4, 1987.

national park in Calumet needed focused attention, and it needed someone with the organizational skills to make the needed progress. Ed Koepel, Pieti's manager and a vice president at Michigan Tech, recognized the positive economic impact that could come from a new national park in the area and he agreed to allow Pieti to become the effort's contact person for the media and the NPS. Pieti stated that, "MTU wants to make this happen if possible, therefore, part of my job temporarily is to do anything possible to pull this off."³⁵ During these early days, Michigan Tech's support was so explicit that much of Pieti's correspondence regarding the national park effort was on Michigan Tech letterhead.

One of the first things that the Calumet DDA members learned was that the support of the federal congressional delegation was integral to their success. While they knew that a number of studies already supported the historical significance of the area (downtown Calumet was already a registered historic district), they needed a champion to carry their cause to Washington. In fact, the *Daily Mining Gazette* referenced this need in an editorial in early February when it stated that, "Someone – most likely members of the Calumet DDA, in conjunction with the Calumet Village Council – should approach U.S. Rep. Bob Davis. With his Washington connections and a staff of enterprising aides, Davis would be the ideal person to discover whether the idea has any grain of plausibility or

³⁵ Robert Pieti to James Klibner, September 17, 1987, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 8, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

whether it's just been a lot of fun.”³⁶ The Calumet Village Council quickly took action and established a planning committee chartered to work with the DDA to explore the idea of a national park. Only two months after Albee's initial presentation, and following on outreach efforts by the DDA, Davis announced the creation of a five-member task force to gauge public interest in the park, research the establishment of national historical parks in other areas, and assist the folks in Calumet.³⁷ The momentum was building.

Paralleling the discussions taking place at the village council and DDA meetings, local church leaders were discussing ways to spark positive energy in the community. To that end, the CLK (Calumet, Laurium and Keweenaw) Council of Churches sponsored a series of small group discussions focused on the future of the community. The council enlisted the help of William Diehl, a former president of Bethlehem Steel and a speaker for the Lutheran Church of America, to facilitate the conversations and act as a “listening post” for the community.³⁸ The central theme for the discussions was “What do you want our community to be in 1992-1995?” Diehl met with fifty-four people who represented thirty-seven community groups and organizations.³⁹ The participants suggested focusing community efforts on building support for tourism, retirement communities, conference centers, recruiting new businesses, and preserving existing businesses. Reverend Robert

³⁶ “Calumet may have the last laugh,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, February 11, 1987.

³⁷ “Davis joins effort to study Calumet national park idea,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, February 25, 1987.

³⁸ “Community plans to be discussed,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, March 2, 1987.

³⁹ Listening Post minutes, March 3, 1987, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 1, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

Langseth, pastor at Faith Lutheran Church in Laurium, the project coordinator for the CLK Council, and the person responsible for bringing Diehl to Calumet, noted that while people wanted to celebrate the history of the area, they were also ready for a new image.⁴⁰ Interestingly, Langseth also highlighted a sense of confusion held by the residents. While the community formerly shared a common bond in ensuring the success of the mining company and the community itself, the loss of the industry had produced a survival mentality where people focused more on themselves than on the good of the community.⁴¹

The listening post session did not start out as a discussion about making Calumet a national park, but the two efforts collided during the event. At a wrap-up breakfast meeting with Bill Diehl and several community leaders, the attendees chartered a task force to solicit participation in a new organization that would create a “master plan for the CLK region.”⁴² Diehl told the group that they had the necessary infrastructure; they just needed the foresight to move forward. Don Fortune, president of the First National Bank, latched onto Diehl’s words and suggested that the group adopt the name CLK Foresight. The initial task force included Reverend Langseth, Paul Lehto, Jim Pintar, John Sullivan, Russ Erkkila, and Laura Miller. Not only had the national park idea been raised during Diehl’s sessions, but Sullivan and Erkkila were already deeply involved with the

⁴⁰ Robert Langseth, Notes from the hearings, March 1987, CLK Foresight Collection, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Listening Post minutes, March 3, 1987, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 1, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

village and DDA efforts to establish the park. Their role in formulating the new CLK Foresight group ensured that the national park idea was never far from sight.

Lowell, Massachusetts

Congress established Lowell National Historical Park (NHP) in 1978 to commemorate the contributions made by Lowell's textile industry to the American Industrial Revolution.

Local school superintendent Patrick J. Mogan originally proposed a cultural park devoted to educational efforts and activities that preserved a "working class ethnic culture".⁴³ Mogan felt that the historical structures were merely props to the important cultural stories. As time progressed, however, Mogan realized that historic preservation and economic development were potential means to the ends that he envisioned.

Mogan got the attention of Congressman Paul Tsongas, a native of Lowell, who ultimately involved the City of Lowell, the State of Massachusetts, and the National Park Service in creating a national park with some unique characteristics.

The federal legislation that created Lowell NHP provided the NPS with the ability to acquire (a minimal amount of) property and provide technical assistance to non-federal owners of historic properties within the park.⁴⁴ In addition, the legislation also established the Lowell Historic Preservation Commission to work alongside the NPS to

⁴³ Robert Weible, "Visions and Reality: Reconsidering the Creation and Development of Lowell's National Park, 1966 – 1992." *The Public Historian*, 33, no. 2 (May 2011): 68-71.

⁴⁴ *Lowell National Historical Park Establishment Act*, Public Law 95-290, 95th Cong., 2nd sess. (June 5, 1978)

“...administer the preservation district and provide certain services within the park...”⁴⁵

In particular, the legislation called for the Commission to develop a preservation plan for the park and then administer loan, grant, and technical assistance programs to facilitate implementation of the preservation plan. Finally, although the legislation specified a ten-year life span for the Commission, it authorized up to \$21,500,000 for the Commission’s operations and another \$18,500,000 for the NPS. In 1988, in parallel to the conversations about creating a national park in Calumet, the Lowell Commission received authorization for an additional \$13,000,000 and a seven-year extension to its existence.

Lowell NHP was born into an environment ripe with partners willing to help. The State of Massachusetts had already established Lowell Heritage State Park. The Lowell Development and Financial Corporation, established by Tsongas in 1975, stood ready to facilitate bank financing for redevelopment activities. In addition, private businesses, excited about the potential economic development outcomes, formed an organization called The Lowell Plan to provide advice and support for the revitalization efforts.⁴⁶

Like Calumet, Lowell’s primary industry had collapsed leaving the community with vacant industrial buildings and high unemployment. Unlike Calumet, Lowell was an urban city with over 100,000 residents; it was only 35 miles from a huge metropolitan

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Cathy Stanton, *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 115.

area (Boston); it benefited from a highly influential congressional delegation (Tsongas became a US Senator in 1978); and had the support of a well-respected governor, Michael Dukakis. Furthermore, Lowell NHP came about through the efforts of a Democratic representative who worked in an environment where the Democrats controlled both houses of Congress and the White House. The discussions in Calumet began at the tail end of Republican Ronald Reagan's presidency. The mood in Washington was much more fiscally conservative in 1988 than it was in 1978.

Regardless of the differences, the folks in Calumet became highly interested in Lowell NHP and the reported \$200 million in federal and private funds invested in and around the park over the previous decade.⁴⁷ Bob Pieti referred to this investment as "the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow."⁴⁸ Clearly, the group thought Lowell was a model to emulate.

In the second week of March 1987, Bob Pieti travelled to Lowell with Brian Swift from Congressman Davis' office. They met with Lowell Heritage State Park Supervisor, Rico Zenti (a former resident of Marquette, MI), NPS personnel, and several local officials. Upon returning to Calumet, Pieti explained to the DDA that the National Park Service only owned about five acres within the park boundaries while 132 acres remained in private hands. The federal involvement in the park included NPS personnel and the Lowell Commission. The NPS focused on preservation and interpretive activities while

⁴⁷ "Calumet's Past in its future: Look what happened at Lowell," *Daily Mining Gazette*, February 18, 1987.

⁴⁸ "Calumet Historic National Park: An idea whose time has come," *Daily Mining Gazette*, March 4, 1987.

the Commission focused on providing historic preservation grants and loans to private property owners. In addition, Pieti also noted that no private residences were condemned or destroyed because of the park designation.⁴⁹ Residents of Calumet had already raised this possibility as an issue they wanted to avoid. Due to Pieti's trip, both the DDA and the village council passed resolutions of support for the pursuit of national historical park status for the Village of Calumet. In parallel, Congressman Davis officially requested that the Secretary of the Interior direct the NPS to conduct a reconnaissance study of the Village of Calumet. Although there were many significant challenges to overcome in order to establish a national historic park on the Keweenaw, the success and allure of Lowell became the example to emulate. If the folks at Lowell could infuse their community with hundreds of millions of federal, state, and local funds, could Calumet do the same thing?

CLK Foresight

The need for economic development seemed obvious; the model at Lowell provided a vision; the village and the DDA endorsed the idea; and Bob Pieti had the motivation and the blessing of his employer to drive the project forward. The missing element was the organizational and administrative structure to support the effort. Building on the suggestions from the Listening Post discussions, Pieti joined the effort to create the

⁴⁹ "Historic park idea gets DDA blessing," *Daily Mining Gazette*, March 17, 1987.

nonprofit group CLK Foresight and provide the required structure. In a document dated March 23, 1987, the proposed purposes of CLK Foresight included improving local “educational opportunities; government; business climate; cultural environment; and health care and recreational opportunities.” CLK Foresight would be a charitable organization that collected donations and provided funding for community improvement activities. Its potential scope was much wider than the effort to create a national park, but the park idea might be central to accomplishing its goals. The document also stipulated that the focus of the organization would be limited to the Calumet School District. Although copper mining occurred throughout the Keweenaw Peninsula, CLK Foresight focused on areas in and around Calumet. Nearly all of the original players were Calumet residents, Calumet property owners, or individuals interested in the improving the economic prospects of Calumet. Others would eventually challenge the primacy of Calumet, but these early discussions focused almost exclusively on the village and the former C&H properties in Calumet Township.

On April 10, 1987, Congressman Davis hosted a town hall meeting at the Calumet Theatre to discuss creating a national historical park in Calumet. Over 300 attendees listened to presentations by Rico Zenti from Lowell Heritage State Park and Peter Aucella from Lowell National Historical Park. Davis announced that the NPS would be conducting a reconnaissance study over the summer. The meeting also provided a method for the public to provide input on their vision for the “Calumet National Historical Park.” The DDA had already begun to solicit ideas in various forums. Bob Pieti

eventually compiled this list into a document that he used repeatedly to educate people about the possibilities, and the town hall meeting provided a number of additions to this list.

While the first official meeting of CLK Foresight would not happen until August of 1987, Bob Pieti and the other DDA members took steps to spread the word about the effort. In his role as Chairman of the DDA, Pieti wrote letters to state and federal legislators; submitted articles and news items to the local newspaper; began to involve academics from Michigan Tech such as industrial historian Dr. Larry Lankton and industrial archaeologist Dr. Patrick Martin; reached out to professionals at The Conservation Foundation and the Michigan Bureau of History; and served as the primary contact point for the Midwest Regional Office of the National Park Service. The DDA's efforts helped enlist stakeholders and the public, and remind everyone of the ultimate goal.

On May 20, 1987, Secretary of the Interior Donald Hodel sent a letter to Congressman Davis officially confirming that the NPS would assign a historian to conduct the reconnaissance survey. Hodel said that the purpose of the work would be to publish a study that assessed the historic significance of Calumet. The goal would be to make this study available to the National Park System Advisory Board in November so that they could determine whether "... the town of Calumet retains sufficient integrity and possesses the necessary historical significance to be designated a National Historic

Landmark.”⁵⁰ A National Historic Landmark designation would validate the significance of the historic resources and provide additional support to establish a national park.

NPS Involvement

On June 23, 1987, NPS historians Kate Lidfors and Mary Jo Hrenchir visited the area to begin their work on the reconnaissance study and draft National Historic Landmark (NHL) nominations. While Lidfors and Hrenchir toured the area, they seemed cautiously optimistic about the chances for NHL designation. They also, however, warned that additional losses of significant historical structures could jeopardize the process. At a press luncheon arranged by Bob Pieti, Larry Lankton echoed the need for increased protection by stating that, “This would be a bad time to lose any historic structures. A few major losses and this whole thing could be lost forever.”⁵¹ More importantly, Lankton noted that the area of interest had widened as well. While the historians were here primarily to examine resources in Calumet, they quickly realized that there were copper mining stories throughout the Keweenaw. Lankton stated, “We’re looking at a district concept and are looking at more than one area.”⁵²

⁵⁰ Donald Hodel to Robert Davis, May 20, 1987, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 4, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

⁵¹ “Historic sites must be preserved – Dyl,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, June 30, 1987.

⁵² Ibid.

Lidfors, based at Apostle Island National Lakeshore in Wisconsin, made several trips to the Keweenaw during the summer of 1987. In October, she published the results of her study as “Potential National Historic Landmark Eligibility of Historic Copper Mining Sites of the Keweenaw Peninsula, Michigan: A Report to the History Division, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.” Although she noted that there were a number of important historic properties on the Keweenaw (the Cliff Mine, the Quincy Mine, the Calumet and Hecla Mine, the Village of Calumet, the Champion Mine, and the Painesdale location), she selected three sites as worthy of NHL designation. “Of these properties, portions of the Calumet and Hecla site and the related commercial district of Red Jacket would appear to meet the criteria for national significance under the National Historic Landmarks program. Likewise, portions of the Quincy Mining Company property, including the mine location and the Quincy smelting complex, would appear to possess national significance.”⁵³ On November 12, the NPS Advisory Board agreed with her assessment and provided preliminary approval for two landmark designations. While the official designations would not come until October of 1988, the preliminary approval provided enough incentive to begin planning the next steps. The advocates for the park had the attention of the National Park Service, now they needed to determine how to involve the NPS in a longer-term partnership.

⁵³ Kathleen Lidfors, “Potential National Historic Landmark Eligibility of Historic Copper Mining Sites of the Keweenaw Peninsula, Michigan” (National Park Service, October 1987), 1.

On December 8, 1987, Bob Pieti, Stan Dyl, Ed Koepel, and Clark Pellegrini traveled to Washington, D.C., to accompany Congressman Davis in a meeting with Secretary of the Interior Donald Hodel and NPS Director William Mott. Koepel was Chairman of the The Ventures Group, and Pellegrini was its President. According to marketing materials issued by Ventures, "The Ventures Group, Inc. was formed in 1986 by the Educational Support Institute to enable Michigan Technological University to fulfill its economic development responsibility to the community. The primary mission of The Ventures Group, Inc. is business development. Ventures helps stimulate the economy through business start-ups, business growth, and saving and creating jobs."⁵⁴ The Copper Country delegation seemed to represent this business development focus well. Ventures owned or controlled properties within both proposed landmark districts. All four of the travelers were current or former Michigan Tech employees. Koepel, Pellegrini, and Pieti had business or personal investments that could potentially benefit from a national park designation. Only Dyl, a geologist and museum curator, provided representation of the mining history of the area.

After providing background information to Hodel, Mott noted that Lidfors' report clearly made the case for the area's national significance, but that the effort needed an interpretive plan and that it could cost up to \$100,000 to complete. Hodel wanted the plan completed during his tenure (before the elections in November 1988). Koepel offered to have Ventures commit \$10,000 toward the completion of the plan, and Pieti

⁵⁴ "The Ventures Group, Inc.: Information", date unknown, in the author's possession.

and Dyl pledged to raise another \$10,000 from local businesses and municipalities. The meeting ended with a commitment by Hodel to finance the balance of the interpretive plan, as well as an agreement to have Hodel visit the area in the near future.⁵⁵

The group of local representatives returned to the Copper Country with a renewed sense of purpose and a high level of excitement. Pieti and Dyl began contacting local businesses and various foundations to raise the \$10,000 that they had committed. By late December, the NPS had identified Norm Riegle, superintendent of the Harry S. Truman National Historical Site, to lead the interpretive planning effort. Riegle arranged to visit the area in early January when Kate Lidfors and Laura Feller, a historian from the National Landmark Office in Washington, D.C., would be in the Copper Country to finish the work required to establish the proposed National Historic Landmark boundaries. In addition, several representatives of the Midwest Regional Office of the NPS decided to join the others. This group included Don Castlebury, Midwest Regional Director; Dave Shonk, Associate Regional Director; and Al Hutchings, Chief of the NPS Division of External Affairs.⁵⁶ On January 7, three additional NPS personnel from nearby Isle Royale NP joined the six NPS representatives to discuss the planning efforts with a large group of local representatives. This was the largest group of NPS employees to visit the area and it was clear that the NPS was getting serious about its involvement in an effort to design a plan of how to interpret the local history. Pieti, Dyl, and the other local

⁵⁵ "Washington, D.C.," Calumet DDA *Newsletter*, 1988.

⁵⁶ Robert Pieti, Copper Country Historic National Park Interpretive Plan memo, December 22, 1987, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 11, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

representatives, however, did not want just any plan – they wanted a plan that represented the desires of the community. The locals had asked for the involvement of the NPS, but now there was renewed pressure to be specific. The folks in the Copper Country needed to tell the NPS what type of park they wanted.

Calumet National Park

As discussed earlier, many threads of the national park effort led back to Calumet. There were important historical resources in Calumet, many of the participants in the effort were current or former residents of Calumet, and Calumet was in dire need of renewed economic development and community revitalization. The NPS, however, took a broader view of the area and the resources required to tell the story of copper mining. Lidfors found that there were important historic industrial resources outside of Calumet, and even wondered if there was enough left in Calumet to recommend a national historic landmark. Back in September 1987, as she prepared her report, Lidfors told Pieti that there was no question about the national significance of the Quincy resources, but that Calumet was less clear. Pieti's notes from the discussion captured that Lidfors said, "Recommendation for sure [for] Quincy. Calumet is very questionable because most mine buildings are gone. Agassiz Park was destroyed by low income housing. IGAs and other new buildings destroy [the] historic flavor downtown. The history is there, but not

the remains.”⁵⁷ Lidfors felt the Quincy resources were integral to the larger mission of the NPS of preserving and interpreting nationally significant resources, even though the creation of a Quincy Mining Company National Historic Landmark might not directly benefit Calumet. In fact, the appreciation of the Quincy resources by the NPS was not new. When the Historic American Engineering Record, a part of the NPS that focuses on documenting sites related to engineering and industry, came to the area in 1978, they chose to document the remains of the Quincy Mining Company – there just was not enough left of the great Calumet and Hecla Mining Company. Still, the folks in Calumet wanted to keep the spotlight on their community and keep the momentum going. The park proponents embarked on two creative activities to meet these goals – Bob Pieti and the DDA proposed reconstructing some of the industrial resources in Calumet, and the larger group directly appealed to the President of the United States for help in creating the park.

In 1988, the Village of Calumet still had large numbers of historic commercial and residential structures. Unfortunately, the remains of the Calumet and Hecla industrial core, as Lidfors noted, were not nearly as impressive. Many of the significant industrial structures disappeared just prior to World War II. If the park proponents in Calumet were going to interpret their mining heritage, they felt they needed to get visitors underground.

⁵⁷ Robert Pieti, Phone Log, September 18, 1987, Stan Dyl Collection, box MS-603, Michigan Tech Archives, Houghton, MI.

In December of 1987, Bob Pieti authored an article for the local newspaper, *The Daily Mining Gazette*, which described his vision for the “Historic Calumet National Park” and how an underground tour of Calumet might work.⁵⁸ Pieti proposed the construction of utility tunnels throughout Calumet that could incorporate various simulated mining displays. Pieti explained, “The lighting will simulate the types of lighting used underground in the mines. The tunnels would simulate the vastness of the Calumet Conglomerate mine. References would be made to the actual level of the mine at different locations. The actual mine might be 800 feet below 4th street and 1200 feet below 7th street. Different mining scenes could be depicted such as underground stables; crushing facilities; underground shops.” Pieti also suggested that tourists move throughout the tunnel system by electric mining locomotives and that an elevator take visitors up into a reconstructed shafthouse on the surface. The immense underground mine located under Calumet was largely inaccessible, but rather than leveraging the historic industrial remains of the nearby Quincy Mining Company, Pieti suggested that the park include a simulated tourist experience located in Calumet. It is unclear how widely held this vision was at the end of 1987, and Pieti asked the community to submit their own ideas in his article, but the preference for a national park primarily located in Calumet became a recurring discussion item throughout the years prior to the establishment of the park.

⁵⁸ “New ideas for Historic National Park desired,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, December 29, 1987.

1988 was also the last year of Ronald Reagan's presidency. This was important to the national park proponents because of Reagan's portrayal of the University of Notre Dame football player George Gipp in the 1940 film "Knut Rockne, All American." The real George Gipp was born and raised in Laurium, Michigan, a village directly adjacent to Calumet. Members of CLK Foresight and other local boosters felt that they might be able to grease the political wheels of the park formation process if they could appeal to Reagan's connection to Gipp. CLK Foresight invited Reagan to visit the area in late August during the local Gipp Week celebration with the hope that he would actually sign legislation creating the park during the visit.⁵⁹ Foresight also joined forces with a group that was trying to raise \$98,000 to dedicate a George Gipp Memorial Park in Laurium. The group received some positive initial signs from Washington, Although the White House stopped short of committing to a visit, it did acknowledge an interest in the project and indicated it would look for an opportunity to visit. Unfortunately, CLK Foresight soon found itself on the defensive locally as community members voiced opinions that the creation of a memorial park and statue were unnecessary projects for a community that had so many other pressing social needs.⁶⁰ Although the community eventually built a memorial park dedicated to Gipp, the public outcry and lack of funding resulted in a much more modest result than originally planned.

⁵⁹ Robert Pieti, "Report on Secretary of Interior Donald P. Hodel's Copper Country Visit," April 18, 1988, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 15, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

⁶⁰ "Foresight Committee dedicated to park," *Daily Mining Gazette*, February 4, 1988.

The Options Report

Although Pieti, Dyl, Koepel, and Pellegrini had discussed the need for an interpretive plan with Hodel and Mott, what the overall effort also needed was an analysis of the different ways that the NPS could be involved in preserving and interpreting the copper mining story. There was high-level agreement on the story, but no detailed design of how a park might operate.

Norm Reigle returned to the area in late February of 1988 with a team of NPS employees. The primary objective for the group was to compile information for a study called the Options Report. In addition to Reigle, the NPS team included the following: Laura Feller, the historian from the History Division, Washington Office; Ed Adleman, a historical architect from Lowell National Historical Park; Jon James, an interpretive specialist from Fort Larned National Historic Site; and Dave Snyder, a historian from Isle Royale National Park.⁶¹

On February 22, Pieti and members of the CLK Foresight national park committee gave Reigle a tour of the Calumet area that included stops at a multitude of businesses. The tour gave Reigle the chance to gauge public opinion about the park from commercial business owners. Reigle also met with the CLK Council of Churches and representatives from the Ventures Group.⁶² The other members of the options team do not appear to

⁶¹ Robert Pieti, "Report on Secretary of Interior Donald P. Hodel's Copper Country Visit," April 18, 1988, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 15, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

⁶² "Businessmen air views on park," *Daily Mining Gazette*, February 23, 1988.

have been part of the tour on the 22nd, although the whole team did attend a dinner that evening. According to Pieti and the *Daily Mining Gazette*, Reigle received mostly positive input from the folks he met. In addition, Reigle also weighed in on the connection with Reagan and the Gipp story. Reigle told Pieti that the process became very political following the completion of Options Report. With Reagan leaving office at the end of the year, the park proponents only had a short amount of time to leverage their connections with Reagan and Hodel. Once a new administration was in place, the overall task would be much harder.⁶³

On February 23, the entire options team toured the Quincy Mining Company site. Larry Lankton led the tour and the group was joined by Kathryn Eckert, deputy state historic preservation officer from the Michigan Bureau of History. Lankton, an industrial history professor at Michigan Tech, provided the group with social and technological histories of the Copper Country and the Quincy Mining Company. The group climbed to the top of the No. 2 shaft-rockhouse and visited the immense Nordberg steam hoist. The need for a multi-unit operation must have been confirmed to the team, or at least Reigle, during this tour. Calumet had an impressive collection of commercial, community, and residential buildings, but the former Quincy Mining Company site possessed a unique collection of industrial remains. If the proposed NPS operation was going to be successful in telling the copper story, it would need to encompass all of these resources.

⁶³ Robert Pieti, "Review of 2/22/88 meetings with Norm Reigle in Calumet," February 23, 1988, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 13, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

By March, the team had completed a draft of its report. The document, Options for National Park Service Involvement of Historic Copper Mining Resources on Michigan's Keweenaw Peninsula, included the following sections: the historical significance of the Quincy Mining Company and the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company; major interpretive themes; the effects of NHL designation; an introduction to preservation strategies; and four options for NPS involvement in the region. The team acknowledged the difficulty in establishing an NPS presence given the large number of dispersed historic resources, "Since there are more than 1,000 sites, buildings, and structures within the two landmark areas it would not be practical or desirable for the National Park Service to be directly involved in more than a small fraction of this total."⁶⁴ Consequently, the four options were, in order of increasing involvement by the NPS, as follows:

Option A: Advisory/Coordinating Council with Congressional Trust

Option B: Foundation with Recurring Funding

Option C: National Historic Sites with Historic Preservation Commission

Option D: National Historical Park

Much of Option C followed the model of NPS involvement at Lowell National Historical Park. This option included the presence of NPS personnel to work on preservation and interpretation tasks, but it also included an independent commission focused on historic

⁶⁴ "Options for National Park Service Involvement in the Management of Historic Copper Mining Resources on Michigan's Keweenaw Peninsula" (National Park Service, March 1988), 23.

preservation activities inside and outside of the park boundaries. The local park promoters quickly adopted Option C as their preferred option. Not only had the promoters looked to Lowell as an example to follow, but Option C also provided a balance of federal and local involvement that was desirable to the group; they wanted NPS assistance, but they also wanted to retain some control over the operations of the park and how the NPS spent federal funds. The Calumet DDA and the Calumet Village Council both endorsed Option C as the preferred option for NPS involvement on the Keweenaw Peninsula.⁶⁵

The Options Report finally gave all the players something concrete to review and discuss. Whatever form the proposed park would take, the Options Report provided the components for the ultimate management model. Unfortunately, this clarity also meant that people opposed to the park or opposed to the design of the park would have something to rally against. Before these differences became public, however, the region would host a high-profile visitor important to the future of the park. Secretary Hodel was about to make good on his promise to visit Calumet.

⁶⁵ "Park option picked," *Daily Mining Gazette*, April 13, 1988.

Secretary of the Interior Visit

Secretary Hodel toured the area on March 25, 1988. Congressman Davis and State Representative Rick Sofio were also present for the tour, along with Norm Reigle, Tom Hobbs and Dave Snyder from the National Park Service. Consistent with their other park planning activities, Bob Pieti and Stan Dyl executed a well-planned series of events that enabled the Secretary to interact with a wide variety of interested parties. Hodel spoke with business and property owners, representatives of the CLK Council of Churches, schoolchildren, restaurant patrons, and a group of supporters gathered for a luncheon at the Miscowaubik Club. Hodel's visit caused quite a bit of excitement in the community, as he was the first cabinet member to visit the Upper Peninsula since Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall visited the proposed Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore in the 1960s.⁶⁶

Throughout the tour stops, and at the luncheon, Hodel stressed the responsibility of the local community to provide the types of amenities that visitors expected to find near national parks. Pieti remembered Hodel telling the attendees at the luncheon that, "...what is really needed is private sector investments to complement the park. Motels, restaurants, campgrounds, ski hills, snowmobile trails and other types of recreational opportunities. The most critical are lodging and eating places. It is the community's responsibility to provide housing and cultural facilities. It will require risk taking and

⁶⁶ Robert Pieti, "Report on Secretary of Interior Donald P. Hodel's Copper Country Visit," April 18, 1988, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 13, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

progressive development. Tourists require a critical mass of services and attractions before they will plan a vacation to the area. The National Park Service will provide the attractions, but it is entirely up to the private sector to provide the services.”⁶⁷ The proponents of the park had already discussed the need for additional private investment to make the park a reality, and the Secretary of the Interior reiterated that need. Unfortunately, what received little attention was just how intertwined the private and public interests would be. The proposed boundaries of the park included hundreds of buildings and structures, as well as many small businesses. A thriving copper industry was responsible for creating these communities, but it was unclear where additional private investments would now come from.

At the end of Hodel’s visit, he told a group gathered at the Calumet Village Council room, “I capitulate. Everyone we met on our visit was so completely in favor of this proposed park that I must go back to Washington and do what I can to help make it a reality.”⁶⁸ The park proponents had done a fantastic job hosting the Secretary and demonstrating the grassroots support for the park idea. They now had a cabinet-level supporter in Washington and an open dialogue with the White House about getting President Reagan to visit the area. In addition, Congressman Davis announced during the visit that he was working with the park service to draft legislation that he planned to introduce later that summer. The park advocates had hopes that they would have a park

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

before the end of the year. They soon found, however, that not everyone was happy with the way the park was shaping up.

North versus South

Calumet is located in the northern end of Houghton County, and the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company was the most successful mining company in the district. The mine originally operated by the Quincy Mining Company is just outside the city of Hancock, about 12 miles south of Calumet. Although not as successful as Calumet and Hecla, Quincy was a powerhouse in the district and eventually earned the nickname “Old Reliable” due to a long series of dividend payments to its investors. Adjacent to Quincy, the towns of Hancock and Houghton were home to several mining companies, and Houghton served as a commercial hub for the district. Houghton is also home to Michigan Technological University, which is, arguably, the most successful remaining institution from the copper industry, having formed as the Michigan College of Mines in 1885. The Quincy Mining Company and the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company were competitors, and this competition spilled over into the local communities. The rivalries between the North End and the South End existed when the mines were in operation, they persisted once the mines closed, and actions by the NPS were about to bring them to the forefront.

Norm Reigle returned to the area in late April to present the final version of the Options Report. As part of this visit, he invited the public to meet with him to discuss their reactions to the report. Although he found the public to be supportive of the proposed park, he did hear from quite a few residents who felt that the report focused too much attention on the Quincy location.⁶⁹ Some felt that it was more important to tell the social history of the area as opposed to the technology-focused resources on the Quincy site, and others were concerned about the funding allocations between the Quincy and Calumet portions of the park. They felt that money spent at Quincy was automatically a loss for Calumet.⁷⁰ An editorial in the *Daily Mining Gazette* on May 6 acknowledged these concerns, but encouraged the local communities to put their differences aside and remain united in the effort to establish the park.⁷¹

As the park proponents gathered on May 4 and May 6 to produce a response to the Options Report, the attendees overwhelmingly represented Calumet interests. In particular, the professors from Michigan Tech, Larry Lankton and Pat Martin, were absent from the discussions. The resulting document, Response to Option C, National Park Study, which was subsequently sent to Congressman Davis, Senator Levin, and Norm Reigle, focused on expanding the role of Calumet in the proposed park by emphasizing additional historical information. Unfortunately, some of this additional information referenced local myths, and provided an exaggerated view of Calumet's role

⁶⁹ "Residents have questions, apprehensions about park," *Daily Mining Gazette*, April 27, 1988.

⁷⁰ Sue Dana, interview with the author, December 6, 2012.

⁷¹ "Rivalry over park units is out of place," *Daily Mining Gazette*, May 6, 1988.

in the area.⁷² Among the claims in the document, the group stated that the Calumet Dam was the first copper milling site in the district when there were actually many mills that preceded the work by C&H. The group also claimed that C&H was unique in creating various cultural and social patterns when there were clearly other examples in the country of similar paternalistic practices and ethnic mixes. The NPS had already proposed a national historic landmark for Calumet, but the perceived inequities contained in the Options Report now caused the organizers to try to bolster their case for prominence.

Legislation!

On June 2, 1988, Congressman Davis received a draft bill from the NPS entitled, "To authorize the establishment of the Calumet National Historical Park in the State of Michigan and for other purposes." Davis took this draft and introduced it as H.R. 4759 on June 8. Davis had asked the NPS in April to produce a draft bill in order to accelerate the process of getting the park established. Although Bob Pieti and others had produced numerous documents that described possible attributes of the proposed park, this was the first attempt at drafting and introducing legislation. If passed, the legislation would establish the park and define an operational model for the NPS. This was real, and it

⁷² Larry Lankton, notations made on Draft #2 of the Response to Option C, National Park Study, May 6, 1988, Pat Martin papers, in possession of the author.

gave all of the parties involved another opportunity to frame their opinions of the proposed park.

The legislation introduced by Davis called for the creation of a single park with three geographic components: the Quincy Mining NHL, the Calumet and Hecla NHL, and a Calumet Historic Preservation District in the Village of Calumet. The legislation also called for the creation of a federal commission to administer the preservation district, develop an overall park preservation plan, provide financial assistance to business and property owners within the park, and acquire property consistent with the purposes of the park. The commission would include one member from the Calumet Village Council, one member representing the local citizens (from recommendations by the village council), one member recommended by the Governor, one member from Michigan Technological University, and one member from the Department of the Interior who was familiar with national parks and historic preservation. In addition, the legislation stated that, consistent with previous Department of the Interior and National Park Service commissions, this commission would cease to exist after 10 years. The commission would help establish the park, but the long-term responsibility for the park would rest with the NPS.

The details contained in the legislation exacerbated the rifts created by the responses to the earlier Options Report. On June 24, Pat Martin sent a letter to Congressman Davis to express his reservations with the proposed bill. Martin's concerns were amplified in

conversations with other faculty at Michigan Tech, and on July 26, the professors met with Pieti and Dyl to discuss their concerns. The documentation from the meeting included the comment that, “While those in attendance did not always agree on the relative importance of the problems, or the solutions to them, this meeting did highlight the need to improve the bill, and thus improve its chances for quick passage.”⁷³ In summary, the professors were concerned that the park was too small, and too narrowly focused. The group argued for changes to the park name, boundaries, commission membership, and an increased partnership focus for the NPS. While the national historic landmarks and the village of Calumet were important, numerous other resources along the Keweenaw were also important to the story of copper. The professors argued that the wider context was extremely important, and that the legislation created a park that ignored the larger landscape.⁷⁴ These were not trivial changes, and it was clear that the park proponents in Calumet saw an expansion of the scope of the park as a threat to their vision. In a response to Martin’s letter, Congressman Davis noted that addressing the needs would likely require new legislation and that that would subsequently delay the establishment of a park.

On August 6, Congressman Bob Davis and Congressman Dale Kildee from Flint, Michigan, held a congressional field hearing at the Calumet Theatre to collect public input on the bill to create the national park. Almost 300 people attended the hearing

⁷³ “Some comments on the proposed park legislation,” Meeting Minutes, July 26, 1988, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 1A, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

⁷⁴ Pat Martin, interview with the author, December 12, 2012.

where they heard testimony from local property owners; local politicians; mining and geology experts; history, archaeology, and preservation experts; and representatives from local financial institutions, Michigan Tech and the National Park Service. Pat Martin presented testimony that included support for the concept, but also publicly highlighted the concerns that he had already shared with Davis. Ed Koepel noted that Ventures stood ready to assist the government in any required business development activities. In general, the testimony reflected the multiple expectations for the proposed park in that some witnesses stressed the historic nature of the area while others spoke to the need for economic development. Congressman Kildee reiterated this by stating that historical significance and a need for economic development were the two legitimate “claims” that warranted federal interest in the local community.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, the reality of the congressional calendar dampened the enthusiasm of the witnesses and the gathered audience. On the same day that the *Daily Mining Gazette* reported the positive news from the hearing, it also ran a short story that reported Senator Levin was pessimistic about the chances of congressional approval before the end of the session.⁷⁶ Levin had visited the Keweenaw in May and pledged to “... do everything within our power to make this (proposed park) a reality.”⁷⁷ In fact, Levin had delivered on this pledge and introduced S. 2689, a companion bill for H.R. 4759. By August, however, Levin seemed to realize that it was already too late to get the park established in 1988.

⁷⁵ “Park is ‘greatest thing since copper’,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, August 8, 1988.

⁷⁶ “Congressional approval eyed,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, August 8, 1988.

⁷⁷ “Levin pledges to support proposed Keweenaw park,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, May 3, 1988.

The Idea Expands

In early September 1988, the *Daily Mining Gazette* ran an article that once again publicly voiced the viewpoint of Professors Martin, Lankton, Terry Reynolds, and Bruce Seely that focusing the park efforts largely on Calumet was missing an opportunity to tell the wider story.⁷⁸ Lankton noted that, “Calumet is basically a mining town without a mine. It’s not special enough – you can go anywhere and find a late 19th Century streetscape.” Rather than two noncontiguous units focused on the Calumet and Quincy NHLs, the professors proposed a historical loop that would include many of the important residential, commercial, and industrial resources on the Keweenaw. Furthermore, the group lobbied for an outreach program that would encompass historic organizations and resources outside the official boundaries of the park. Although the bill before Congress already proposed a historic preservation commission, the legislation focused the efforts of the commission on Calumet rather than the entire Keweenaw Peninsula. The professors thought this approach was too narrow.

Throughout the rest of the month, the *Daily Mining Gazette* published a series of articles and editorials that debated the merits of various approaches for the park. Park promoters such as Pieti and Tom Tikkanen, then president of CLK Foresight, argued and explained their positions, and reminded the public that modification to the legislation would mean further delays. The professors stressed their view that a more inclusive

⁷⁸ “Professors: Is park focus too narrow?,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, September 8, 1988.

approach would yield a better park for residents and visitors alike. The *Gazette* weighed in by chastising the residents of the peninsula for not taking the efforts by the park proponents seriously, but also calling on all parties involved to work together: “[To be successful] it will take cooperation from two regions of Houghton County that have traditionally been at loggerheads – the North End and the South End.”⁷⁹ The prosperity of copper mining had allowed a competitive atmosphere to flourish between the communities - the current task required them to work together.

In parallel to these conversations, Steve Albee introduced another idea into the mix. In his role at the Western Upper Peninsula Planning and Development Region, Albee had begun researching the possibility for a heritage trail system or heritage reserve. Albee spoke with representatives of the Conservation Foundation and learned about an approach used in France whereby rural areas were managed as recreational opportunities for urban residents. Both Pieti and Albee saw this idea as complementary to the establishment of a national park; the reserve would provide an opportunity for the preservation and interpretation of the local heritage to be managed on a larger scale than the park. Pieti also thought that uniform maps and signage across the reserve could help direct people to the national park.⁸⁰ This idea resonated with the professors at MTU. Lankton participated in an ad hoc committee formed by Albee to discuss the idea, and Lankton then worked with Martin, Pieti, and others to apply for a planning

⁷⁹ “Concerns about park need airing,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, September 14, 1988.

⁸⁰ “Reserve seen as partner of historic park,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, September 9, 1988.

grant from the State of Michigan to explore the idea further. The group proposed a “planning study [to] focus on historic preservation within the three Upper Michigan counties of Keweenaw, Ontonagon, and Houghton, which together constitute the Keweenaw Peninsula.”⁸¹ The proposal referenced the fears of federal resource management occurring in isolation by stating that, “The National Historical Park should not be left in splendid isolation, left in the care of the federal government, while important sites on its periphery are left uncared for, unappreciated, and unvisited.”⁸² Unfortunately, internal politics at Michigan Tech prevented the professors from submitting the grant application.⁸³ Although the group was unsuccessful in securing funding for this planning activity, the focus on a regional approach continued to be part of the discussion about the creation of a national park.

Disappointment and Success

October 1988 was bittersweet for the residents on the Keweenaw. On October 4, they learned that the park legislation would be delayed until the following year.⁸⁴ Despite the best efforts of the park proponents, the complexities of the local landscape, disagreements among various parties, and the slow nature of the legislative process had

⁸¹ Pat Martin and Larry Lankton, “Survey and Planning Grant: Planning for a Copper Country Heritage Reserve,” September 1988, in the author’s possession.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Pat Martin, interview with the author, December 12, 2012.

⁸⁴ “Park legislation delayed until next year,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 4, 1988.

introduced too many delays. They had run out of time. The opportunity to have Reagan sign the enabling legislation, and the relationships built with Secretary Hodel and NPS Director Mott, disappeared with the election of George H.W. Bush in November of 1988. Although the proposal for a national park had caught the attention of the career NPS staff, the park proponents had a lot of work to do to reestablish the higher-level connections that they had worked so hard to form.

Added to the disappointment of this development, Bob Pieti's managers at Michigan Tech decided that it was time to conclude his involvement with the park effort. On October 11, Pieti informed Langseth that MTU would "no longer allow him to use MTU time for the National Park Committee work."⁸⁵ The University had been eager to participate, but the future now seemed cloudy; the return on investment was questionable. While this did not end Pieti's involvement as a private citizen, it severely reduced the amount of time he was able to dedicate to the effort.

At the end of October, however, the park proponents also received some good news – the NPS Advisory Board provided approval for the designation of the two National Historic Landmark districts. The park promoters had successfully worked with the NPS to legitimize the claim of national significance for the remaining historic resources and the story of copper mining on the Keweenaw Peninsula. Still, this was a trying time for the park promoters in Calumet. Bob Langseth reflected on this moment in 1991 by stating

⁸⁵ Robert Langseth, "Social History of the National Park Movement," November 1991, 3, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 4B, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

the following, “It is this writer’s perspective that the local disagreements were leaked to Washington and legislation did not occur under Reagan even though this area is home of ‘Win 1 for the Gipper.’ The [Michigan Tech University Professors] are experts on their level but are in disagreement with experts on the NPS level. They will not accept the NPS OPTIONS REPORT recommendations for a preservation commission in Calumet; not accept the NPS process of developing a park of and by local democratic process; and not accept the NPS desire to confine the park to two landmark districts.”⁸⁶ Three years after the fact, the wounds of a missed opportunity were still very evident.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE. DEFINING THE PARK

While the changes happening in Washington represented a setback for the effort, the CLK Foresight National Park Planning Committee continued to work on efforts they hoped would move the park proposal forward. In particular, the group focused on how it could garner assistance from the State of Michigan, and what changes might be required to improve the federal legislation. On November 1, 1988, nine members of the committee met with local state representative Rick Sofio to discuss how to engage the state. The group presented a list of 11 opportunities for local investment by the state and then moved to a general discussion. Sofio noted that the governor had expressed concern with the proposed park due to the unfulfilled promises of earlier national parks in the state.⁸⁷ The governor might need some convincing that this was a good use of state funds. Sofio also told the group that his district already included five state parks and that it was unlikely that the state would be interested in designating another. Tom Hobbs, NPS Superintendent at Isle Royale, told the group that the key to the design of the park was the legislation, and the group quickly concluded that it needed to focus its energies on redrafting the legislation. The group scheduled a follow-up meeting in December, with participation by the state, to focus on changes.

⁸⁷ Robert Pieti, "Post Meeting Notes: Meeting with state representative Rick Sofio and CLK Foresight Committee for the proposed Calumet National Park," November 1, 1988, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 22, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

On December 16, the group reconvened at the Calumet Township offices. This time the group included eight CLK Foresight members plus Tom Hobbs, Al Hutchings, and Dave Shonk from the NPS; aides for Senator Levin and Congressman Davis; Representative Sofio; and several other local supporters. The minutes from the meeting noted the absence of Tom Baldini from the governor's office, and the absence of all the MTU professors.⁸⁸ After the group received an outline of the issues from Reverend Langseth, and updates from the NPS and the legislative representatives, Al Hutchings from the regional NPS office offered several suggestions:

- Expand the Commission's authority beyond the recommended boundaries of the park.
- Expand the membership of the Commission from 5 members to 9-12 members, and include more professionals (i.e. engineers, historians, preservationists, developers, etc.).
- Include funding for the Commission's preservation plan.
- Increase the pay level of the Director of the Commission, and specify that the Director be a federal employee.
- Specify that the park's headquarters and visitor center be located in Calumet.
- Include up to \$2,000,000 for emergency stabilization funds.

⁸⁸ Robert Pieti, "Calumet National Historical Park Legislation – Work Session," December 16, 1988, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 23, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

The group discussed these suggestions in depth, but it also talked about adding a prohibition against forcibly taking any property and the proposed name for the park (all in attendance agreed that the park should be called Calumet National Historical Park).⁸⁹ The meeting ended with a commitment by the legislative aides to work together on the revised legislation. Strangely, the minutes make no mention of what the group could do to strengthen the involvement by the state. The vision still included a strong partnership role for the state, but the group seemed unable to determine exactly how to make that happen.⁹⁰ Regardless, the coming months would bring a series of public and private discussions on issues relevant to the park. While there were a number of smaller changes addressed during these discussions, the primary focus areas were the park boundaries, the commission, and the name for the proposed park. In addition, the NPS had a few new concerns that it raised later at the congressional hearings for the proposed legislation.

Boundaries

The legislation introduced by Congressman Davis in 1988 established the park boundaries as “...the Quincy Mining National Historic Landmark near Hancock, Michigan, and the Calumet and Hecla Mining National Historic Landmark in Calumet, Michigan.

There is further to be established in the village of Calumet, Michigan, the Calumet

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Sue Dana, interview with the author, December 6, 2012.

Historic Preservation District, which will be administered by the Secretary [of the Interior] and by the Commission in accordance with this Act.”⁹¹ In reviewing this language, the MTU professors reiterated their earlier concerns that these boundaries were too limiting to tell the story effectively of mining on the entire Keweenaw; Quincy and C&H were very important to the story, but they were exceptional examples in an area that contained many historic resources. In addition, the professors also began to raise objections to the language controlling the management of these boundaries. HR 4759 from 1988 specified that, “...no waters, lands, or other property outside of the park or preservation district boundaries...may be added to the park or historic district without the consent of the village council of Calumet.”⁹² As noted by Professors Martin and Lankton, this provision effectively provided the village council with veto power over the NPS, even in areas outside the Village of Calumet.⁹³ While the discussion about the proposed boundaries had moved beyond the initial conversations that focused solely on Calumet, the NPS and Congressman Davis’ legislative aides had structured a bill that still gave the folks in Calumet a disproportionately large say in the operation of the park. Finally, it also seems that the National Park Committee members were confused about the specifics of the actual boundaries. As late as November 1988, the group asked Bob

⁹¹ *A bill to authorize the establishment of the Calumet National Historical Park in the State of Michigan and for other purposes*, HR 4759, 100th Cong., 2nd sess.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Robert Langseth, “Foresight National Park Committee: Group Concerns and Questions,” December 6, 1988, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 23, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

Pieti to see if he could locate a copy of the boundary map referenced in the legislation.⁹⁴

Almost 5 months after the introduction of the original legislation, the local people who were most knowledgeable about the park activities still did not seem to have a copy of the map!

Commission

The local residents envisioned the proposed park as a partnership park, and the NPS borrowed management ideas from Lowell National Historical Park for its legislative proposal. The establishment of the Calumet Historic Preservation Commission was the embodiment of these influences; the commission provided a method for the community to be intimately involved with the operation of the park. The original legislation called for a five-member commission that included commissioners appointed by the Secretary who represented the Calumet Village Council; the local citizens of Calumet; the Governor of the State of Michigan; Michigan Technological University; and the Department of the Interior. Among other powers, the legislation provided the commission with the authority to produce a park preservation plan; provide loans, grants, and technical assistance; acquire and dispose of property; and hire its own staff. This proposed model created controversy on two levels. First, the legislation was unclear about the jurisdiction of the commission. Was the intent to have a commission

⁹⁴ "Minutes, National Park Committee, Foresight Inc," November 10, 1988, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 22, Calumet, MI.

that focused on the Village of Calumet, or should the commission oversee operations across the entire park? Most of the members of the National Park Committee seemed to favor a focus limited to the historic preservation district in Calumet, but the legislation left open wider possibilities, including calling on the commission to work with the NPS to create a preservation plan for the entire park.⁹⁵

If the commission was going to focus on the wider area, then a secondary concern was the manner of appointment for the commissioners. As Professor Martin pointed out in a letter to Congressman Davis, "In the current proposal there is no provision for the inclusion of professional historians, archaeologists, architects, or other cultural resource specialists, save the Director. There is not even a provision that members of the Commission have serious interest or experience in any activity that relates to the design, development, or appreciation of a park based on historic resources. The sole criterion for membership, in most cases, is place of residence or employment, or political appointment."⁹⁶ Al Hutchings had also raised this issue in the December 19 meeting. To the cultural resource professionals in the area, this was a serious flaw in the legislation. The model, however, was consistent with the contemporary commissions at Lowell and other partnership areas; rather than considering the professional qualifications of the individuals, appointments largely focused on providing adequate representation for important constituencies. In similar scenarios, the legislation left it up to the

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Patrick Martin to Robert Davis, June 24, 1988, in the author's possession.

municipalities or organizations who recommended possible commissioners, and the Secretary of the Interior who appointed the commissioners, to determine what qualifications were required to serve on the commission. Not surprisingly, this process resembled the election procedures used to elect federal legislators, and seemed to stress political connections more so than actual skills or experience.

Park Name

The last major item of concern for the park proponents was the name of the proposed park. The legislation introduced in 1988 proposed the name Calumet National Historical Park. For the individuals involved in the original conversations about the park, this name made perfect sense. After all, the idea floated in 1986 was to try and “save Calumet” by creating a national park that was modeled after Lowell National Historical Park. By 1988, however, the conversation had evolved beyond centering the efforts solely on Calumet. In addition to Calumet, the legislation included a unit focused on the Quincy Mining Company, and there was a push to widen the focus of the park to include other important sites on the Keweenaw. As the National Park Committee consolidated the input from its members, Professors Martin and Lankton noted that the name should represent the regional or national importance of the park and not just highlight one

component.⁹⁷ Reverend Langseth stated that he liked Calumet [in the name] because it represented a location that visitors could find on a map, but he added that it was problematic in that it didn't include Quincy, and it didn't seem as catchy as other national park names.⁹⁸ As an alternative, the professors suggested Lake Superior Copper District National Historic Park as a historically accurate name. During the heyday of the mining operations, the region had been known as the Lake Superior District, and Lake Superior was a geographic feature that visitors could locate on a map. Unfortunately, as Bob Pieti later noted, this name was a "two-breather"; it was probably too long and complex to effectively communicate and market.

Although the attendees at the December 16 meeting had unanimously agreed that the name should include Calumet, private disagreements about the park name continued into 1989. These disagreements became public when Senator Levin and Congressman Davis introduced revised legislation to establish the park. On March 2, 1989, Congressman Davis introduced HR 1241 to establish the "Calumet National Historical Park". On April 19, Senator Levin introduced S 866 to establish the "Calumet Copper Country National Historical Park". Despite the earlier agreement to work together, the legislators introduced bills with different proposed names for the park. This apparent discrepancy was quickly reported in an Associated Press story that ran on April 21 titled

⁹⁷ Robert Langseth, "Foresight National Park Committee: Group Concerns and Questions," December 6, 1988, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 23, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

“Davis, Levin at odds over park’s name.”⁹⁹ The reporter noted that aides for Congressman Davis (a Republican) accused Senator Levin (a Democrat) of working on a revised bill without consulting Davis or the community. Levin’s version of the bill proposed a different name and included several other modifications not included in Davis’ bill. Levin responded by reminding everyone that the focus should be on passing a bill, not arguing the relatively small differences between the bills. Although Levin’s comments were appropriate, and both sides later downplayed the differences, the introduction of an alternative name was frustrating for the locals on the Keweenaw. For the folks in Calumet, Levin’s proposed name came as an apparent surprise, and Bob Pieti commented that it was probably longer than they would like.¹⁰⁰ For the professors at Michigan Tech, the perceived negative reaction to Levin’s proposal was further evidence of a concerted effort by the folks in Calumet to claim the proposed park as “their park” to the exclusion of other interests.¹⁰¹ Although there had been disagreements between the two sides in the past, the frustration levels seemed to be escalating.

Amidst this public bickering, the *Daily Mining Gazette* received a notable letter from a local resident. On April 27, the *DMG* published a short letter to the editor from Lilly Haataja, a Keweenaw County Commissioner from Ahmeek. Haataja’s letter, in its entirety, read, “Since the Copper Country has usurped our county’s name, it would be

⁹⁹ Tim Bovee, “Davis, Levin at odds over park’s name,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, April 21, 1989.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Pieti, “Calumet is logical name for the park,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, April 13, 1989.

¹⁰¹ Terry S. Reynolds, Patrick E. Martin and Bruce E. Seely, “Knee-jerk reaction,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, May 1, 1989.

most appropriate to name the National Park in Calumet 'The Keweenaw National Park.'" ¹⁰²

Environmental Contamination

With the introduction of bills into both houses of Congress, congressional staffers scheduled Senate and House subcommittee hearings to discuss the proposed legislation. On July 19, 1989, the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests, a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, met to consider S 866. Senator Dale Bumpers from Arkansas chaired the subcommittee. Gerald D. Patten, the NPS Associate Director for Park Service Planning and Development, testified at the hearing that the NPS was generally supportive of the proposed park, but that they wanted another study in order to, "...ensure that the [park] does not include toxic or hazardous waste sites." ¹⁰³ Patten went on to add that the NPS also wanted to explore options to minimize the costs of operating the proposed park. While Pieti, and Congressman Davis' aides, tried to put a positive spin on the request to conduct yet another study of the area, Senator Levin expressed clear frustration with the NPS testimony. Another study meant further delays, and the Senator noted that, "We've had a great deal of study in these areas already." ¹⁰⁴ More importantly, however,

¹⁰² Lilly Haataja, "Another name suggested for park," *Daily Mining Gazette*, April 27, 1989.

¹⁰³ "Agency wants more studies on national park," *Daily Mining Gazette*, July 20, 1989.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

the contamination issue raised by the NPS was not something that the park proponents took seriously.

All of the local residents involved in the park proposal understood that the mining companies produced huge amounts of waste. There were waste rock piles near the mines, stamp sand deposits near the mills, and slag piles near the smelters. In addition, each of the mining companies ran various industrial operations that deposited additional chemical and petroleum wastes on the landscape. However, for those folks who grew up on the Keweenaw, these wastes were not normally a source of concern. Generations of workers labored at these sites, and families grew accustomed to the industrial character of the landscape and the wastes that copper mining produced. Kids searched for copper specimens on the rock piles in the summer, and ran their sleds down the piles in the winter. Families picnicked on and swam near the stamp sand beaches. These were not hazards; they were an integral part of the landscape. They were a normal part of life on the Keweenaw. Now the NPS was raising concerns about an issue that was obvious, but inconsequential to the folks on the Keweenaw.

Growing Opposition by the NPS

The Quincy Mining Company Historic District National Historic Landmark was dedicated on August 18, 1989, and the Calumet Historic District National Historic Landmark was dedicated the following day, August 19. Both dedications included rather elaborate

ceremonies with band performances, presentations from local historians, remarks from federal legislators, and landmark plaque presentations by Constance Harriman, Undersecretary of the Department of the Interior, and James Ridenour, Director of the National Park Service. In addition, Governor James Blanchard issued an executive declaration proclaiming August 14-20, 1989 as Keweenaw Heritage Week in honor of the landmark dedications. In a north end – south end split of responsibilities, the Quincy Mine Hoist Association hosted the ceremony at Quincy, and CLK Foresight hosted the festivities in Calumet. While people involved with the national park proposal attended both events, none of the local proponents served in an official capacity at both ceremonies. Furthermore, the joint program produced for the celebrations did not give any indication that there was an on-going effort to create a national historic park that included both landmark districts.

Regardless, the creation of the landmarks was a significant step for the park proponents. There had been years of meetings, events, trips to Washington, NPS reports, and actions designed to enlist the support of the public. The landmarks finally offered concrete progress in the drive to establish the national significance of the area. The proponents now had a real success to rally around. They could move the focus from determining if the area was historically significant to determining how to celebrate its historical significance. Unfortunately, the landmark celebrations also seemed to strengthen Ridenour's opposition to the park. Years later, he referred to the park as "another slab of pork" forced on the NPS. Although he admitted the legislators and the local

population were enthusiastically supportive of the proposed park, he did not think that NHL status automatically qualified an area for national park status. Even after the establishment of the park, he commented that he still had "...doubts as to the national park stature of the copper country of the Keweenaw Peninsula."¹⁰⁵

On September 26, the House subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands held a hearing on Congressman Davis' version of the park bill, HR 1241. Democratic Congressman Bruce Vento from St. Paul, Minnesota, chaired the subcommittee. This time, Jerry Rogers, NPS Associate Director of Cultural Resources, was the representative who informed the subcommittee about the need for an environmental study. Similar to the testimony given before the Senate subcommittee, Rogers said the study would help determine, "what areas we might need or might not need, the cost of purchasing and maintaining sites, and the possibility of cleaning up toxic contamination from mining."¹⁰⁶ Rogers also added that the NPS would oppose the establishment of the park until the study was completed, and that the study should take about six months and \$100,000 to complete. Congressman Vento acknowledged that there were still some problems with the legislation, but he also said that he was "...surprised at the strong opposition of the park service to the park before us."¹⁰⁷ In fact, the opposition should have been even more surprising given the heavy involvement of the NPS during the prior two years, and

¹⁰⁵ James M. Ridenour, *The National Parks Compromised: Pork Barrel Politics and America's Treasures*, (Merrillville, IN, 1994), 82-84.

¹⁰⁶ Marysue Dettloff, and Paul Furiga, "Park service won't back project until area study finished," *Daily Mining Gazette*, September 27, 1989.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

the fact that the NPS provided the draft language for Congressman Davis' original bill, HR 4759.

On September 28, the *Daily Mining Gazette* came out in support of the proposed environmental study. While the editors acknowledged that the study introduced an undesirable delay, they felt that the study "... might also ensure that when the bills are finally passed, the groundwork will have been laid to make the Calumet National Historic Park the best [park] possible."¹⁰⁸ Bob Pieti produced a summary of the concerns raised by the NPS to help set the stage for the work back home. According to Pieti's summary, the items that the proposed study needed to address were:

- The general interpretation plan has not been established.
- A management plan has not been prepared.
- The role of the commission should be changed, more advisory, less managerial.
- The exact boundaries are not clearly defined, to date they have been assumed to be the same as the National Landmark Districts.
- Which property [the] NPS will purchase has not been defined.
- There [are] no cost estimates of purchases or operations.
- Interrelationships between local/state gov'ts & NPS need to be defined.

¹⁰⁸ "Park study makes sense," *Daily Mining Gazette*, September 28, 1989.

- The question of possible toxic sites has not been resolved.¹⁰⁹

Some of these items were familiar to the park proponents, while others sparked new conversations. The interpretation and management plans were items that most already assumed came after the establishment of the park. The role of the commission, boundaries of the park, and the interrelationships with state and local governments were issues that had received lots of attention throughout 1989, and it was true that they still needed some adjustment. As for NPS ownership of resources, the assumption was that they would own very few local resources. The Options Report from 1988 had called out a few key resources for NPS ownership, but early in 1989, Bob Pieti downplayed even these recommendations by stating that, “There is no Santa Claus! [The] NPS will not buy many buildings or much land in Calumet or Quincy.”¹¹⁰ Of course, Pieti had been speaking to Keweenaw residents and trying to set appropriate expectations. The NPS was now trying to understand the costs involved in establishing and operating a park on the Keweenaw, and it was true that no one had done any detailed cost projections. Finally, the issue of toxic wastes was relatively new to the group, but they had known since the July Senate hearings that the NPS was now looking for an answer.

¹⁰⁹ Robert Pieti, “Summary by Bob Pieti,” September 27, 1989, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 29, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹¹⁰ Robert Pieti, “CLK Foresight Meeting Agenda,” January 5, 1989, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 2, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

Faced with yet another hurdle, the park proponents focused on tasks they hoped would move the process forward. Bob Pieti had already written a guest editorial in the *Daily Mining Gazette* that outlined progress toward the goal. His article also encouraged local residents to write to the subcommittee chairs to express their support for the effort.¹¹¹ In early October, Pieti prepared a proposal for NPS resource ownership in the two landmark districts.¹¹² In Calumet, the proposal called for NPS ownership of St Anne's church and rectory, the Union Building, the Coppertown USA museum, some property near the Calumet dam, the C&H drill shop, and the C&H drill core collection (geological samples from throughout the area). Also in Calumet, the proposal outlined a role for the Commission in providing financial assistance to the Calumet Theatre, the downtown commercial district, and the creation of interpretive experiences at various representative examples of miners' housing. At Quincy, the proposal suggested that the NPS own and operate the No.2 shaft-rockhouse and hoist; the Quincy smelter; the Agent's house and other company housing along US 41; the machine shop; and other industrial buildings on the former mining company property. Interestingly, Pieti also called for some involvement for the park on Michigan Tech's campus. The proposal included a suggestion that the park provide staffing and operating funds to the A.E. Seaman Mineral Museum and the Michigan Tech Archives.

¹¹¹ Robert Pieti, "A progress report on the Calumet National Park," *Daily Mining Gazette*, September 23, 1989.

¹¹² Robert Pieti, "Tentative plan for the Calumet National Park," October 6, 1989, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 29, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

These activities seemed to have had the desired effect; in early November, Congressman Vento and Senator Bumpers wrote to the director of the National Park Service to encourage the NPS to proceed with the proposed study.¹¹³ The legislators reminded Ridenour that his predecessor had been supportive of the park, and that there was already a significant amount of momentum on the effort. They agreed that additional information would help with the decision-making process, but they also stressed the need for urgency and asked that the report be available by May 1, 1990. Consistent with Pieti's summary of the House subcommittee hearings, Vento and Bumpers recommended to Ridenour that the study include: costs involved in establishing the park, the specific boundaries, identification of hazardous wastes, and a plan for how federal, state, and local entities would work together to achieve the park's mission. In addition, they asked Ridenour to clarify the "... historical, cultural, scenic, scientific, natural and recreational values associated with the park," and to provide "... detailed management options (and a preferred alternative) that include the type of Federal, State and local programs desirable to preserve and develop, and make accessible for public use the values identified."¹¹⁴ Vento and Bumpers were listening to the NPS, but they also wanted to make sure that the proposed study covered all of the issues raised in the congressional hearings; they would support one additional study, but this should be the last. Two weeks later, Senator Levin and Congressman Davis also

¹¹³ Bruce Vento and Dale Bumpers to James Ridenour, November 9, 1989, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 2, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

sent a letter to Ridenour urging a quick completion of the report. They asked for an April 1990 completion date, and asked for an update on "... the progress that has been made to date concerning this study."¹¹⁵ For Levin and Davis, the clock was already ticking.

In November 1989, Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan made a quick trip to the Keweenaw to participate in the dedication of a memorial park at the site of the Italian Hall disaster. Lujan was only in the area for four hours, but the park proponents wanted Lujan to participate in the dedication, learn about the area, and become an advocate for the proposed park. Stan Dyl told the *Daily Mining Gazette* that he, "...wanted to show Lujan the national historic significance of Michigan copper mining."¹¹⁶ On November 13, about 650 people from the community attended a ceremony at the Calumet Theatre that included a reading of the names of those who perished as citizens of similar ages walked across the stage. Lujan addressed the crowd at the theater and then participated in the dedication at the memorial park. Following the Italian Hall events, Lujan also toured Coppertown, the Quincy Mine, the Michigan Tech Archives, and the Seaman Mineral Museum. Although Lujan said that he was very impressed with what he saw, he also told the *Gazette* that he knew the NPS was still studying the concept.¹¹⁷ While the park proponents were pleased that another Secretary of the Interior had come to the

¹¹⁵ Carl Levin and Robert Davis to James Ridenour, November 21, 1989, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 2, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹¹⁶ Roger Komula, "Calumet readies for Interior chief's visit," *Daily Mining Gazette*, November 7, 1989.

¹¹⁷ Roger Komula, "Italian Hall survivor: 'I was lucky'," *Daily Mining Gazette*, November 14, 1989.

area, Lujan did not provide the same level of enthusiastic support that they had received from Secretary Hodel.

As 1989 ended, the *Daily Mining Gazette* ran an article that offered another answer to the question of what to call the proposed park. In a nod to the inclusion of the Quincy resources, the *Gazette* reported that, “Calumet National Historical Park was recently amended to [become] Calumet-Quincy National Historical Park...”¹¹⁸ The change publicly acknowledged the increasing importance of the Quincy resources while still placing Calumet front and center. Privately, of course, there were still disagreements about how such a park would operate.

NPS Study

The Options Report from 1988 provided four high-level models for preserving and interpreting the resources on the Keweenaw. The NPS team that developed the Options Report provided two options that included NPS participation, but they also provided two options that included little or no NPS involvement. In addition, while the team supported the contention that there were nationally significant resources in the region, it did not identify a recommended management option as part of its report. In late 1989, however, the NPS had some additional information. By this time, Congress had already received two sets of bills calling for the establishment of a national park unit,

¹¹⁸ “National park gets a new name,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, December 15, 1989.

the establishment of two national historic landmarks proved that the resources were nationally significant, and future NPS involvement on the Keweenaw seemed to be a foregone conclusion. The questions that the NPS needed to answer now were: how should the NPS operate the proposed park, and how much was it going to cost?

While the NPS began to determine how it would answer these questions, the park proponents began to ratchet up their community outreach activities. Bob Pieti authored an editorial in the *Daily Mining Gazette* that stressed the importance of building a strong partnership with the NPS. Pieti recalled Secretary Hodel's advice to ensure that the community provided adequate tourist facilities, and Pieti stressed that, "The people of the Copper Country must invest time and money in this partnership to make it work."

¹¹⁹ In addition, in order to demonstrate continued public support for the park, the CLK Foresight National Park Committee authored a support resolution that it distributed to various municipalities and organizations in the area. The committee asked the groups to adopt the resolution and forward proof of the adoption to Sue Cone at the Calumet Village offices. The committee also expanded the NPS ownership plan that Pieti had authored the previous year. Consolidating the input from a number of interested parties, the committee added the implementation of a trolley system in Calumet, the expansion of local golf courses, new zoning recommendations, integration with existing outdoor recreational opportunities, and several other suggestions. As the plan grew, however, it became more of a wish list than an agreed upon plan. The document even

¹¹⁹ Robert Pieti, "Park update," *Daily Mining Gazette*, January 10, 1990.

included a disclaimer that acknowledged this change by stating that, “This list is meant to be [a] guide to things we believe should be considered by the NPS Study Team, they are Santa Claus. ...Like kids at Christmas we should be happy and thankful for whatever Santa brings us.”¹²⁰ While Pieti had evoked Santa Claus earlier to try to set appropriate expectations about the level of NPS investment in the community, he and the committee members now wanted to make sure that the NPS study team considered all their requests.

The NPS assembled its study team at the end of 1989. John Paige, a historian from the NPS Denver Service Center, led the team. The team also included Paula Machlin, landscape architect; Mike Madell, social economist; Paul Newman, historical architect; Lynn Peterson, national resource specialist; and Jacqueline Richy, natural resource specialist.¹²¹ The team spent January and February of 1990 at its offices in Denver combing through written documentation about the park effort. The team then traveled to the Keweenaw in March to meet with the park proponents, talk with members of the public, and tour the area.¹²² By May, the park proponents were anxiously awaiting a draft version of the report.¹²³ Unfortunately, the report would languish at the NPS offices for almost nine more months; the local folks would not see a draft of the report

¹²⁰ CLK Foresight Park Planning Committee, “Tentative plan for the Calumet/Quincy National Historical Park,” January 18, 1990, 1, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 3B, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹²¹ CLK Foresight Park Planning Committee, “The NPS Study team,” February 27, 1990, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 3B, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹²² Cynthia Beaudette, “Survey team to research developing park’s potential,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, February 23, 1990.

¹²³ “The National Park Study Team,” *Calumet DDA News Notes*, No. 10, May 19, 1990, 5.

until February of 1991. In the meantime, a few simmering conflicts on the Keweenaw intensified.

Local Differences of Opinion

On July 14, 1990, members of the National Park Committee held a breakfast meeting with Congressmen Davis, Kildee, and Vento in Marquette, MI. The local attendees included Bob Pieti, Reverend Langseth and five others with Calumet connections. The group also included Burt Boyum, president of the Quincy Mine Hoist Association, and Ed Koepel, chair of the Ventures Group, which owned properties in both of the landmark districts. The meeting did not include any of the Michigan Tech professors that had played various roles in earlier discussions; they had not been invited.

The content of the meeting consisted largely of statements of continued support by the legislators and updates from the park proponents. Bob Pieti's notes from the meeting mention that Congressman Davis reported that he had, "never seen a project with so much local support and a total lack of any detractors."¹²⁴ One could argue that there were still many disagreements on how the park would operate, but Davis was right in highlighting the huge amount of public support for the idea of a park. Congressman Vento told the group that he wanted Congress to act on the bill in September, but that

¹²⁴ Robert Pieti, "Post meeting notes, Vento, Kildee, Davis," July 14, 1990, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder May-Aug 1990, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

the NPS and the EPA needed to complete their studies before that could happen.¹²⁵

While the NPS worked on its alternatives study, the EPA had been working in parallel on a risk assessment to answer the concerns of the NPS, but the report was still unavailable at the time of the meeting.

On the day after the meeting, Pat Martin called Reverend Langseth to let him know that he and the other professors were withdrawing from the National Park Committee in order to “preserve their own integrity.”¹²⁶ Although the professors and the other park proponents had a somewhat contentious relationship over the years, the two groups had complemented each other in their common desire to establish a national park. Unfortunately, the folks in Calumet perceived Lankton and Martin’s repeated calls to widen the park as a threat to Calumet.¹²⁷ In addition, the disagreements about the role of the NPS, the powers of the commission, and the boundaries of the park seemed to have driven a wedge between the professors and the other park proponents – the differences became too great, and the effort too time consuming, for the collaboration to continue.

Only a week later, the proponents played host to Warren Hill, the NPS Midwest Regional Associate Director of Operations. Hill wanted to visit the area to see the resources and learn more about the history. It is likely that Hill was also concerned about the potential

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Robert Langseth, “Social History of the National Park Movement,” November 1991, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 4B, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹²⁷ Sue Dana, interview with the author, December 6, 2012.

costs associated with the proposed park. Although Hill apparently enjoyed his visit to the Keweenaw, he made a number of comments that seemed to agitate Pieti and the committee members. Bob Pieti stated that Hill "...did not think this would be a destination park."¹²⁸ Hill also said that he could "...foresee that the work of restoration, interpretation, and 'marketing' of a new historical site to attract added visitors will be, not impossible, but difficult even if money were abundant!"¹²⁹ Hill must have also shown his admiration for the industrial structures at Quincy because in a rare show of public parochialism, Pieti revealed his strong feelings for Calumet by downplaying Quincy. In a letter to Congressman Davis about Hill's visit, Pieti stated that, "When the revised legislation gets drafted we want to make sure that Calumet gets the headquarters for the new park. Quincy was only a small fraction of the size of Calumet and Hecla. Dozens of C&H buildings have been converted to other uses since the mines closed. At Quincy only the: Mine Office; Agent's house; Hoist and #2 shafthouse were converted to new uses, many are just falling down."¹³⁰ Pieti was even more blunt when he said that, "The Quincy Smelter is a critical group of structures and has great potential because of the setting on the water, but we do not want to save the smelter and get nothing in Calumet." There is no doubt that historic preservation and interpretation

¹²⁸ Robert Pieti to Congressman Davis, July 27, 1990, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 3B, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹²⁹ Warren Hill to Robert Pieti, August 1, 1990, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder May – Aug 1990, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹³⁰ Robert Pieti to Congressman Davis, July 27, 1990, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 3B, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

were important to Pieti, but the needs for Calumet's economic development and community revitalization were very strong motivators in the effort to create the park.

On August 2, 1990, international events interrupted the legislative progress on the park as Iraq invaded its neighbor, Kuwait. The *Gazette* published an editorial later that month that acknowledged the importance of dealing with Iraq, but lamented about the loss of congressional focus on the park efforts; "... it's somewhat difficult to understand why an issue such as approval of a national park has to be shunted aside."¹³¹ The editors went on to argue for the park establishment, even if it came with little or no money. It seems that some in the local community were becoming weary of the years of discussions; they felt it was time to do something.

As summer turned to fall, the park proponents continued to wait for the NPS report. The NPS distributed a draft report internally in September, but the local representatives were not able to review the draft. In early October, Bob Pieti shared with the public that the initial cost estimates from the report ranged from \$36 million to \$71 million, but that the report was still not available for review.¹³² Pieti later stated that WUPPDR had hired a consultant, Deborah Dobson-Brown, to explore the idea of a heritage reserve. Steve Albee had suggested this model back in 1988, but had been unable to obtain appropriate funding at the time. Now, with grant funding from the Department of the Interior and the Michigan Bureau of History, Dobson-Brown set out to inventory historic

¹³¹ "Park in limbo for another year," *Daily Mining Gazette*, August 29, 1990.

¹³² Robert Pieti, "Financial help needed for park," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 9, 1990.

resources in Houghton, Keweenaw, and Ontonagon counties. Pieti reported that, “The information compiled in the computerized inventory, or database, will be used to develop an economic and management plan for the so-called ‘Copper Trail.’”¹³³ The hope was that this activity would complement the proposed park, and that a heritage reserve might offer a nice mix of natural and cultural tourism opportunities. In addition, the prospect of a heritage reserve might offer a hedge on prospects for a national park; if the proponents were unable to get a park established, then maybe a reserve was an acceptable alternative.

The 101st Congress officially ended on January 3, 1991, and the park bills died at the end of the legislative session. The park proponents had had a busy couple of years, but they were still waiting for the NPS and EPA to complete needed work before the process could move forward. Luckily, a draft of the alternatives study was right around the corner.

Study of Alternatives

The local proponents received a draft of the study in early February – nine months after the deadline given by Levin and Davis. The NPS noted in the report summary that, “...this Study of Alternatives identifies areas and properties that should be included in a national historical park; the cost to the federal government for establishing a park,

¹³³ “Park update,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, December 14, 1990.

including potential acquisition and preservation costs; management options; historical, cultural, scenic, scientific, natural, and recreational values associated with the proposed park; and hazardous waste sites within and around the park area.”¹³⁴ Unfortunately, the study did not include a proposed management alternative, reportedly due to time constraints, and the lack of good information on hazardous wastes from the EPA caused the NPS to dance around the issue. To organize the information in the study, the NPS included an introduction plus three major sections: A Description of Resources and the Environment; Analysis of Resources; and Park Development and Management Options. The introduction provided several important contextual points about the proposed park. The NPS explained that nationally significant resources alone were not enough to justify the creation of a national historical park – a proposed park area must also be a suitable addition to the park service, and the creation of a new park unit must be feasible in the eyes of the NPS. For a proposed park to be a suitable addition, the resources and interpretive experiences should represent opportunities not readily available in other park units. On the Keweenaw, the proposed park offered some new opportunities, as well as some experiences that would be similar to other parks. At the time, the NPS determined that the industrial mining resources at Quincy and in Calumet offered unique opportunities to focus on mining technology, processes, and business methods in a way that was unavailable at other parks at that time. The NPS also noted, however,

¹³⁴ *Study of Alternatives: Proposed Keweenaw National Historical Park, Michigan*, (National Park Service, February 1991), iii.

that the industrial town and ethnic community interpretive themes available in Calumet were already available in parks such as Lowell NHP, Statue of Liberty National Monument, Castle Clinton National Memorial, and several others.¹³⁵ This finding seemed to bolster Kate Lidfors' earlier comments about the importance of the Quincy resources; not only did the Quincy resources represent the best-preserved industrial remains on the Keweenaw, they also offered a unique interpretive opportunity for the NPS.

With regard to the feasibility of the proposed park, the NPS examined characteristics such as "landownership, acquisition costs, access, threats to the resources, and staff or development requirements."¹³⁶ The NPS recognized the complex landownership situation for the proposed park, as well as the huge potential acquisition costs for the proposed units; there were thousands of historic resources, many of which were in living communities. The NPS also noted the enthusiasm of the local community in wanting the park service to play a significant role in the proposed park, but they cautioned that, "... it must be emphasized that the Park Service does not necessarily support the establishment of a national historical park at this site...other management options may be equally effective in protecting the historic resources."¹³⁷ While the involvement of the park service seemed logical at some level, the NPS offered that a full-blown national historical park might not be the best answer.

¹³⁵ Ibid, pg. 9.

¹³⁶ Ibid, pg. 10.

¹³⁷ Ibid, pg. 10.

The section of the study that focused on the area's resources largely reiterated the historical information already covered in the national landmark nominations and other prior documents. The study went beyond these documents, however, by also examining the natural resources, the economic profile, and mentioning the hazardous waste threats within the proposed park. The unknowns of the hazardous wastes provided the biggest challenge for the park. In 1988, the EPA had placed a number of milling sites along Torch Lake on the Superfund national priority list. Now, as mentioned in the subcommittee hearings, the NPS linked these sites to the proposed park and raised concerns about the liability impacts of acquiring historic properties within a designated Superfund area. Since the EPA had not completed its analysis of the area prior to the release of the Study of Alternatives, the NPS retreated to a defensive position and stated that, "Until [the EPA study] has been finished, no action should be taken with respect to the [management] alternatives that include potential waste sites."¹³⁸ Unfortunately, this position established an inherent conflict in the park proposal. On one hand, the study established that the industrial resources of the area provided a compelling reason to establish a park since they were unavailable in other park service units. On the other hand, because of the possibility of hazardous waste contamination, the NPS also recommended that the proposed park avoid the very resources that justified the park in the first place!

¹³⁸ Ibid, iii.

The bulk of the alternatives study was a section that focused on development alternatives and management options. The NPS outlined five different alternatives for the scope of the effort, and then provided six different methods for managing the resources. This approach provided numerous possible models for how a park might operate, but it left it up to other decision makers to determine which model was right for the Keweenaw. The NPS described the five development alternatives as follows:

Alternative 1: Minimal preservation and on-site interpretation

Alternative 2: Increased preservation and on-site interpretation

Alternative 3: Moderate preservation and on-site interpretation

Alternative 4: Large-scale preservation and on-site interpretation

Alternative 5: Limited preservation and moderate on-site interpretation focusing on Calumet

In essence, each alternative offered a series of suggested actions, and associated costs, that focused on key resources in the two landmark districts. As the level of preservation and interpretation increased, the corresponding costs also increased. Alternative 1 resulted in a development cost of \$22,858,000, while the large-scale activities of Alternative 4 required \$55,289,000. In a nod to the desires of the Calumet-based park proponents, the NPS also included an alternative largely focused on Calumet. While Alternative 5 did include some investment at Quincy, the bulk of the recommended actions centered on the commercial and residential areas of Calumet, as well as the

inclusion of C&H's Osceola #13 shaft complex. The cost for Alternative 5 was \$30,809,000. In addition, since this was an NPS analysis that considered costs to the federal government, the study also included references to Isle Royale National Park and provided suggestions for various cost savings through the combination of some Isle Royale operations with the proposed park. Although the inclusion of these suggestions made sense from an NPS perspective, mentioning Isle Royale would ultimately prove to be a frustrating distraction for the local park proponents.

Regardless of the level of preservation and interpretation, the NPS also considered who might be involved and how they might operate the proposed park. The six management options proposed included the following:

Option 1: NPS management of a new park area

Option 2: Management of a national heritage area by a federal commission

Option 3: Local management of an NPS affiliated area

Option 4: State or local management of a national historical reserve

Option 5: Management of a state park by a state commission

Option 6: Management of the historic district by a federal/local partnership

The breadth of options in the report reiterated the desire of the NPS to consider alternatives beyond a traditional park service unit; the historic resources of the area deserved attention, but the complexities called for creative approaches. The authors of the study presented the options in descending order of federal involvement. Option 1

meant intensive involvement by the NPS backed by additional federal funding for preservation and interpretive actions, while Option 6 called for the NPS to facilitate a consortium of local heritage organizations, but with the exception of NPS staff costs, the funding for heritage activities would come from non-federal sources. To augment all of these options, the authors also suggested the creation of a \$15M preservation loan fund. The authors reasoned that the fund was needed in order, “...(1) to provide leadership and direction for the preservation of contributing historical resources within the potential park boundaries, and (2) to educate and provide technical assistance to property owners concerning appropriate preservation treatments.”¹³⁹ They suggested the NPS manage the fund with the help of an advisory board “...composed of appointees from state, county, and local governments, as well as the general public.”¹⁴⁰ The advisory board could provide lots of input on the operation of the fund, but the NPS would have final say on fund expenditures.

At the end of the study, the authors also provided several appendices to augment the report or provide answers to some of the questions that the congressional representatives had asked. Specifically, the report included appendices that addressed the NPS park unit planning process; a description of the wetland areas on the Keweenaw; a summary of endangered species in the area; hazardous sites identified by the state; existing recreational opportunities in the Upper Peninsula, and detailed cost

¹³⁹ Ibid, pg. 92.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, pg. 93.

projections for the development and operational aspects of the alternatives outlined in the study.

The alternatives study was the most comprehensive analysis of the proposed park to date. It reiterated the national significance of the local resources, provided detailed development cost estimates, and delivered management models that represented some of the most current NPS thinking on creative ways to manage local heritage resources. Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, the study did not conclude with a recommended alternative for moving forward, and it did not provide a workable answer on how to deal with contaminated industrial resources. In essence, the study provided more data and more options without providing additional guidance. The local park proponents reacted to the draft report with enthusiasm, and a critical eye. In the vacuum created by the lack of a recommended alternative, they developed their own alternative.

The Local Preferred Option

The national park committee met on February 5, 1991, to discuss its reaction to the draft study. Tom Tikkanen, Reverend Langseth, and others from Calumet expressed their preference for elements of Alternative 5, the alternative that focused the majority of the efforts on Calumet.¹⁴¹ Langseth even provided a written comparison between the

¹⁴¹ "Park Committee Meeting," February 5, 1991, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 1991, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

Options Report and the Study of Alternatives. Langseth took issue that the Alternatives Study included too much discussion of Isle Royale's needs; gave priority to mining technology and the industrial story; generally focused on Quincy at the expense of Calumet; and lacked a recommendation for a historic district commission that focused on downtown Calumet.¹⁴² Dave Halkola, a member of the Quincy Mine Hoist Association board and retired history professor, expressed a personal preference for Alternative 3. Witnessing an apparent divide forming between the members, Bill Black, an employee at Isle Royale National Park, advised the attendees that they needed to present a united view of the study or they risked damaging the chances for the park creation. One item that everyone treated as good news was the message from Congressman Davis' office that President Bush had included \$3,000,000 for the proposed park in his budget for 1992. While the inclusion of the funding in the budget did not guarantee actual Congressional approval and authorization of the funds, Congressman Davis noted that the line item signaled that, "...President Bush is on our side..."¹⁴³

The national park committee now faced several dilemmas. First, there was no consensus on a preferred alternative from the study. Various groups and individuals highlighted portions of the report that they liked and disliked, but no one option provided a solution on which they could agree. Secondly, the group still seemed divided along geographic

¹⁴² Robert Langseth, "Initial Response to NPS 'Study of Alternatives draft,'" February 5, 1991, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 3A, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹⁴³ "Funds for national historic park OK'd in Bush's budget package," *Daily Mining Gazette*, February 5, 1991.

lines; a mention of Calumet meant a loss for Quincy, and a mention of Quincy meant a loss for Calumet. The discussion was still civil, and many of the individuals professed a desire for a balanced approach, but the tone of the conversations often reflected the strong local positions held by the members of the committee. To move the conversation forward, and prepare for an upcoming public forum scheduled for March 23, the committee decided it needed to produce its own “local preferred option.” The committee selected four Calumet representatives: Tom Tikkanen, Sue Cone, Bill Rosemurgy, and Paul Lehto; and four Quincy representatives: Bill Olsen, Jim Boggio, Dave Halkola, and Ed Koepel.¹⁴⁴ The committee tasked the group with developing a sixth option that they could communicate to the NPS and congressional delegations.

By mid-March, the group was ready with a proposal to present to the national park subcommittee. The core of what the group labeled “Alternative 6” included eight major points:

- Overall endorsement for creating a national historical park,
- Endorsement for the name “Calumet-Quincy National Historical Park,”
- Support for industrial mining displays at Quincy, and Osceola 13 in Calumet,
- A call for visitor centers at Quincy and Calumet,

¹⁴⁴ “CLK National Park Subcommittee Meeting,” February 18, 1991, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 1991, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

- A call for the restoration of the Quincy Smelter, and a set of company buildings within the C&H industrial core,
- Endorsement for two preservation commissions, one for Calumet and one for Quincy,
- Support for a headquarters facility in Calumet,
- A call for a total of \$80,000,000 to be dedicated to the park, with \$46,000,000 going to Calumet, and \$34,000,000 going to Quincy¹⁴⁵

The written documentation for Alternative 6 also included a prologue that described the history of the park movement; a membership list for the national park subcommittee; a detailed concept plan for the Calumet unit previously commissioned by Calumet Village and Calumet Township; and a brief description of the history and resources of the Quincy unit. Interestingly, the documentation also included resolutions by the Keweenaw County Board of Commissioners and the Village of Calumet in support of the idea of moving the Isle Royale National Park headquarters and docking facilities to Keweenaw County. It seems that the consideration of the Isle Royale operation in the Study of Alternatives led several locals to reopen old discussions concerning an alleged promise by the park service to locate these facilities in Keweenaw County in exchange for the federal government's acquisition of Isle Royale itself.

¹⁴⁵ "Local Preferred Option: Calumet – Quincy National Historical Park," CLK Foresight National Park Subcommittee, March 1991, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 3A, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

Unfortunately, Alternative 6 was only evidence that the group had agreed to disagree. With the exception of placing the headquarters facility in Calumet, Alternative 6 included an issue-by-issue split of the potential investments by the federal government. By splitting the investments, the group had also developed an alternative that cost more than any of the other alternatives included in the park service study. Furthermore, although the prologue to the proposal acknowledged that the proposed park was only the core of a much wider set of cultural resources and stories, Alternative 6 neglected to include funding or management recommendations for areas outside the proposed boundaries for the park. Alternative 6 was an expensive wish list that neglected the wider reality of preserving and interpreting the story of copper mining in Michigan. The continued disagreements between the Calumet and Quincy proponents would soon become even more visible.

On March 23, the NPS study team visited the area to meet with the national park committee and to hold a public forum to present the results of their work. The forum attendees included the NPS representatives, aides for Levin and Davis, national park committee members, and almost 180 members of the public.¹⁴⁶ The NPS representatives explained the five alternatives included in the report, but the public also heard about a sixth alternative prepared by local representatives. The presenters encouraged the public to provide written comments to the NPS. During the visit, John

¹⁴⁶ "National park plan alternatives aired," *Daily Mining Gazette*, March 25, 1991.

Paige, the NPS study team captain, told the national park committee that the local preferred option would be included in the final version of the study.¹⁴⁷

Following the public forum, the national park committee received word from Senator Levin that the proposal for two separate commissions would not work. A model with two commissions for one park was unprecedented, and would likely, "...kill the whole bill."¹⁴⁸ The group needed to rethink how best to manage resources located in two non-contiguous park units, but their differences continued to get in the way.

In early April, the NPS asked the local proponents to define how they would use the \$3M in the President's budget if they were to focus the funds on stabilization activities.

The national park committee asked the Quincy Mine Hoist Association to prepare a proposal for spending \$1.5M in the Quincy area, while other members of the committee worked on a proposal for \$1.5M in the Calumet area. The Quincy proposal included stabilization projects on the 1894 hoist house, the Quincy Smelter complex, the east adit of the Quincy mine, and the No.2 shaft-rockhouse.¹⁴⁹ In Calumet, the group proposed the acquisition of five buildings, the purchase of a photo collection, and the stabilization of more than twenty buildings and structures. Unlike Quincy, the Calumet resources were a patchwork of commercial, municipal, and industrial resources owned by a variety

¹⁴⁷ Robert Langseth, "Social History of the National Park Movement," November 1991, 5, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 4B, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹⁴⁸ Robert Langseth, "Social History of the National Park Movement," November 1991, 5, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 4B, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹⁴⁹ Quincy Mine Hoist Association, "Priority list for spending \$1.5 million initial appropriation," April 8, 1991, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 4B, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

of individuals and organizations. The folks in Calumet had to allocate relatively small amounts of money over a large number of buildings, while the significant industrial resources at Quincy allowed for a few major projects focused on large industrial resources.

With the Study of Alternatives completed and a local alternative added to the mix, the park proponents and the congressional representatives turned their attention to drafting new legislation. The national park committee members met with aides for Levin and Davis throughout May and June of 1991. In July, Sue Cone, comptroller for the Village of Calumet, and Bill Rosemurgy, president of CLK Foresight, flew to Washington, D.C., to provide additional input for the draft legislation (Figure 3-1). Unfortunately, the lack of a Quincy representative on the trip led the QMHA to feel left out of the discussion.¹⁵⁰ On July 29, when the national park committee reviewed the completed draft, the QMHA was the sole member to vote against endorsing the proposed bill. The QMHA further expressed its displeasure with the draft by directly contacting Levin and Davis. Finally, on August 1, Chris Miller from Levin's office and Laurie Bink from Davis' office pulled together Burt Boyum from the QMHA and Bill Rosemurgy from CLK Foresight to work on a compromise. The meeting was successful. On August 2, 1991, Senator Levin and Congressman Davis introduced identical bills to establish Keweenaw National Historical Park.

¹⁵⁰ Robert Langseth, "Social History of the National Park Movement," November 1991, 6, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 4B, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

Legislation - S. 1664 and H.R. 3227

The bills introduced in August of 1991 represented several significant steps forward for the effort to create a park. Most importantly, this was the first time that the two legislators were coordinated in their efforts. There were no dueling ideas here; Levin and Davis introduced identical bills on the same day. Their staff members worked cooperatively to develop the legislation, and the staff members worked together to move the legislation forward when local disagreements threatened to stall the progress. The bills submitted on August 2 also introduced several new thoughts on the design and operation of the park. The bills included elements from the Study of Alternatives, new input from the local community, and additional details on topics where previous bills had included generalities. A few of these points deserve further discussion.

By selecting the name Keweenaw National Historical Park, the legislators finally resolved the long-standing disagreement on an appropriate name for the park. Keweenaw was the name recommended in the Study of Alternatives, but not the name recommended by the local national park committee in their recent local preferred option. The name Keweenaw, however, communicated the idea that the local history went beyond Quincy and Calumet. It was also uniquely identifiable on a map, did not compete with other areas in the United States that used the Copper Country label, and was the shortest

name of any of the suggested alternatives.¹⁵¹ This was an important decision to help lessen some of the local bickering.

As mentioned earlier, Senator Levin warned the group not to propose two separate commissions. For the park proponents this presented a quandary – should they expand the authority and powers of the commission beyond Calumet (and include Quincy representatives on the commission), or was there another answer? Rather than expand the proposed commission, H.R.3227 and S.1664 outlined a scenario where the NPS acted as a pseudo commission for the area within the Quincy NHL. Just like the proposed commission’s role in providing financial assistance in Calumet, the legislation specified that the NPS could provide loans to corporations and grants to property owners “within the Quincy Mining Company National Historic Landmark District.”¹⁵² This put the professionals at the NPS in control of the distribution of financial assistance at Quincy, while leaving the distribution of money in Calumet in control of a commission largely made up of local appointees. This public/private partnership split along geographic lines was very different from the previously proposed models that included shared responsibilities throughout the proposed park.

The new legislation also tackled the issue of NPS facilities. The Senate bill introduced by Levin in 1988 (S. 2689), and the House bill introduced in 1989 (H.R.1241), both specified Calumet as the location of the park’s visitor center. H.R.1241 even went a step further

¹⁵¹ “Suggested name for park appeals,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, February 6, 1991.

¹⁵² *Keweenaw National Historical Park Establishment Act*, HR 3227, 102nd Cong., 1st sess., Section 205.

by specifying that the park headquarters also be located in Calumet. The new bills departed from these earlier recommendations by calling for facilities in both units of the proposed park; “The headquarters of the Park and a visitors center shall be located within the Calumet National Historic Landmark District. A second visitors center shall be located at the Quincy Mining Complex.”¹⁵³ Although Levin had warned the group against creating two commissions, a proposal for two visitor centers must have been more palatable to the legislative aides.

With regard to the commission, H.R.3227 and S.1664 offered several details for how the body would operate. The legislation gave the commission the right to administer the Calumet Historic Preservation District, as well as to provide certain services throughout the park. Interestingly, however, the legislation also specified that, “The Secretary has the right to disapprove of an action of the Commission.”¹⁵⁴ Earlier language in H.R.1241 from 1989 proposed that the opinion of the Secretary would prevail in any conflicts that arose. This new clause was a softening of that previous stance in that it implied some additional independence for the commission, but it also indicated that the parties were still trying to resolve the power relationship between the commission and the federal government.

As for membership, the new legislation suggested that the commission have seven members. In 1988, the legislation specified five members. In 1989, the bills called for

¹⁵³ *Keweenaw National Historical Park Establishment Act*, HR 3227, 102nd Cong., 1st sess., Section 203.

¹⁵⁴ *Keweenaw National Historical Park Establishment Act*, HR 3227, 102nd Cong., 1st sess., Section 101

nine members. Now the people writing the legislation settled on seven as the appropriate size. The proposed membership included the following:

A) two members shall be appointed from nominees submitted by the Calumet Village Council and the Calumet Township Board;

B) one member shall be appointed from nominees submitted by the Quincy Township Board and the Franklin Township Board;

C) one member shall be appointed from nominees submitted by the Houghton County Board of Commissioners;

D) one member shall be appointed from nominees submitted by the Governor of the State of Michigan;

E) one member shall be the superintendent of the Park; and

F) one member shall be an employee of the Department of the Interior.¹⁵⁵

The legislation went further to require that at least three of the members be trained professionals in areas such as “history, architecture, park planning, and economic development.”¹⁵⁶ This was the first time that the proposed membership failed to include a specific commissioner from Michigan Tech, and it was the first time that the legislation included the park superintendent as a member of the commission.

¹⁵⁵ *Keweenaw National Historical Park Establishment Act*, HR 3227, 102nd Cong., 1st sess., Section 301(b)

¹⁵⁶ *Keweenaw National Historical Park Establishment Act*, HR 3227, 102nd Cong., 1st sess., Section 301(b)(2)

Finally, for the first time, the legislation failed to include a clause specifying a sunset, or ending, date for the commission. The implication of this was that the bills, if passed, would establish a permanent commission that would serve alongside the NPS as long as the park existed. In general, advisory commissions or management entities working with the NPS had limited lifetimes. The reasoning was that the commissions were valuable entities that helped establish parks during their early years, but that their usefulness diminished over time as the park matured. Creating a permanent commission was contrary to this established practice, and would result in a management model different from most in the NPS.

The new legislation represented huge progress in the drive to establish the park. Sue Cone, Calumet Village Comptroller, told the *Daily Mining Gazette*, “We’re very happy that it was introduced in both the House and the Senate. Now we’re just hoping the legislative process moves quickly.”¹⁵⁷ Everyone also expected the congressional subcommittee work to begin in earnest when the legislators returned from summer recess in September. Unfortunately, the EPA had still not released its report on the environmental contamination of the area. In early September, Senator Levin met with the national park committee and told them that Senator Bumpers wanted the EPA report before moving forward, and that he wanted some help soliciting support for the park effort from someone in West Virginia, the home state of Senator Robert Byrd, an

¹⁵⁷ “Park bill now in both Houses,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, August 8, 1991.

influential member of Bumpers' subcommittee.¹⁵⁸ While the group could provide little assistance to accelerating the progress of the EPA, they were able to help with identifying someone from West Virginia who could help.

Emory Kemp Visit

Emory Kemp was the director of the Institute for the History of Technology and Industrial Archaeology at West Virginia University. Kemp was a founding member of the Society for Industrial Archeology, and knew Larry Lankton, Pat Martin, and several other Michigan Tech faculty members. Kemp also knew Bill Fink, the new Superintendent at Isle Royale National Park, as well as Curt Tompkins, the president of Michigan Tech. In addition, Kemp was acquainted with Senator Byrd because the Institute where he worked received federal funding.¹⁵⁹ Kemp was the ideal candidate to develop a short report on the proposed park to share with Senator Byrd and the other subcommittee members.

Kemp came to the Keweenaw on October 8, 1991, for a 3-day visit. Michigan Tech sponsored his visit, and thus his itinerary included a number of activities related to the university, as well as the proposed national park. Kemp toured numerous sites on the peninsula, met with faculty members at Michigan Tech, visited the Michigan Tech

¹⁵⁸ Robert Langseth, "Social History of the National Park Movement," November 1991, 6, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 4B, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹⁵⁹ Pat Martin, interview with the author, December 12, 2012.

Archives, gave a seminar on historic bridges, and was the guest of honor at a dinner hosted by Curt Tompkins.¹⁶⁰ Attendees at the dinner included representatives from the Quincy Mine Hoist Association, CLK Foresight, the National Park Service, Senator Levin's office, and faculty members from Michigan Tech (primarily from the Social Sciences department). Unfortunately, Bill Fink and Larry Lankton were unable to attend due to prior commitments.

Kemp highlighted the significance of the area and the role it played in the context of the larger American industrial revolution in a report he produced at the end of his visit. Kemp also stressed the quality of the remaining resources, and made several recommendations. He endorsed the creation of a national park unit, and expressed additional support for the idea of a partnership management model. In particular, Kemp saw Michigan Tech and Isle Royale National Park as two institutional partners that were essential to the creation of the park. Michigan Tech owned a large archival collection, and employed, "three nationally recognized historians and an industrial archaeologist who are experts on the subject of mining, with particular reference to the copper mining industry."¹⁶¹ With Isle Royale, Kemp expressed the opinion that the copper-mining resources on the island contributed to the overall theme on the peninsula, and that maybe the NPS should really explore creating one park that incorporated resources at Calumet, Quincy, and Isle Royale.

¹⁶⁰ "Kemp Itinerary," October 2, 1991, Pat Martin papers, in possession of the author.

¹⁶¹ Emory L. Kemp, "A Report on the Visit to the Calumet and Quincy Areas of the Keweenaw Peninsula," November 1991, Pat Martin papers, in possession of the author.

Although the historical record is unclear as to the specific questions or issues that the group gave Kemp to address, his report provided some observations and recommendations on what the proposed park should look like. Specifically, Kemp made the following recommendations:

- The park should represent the integration of resources and efforts from four major players: the Quincy Mine, the Village of Calumet, Michigan Tech, and the National Park Service.
- The park should highlight local efforts and illustrate strong partnerships.
- “The ‘crown jewel’ of the area is the Quincy Mine.” Kemp felt that Quincy offered unparalleled interpretive opportunities, and that the site should receive focused attention on restoration of historic resources. Kemp also suggested that the NPS consider purchasing the Quincy Mine.
- The unique resources of the Quincy Smelter should also receive focused stabilization and restoration efforts. In addition, due to the location of the smelter, the site could serve as an NPS facility to serve both the proposed park and Isle Royale National Park.
- The NPS should partner with private entities to restore and interpret portions of the Village of Calumet. Kemp commented that, “Although not as obvious as the Quincy Mine as far as interpretation is concerned, Calumet can offer the visitor a most enjoyable and informative visit if

carefully restored and interpreted.” Kemp thought it was “unreasonable” to expect the NPS to acquire all of Calumet, but that the NPS should work with local entities to protect a few key structures.

- In order to illustrate the true scale of the copper mining operations, the NPS should include the historic resources and mines across the peninsula in its interpretive efforts.
- Because of the partnership nature of the park, the management model should include a commission that operated similar to commissions at Lowell and at America’s Industrial Heritage Project in Pennsylvania.¹⁶²

Kemp’s report was important for several reasons. First, it provided support to the park effort from a recognized authority on industrial history, and someone not connected to the local efforts to form the park. Kemp echoed earlier findings that the history was significant and that the resources were important. Secondly, the report supported the idea of a partnership park. The area already had a number of local history organizations, and many of the resources were located in living communities. While the NPS could play an important role in preserving and interpreting the copper mining story, it was going to have to work with numerous partners to make the park work. Finally, the report, presumably, helped convince Senator Byrd that the Keweenaw National Historical Park was a project worth supporting.

¹⁶² Emory L. Kemp, “A Report on the Visit to the Calumet and Quincy Areas of the Keweenaw Peninsula,” November 1991, Pat Martin papers, in possession of the author.

Waiting for the EPA

As 1991 ended, all of the interested parties were still waiting for the EPA to produce its report on the contamination levels in the area. Congressman Vento had listened to the earlier concerns of the NPS, and was waiting for the EPA report in order to schedule a follow-up subcommittee hearing. The NPS continued to express its aversion to acquiring potentially contaminated land. Dean Alexander, Acting Chief of Planning and Environmental Quality for the Midwest Region of the NPS, told a reporter in December that, "A big reason for concern is that we'd like to make historically significant areas available to the public...and they need to be really safe."¹⁶³ Alexander also explained that the NPS was still stinging from the acquisition in 1985 of a hazardous waste dump at Cuyahoga Valley National Recreational Area in Ohio. At Cuyahoga, Congress directed the NPS to acquire the Krejci Dump, which the NPS understood to be an old junkyard. Only later, with information from the EPA, did the NPS discover the extent of the toxic dumping that had occurred at the site. By 1991, the NPS was spending millions on an environmental cleanup in Ohio, and it did not want to make the same mistake on the Keweenaw.¹⁶⁴

In the same interview, however, Alexander also hinted that there were additional concerns about Keweenaw and its focus on industrial history. Alexander explained that

¹⁶³ Paige St. John, "National park may heal wounds left behind by mining," *Daily Mining Gazette*, December 6, 1991.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

the park system began with a focus on natural areas, and that some in the NPS were now beginning to wonder about Congress' motivations for focusing on industrial history. Alexander shared that, "Areas like Calumet are the tip of the iceberg. There are steel plants in Pittsburgh that people want us to preserve...we are not an economic development agency."¹⁶⁵ Alexander was right; the NPS was not in the business of economic development. Unfortunately, the expectation of an economic windfall continued to drive some of the proponents on the Keweenaw. A later editorial in the *Daily Mining Gazette* expressed the opinion that, "...the future of the economy of the area and livelihoods of many of its residents hang in the balance."¹⁶⁶ The realities of these inconsistent expectations would form the basis of disagreements for years to come.

In parallel to these discussions, the park proponents continued to hope that the State of Michigan would play a role in helping to establish the park. Similar to Lowell, they thought the establishment of a local state park, or the commitment of significant state funding, might help the NPS decide to establish a national park.¹⁶⁷ Governor John Engler, a Republican, replaced Democrat James Blanchard on January 1, 1991. Blanchard had expressed support for the park, but he had also told State Representative Sofio that he was concerned that the addition of another state park unit might not be the appropriate course of action given the existing concentration of state parks in the area.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ "Five minutes in the hot seat," *Daily Mining Gazette*, March 23, 1992.

¹⁶⁷ Sue Dana, interview with the author, December 6, 2012.

During a visit to the Keweenaw in September 1991, Engler also expressed support for the park idea, but told the local citizens that he wanted the state to delay any action until the NPS made a commitment.¹⁶⁸ In February 1992, Engler's aide Dave Svanda echoed this support, but wondered aloud if the park would really be a national park if the State of Michigan had to provide one third of the cost.¹⁶⁹ The park proponents had the governor's attention, but they were not getting any specific commitments from the state.

Senate Subcommittee Hearing on S. 1664

By March of 1992, the park proponents were learning about portions of the forthcoming EPA report, and the information seemed to indicate that the contamination levels would be within acceptable levels. Still, the full report was not available, so Congressman Vento continued to delay scheduling a House subcommittee hearing. Senator Bumpers, however, decided to move forward with a hearing of his Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks, and Forests. On March 26, the subcommittee heard testimony from Senator Levin, Congressman Davis, Reverend Langseth, and the NPS. Local representatives Sue Cone from the Village of Calumet and Burt Boyum from the Quincy Mine Hoist Association also attended the hearing, but they did not testify before the

¹⁶⁸ Paul Peterson, "Engler grilled on program cuts," *Daily Mining Gazette*, September 5, 1991.

¹⁶⁹ Kris Manty, "U.P. connection: Engler aide here to address area issues," *Daily Mining Gazette*, February 14, 1992.

subcommittee. Both Levin and Davis urged the subcommittee to move the bill forward, and Davis stressed the continued loss of important historic structures as time went by.¹⁷⁰ Reverend Langseth provided each of the subcommittee members with a packet of information that included maps, a written version of his oral testimony, supporting documentation that included numerous endorsements of the park idea, and a color brochure produced to help sell the idea of the park. Langseth's testimony reiterated the significance of the area, stressed the willingness of the State of Michigan to participate financially in the effort, and explained how a new park in the Keweenaw would help meet the demand for historical tourism.¹⁷¹ Langseth, aware that some perceived the park as wasteful federal spending, repeatedly told the subcommittee members that, "This is no federal grab bag"; Keweenaw was not pork barrel spending, it was an investment in our nation's history.

NPS Director James M. Ridenour provided the testimony for the NPS. Ridenour began his testimony by summarizing the important elements of S. 1664, and outlining the actions already taken by the NPS to help advance the idea of a park on the Keweenaw Peninsula. Ridenour expressed support for the park, but also stated that there were "serious concerns" about the methods to create and operate the park described in S.1664. First, Ridenour highlighted the ongoing issue of unknown hazardous wastes. To resolve the concern, he recommended a change to the legislation that prohibited the

¹⁷⁰ "Davis, Levin and Langseth testify for nat'l park plan," *Daily Mining Gazette*, March 27, 1992.

¹⁷¹ "Testimony and Supporting Documentation for S.1664," National Park Committee, CLK Foresight, Inc., March 26, 1992, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 4A, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

NPS from acquiring any contaminated property. Next, Ridenour took issue with the operational authority given to the commission. While he agreed that there was a need for local involvement in an advisory capacity, he objected to the commission being responsible for park planning activities or disbursing federal funds. He recommended that the commission be limited to an advisory role, be restricted from providing loans or grants, and be allowed to provide advice on matters that affected the whole park, not just the area around Calumet. Finally, Ridenour outlined spending limitations for the proposed park in the amounts of \$1.8 million for land acquisition, \$24 million for development, and \$3 million for financial assistance to owners of non-Federal properties. To further control this spending, Ridenour also proposed that the spending of Federal dollars on non-Federal properties be regulated using a 4-to-1 matching calculation; local property owners would have to provide 80% of the investment in order to receive Federal funds.

To help make the NPS requirements clear, Ridenour provided a substitute bill that included all of his recommended changes. Interestingly, the substitute bill also included several additional changes that Ridenour chose not to detail in his testimony. The bill removed the section that called for visitor center facilities at both units of the park, removed the term “economic development” from the list of possible qualifications of at-large members of the commission, and reintroduced a 10-year sunset date provision for

the commission.¹⁷² The recommended changes introduced by Ridenour made it clear that if the Keweenaw was going to get a partnership national park that the NPS was going to be in charge.

For the park proponents, the Senate subcommittee hearing was a disappointment. Although they knew about the environmental concerns, it now seemed as if the NPS was beginning to introduce additional roadblocks that muddled their dream of a national park. Unfortunately, as spring wore on, the news only got worse. In early April, the House Ethics Committee identified Congressman Davis as one of the 22 worst offenders in an investigation into check-writing abuses at the House bank.¹⁷³ The investigation and the publicity that followed led Davis to announce that he would not run for reelection at the end of 1992. Then, in late April, the House Appropriations Committee voted to remove the \$375,000 included in the appropriations bill for park planning at Keweenaw.¹⁷⁴ The committee felt that it was premature to reserve funding for a park that did not exist yet. The park proponents needed to regroup, and they needed some good news.

¹⁷² "Statement of James M. Ridenour, Director, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks, and Forests," March 26, 1992, Pat Martin papers, in possession of the author.

¹⁷³ "The 22 Worst," *USA Today*, April 17, 1992

¹⁷⁴ "House panel votes to cut park funds," *Daily Mining Gazette*, April 30, 1992.

Finally, in May, the EPA released its long-awaited report on the environmental hazards in the area.¹⁷⁵ With regard to the landmark districts, the EPA concluded that, "... the cancer risk and non-cancer risk were acceptable, since workers and visitors would have less exposure to contaminants than future residents."¹⁷⁶ In other words, the EPA did find contamination within the proposed park, but based on its exposure assumptions for workers and visitors to the park, the additional risks posed by the contamination were within the EPA's acceptable limits. Dr. Jae Lee, the EPA project director for the Superfund site, reiterated this opinion in a radio interview in late May. Dr Lee stated that, "... I don't think there is any problem for the Congress to pass the legislation to purpose that area as a historical park. Basically, we've said there is no problem. That is what we are saying to the Congress."¹⁷⁷ The park proponents finally had an answer on the contamination question for the doubters in Congress and the NPS.

The Home Stretch

With the completed report from the EPA, Congressman Vento held a subcommittee hearing on June 30 to discuss H.R. 3227. Reverend Langseth, Sue Cone, Burt Boyum, and Tom Tikkanen once again travelled to Washington to educate Congress on the merits of

¹⁷⁵ "Proposed Plan for Torch Lake," US Environmental Protection Agency, May 1992, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 1992, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Dr. Jae Lee, interview on 98 WOLF Radio, May 24, 1992, John Sullivan national park papers, box 1, folder 1992, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

the proposed park. By this time, however, the NPS, congressional staffers, and the park proponents were already working on a substitute bill to incorporate the feedback received at the Senate hearing in March. The Senate subcommittee hoped to complete its markup of the bill by July, and Congressman Vento agreed to move the House version of the bill quickly through markup now that all of the parties involved seemed to be focusing on a common solution.¹⁷⁸ While it was good news that both legislative bodies had moved beyond the initial hearings, the park proponents also realized that time was running out. Congressman Davis' planned retirement, a growing climate of cost-cutting in Congress, and predictions about massive changes to legislative seats in the coming elections all led to a sense of urgency for the people who had worked so hard to fight for the park. As Reverend Langseth noted, "Educating a new Congress would not be easy!"¹⁷⁹ The race was on to get the park established before Congress adjourned in October.

Although Congressman Vento had agreed in June to push the bill forward, in early September he stated that he was actually waiting for the Senate to move first.¹⁸⁰ His reasoning was that he did not want to spend time discussing the bill if there was no hope that the Senate was going to pass it. While Davis indicated that he was continuing

¹⁷⁸ "Park could be set by fall," *Daily Mining Gazette*, July 7, 1992.

¹⁷⁹ Robert Langseth, National Park Committee correspondence, June 9, 1992, Stephen Albee national park papers, box 1, folder 4A, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹⁸⁰ "Push on for park passage," *Daily Mining Gazette*, September 17, 1992.

to lobby Vento to move, the fiscal environment likely made it politically risky for Vento to appear to be facilitating additional spending.

On September 22, Senator Bumpers' subcommittee passed a revised bill along party lines and referred the bill to the full Senate.¹⁸¹ Although the revised bill contained many of the changes recommended by the NPS in March, including the removal of the operational authority of the Commission, the Republicans on the subcommittee opposed the bill due to concerns about the NPS adding new units to the system at a time when existing parks were lacking necessary funding. Regardless, the Democrats controlled the Senate, and the bill passed the full Senate on October 1 in what Senator Levin deemed a "major victory" for the park proponents.¹⁸² Now it was up to Congressman Davis and the House to take the next step.

Success!

The House received S. 1664 on October 2, less than a week before the House was set to adjourn the legislative session. Congressman Davis was in the final days of his congressional career and was calling in all of his favors to get the bill passed. As the end of the session neared, there was a flurry of action on the House floor. Davis, a Republican, was competing with the priorities of the Democrats who controlled the

¹⁸¹ "Park bill in voting stage," *Daily Mining Gazette*, September 23, 1992.

¹⁸² "Park passes Senate," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 2, 1992.

House, as well as fighting against those in his own party who objected to additional spending. Finally, on October 6, the House voted to approve the bill with less than two hours left before the lawmakers headed home for the year.¹⁸³ In a classic example of political quid pro quo, the House approved the bill to create Keweenaw National Historical Park in exchange for the approval of a bill to expand the boundaries of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore sponsored by Congressman Peter Visclosky, a Democrat from Indiana.¹⁸⁴ Congressman Davis' largest legislative effort had now passed both houses of Congress, and all indications were that President Bush planned to sign the bill into law. The goal of a new national park that had seemed so distant for so many years, was about to become a reality.

In Calumet, the locals celebrated by ringing church bells and blaring sirens. Sue Cone noted that, "We've been working on this for six years. It's like being pregnant for six years and finally the baby is born. The last two days have been like being in labor for two days."¹⁸⁵ Reverend Langseth expressed a dose of realism and optimism at the same time by stating that, "This is not the end. This is the beginning of a whole new world class community."¹⁸⁶

For Congressman Davis, the creation of a national historical park on the Keweenaw was a huge win at the end of his 26 years in Congress. Even though Davis left Congress under

¹⁸³ "Park dream comes true," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 6, 1992.

¹⁸⁴ "Park cleared many hurdles," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 7, 1992.

¹⁸⁵ "Park dream comes true," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 6, 1992.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

the shadow of the House banking scandal, the *Daily Mining Gazette* reflected on the park achievement by stating that, "Davis, who made it clear that the park was his number one priority, not only leaves office in a burst of glory, but secure in the knowledge that he has served the people of his district faithfully and well."¹⁸⁷ For his part, Davis gave credit to the citizens of his district who fought so hard for the park. In a press release issued on October 6, Davis commented that, "The local people have been untiring in their support and work on this project. Never in my 26 years of public service has one group of people worked so diligently for so long on one project. They never gave up. And thanks to all who have worked so hard, this park will soon become a reality."¹⁸⁸ Davis was right. Even though the final deal could not have happened without help from the NPS and the congressional delegation, the local park proponents were the ones who continued to push the park idea to show that their community deserved national recognition. The efforts of the local citizens made all the difference.

On October 27, 1992, President George H.W. Bush signed the bill to create Keweenaw National Historical Park.¹⁸⁹ It was official; the Keweenaw was now home to a unit of the National Park System. Unfortunately, this designation did not come with the funding sought by the parties involved. The NPS, the congressional delegation, and the park proponents still needed to create a plan, secure funding, and deal with the continuing disagreements about how best to preserve and interpret the history of the Keweenaw.

¹⁸⁷ "Goodbye, Bob; Hello, park," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 6, 1992.

¹⁸⁸ Robert Davis, "Keweenaw National Park Dream Becomes Reality," Press Release, October 6, 1992.

¹⁸⁹ "President signs park bill," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 28, 1992.

The fight to establish the park was over, but as Reverend Langseth noted earlier, the work had just begun.

CHAPTER FOUR. THE KEWEENAW NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK ESTABLISHMENT ACT

With President Bush's signature, S. 1664 became Public Law (P.L.) 102-543 – "An act to establish Keweenaw National Historical Park and for other purposes." The park the legislation created was not the national park originally envisioned by the people in Calumet, nor was it the traditional historical park desired by the NPS. Keweenaw National Historical Park represented a compromise that included elements from many different sources. In addition, while none of the individual ideas represented in the legislation were wholly original, the combination represented a new type of park: a unique addition to the national park system.

Findings

Typical of legislation to create a new national park unit, Section One of PL 102-543 outlined the significance of Keweenaw National Historical Park. The findings section documented what the park proponents, the NPS, and the congressional aides thought justified the park.

(1) The oldest and largest lava flow known on Earth is located on the Keweenaw Peninsula of Michigan. This volcanic activity produced the only place on Earth where large scale economically recoverable 97 percent pure native copper is found.

(2) The Keweenaw Peninsula is the only site in the country where prehistoric, aboriginal mining of copper occurred. Artifacts made from this copper by these ancient Indians were traded as far south as present day Alabama.

(3) Copper mining on the Keweenaw Peninsula pioneered deep shaft, hard rock mining, milling, and smelting techniques and advancements in related mining technologies later used throughout the world.

(4) Michigan Technological University, located in the copper district, was established in 1885 to supply the great demand for new technologies and trained engineers requested by the area's mining operations. Michigan Technological University possesses a wealth of both written and photographic historic documentation of the mining era in its archives.

(5) Michigan's copper country became a principal magnet to European immigrants during the mid-1800's and the cultural heritage of these varied nationalities is still preserved in this remarkable ethnic conglomerate.

(6) The corporate-sponsored community planning in Calumet, Michigan, as evidenced in the architecture, municipal design, surnames, foods, and traditions, and the large scale corporate paternalism was unprecedented in American industry and continues to express the heritage of the district.

(7) The entire picture of copper mining on Michigan's Keweenaw Peninsula is best represented by three components: the Village of Calumet, the former Calumet and Hecla Mining Company properties (including the Osceola #13 mine complex), and the former Quincy Mining Company properties. The Village of Calumet best represents the social, ethnic, and commercial themes. Extant Calumet and Hecla buildings best depict corporate paternalism and power, and the themes of extraction and processing are best represented by extant structures of the Quincy Mining Company.

(8) The Secretary of the Interior has designated two National Historic Landmark Districts in the proposed park area, the Calumet National Historic Landmark District and the Quincy Mining Company National Historic Landmark District.¹⁹⁰

The findings included the geological importance of the area, as well as prehistoric and historic reasons that made the Keweenaw significant. The findings also illustrated that it was the collection of a number of factors – geological, aboriginal, social, and technological - that justified the park. The legislation did not specify how to preserve and interpret these themes, but their inclusion provided some guidance on what visitors should expect to experience as the park developed.

¹⁹⁰ *Keweenaw National Historical Park Establishment Act*, Public Law 102-543, 102nd Cong., 2nd sess. (October 27, 1992)

Park Boundaries

As discussed earlier, there had been numerous conversations about the park boundaries leading up to the establishment of the park. The versions of the legislation introduced over the years proposed various options, largely based on the boundaries of the national historic landmark districts created in 1989. While PL 102-543 should have provided a final answer on the boundary question, the legislation actually included a lot of ambiguity. First, the legislation outlined two purposes, and macro boundaries, for Keweenaw NHP:

- (1) to preserve the nationally significant historical and cultural sites, structures, and districts of a portion of the Keweenaw Peninsula in the State of Michigan for the education, benefit, and inspiration of present and future generations; and
- (2) to interpret the historic synergism between the geological, aboriginal, sociological, cultural technological, and corporate forces that relate the story of copper on the Keweenaw Peninsula.

The themes of preservation and interpretation were core elements of the larger NPS mission, and their inclusion in the legislation indicated the extent to which the NPS influenced the legislative process. A careful reading of the purposes, however, highlighted the influence of other forces. The preservation clause stipulated boundaries that included "...a portion of the Keweenaw Peninsula...", while the interpretive clause seemed to indicate a broader focus "...on the Keweenaw Peninsula." This apparent

conflict in scope reflected the earlier conversations about the story being larger than the existing NHL districts. The realities of establishing a park within a set of living communities drove the NPS to lobby for the smallest boundary area possible, but the true story of copper on the Keweenaw was much broader than the resources encompassed in the two landmark districts. Beyond this contradiction, the legislation also introduced confusion by specifying boundary areas that were actually smaller than the two NHL districts.

The section of PL 102-543 that determined the boundaries of the park included the following wording:

(a) ESTABLISHMENT AND ADMINISTRATION-

(1) There is hereby established as a unit of the National Park System the Keweenaw National Historical Park in and near Calumet and Hancock, Michigan.

(2) The Secretary shall administer the park in accordance with the provisions of this Act, and the provisions of law generally applicable to units of the National Park System, including the Act entitled 'An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes', approved August 25, 1916 (16 U.S.C. 1, 2-4), and the Act entitled 'An Act to provide for the preservation of historic American sites, buildings, objects and

antiquities of national significance, and for other purposes', approved August 21, 1935 (16 U.S.C. 461 et seq.).

(b) BOUNDARIES AND MAP-

(1) The boundaries of the park shall be as generally depicted on the map entitled 'Keweenaw National Historical Park, Michigan', numbered NHP-KP/20012-B and dated June, 1992. Such map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Washington, District of Columbia, and the office of the village council, Calumet, Michigan.

(2) Within 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall publish in the Federal Register a detailed description and map of the boundaries established under paragraph (a)(1).

The original version of S. 1664 included language that described specific elements to be included in the boundaries of Keweenaw NHP and the Calumet Historic Preservation District. Rather than describe the park boundaries in detail, PL 102-543 gave approximate locations of two units, "...near Calumet and Hancock, Michigan" (with no mention of a historic preservation district), and then referenced a map, "...numbered NHP-KP/20012-B and dated June, 1992." While some mystery remains about the details of the origin and development of this map, the map labeled NHP-KP/20021-B that exists today illustrates two unit boundaries that leave out large portions of the national

landmark districts. In Calumet, the park unit boundary included a large residential area called Rambaultown as well as the Osceola #13 shaft complex (Figure 4-1). Although these areas included historic resources, neither of these areas were part of the Calumet Historic District NHL. Even more puzzling, the park boundary did not include the South Hecla portion of the industrial core – an area that was part of the NHL designated in 1989. According to Reverend Langseth, the park proponents left the South Hecla area out of the park boundary due to some massive landscape changes on the site that took place after the NHL designation.¹⁹¹

Across the Keweenaw, mining locations often included piles of “poor rock,” or waste rock that the companies removed from the mines in order to access copper deposits or copper-bearing rock. These piles became part of the landscape and provided evidence of the mining that occurred underground. Although by 1988 nearly all of the industrial structures at the South Hecla location were gone, the site was still home to a large poor rock deposit. Kate Lidfors included this area in her NHL nomination because it represented the industrial character of the area, and landscape was still free of any modern intrusions. Unfortunately, poor rock piles had economic value and, sometime after the NHL designation, a local contracting company removed large portions of the pile for use on a runway expansion project at the local airport. By 1992, the local proponents felt that the South Hecla area had lost its important resource, and thus they did not include it in the park boundary.

¹⁹¹ Robert Langseth, conversation with the author, December 13, 2011.

The boundary of the Quincy unit, as depicted on NHP-KP/20012-B, was also smaller than the Quincy Mining Company Historic District NHL established in 1989 (Figure 4-2). Like Calumet, the Quincy unit suffered modern damages to its historic landscape. Even as early as 1988, development pressures affected the historic nature of the area. As the NHL nomination worked its way through the NPS bureaucracy, the Ventures Group allowed the construction of a new home on land within the proposed NHL. NPS historian Laura Feller told the *Daily Mining Gazette* that the “...house has caused a delay in the final approval of the national landmark designation.”¹⁹² On one hand, Michigan Tech and The Ventures Group supported the park idea by dedicating Bob Pieti’s time to the park project and, on the other hand, they threatened the designation of the proposed landmark district by sponsoring new construction in the area. Even though the NPS ultimately approved the NHL, by 1992, the park proponents were worried about the non-historic intrusions on the landscape. The original map of the Quincy unit of the park reflected this concern as it left out the entire northern portion of the NHL – the area of the NHL most affected by modern intrusions. Altering the boundaries of the Quincy and Calumet units would be one of the first items of business for the NPS, but first the NPS had to look to the legislation for guidance on how to operate this new park.

¹⁹² “Ventures to meet NPS,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, November 11, 1988.

The Role of the NPS

The legislation stipulated a framework of powers and responsibilities for the NPS. In broad categories, the legislation addressed the acquisition of property; cooperation by federal agencies; the development of a general management plan; the ability to enter into cooperative agreements; and the ability of the NPS to provide financial and technical assistance. With regard to acquiring property, the legislation included the following clauses:

(a) IN GENERAL- Subject to subsections (b) and (c), the Secretary is authorized to acquire lands, or interests therein, within the boundaries of the park by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, exchange, or transfer.

(b) STATE PROPERTY- Property owned by the State of Michigan or any political subdivision of the State may be acquired only by donation.

(c) CONSENT- No lands or interests therein within the boundaries of the park may be acquired without the consent of the owner, unless the Secretary determines that the land is being developed, or is proposed to be developed in a manner which is detrimental to the natural, scenic, historic, and other values for which the park is established.

(d) HAZARDOUS SUBSTANCES- The Secretary shall not acquire any lands pursuant to this Act if the Secretary determines that such lands, or any portion

thereof, have become contaminated with hazardous substances (as defined in the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act (42 U.S.C. 9601)).

This section gave the NPS (identified as the Secretary in the legislation) the ability to acquire property, but it also placed some important limitations on that process. The consent clause addressed the concerns of the local population that somehow the federal government was going to take their land, but the final wording included in the legislation actually still left the possibility that the NPS could forcibly acquire property if it deemed that there was a threat to an important resource. More importantly, though, this section also included a limitation on acquiring property contaminated by hazardous substances. This clause imposed a restriction on Keweenaw NHP that was more stringent than what was in place for the rest of the NPS. Ironically, this had the undesired effect of preventing the NPS from protecting some of the nationally significant industrial resources that led to the establishment of the park in the first place!

The legislation included a section that outlined how other federal entities should acknowledge and interact with the park. It read as follows:

Any Federal entity conducting or supporting activities directly affecting the park shall--

(1) consult, cooperate, and, to the maximum extent practicable, coordinate its activities with the Secretary and the Commission;

(2) conduct or support such activities in a manner that--

(A) to the maximum extent practicable, is consistent with the standards and criteria established pursuant to the general management plan developed pursuant to section 6; and

(B) will not have an adverse effect on the resources of the park; and

(3) provide for full public participation in order to consider the views of all interested parties.

The portion of the legislation that dealt with the timing, content, and scope of the park's general management plan included the following:

Not later than 3 fiscal years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall prepare, in consultation with the Commission, and submit to Congress a general management plan for the park containing the information described in section 12(b) of the Act of August 18, 1970 (16 U.S.C. 1a-7(b)). Such plan shall interpret the technological and social history of the area, and the industrial complexes of the Calumet and Hecla, and Quincy Mining Companies, with equal emphasis.

The National Park Service General Authorities Act of 1970 required each national park unit to create a General Management Plan that identified how a park would preserve its resources, interpret the important stories, and recommend what, if any, future boundary changes might be needed. For Keweenaw, the underlying disagreements between stakeholders in the Quincy and Calumet Units added further direction to this section with the addition of language that prescribed equal interpretive emphasis for the social and technological stories of the park.

With regard to how the NPS engaged with the local community at Keweenaw NHP, there was recognition in the community, and within the NPS, that organizations already existed in the area that worked to preserve local history. Rather than duplicate or supersede the efforts of these entities, the desire of the park proponents was that the NPS work cooperatively to help tell the larger story. The legislation addressed this desire by including the following section:

The Secretary, after consultation with the Commission, may enter into cooperative agreements with owners of property within the park of nationally significant historic or other cultural resources in order to provide for interpretive exhibits or programs. Such agreements shall provide, whenever appropriate, that--

(1) the public may have access to such property at specified, reasonable times for purposes of viewing such property or exhibits, or attending the programs established by the Secretary under this subsection; and

(2) the Secretary, with the agreement of the property owner, may make such minor improvements to such property as the Secretary deems necessary to enhance the public use and enjoyment of such property, exhibits, and programs.

These clauses, which were nearly identical to the language contained in Lowell NHP's legislation, allowed the NPS to work with the community to achieve the park's purposes, and allowed the NPS to make "minor improvements" to resources not owned by the federal government. Although the legislation did not define the term "minor improvements," the implication of this clause was that the only resources on the Keweenaw that would receive major federal improvements or investments would be those owned by the NPS.

The last section in the legislation that focused on the role of the NPS specifically covered the requirements for providing financial and technical assistance. This section included the following language:

(a) IN GENERAL- The Secretary may provide to any owner of property within the park containing nationally significant historic or cultural resources, in accordance with cooperative agreements or grant agreements, as appropriate, such financial

and technical assistance to mark, interpret, and restore non-Federal properties within the park as the Secretary determines appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act, provided that--

(1) the Secretary, acting through the National Park Service, shall have right of access at reasonable times to public portions of the property covered by such agreement for the purpose of conducting visitors through such properties and interpreting them to the public; and

(2) no changes or alterations shall be made in such properties except by mutual agreement between the Secretary and the other parties to the agreements.

(b) MATCHING FUNDS- Funds authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary for the purposes of this section shall be expended in the ratio of \$1 of Federal funds for each \$4 of funds contributed by non-Federal sources. For the purposes of this subsection, the Secretary is authorized to accept from non-Federal sources, and to utilize for purposes of this Act, any money so contributed. Donations of land, or interests in land, by the State of Michigan may be considered as a contribution from non-Federal sources for the purposes of this subsection.

This section, in particular, addressed the concerns voiced by Congress and the NPS about the potential costs involved in a partnership park. Missing from PL 102-543 was the language from S. 1664 that allowed the NPS to provide loans to corporations, and

language that allowed the NPS to provide technical assistance to any individuals or entities (regardless of property ownership) that supported the purposes of the park. Instead, the final legislation gave the NPS the authority to dispense financial and technical assistance, but only to *property owners* inside the park boundaries who agreed to provide public access to their property, and who agreed to provide an *eighty percent* match to any financial assistance they received. The eighty percent match requirement was an enormous hurdle for those expecting a huge federal investment in their historic resources.

The Advisory Commission

The section of PL 102-543 that covered the Advisory Commission underwent many changes in the months leading up to the establishment of the park. While the park proponents continued to work toward a commission with strong operational powers within a limited geographic area (Calumet), the NPS lobbied for a weak, temporary commission limited to advisory duties over the whole Keweenaw Peninsula. The final language represented a compromise that was not ideal for either party. The first clause outlined the commission's duties as follows:

(a) ESTABLISHMENT AND DUTIES- There is established the Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission. The Commission shall--

- (1) advise the Secretary in the preparation and implementation of a general management plan described in section 6;
- (2) advise the Secretary on the development of and priorities for implementing standards and criteria by which the Secretary, pursuant to agreements referred to in sections 7 and 8, will provide financial as well as technical assistance to owners of non-Federal properties within the park;
- (3) advise the Secretary on the development of rules governing the disbursement of funds for the development of non-Federal properties;
- (4) advise the Secretary with respect to the selection of sites for interpretation and preservation by means of cooperative agreements pursuant to section 7;
- (5) assist the Secretary in developing policies and programs for the conservation and protection of the scenic, historical, cultural, natural and technological values of the park which would complement the purposes of this Act;
- (6) assist the Secretary in coordinating with local governments and the State of Michigan the implementation of the general management plan, and furthering the purposes of this Act;

(7) be authorized to carry out historical, educational, or cultural programs which encourage or enhance appreciation of the historic resources in the park, surrounding areas, and on the Keweenaw Peninsula; and

(8) be authorized to seek, accept, and dispose of gifts, bequests, or donations of money, personal property, or services, received from any source, consistent with the purposes of this Act and the park management.

These duties represented a significant change from the powers outlined in the original version of S. 1664. Instead of focusing on a preservation district in Calumet and how best to distribute loans, grants, and technical assistance, the language in PL 102-543 provided specific ways in which the Commission could advise and assist the NPS in the operation of Keweenaw NHP. Most importantly, however, this section of the legislation gave the Commission *operating* authority “...to carry out historical, educational, or cultural programs which encourage or enhance appreciation of the historic resources in the park, surrounding areas, and on the Keweenaw Peninsula...” Although the substitute bill presented by NPS Director Ridenour in March of 1992 proposed limiting the Commission to an advisory role, this one clause in PL 102-543 meant that not only did the Commission have operating powers, but it also had the authority to operate beyond the park boundaries on the entire Keweenaw Peninsula.

The last duty of the Commission included in the legislation, “be authorized to seek, accept, and dispose of gifts, bequests, or donations...” gave the Commission the ability to explore additional sources of funding and resource acquisition to assist with the purposes of the park. Lowell’s legislation also included this explicit reference to fundraising. For Lowell, however, the fundraising language was a minor clause; the overwhelming expectation was that their commission would receive federal appropriations over a ten-year period. This expectation was so ingrained in Lowell’s development that their legislation also included many detailed processes for disbursing funds. For Keweenaw, the reverse was true. Instead of providing the Commission with large amounts of money and the ability to provide loans and grant, PL 102-543 gave the Commission a small annual federal authorization combined with an indefinite lifetime. If Keweenaw’s Commission relied on federal funding alone, it was destined to be a relatively weak partner for the NPS.

With regard to real property, the legislation further clarified the Commission’s role with the following language:

(b)(1) The Commission may acquire real property, or interests in real property, to further the purposes of the Act by gift or devise; or, by purchase from a willing seller with money which was given or bequeathed to the Commission on the condition that such money would be used to purchase real property, or interests in real property, to further the purposes of this Act.

(2) For the purposes of section 170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, any gift to the Commission shall be deemed to be a gift to the United States.

(3) Any real property or interest in real property acquired by the Commission shall be conveyed by the Commission to the National Park Service or the appropriate public agency as soon as possible after such acquisition, without consideration, and on the condition that the real property or interest in real property so conveyed is used for public purposes.

(4) The value of funds or property, or interests in property, conveyed to the National Park Service by the Commission may be considered as non-Federal, at the Commission's discretion.

While the Commission could assist the NPS in the acquisition of property important to the park's purposes, the Commission could not hold property longer than necessary. Of course, with a Commission that had no sunset date, the wording "as soon as possible" left a huge amount of flexibility for the Commission.

Next, the legislation addressed the composition and operation of the Commission as follows:

(c) Membership-

(1) COMPOSITION- The Commission shall be composed of seven members appointed by the Secretary, of whom--

(A) two members shall be appointed from nominees submitted by the Calumet Village Council and the Calumet Township Board;

(B) one member shall be appointed from nominees submitted by the Quincy Township Board and the Franklin Township Board;

(C) one member shall be appointed from nominees submitted by the Houghton County Board of Commissioners;

(D) one member shall be appointed from nominees submitted by the Governor of the State of Michigan; and,

(E) two members who are qualified to serve on the Commission because of their familiarity with National Parks and historic preservation.

(2) CHAIRPERSON- The chairperson of the Commission shall be elected by the members to serve a term of 3 years.

(3) VACANCIES- A vacancy on the Commission shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(4) Terms of service-

(A) IN GENERAL- Each member shall be appointed for a term of 3 years and may be reappointed not more than three times.

(B) INITIAL MEMBERS- Of the members first appointed under subsection (b)(1), the Secretary shall appoint--

(i) two members for a term of 1 year;

(ii) two members for a term of 2 years; and

(iii) three members for a term of 3 years.

(5) EXTENDED SERVICE- A member may serve after the expiration of that member's term until a successor has taken office.

There were several important points contained in this section. First, PL 102-543 removed all of the Department of the Interior (DOI) representatives from the Commission. Previous versions of the legislation had suggested that at least one of the commissioners be a DOI/NPS employee, with S. 1664 also naming the park superintendent as a commissioner. PL 102-543 removed this linkage with the DOI/NPS in favor two at-large positions. This did not prohibit a DOI employee from being part of the Commission, but there was no longer a specific reference to include a federal employee. Secondly, the terms of service contained in the legislation provided for potentially long tenures for commissioners; between an initial appointment and reappointments, a commissioner could serve up to 12 years. In addition, due to the extended service clause, any delays introduced in the reappointment process meant that a commissioner could actually serve even longer than 12 years. These possibilities

seem overly generous given the earlier suggestions by the NPS that called for a ten-year sunset date for the entire commission. Lastly, this section contained a wording error that would haunt the Commission for years. By specifying that the commissioners, “...be *appointed from nominees* submitted by...,” the legislation implied that the nominating entities had the power to select the actual commissioners. This directly conflicted with the Appointments Clause of the Constitution that gave the Executive Branch the authority to appoint the Commissioners, and it immediately became a problem for the Commission. When President Bush signed the legislation creating PL 102-543, he added the following signing statement:

Today I am signing into law S. 1664, which establishes the Keweenaw National Historical Park. The Act also establishes the Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, most of the Members of which are appointed by the Secretary of the Interior from among the nominees submitted by various State and local officials. Because most of the Members are effectively selected by various State and local government officials, and thus are not appointed in conformity with the Appointments Clause of the Constitution, Article II, section 2, clause 2, I sign this bill on the understanding that the Commission will serve only in an advisory capacity and will not exercise executive authority.

George Bush

The White House,

October 27, 1992.¹⁹³

With one paragraph, President Bush removed the operational authority and hobbled the Commission. It would take another seven years for the Commission and the NPS to make the necessary change to the legislation and activate the Commission's full powers.

The rest of this section of the legislation provided guidance on how the Commission should operate.

(6) MEETINGS- The Commission shall meet at least quarterly at the call of the chairperson or a majority of the members of the Commission.

(7) QUORUM- Five members shall constitute a quorum.

(d) COMPENSATION- Members shall serve without pay. Members who are full-time officers or employees of the United States, the State of Michigan, or any political subdivision thereof shall receive no additional pay on account of their service on the Commission.

(e) TRAVEL EXPENSES- While away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Commission, members shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same manner as persons employed intermittently in the Government service are allowed expenses under section 5703 of title 5, United States Code.

¹⁹³ Statement on Signing Legislation Establishing the Keweenaw National Historical Park, October 27, 1992, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=21684>, (accessed November 25, 2012).

(f) **MAILS-** The Commission may use the United States mails in the same manner and under the same conditions as other departments and agencies of the United States.

(g) **STAFF-** The Commission may appoint and fix the pay of such personnel as the Commission deems desirable. The Secretary may provide the Commission with such staff and technical assistance as the Secretary, after consultation with the Commission, considers appropriate to enable the Commission to carry out its duties, on a cost reimbursable basis. Upon request of the Secretary, any Federal agency may provide information, personnel, property, and services on a reimbursable basis, to the Commission to assist in carrying out its duties under this section. The Secretary may accept the services of personnel detailed from the State of Michigan or any political subdivision of the State and reimburse the State or such political subdivision for such services. The Commission may procure additional temporary and intermittent services under section 3109(b) of title 5 of the United States Code, with funds obtained under section 9(a)(6), or as provided by the Secretary.

(h) **HEARINGS-** The Commission may, for the purpose of carrying out this Act, hold such hearings, sit and act at such times and places, take such testimony, and receive such evidence, as the Commission considers appropriate. The Commission may not issue subpoenas or exercise any subpoena authority.

The biggest change in this section of PL 102-543 from previous versions of the legislation was the language on staffing. Earlier language included a limitation on the pay grade of the commission's director (not to exceed GS-13) and a limitation on the number of staff members (not to exceed 5). PL 102-543 gave the commission much more leeway by only stating that, "The Commission may appoint and fix the pay of such personnel as the Commission deems desirable." The Commission was free to hire the staff members required to accomplish its goals. In addition, the legislation gave the Commission the authority to access NPS and State of Michigan personnel, on a cost reimbursable basis. The last section of PL 102-543 provided spending authorization limits for the new park. Section 10 established limits for the NPS and the Commission as follows:

(a) Except as provided in subsection (b), there are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out this Act, but not to exceed \$5,000,000 for the acquisition of lands and interests therein, \$25,000,000 for development, and \$3,000,000 for financial and technical assistance to owners of non-Federal property as provided in section 8.

(b) There are authorized to be appropriated annually to the Commission to carry out its duties under this Act, \$100,000 except that the Federal contribution to the Commission shall not exceed 50 percent of the annual costs to the Commission in carrying out those duties.

The federal spending limits were a new addition to the legislation, and a reflection of the changing mood in Washington. The limits represented another method to help contain the long-term costs of the park and show certain detractors that Keweenaw NHP was not going to be a federal money pit. For the NPS, the limits also offered an implied set of priorities; while the NPS should spend some effort (9% of its spending limit) helping owners of non-Federal properties, it should focus the bulk of their its (91% of its spending limits) on acquiring and developing properties important to achieving the park's purposes. For the Commission, the spending authorization offered a mixed message. An annual authorization of \$100,000, if appropriated, would offer the Commission enough funding to get started, but this was hardly the federal windfall envisioned by the park proponents. In addition, the 50% annual limitation on federal funds essentially implied a 50% match requirement for an entity originally envisioned as a vehicle to help the NPS spend money, not raise it.

In the first decade of existence, Lowell National Historical Park had seen nearly \$200 million of federal, state, local, and private money invested to support its mission. The park proponents in Calumet started their quest for a national park in 1987 to replicate the investment witnessed in Lowell in an attempt to "save Calumet." While PL 102-543 represented success by establishing a unit of the National Park Service on the Keweenaw, the legislation also provided a number of roadblocks to progress. Confusing park boundaries, a prohibition on acquiring contaminated properties (in a park dedicated to industrial history), limitations on federal investments in non-federal

properties, a Commission with hobbled authority, no real commitment from the State of Michigan to help with the park, and relatively low spending authorizations would all hinder forward progress on the park's purposes. Still, the Keweenaw now had a national park, and the focus needed to be on making it work.

CHAPTER FIVE. BUILDING THE PARTNERSHIP

The CLK Foresight National Park Committee hosted a series of local events on November 1, 1992. The group wanted to officially welcome the NPS to the area and thank Congressman Davis for his efforts in getting the park established. They did this by holding a ceremony at the Calumet Theatre (Figure 5-1) followed by a dinner at the Miscowaubik Club. Congressman Davis and Senator Levin attended the events, as well as NPS Midwest Regional Director Don Castleberry and Al Hutchings, NPS Chief of Planning for the Midwest Region.

At the dinner, Congressman Davis presented the local representatives with the pen used by President Bush to sign the park legislation.¹⁹⁴ Senator Levin then gave the group signed copies of portions of the actual bill. Over 130 people attended the dinner, including many of the park proponents who had worked so hard to bring the NPS to the Keweenaw.¹⁹⁵ The list included Steve Albee, Sue Cone, Bob Langseth, John Sullivan, Burt Boyum, Bob Pieti, Tom Tikkanen, Russ Erkkila, and Bill Rosemurgy. The list also included Bill Fink, the superintendent of Isle Royale National Park and future superintendent at Keweenaw National Historical Park. Once again obvious in their absence, however, were all of the professors from Michigan Tech who had participated in the discussions about creating a park.

¹⁹⁴ "Park backers party hearty," *Daily Mining Gazette*, November 2, 1992.

¹⁹⁵ "Reservations – National Park Dinner, Miscowaubik Club," November 1, 1992, Stephen Albee national park papers, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

In addition to the celebratory events, Reverend Langseth convened a small working group of local people, NPS staff, and congressional representatives to discuss the next steps for the park. Langseth “sought to try out the model of a commission” for the meeting and his notes included the following table of attendees:

<u>Legislation Model</u>	<u>at the table</u>
2 Calumet	Bill Rosemurgy and Sue Cone
1 Quincy	Burt Boyum
1 County	Paul Lehto (sub for Clarence Dwyer)
1 State	Dave Svanda (absent)
2 Professionals	Don Castleberry and Al Hutchings
	Laurie Bink (Davis)
	Rosemary Forrester (Levin)
	Bob Langseth

Observers were also present. Namely Russ Erkkila, Bill Fink, Dave Halkola, and Bob Grassechi.¹⁹⁶

Don Castleberry congratulated the group for their work to establish the park and reflected on why this effort had been successful when so many other park proposals were struggling. Specifically, Castleberry thought the success on the Keweenaw was due

¹⁹⁶ CLK Foresight, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of November 19, 1992, John Sullivan national park papers, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

to a, “1) United grass roots effort, 2) strong legislative support, 3) resources to tell the story, 4) [the group included local] dollars up-front, 5) [the locals brought] in the NPS early in the process, and 6) [the locals brought] in the State early in the process.”¹⁹⁷ The group then discussed the budget for the park, the process for getting the Commission established, public relations activities, and several other topics. Although the group was anxious to identify ways to obtain federal funding for some of the more pressing problems at the new park, it also became clear that access to significant funding required the completion of the park’s General Management Plan, a process that might take from three to five years. To those who thought that the park creation meant a quick influx of federal cash, this was an early sign that the NPS made planning and investment decisions at a slow, deliberate pace.

On November 19, the National Park Committee held its first meeting since the success of the park establishment. Unfortunately, since the park did not yet have a superintendent or an appointed Advisory Commission, old wounds came to the surface. Dave Halkola from the Quincy Mine Hoist Association (QMHA) presented a letter to the group from Burt Boyum. Boyum, who was president of the QMHA at the time, lamented that the QMHA might not have a representative on the park’s Advisory Commission and yet the QMHA was a key partner in the “south end” of the park. Boyum stated that, “Our feeling is that even if the Advisory Commission is formed by 1994, that there is, and will be, a need for a new ‘Park Committee.’ We suggest that there be this New

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

Committee made up of five members each of CLK Foresight and the South Committee.

This 10 member Committee is large enough to represent each area's diverse elements, and yet small enough to be workable. We ask that you consider this approach."¹⁹⁸

Following the meeting, Reverend Langseth responded to Boyum's letter and explained that the group felt that altering the current membership of the National Park Committee was a better alternative than creating a new organization that excluded important stakeholders. In addition, Langseth noted that the group decided to pursue scheduling a strategic planning exercise; if the original purpose of the committee was to get a national park established, it needed to determine what it should do now that the park existed.¹⁹⁹

William O. Fink

In early January of 1993, the NPS named William O. Fink as the first superintendent of Keweenaw National Historical Park. Bill Fink came to the area in April 1990 to take the job of superintendent at Isle Royale National Park. After only two years in the role, however, Fink found that running an island park was not what he expected. Specifically, the separations from his family, the relative isolation of living on the island in the

¹⁹⁸ Burt Boyum, Plan for Continued Cooperation, November 17, 1992, John Sullivan national park papers, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

¹⁹⁹ Robert Langseth to Burt Boyum, November 19, 1992, John Sullivan national park papers, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

summer, and the routine of running an established park wore on him.²⁰⁰ Coincidentally, as the ranking NPS official in the area, Fink had also served as the NPS regional director's representative in a number of discussions and activities related to the creation of Keweenaw NHP.²⁰¹ The more he learned about Keweenaw, the more excited he became about the possibility of running a newly established park.

Using a business relationship from his days at Isle Royale, Fink established Keweenaw's first office on the second floor of the former C&H Office Building. Fink already knew Dr. David Gilbert, a member of a group of doctors who operated the building as a medical center. Gilbert offered Fink free office space in an unused portion of the building. In an interview with the *Daily Mining Gazette*, Fink described his initial priorities as, "...develop a fairly complete boundary map of the park, to lay ground work for beginning a general-management plan and to work with various jurisdictions involved to nominate people to the Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission."²⁰² Fink served as superintendent until November 30, 1996, and while the above items were important tasks, Fink also had to deal with questions and expectations regarding land use planning, growing the available funding for the park, establishing partnerships with local history organizations, and being the face of the National Park Service for those who worked to establish the park. The community had some enormous

²⁰⁰ William O. Fink, interview with the author, November 27, 2012.

²⁰¹ William O. Fink, interview by Jo Urion, August 7, 2002, tape recording, Keweenaw National Historical Park Oral History Collection, Calumet, MI.

²⁰² "Park head named," *Daily Mining Gazette*, January 15, 1993.

expectations for Fink and the NPS - expectations that were likely unrealistic from the start.

Park Boundaries

As mentioned earlier, the boundaries were a frequent topic of discussion during the years prior to the establishment of the park. The park's legislation referenced a specific map to establish the initial boundaries, but the legislation also specified that the NPS publish a detailed description and map in the Federal Register within 180 days of the bill's enactment. Fink had until April 27, 1993 to make good on this requirement. Since the NPS had not budgeted for this activity, Fink himself set about creating a set of interim boundaries to meet the legislative deadline. Fink also fully expected that the upcoming General Management Plan exercise would recommend additional boundary improvements.

In a discussion paper following the creation of the new, interim boundaries, Fink explained that the NPS waited until after the establishment of the park to create the map referenced in the legislation!²⁰³ Fink further explained that the initial boundaries were inadequate because of a basic misunderstanding of the need for the boundaries. In essence, Fink believed that the NPS desired small boundaries in an attempt to

²⁰³ William O. Fink, "Discussion Paper – Keweenaw National Historical Park Boundary Map," June 1993, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

minimize the amount of federal land ownership. Fink felt the boundaries should actually mark a larger area of significance that would always include a mix of private and public ownership. Fink's recommended boundaries included all of the land within the existing national historic landmark districts; utilized existing roads and landmarks instead of arbitrary lines; and involved actually validating the boundaries on the ground instead of having a map that "...was developed by staff who had a short deadline and no chance to visit the site."²⁰⁴ The NPS published Fink's interim boundaries in the *Federal Register* on November 24, 1993. As it exists in 2012, the map referenced in the legislation, NHP-KP 20012-B, includes a base map of the initial boundaries dated June 1992; overlay maps of the interim boundaries created by Fink and dated September 1993; and an overlay of the narrative description of the interim boundaries from the Federal Register dated November 14, 1993 (Figure 5-2).²⁰⁵

The Advisory Commission

From the beginning, the park proponents fought for local input into the operation of the proposed national park on the Keweenaw; the proponents wanted a group of local people who would have a say in what the NPS did and how it spent federal dollars.

²⁰⁴ Ibid

²⁰⁵ Map NHP-KP 20012-B, Alternative 5: Limited Preservation and Moderate On-Site Interpretation, June 01, 1992, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

Although President Bush limited some of the responsibilities when he signed PL 102-543, establishing the Advisory Commission was an early priority for Bill Fink.

PL 102-543 provided details about many of the characteristics and responsibilities of the Commission. To address several other questions, however, the National Park Service prepared a charter document for the Commission in advance of the actual formation of the group. The charter reiterated some of the language from the legislation, but also included the following clauses: the Commission was subject to sections of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (due to the removal of the operating powers by President Bush); the Commission would report to the Midwest Regional Director of the National Park Service; the Commission would receive support from the NPS; the Commission was limited to an advisory role; the Commission's advisory functions should cost about \$50,000 a year; and any Commissioner who missed three successive meetings, or otherwise did not participate, could be removed and replaced. While these clauses did provide guidance for the Commission, the fact that the NPS developed the charter prior to having any of the Commissioners appointed indicated that the NPS thought the Commission should have a subordinate relationship.

At the start of 1993, changes at the Department of the Interior complicated the initial appointment process for the Advisory Commission. President Bush lost his reelection bid in November of 1992 and William Jefferson Clinton became President on January 20, 1993. Bruce Babbitt then succeeded Manuel Lujan as Secretary of the Interior. The local

nominating organizations did not receive letters requesting nominations from the Secretary's office until March 1993. Although the organizations returned their nominations to the Secretary's office relatively quickly, Secretary Babbitt did not announce the actual appointments until November 1993 (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Initial Advisory Commission Members, 1993

Name	Title / Background	Nominated By	Initial Term
Peder Kitti	Retired NPS Employee	Calumet Village / Calumet Township	1 year
Paul Lehto	Supervisor , Calumet Township	Calumet Village / Calumet Township	2 years
Mary Tuisku	Mayor, City of Hancock	Quincy and Franklin Townships	2 years
Clarence Dwyer	Member, Houghton County Board	Houghton County	1 year
Burton Boyum	President, Quincy Mine Hoist Association	State of Michigan	3 years
Dr. Larry Lankton	Professor, Michigan Tech	At-Large	3 years
Dr. Kathryn B. Eckert	State Historic Preservation Officer	At-Large	3 years

The first Advisory Commission meeting took place on April 22, 1994, at which time the group elected Paul Lehto as Chair and Burt Boyum as Vice-Chair for one year terms.²⁰⁶

The Commissioners chose Lehto and Boyum primarily due to their willingness to

²⁰⁶ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Notes, Organizational Meeting, Meeting of April 22, 1994.

serve.²⁰⁷ Fink discussed his plans for the park and explained the constraints placed on the Commission due to President Bush's signing statement. Although the legislation provided operational authority and financial authorization, the signing statement limited the Commission to an advisory role. Throughout Fink's tenure at Keweenaw NHP, the actions of the Commission reflected this limitation. The quarterly Commission meetings included reports by NPS staff members, comments or reports from the Commissioners, and questions or input from members of the public. With no funding or operational authority, however, the Commission was unable to accomplish much between their meetings. Reverend Langseth noted this issue, and his own frustration flared up at a Commission meeting in February 1995, when he stated that if the Commission was going to be limited to an advisory role, then the parties involved should really consider forming an additional group dedicated to taking action.²⁰⁸

The General Management Plan

In addition to establishing boundaries and starting the Advisory Commission, PL 102-543 specifically called for the creation of a General Management Plan (GMP) within three fiscal years from the park's establishment date. A requirement for all units of the National Park System, Bill Fink described the GMP as, "...a kind of cookbook for how the

²⁰⁷ Paul Lehto, interview with the author, January 29, 2013.

²⁰⁸ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of February 7, 1995.

park is developed and managed – where do we need which facilities to do what kind of operations.”²⁰⁹ Additionally, as the park proponents and Commissioners discovered early in the life of the park, the NPS would not support significant investment in the area until the park had completed a GMP.

A group of NPS employees toured the area during the week of August 30, 1993, to prepare for the GMP development process. The initial planning team leader was Keith Payne, a landscape architect and planner from the NPS’s Denver Service Center.²¹⁰

Although the group hoped to get going quickly, Payne conceded in January 1994 that the process was moving slower than he had expected due to conflicting work commitments and funding constraints. Finally, on May 16-18, 1994, the NPS held a planning workshop in Calumet to reaffirm or establish a number of foundational elements for the process. The non-NPS attendees at this workshop included Steve Albee, Sue Cone, Bob Langseth, John Vertin from Coppertown, graduate student Ed Yarbrough, and all of the members of the Advisory Commission. For the NPS, the attendees included Bill Fink; planner John Sowl and cultural resource chief Andy Ketterson from the Midwest Regional Office; Keith Payne, economist Richard Lichtkoppler and planner Jan Harris from the Denver Service Center; interpretive specialist Keith Morgan from the NPS’s Harper’s Ferry Center; and Laura Feller, the historian from Washington who helped with the earlier efforts to create the national

²⁰⁹ William O. Fink, “Keweenaw National Historical Park Update,” April 1993, 3.

²¹⁰ William O. Fink, “Keweenaw National Historical Park Update,” September 1993, 2.

landmark districts that preceded the park.²¹¹ The sessions led to the development of the following statements to help guide the GMP process:

“The purposes of Keweenaw National Historical Park are to tell the story of copper’s role in the development of an American Industrial society and the effects on the Keweenaw Peninsula of providing that copper.”

“The significance of Keweenaw National Historical Park is the story of copper and its relation to the development of an industrialized society in the United States.”

The primary interpretive themes for Keweenaw National Historical Park are:

“People’s Lives, Labor Management Relations, Corporate Paternalism, Mining Technology, and Natural Resources.”²¹²

Although these statements and their supporting documentation represented a good start, another nine months passed before the work of the group received any public input. In February 1995, the NPS team returned to the Keweenaw to hold several public sessions. Michael Bureman, a planner from the Denver Service Center, now led the team. Bureman told the Advisory Commission that he was excited about working on a

²¹¹ “Draft Results – GMP Planning Workshop #1,” December 8, 1994, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

²¹² Ibid.

management plan for a partnership park, and that he expected the GMP to be complete by the summer of 1996.²¹³

The GMP planning team visited the Keweenaw a number of times during the summer and fall of 1995. Through a series of tours, conversations, research efforts, and public comment sessions, the team began to formulate a set of alternatives for the management of Keweenaw NHP. Unlike the *Study of Alternatives* document prepared in 1991 that explored how entities other than the NPS might help preserve and interpret the local area, the GMP took into account that the NPS was now going to be the driving force. The central question now was to what extent the NPS should directly control these activities. Bureman and his team developed four alternatives for consideration. In August, Bureman explained the alternatives to the Advisory Commission as follows:

“Alternative One – The NPS owns nothing, but provides financial and technical assistance to others to preserve/manage/interpret all significant resources.

Alternative Two – The NPS owns/manages/interprets only the most significant resources in the industrial core area[s].

Alternative Three – The NPS owns the most significant resources within the park boundaries.

²¹³ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of February 7, 1995, 6.

Alternative Four – A combination of Alternatives One and Two. The major focus is for the NPS to lead the development of, and then have local units of government adopt, detailed historic preservation ordinances.”²¹⁴

Bureman and his team took these concepts on the road in September 1995 and held public comment sessions in Calumet, Houghton, Marquette, and Lansing, MI. Bureman shared with the Advisory Commission that most folks preferred Alternative Four, but that the attendees in Calumet had concerns about the impact of the proposed preservation ordinances.²¹⁵ Somewhat ominously, the internal briefing documents that outlined the alternatives also included the following comment in bold at the end of the description of Alternative Four, “If local preservation ordinances [are] not enacted, [the] NPS should reevaluate [Keweenaw NHP] as a unit of the national park system.”²¹⁶ Clearly, the GMP study team felt that local municipalities were a key component to the future success of this partnership park.

Bureman and the GMP team continued to work through the winter and into the summer of 1996. During this time, the team spent a considerable amount of effort determining how the park’s prohibition from acquiring contaminated properties might affect the GMP alternatives. Unfortunately, the questions asked by the GMP team often

²¹⁴ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of August 22, 1995, 7.

²¹⁵ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of October 27, 1995, 6.

²¹⁶ “Briefing Document, Alternative Concepts, Keweenaw National Historical Park, Michigan,” NPS Denver Service Center, August 22, 1995, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

raised more questions and concerns from within the NPS. Fink described the situation by stating that, “The question of unknown hazardous materials continues to sour the GMP process. Staff advice seems to be of the hand-wringing variety – saying since we don’t know what is there or not there and we can’t use NPS money to find out in advance, we are stymied unless the existing landowners conduct the hazmat investigations.”²¹⁷ While the NPS wanted to limit liability for future cleanup costs, Fink knew that there were development pressures on important resources on the Keweenaw, and he wanted to make sure that the GMP helped preserve these resources rather than introduce new costs and hurdles that would drive landowners away from dealing with the NPS.

In September of 1996, the team delivered a draft document for review. The reaction was not positive. The Commissioners and local officials who reviewed the document expressed a number of concerns, including: a focus on organization and bureaucracy instead of a visitor experience; the inclusion of a friends group concept that seemed to be focused on solely benefitting the NPS; too many references to hazardous wastes; and a negative tone used in many places that led Burt Boyum to call the GMP, “...a compendium of reasons of why there should not be a Park.”²¹⁸ At the Commission meeting in October, one of the attendees commented that the draft GMP required a

²¹⁷ William O. Fink, “Draft Memo, Unknown Hazardous Materials in the Keweenaw – the roadblock to implementation of the General Management Plan,” April 23, 1996, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

²¹⁸ Burton Boyum, “General Management Plan – Draft,” October 3, 1996, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

revision due to a number of inaccuracies contained in the text. Commissioner Lankton said that, "...the word 'inaccuracies' understates the seriousness of the recommended revisions."²¹⁹ The group agreed that the necessary changes were more than just typographical or style changes; in order to gain the acceptance of the Commission and the local supporters, the GMP team was going to have to make some major modifications to the document.

Unfortunately, Bill Fink would not see the completion of the GMP under his tenure. Fink left his post as superintendent on November 30, 1996, as the result of a series of events discussed below. Fink had initiated the GMP process as one of his first priorities, but funding constraints and the complexity of the landscape caused the process to take longer than anyone imagined. The legislated deadline for producing a GMP had come and gone, and there was still a lot of work to do.

Partnerships – Cooperating Sites

From the very early days of the national park effort on the Keweenaw, the park proponents and the NPS realized that others in the local area were working to preserve and interpret portions of the copper mining story. County historical societies, state parks, nonprofit organizations, and even a few private businesses cared for important

²¹⁹ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of October 29, 1996, 3.

historic resources and celebrated local history. As the new superintendent, Bill Fink realized that these organizations and sites were important to Keweenaw NHP, and in some ways these sites *were* the national park until the NPS could establish a more permanent presence. Building on concepts he had seen in Pennsylvania at Fort Necessity and with the America's Industrial Heritage Project, Fink announced the creation of a Cooperating Sites Program with a stated goal of having the NPS work collaboratively with the sites to "...offer visitors a reasonably comprehensive look at the park's stories."²²⁰ Fink also wanted to provide the Cooperating Sites with signage to let visitors know that they were visiting a site affiliated with the NPS, and that the national park was real.

Although PL 102-543 gave the NPS the ability to enter into cooperative agreements with property owners within the boundaries for preservation and interpretive purposes, Bill Fink was a staff of one tasked with starting a new national park unit. The reality of this meant that there were times when Fink accomplished tasks based on his understanding of the intent of the legislation, rather than utilizing the bureaucratic methods practiced by the NPS. The creation of the Cooperating Sites Program was an example of this. First, Fink recognized that the legislation gave the Commission powers to work outside of the boundaries, but President Bush's signing statement had suspended these operational powers. Fink's interpretation of the situation was that the powers were still there, vested with the Secretary of the Interior, and if the Commission could not make use of

²²⁰ William O. Fink, "Keweenaw National Historical Park Update," April 1993, 5.

them, the NPS should.²²¹ Building relationships with existing organizations, even if they were outside the boundaries, was essential to the future success of Keweenaw NHP. Not only did the program give the new park a visible presence on the landscape, Fink noted that the relationships allowed the NPS to “...instantly boast of 500,000 visitors.”²²² Secondly, rather than draw up detailed standards for the program and establish written cooperative agreements, Fink added sites to the program on little more than a handshake.²²³ Once he determined that they were open to the public, and had a reasonable tie to the park’s overall story, Fink admitted them to the program. At that point in the development of the park, Fink needed the sites more than they needed them. He had very little to offer, and if he failed to get the sites to work with him, he would have no place to send visitors. If he set the quality bar too high, or developed a process that was too difficult, he risked driving important partners away.

The first sites to join the Cooperating Sites Program were the Calumet Theatre, Coppertown USA Museum, Upper Peninsula Firefighters Memorial Museum, Quincy Mine, Seaman Mineralogical Museum, Fort Wilkins State Park, Delaware Mine, Houghton County Historical Society, and the Keweenaw County Historical Museum. Later in 1993, the program expanded with the addition of Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park, Hanka Homestead and Old Victoria.²²⁴ In the spring of 1995,

²²¹ William O. Fink, interview by Jo Urion, August 7, 2002, tape recording, Keweenaw National Historical Park Oral History Collection, Calumet, MI.

²²² William O. Fink, interview with the author, November 27, 2012.

²²³ Linda Witkowski to Frank Fiala, 1997, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

²²⁴ William O. Fink, “Keweenaw National Historical Park Update,” October 1993, 2.

McLain State Park also joined the program. The last site added by Fink was the Copper Range Historical Society in the spring of 1996. This brought the total number of sites to fourteen. Fink supplied the Sites with copies of a Q&A document about the national park, as well as copies of a Cooperating Sites brochure that helped educate visitors about the park and the other members of the Cooperating Sites Program.

PL 102-543 did not dictate or guide the creation of a partnership arrangement like the Cooperating Sites Program, but as the program evolved, the stakeholders in Keweenaw NHP began to see its value. For Fink, the Sites provided the new park with valuable interpretive experiences. He recognized that the sites were a “Ready-made set of resources to tell the story in a creative way.”²²⁵ For the Sites, the partnership offered a method to leverage the NPS brand, and eventually, a way to tap technical expertise and financial assistance. For the larger NPS, the program offered proof that a partnership park was a viable alternative to the traditional model of complete federal ownership of land and historic resources. In a letter to Senator Charles Robb in 1995, NPS Regional Field Director Bill Schenk shared that, “These sites, a mix of public, private non-profit, and private for-profit operations, are cooperating with the NPS to provide interpretive and visitor services while requiring a relatively small investment of NPS staff and

²²⁵ William O. Fink, interview by Jo Urion, August 7, 2002, tape recording, Keweenaw National Historical Park Oral History Collection, Calumet, MI.

money.”²²⁶ The Cooperating Sites provided visitor services to the traveling public at little or no taxpayer expense.

NPS Presence

In addition to tackling tasks identified in the legislation and building a network of cooperative relationships, Bill Fink also worked tirelessly to ensure that the public knew that the NPS was in the area, and that the NPS was a good neighbor. In the early days, achieving these goals meant communication, and lots of it. In 1993, Fink initiated regular stakeholder meetings in the Quincy and Calumet units; started a park newsletter; published informational brochures; commissioned a park logo; and gave dozens of presentations to such diverse audiences as a high school marketing class, the Keweenaw Lions club, local historical societies, a college class in Forest Recreation, and the MSU Extension Homemakers.²²⁷ If the park was really going to work, however, Fink was going to need help.

Lynn Bjorkman was the first employee to join Bill Fink. Bjorkman was a graduate student who took a role as a seasonal park historian in the summer of 1993 to help develop historic preservation districts and ordinances for the Village of Calumet, Calumet Township and the Village of Laurium. Since Keweenaw NHP was still struggling to secure

²²⁶ William W. Schenk to Senator Charles S. Robb, October 2, 1995, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

²²⁷ William O. Fink, “Keweenaw National Historical Park Update,” April 1993, 5-6.

federal operational funds, the funding for Bjorkman's position came from a partnership between the Midwest Regional Office of the NPS and the State of Michigan's Bureau of History. Bjorkman worked at the park into the fall of 1993 when she returned to Omaha. Fink reported in the November 1993 newsletter that Bjorkman's accomplishments for the summer largely focused on Calumet, but that she was exploring other funding sources that would allow her to return to the area.²²⁸

Ed Yarbrough was the first full-time employee to join Fink. Yarbrough took a term role (limited to four years of employment) as the park historian starting in the spring of 1994. Supported by funding from the regional office, Yarbrough's first assignment was to produce a Historic Resource Study (HRS) to help guide future preservation and interpretation efforts. Although other priorities often got in the way of making progress on the HRS, Fink was relieved to have a full-time staff member assist him.²²⁹

In July 1995, Josef Balachowski joined the staff as a historical architect. With such a large number of historic buildings and structures on the Keweenaw, Balachowski immediately immersed himself in providing technical assistance to a wide variety of property owners and park partners. In addition, in the absence of permanent interpretive staff at the park, Balachowski began work with Yarbrough on signage and materials to support a walking tour of Calumet.

²²⁸ William O. Fink, "Keweenaw National Historical Park Update," November 1993, 3.

²²⁹ William O. Fink, interview by Jo Urion, August 7, 2002, tape recording, Keweenaw National Historical Park Oral History Collection, Calumet, MI.

The table below (Table 5.2) illustrates the minimal resources Fink had available to him during his tenure. The federal fiscal year ran from October 1 through September 30. The budget and staff full time equivalent (FTE) numbers represent the approved levels for the park according to the annual NPS budget. The actual staff numbers represent the total number of people working for the park, including staff members who received compensation from sources other than the park's operational budget.

Table 5.2 Keweenaw NHP Budget, 1993 - 1996

Fiscal Year	Approved Park Budget	Approved Staff FTE	Actual Staff
1993	\$0	1	2
1994	\$150,000	1	3
1995	\$212,000	3	4
1996	\$217,000	3	4

The NPS budget for the 1993 fiscal year did not include any funding for Keweenaw since the fiscal year was already running by the time President Bush signed the legislation. The budget for the 1994 fiscal year only happened because of maneuvering by the NPS regional office. Congressman Sidney Yates from Illinois was convinced that Keweenaw was a pork barrel project and a waste of federal funding.²³⁰ Congressman Yates successfully removed the \$300,000 allocation for Keweenaw that the NPS included in its proposed 1994 budget. The NPS regional office reacted to this situation by taking \$150,000 from the \$300,000 budget of Dayton Aviation National Historical Park in Ohio

²³⁰ Ibid.

and providing it to Keweenaw. Dayton was only two weeks older than Keweenaw, and thus was also in its first year of operation. It was not until the 1995 fiscal year that Keweenaw had a proper operating budget.

As the NPS staff grew, Fink explored various options for office space. At the time, Fink and Yarbrough had offices in the C&H Mine Office, but Bjorkman's office was in the Calumet Village Hall while Balachowski had an office in the basement of Calumet's post office. The doctors who owned the mine office provided Fink with free office space, but Fink became concerned that this arrangement was not sustainable. Fink explored leasing space from the Village of Calumet in a vacant church parsonage on 7th Street, but he ultimately decided to stay in the mine office. Subsequently, Fink pursued establishing a permanent headquarters for the park in the former C&H Library building located across the street from the mine office, then owned by the Lake Superior Land Company. As he noted in one of his newsletters, however, acquiring the C&H Library would take several years and many conversations.²³¹

Development Pressures

Throughout the long, slow decline of the mining industry on the Keweenaw Peninsula, the primary impact on the landscape was the neglect, abandonment or removal of industrial, commercial and residential buildings. As job opportunities declined, people

²³¹ William O. Fink, "Keweenaw National Historical Park Update," December 1993 and January 1994, 4.

left the area to look elsewhere for employment. As the companies closed, local governments acquired structures and property in exchange for back taxes. As the decades passed, a lack of new construction resulted in a historic landscape with unusually high integrity. This integrity impressed the NPS employees who visited the area in the 1970s and 80s, and ultimately helped determine that the Keweenaw warranted a national park. Unfortunately, the establishment of the park, and the promise of visitors, also led to development pressures that were difficult for the fledgling park to combat.

In late 1994, a local developer named Tom Moyle announced that he planned to develop a piece of property on the southern end of C&H's industrial core area. Moyle acquired the property from the Lake Superior Land Company, a corporate descendant of the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company. The property was within the boundaries of the national landmark district, and within the boundaries of the Calumet Unit of the national park. Although the property no longer contained significant historic structures, the area was rich in archaeological sites and within view of many important historic resources. For the NPS and the supporters of the new park, the property was important to the visitor experience specifically because it did not detract from the feeling that the area once contained a large industrial workplace. In fact, Fink had already tried unsuccessfully to work with the Trust for Public Land and the NPS regional office to

acquire the property. Unfortunately, the regional office told Fink that the GMP had to come first.²³²

Moyle planned a modern shopping center with an adjacent motel. For some, the creation of a retail facility so close to the industrial core promised parking and services important to the visiting public; this was exactly the type of economic development that several of the park proponents envisioned. Early in the process, Fink also expressed optimism in the project and stated that “...Moyle has been working closely with the Township and the park to assure that the development is visually compatible with the area.”²³³ In fact, Moyle worked with John Sullivan and UP Engineers on several designs that attempted to copy the historic character of the nearby mining buildings.²³⁴

Regardless, other stakeholders felt that any introduction of modern construction into the heart of the historic industrial core threatened to affect the integrity of the site.

Throughout 1995, the Advisory Commission raised their concerns about the impact of the development. In February, Commissioners Eckert and Lankton encouraged the NPS to work closely with Moyle, even in the absence of any real authority to do so, in order to protect the integrity of the landscape.²³⁵ Lankton reminded the NPS of the damage done on Quincy Hill when new development occurred at the same time that the NPS

²³² William O. Fink, interview by Jo Urion, August 7, 2002, tape recording, Keweenaw National Historical Park Oral History Collection, Calumet, MI.

²³³ William O. Fink, “Keweenaw National Historical Park Update,” January 1995, 3.

²³⁴ John Sullivan, interview with the author, December 4, 2012.

²³⁵ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of February 7, 1995, 8.

was deliberating the landmark designation. Eckert reiterated her concerns in May, and Fink tried to reassure the Commission. Fink noted that “...if Moyle does not do it right he will incur the ire of the community.”²³⁶ This, of course, assumed that the community was more interested in historic preservation than new services and economic development.

By the end of 1995, it was clear that Moyle’s development, now known as Mine Street Station, represented a significant loss to the historic integrity of the area. The 40-acre parcel included, or would soon include, “...a new Pat’s IGA grocery store, adjoining the [existing] Pamida, an approximately 40-unit (initially) AmericInn motel, a 10 store complex, an Amoco quick stop station with a built-in Burger King restaurant, a home health service office, and two self storage buildings.”²³⁷ Moyle also created several commercial lots to encourage additional businesses to locate in the area. Unfortunately, the promises of historically compatible development were lost in the desire to create new businesses and jobs. Mine Street Station represented the most significant new commercial development in Calumet in decades, and the resulting complex certainly did not fit in with the surrounding historic landscape (Figure 5-3).

While some in the community welcomed the services and tax revenue generated by Mine Street Station, others recognized the conflict introduced by the new complex.

²³⁶ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of May 16, 1995, 5.

²³⁷ William O. Fink, “Keweenaw National Historical Park Update,” December 1995, 2.

Carol Holleyman, a member of Calumet's planning commission, attended the February 1996 Advisory Commission meeting and presented a letter from the planning commission. The planning commission expressed concern that Mine Street Station threatened the village's status as an historic landmark, and they encouraged the NPS and Advisory Commission to learn from the experience in order to prevent similar outcomes in the future.²³⁸

Fink also expressed disappointment with the final form of Mine Street Station. He noted that the "ponderous plodding" of the NPS's planning process was no match for the development pressures created by the establishment of new national park unit.²³⁹ The completion of a General Management Plan, and the implementation of design standards or other land use controls, normally took years. Moyle was able to design Mine Street Station, obtain financing, purchase land, and begin construction in less than a year. The landscape changed at the same time that the NPS was determining how to operate the park. As Fink later stated, this timing disconnect meant that the NPS at Keweenaw had to "...adapt its General Management Plan to a new set of realities..."²⁴⁰ Instead of being able to effectively address the development pressures from the start, the NPS was left to lament the damage after the fact.

²³⁸ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of February 6, 1996, 9.

²³⁹ William O. Fink, "Keweenaw National Historical Park Update," December 1995, 2.

²⁴⁰ William O. Fink, "Keweenaw National Historical Park: A case study in the failure of the traditional USNPS planning approach," 1996, 3, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

Thanks largely to the facilitation efforts of historical planner Lynn Bjorkman, the Calumet Township Trustees adopted a historic preservation ordinance on September 18, 1996.²⁴¹ The ordinance, the first in the area, provided for the creation of a Historic District Ordinance Commission to “...regulate the work affecting historic resources.” Unfortunately, as Fink had described, the ordinance and the commission came too late to affect the development of Mine Street Station.

Government Shutdown

In the fall of 1995, events occurred in Washington, DC, that would have a lasting impact on Keweenaw NHP. Throughout the summer of 1995, President Clinton and the Republican-led Congress battled over priorities and government spending limits. The two sides were unable to agree on a government budget for 1996 and resorted to a continuing resolution to keep the government operating beyond September 30. The continuing resolution provided funding through November 13, 1995. Although the two sides worked through October and into November, they could not agree on a path forward. On midnight of November 13, the government stopped operating nonessential services, including much of the NPS.

²⁴¹ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of October 29, 1996, 5.

Worried about the targeting of federal employees through the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City, and recent threats of violence to Forest Service employees, Bill Fink decided to take a stand and demonstrate that federal employees were not second-class citizens.²⁴² In the face of instructions to stop working, Fink decided to stage a “work-in” and kept doing his job. Furthermore, Fink determined to make his protest public. In a memo dated November 14, 1995, 9:30am EST, Fink announced, “An ad hoc group of federal employees, calling itself FEISTY, is calling for an unprecedented nationwide job action to respond to today’s orders for a shutdown of the federal government. FEISTY (Federal Employees In Service To You) is calling for a ‘work-in,’ urging all federal employees to stay on the job, demonstrating their commitment to serving the people of the United States.” Following the memo, Fink gave interviews to local and national news outlets, including the Associated Press and National Public Radio. Keweenaw NHP was a little-known park in a remote corner of the country, but Fink’s efforts now put the park, and the NPS, in the spotlight.

The response from the NPS was swift, and not positive. Bill Schenk, Field Director for the Midwest Region, called Fink on November 15 and informed him that the work-in violated the Antideficiency Act and that he could be subject to a \$5,000 fine, a two-year prison sentence, or both. The Antideficiency Act prohibits federal employees from spending funds not already appropriated by Congress. By working during the shutdown,

²⁴² Stephen Barr, “Showing Up During the Shutdown,” *The Washington Post*, December 22, 1995.

Schenk reasoned that Fink was committing the federal government to expending funds to cover his salary and the salaries of his employees.

The government shutdown initially ran from November 14 through November 19, and then from December 16 through January 6, 1996. Congress ultimately decided to provide back pay to all of the furloughed employees. Once the shutdown was over, however, the NPS still needed to determine how to handle Fink and his principled stand against the instructions to stop working. Fink felt that it was his duty to keep working, and even went so far as to argue that, "... if I actually followed instructions to stay home and not work, while I had a reasonable expectation of being paid for furloughed time, I could reasonably believe that I was guilty of misappropriating funds and violating my departmental ethics and conduct standards."²⁴³ After an internal investigation, the NPS decided to give a Fink a written reprimand. Although Fink expressed some relief at the resolution, he also still felt he was correct in his actions. When a reporter asked Fink if he would do the same thing in the future, Fink replied, "Certainly, quietly. This is my job."²⁴⁴

Bill Fink continued to serve as superintendent through the summer and fall of 1996. In November, however, the NPS announced that Fink would be leaving Keweenaw NHP to take a role as a special assistant to Bill Schenk.²⁴⁵ Fink planned to stay in the area, but

²⁴³ William O. Fink, "Park leader explains philosophy," *Daily Mining Gazette*, January 8, 1996.

²⁴⁴ John Flesher, "Vocal holdout during government shutdown will be reprimanded," Associated Press, February 7, 1996.

²⁴⁵ Candy Goulette, "Fink to leave park post," *Daily Mining Gazette*, November 11, 1996.

his new job would require traveling to other NPS units throughout the 13-state region.

As the *Daily Mining Gazette* noted, the “Bill Fink era” had ended.

The Legacy of William O. Fink

Bill Fink was superintendent at Keweenaw NHP for almost four years. When Fink started in January 1993, the locals already had six years of pent up dreams, hopes and expectations waiting for him. The locals had heard of the investments at Lowell NHP, and they had read about the various proposals for providing Keweenaw NHP with tens of millions of dollars from federal and state sources. The fact that there were no large fund sources guaranteed in the park’s enabling legislation, the NPS budget, or the State of Michigan’s budget, did not change the environment that Fink had to work in. Fink had to make progress on the basic steps required to establish a new unit of the national park system. He also had to spend a significant amount of time setting or resetting the expectations of the Commissioners, park partners and the wider community.

Fink’s major accomplishments illustrated his desire to focus on the partnership nature of the park. Fink did not set out to make huge improvements to the landscape or establish a visible NPS presence in the community – there was no money available to make significant changes. Instead, Fink worked behind the scenes to create formal park boundaries, establish a network of Cooperating Sites, assist the local municipalities in the creation of historic district ordinances, and build a staff that could provide technical

assistance to the park partners. These activities provided a broad, but shallow impact to the area. They established the NPS as a good partner and neighbor in the community, but they did not deliver the significant changes that some were hoping to see. The reality was that Fink had a lot of energy and experience, but lacked the funding and true legal authority to make a huge splash.

For some in the community, Fink did not fight hard enough to acquire funding for the park or protect its resources. In a memo to Fink from Dave Given, Deputy Field Director at the Midwest Field Office, Given restated this concern as a desire for Keweenaw NHP to have “... a good, shrewd, respected superintendent who can fight for a fair share of funds.”²⁴⁶ The field office had received two letters in late 1995 expressing concerns about the progress at Keweenaw NHP, and the implication was that Bill Fink was not the right person for the job. Unfortunately, this view did not acknowledge that new parks often begin with small budgets that build slowly over time, or that the climate in Congress during the latter years of Fink’s management was one that seemed openly hostile to additional government spending. During 1996, Congressional Republicans offered a plan to slash the budget of the NPS, as well as a proposal to establish a commission to consider closing various national park service units in a manner similar to that used to identify underutilized military bases.²⁴⁷ Lacking easily identifiable

²⁴⁶ David Given to William Fink, Park Management Concerns, January 5, 1996, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

²⁴⁷ John Flesher, “Euphoria over park gives way to growing pains,” Associated Press, March 23, 1996.

accomplishments at Keweenaw, community members worried that their new park would be an easy target and it seemed logical to blame Bill Fink for the lack of progress.

CHAPTER SIX. DEFINING AN NPS PRESENCE

The NPS named Linda Witkowski as interim superintendent at Keweenaw while they conducted a search for a permanent replacement for Bill Fink. Witkowski was the assistant superintendent at Isle Royale NP, and she continued to fulfill a portion of her duties at Isle Royale during her time at Keweenaw. In an acknowledgement of just how different Keweenaw NHP was from the rest of the park service, Witkowski told the *Daily Mining Gazette* that she was not interested in permanently filling the role of superintendent. Witkowski stated that, “I am interested in being a superintendent, but of a more traditional park. I’m just more comfortable in a more traditional park.”²⁴⁸

Witkowski had arrived at Isle Royale in 1992 after serving at Apostle Islands National Lakeshore and the NPS field office in Omaha. She had worked at traditional parks, but she also had a front row seat to the initial years of Keweenaw NHP – a view that allowed her to determine that the partnership model at Keweenaw was not for her.

Witkowski served as interim superintendent for six months. Although this was a relatively short assignment, it came at a very important time for Keweenaw NHP; Witkowski walked right into the flurry caused by the release of the draft GMP. Not only was she stepping into the leadership role of a fledgling partnership park, she was also taking the reins at a time when the NPS and the local supporters were arguing over the plan for how the park would operate over the next fifteen years.

²⁴⁸ Molly Gudritz, “Interim superintendent keeping watch of Keweenaw park,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, December 1996.

Revising the General Management Plan

By the time Witkowski began at Keweenaw, the Commissioners and the local park supporters had already expressed their displeasure with the work of the NPS GMP team. In addition to providing written feedback to Bill Fink, a collection of local representatives that included Paul Lehto, Burt Boyum, Sue Cone, Bob Langseth, Steve Albee, and several others had also sent letters to Senator Levin, Congressman Stupak, and NPS Midwest Field Director Bill Schenk to let these officials know that they were not happy with the document and to request more time to provide input. As she waded into this, Witkowski was careful to inform the field office, and her supervisor at Isle Royale, Doug Barnard, of the conversations and decisions she was involved in. As Witkowski explained in a memo, "...as the 'temporary' here [at Keweenaw] I am reluctant to force decisions unless they have the full support of Bill Schenk."²⁴⁹

One of the first items in the GMP that the local supporters objected to was what they saw as an unnecessary focus on hazardous waste. While the park's legislation already contained a prohibition on the NPS acquiring contaminated properties, the GMP team referenced the concern about hazardous waste contamination throughout the draft GMP dated August 29, 1996. A discussion of hazardous substances was the first issue addressed in a list of planning considerations included in the document, and the first topic on a list of actions common to all of the planning alternatives. As Bill Fink noted

²⁴⁹ Linda Witkowski to Jon Holbrook, March 14, 1997, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

earlier, the NPS continued to be concerned about what it was getting into. In January of 1996, two NPS solicitors had cautioned the GMP team by stating that, “The presence of hazardous substances on lands proposed for NPS ownership and/or operation presents multiple legal, fiscal, and programmatic issues that must be factored into the decision-making process as part of this General Management Plan.”²⁵⁰ The solicitors went on to say that “...the NPS must contend with the stigma associated with ownership and/or operation of property contaminated with hazardous substances and listed on the [Superfund list].”²⁵¹ These concerns subsequently led the GMP team to highlight the issue in the GMP itself. This then led the local supporters to express concern about the potentially negative implications of this approach. Langseth summed up the views of the folks in Calumet by stating that, “As drafted, we fear this document will be used as a basis for congress to give this park a ‘Kevorkian assisted suicide’.”²⁵² Now that they were finally laying out the park’s future on paper, the supporters did not want to include language that might cause someone to rethink the very existence of the park.

On December 7-9, 1996, the NPS facilitated a meeting in Calumet to discuss the local input to the GMP. Al Hutchings represented the field office in the conversation. In recounting the discussion of the meeting, Linda Witkowski wrote that the NPS agreed to modify the GMP to ensure that the topic of hazardous wastes “...would receive no more

²⁵⁰ Memorandum by Shawn P. Mulligan and Daniel Reimer to Mike Bureman and Ann Van Huizen, “Proposed Text for KEWE GMP,” January 22, 1996, 4, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Robert Langseth, “Calumet Unit – Comments on the 29 Aug 96 GMP,” October 3, 1996, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

emphasis than it would in any other GMP for any other park.”²⁵³ Hutchings reiterated this in March of 1997 by telling the GMP team that this directive came straight from field director Bill Schenk.

While the subsequent draft of the GMP did include a few references to the issue of hazardous waste, the team placed the topic dead last on the list of planning issues. In addition, instead of positioning the contamination issue as a huge hurdle, the new document actually included language that hinted that the NPS should consider making a legislative change to remove the more restrictive hazardous waste language contained in the park’s enabling legislation. The NPS seemed to be slowly coming to grips with the fact that contaminated properties were inherent in a park that celebrated industrial history.

Another topic that the local advocates had concerns with was the way that the NPS proposed dealing with the idea of a partnership park. The August 29, 1996, draft of the GMP included language that acknowledged the important role of partnerships to the long-term success of the park, but it also introduced new ideas that confused the local supporters. First, the GMP team assumed that the Advisory Commission would continue to exist without its operational powers, and that it would operate as a kind of “think tank” for the NPS.²⁵⁴ Throughout Bill Fink’s tenure, the Commission held regular

²⁵³ Linda Witkowski to Burt Boyum, March 12, 1997, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

²⁵⁴ “Keweenaw National Historical Park, General Management Plan / Environmental Assessment, Park/Field Area/Region Review,” NPS Denver Service Center, August 29, 1996, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

meetings and interacted with the park staff. Unfortunately, without operational authority or funding, the Commission was unable to make significant progress on its responsibilities as described in the park's legislation. Now the GMP team was assuming that this situation would continue into the future. As an alternative, the GMP team proposed that the park create a friends group to help the NPS fundraise and establish relationships with the local community. The team also proposed the creation of a Cooperating Sites Council to help formalize and operate the Cooperating Sites Program. Both of these ideas were relatively foreign to the local supporters. To the folks in Calumet, these new groups represented an attempt to gut the Advisory Commission of its intended purpose, and replace it with groups that the NPS could more closely control.²⁵⁵

In the GMP review meeting held in December 1996, the congressional aides in attendance agreed to address some of the concerns of the locals by working on a legislative fix for the Commission. Rather than assume that the Commission would never obtain its operational authority, the group encouraged the GMP team to assume that the Commission would have an operational role and then create a partnership model with that in mind.

Internally, the NPS was still trying to determine how to best structure the relationship model at Keweenaw. Four years into the development of the park, the NPS had limited

²⁵⁵ Robert Langseth, "Calumet Unit – Comments on the 29 Aug 96 GMP," October 3, 1996, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

staff and still did not own any property. For the visiting public, the experiences at the Cooperating Sites defined the park, and yet the NPS had no control over the sites. The GMP team was concerned about NPS liability, as well as whether or not it needed to formalize the relationship between the NPS and the sites.²⁵⁶

In February of 1997, Doug Barnard authored a memo to field director Schenk where he explained that he and Linda Witkowski felt that the GMP team was unnecessarily concerned about the Cooperating Sites. Barnard explained that, “The cooperating sites for Keweenaw NHP are, and were meant to be, informal arrangements which allow the park and the individual sites to mutually benefit from a loosely defined goal of telling the natural and cultural stories of the park and of the region to the benefit of the visitor.”²⁵⁷ In his memo, Barnard went on to provide suggested wording for the GMP. Barnard began by describing the importance of working with the sites because of the resources they that they owned. Nevertheless, he also defined the relationship with the sites as one in which the NPS assumed no liability; the sites were not recognized as national park units; the sites received minimal assistance from the NPS; and the NPS could drop a site from the program if the site failed to meet, “...professional standards of education, interpretation, or safety.”²⁵⁸ While it is unknown what input Barnard might have received from the existing sites at the time, his characterization resonated

²⁵⁶ Jon Holbrook to NPS Regional Solicitor Gina Guy, January 22, 1997, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

²⁵⁷ Memorandum by Doug Barnard to Bill Schenk, “General Management Plan issues – Keweenaw NHP,” February 11, 1997, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

with the field office, and the GMP team incorporated much of his language into the May 20, 1997 revision of the GMP. Instead of working directly with the sites to strengthen the partnership program by establishing clear roles, responsibilities, and processes, Barnard successfully argued for keeping the relationship informal while also ensuring that the NPS controlled the program. With the structure of the Cooperating Sites program determined, the GMP team then turned its attention to defining a model for how the sites, the NPS, and the Commission would work together to administer the park.

While the local supporters did not like the idea of a friends group or a cooperating sites council, the group that met in December 1996 did acknowledge the need to have regular roundtable discussions that included all of the partners of the park. Witkowski clarified this need in a memo to the GMP team where she said that “This roundtable is larger than just the cooperating sites – it involves all partners, including the State, village and township governments, etc.”²⁵⁹ The GMP team took this input and created a two-phase model that described how the partnership relationship would work, both before and after the implementation of the legislative fix to enable the Commission’s operating authority.

²⁵⁹ Memorandum by Linda Witkowski to Mike Bureman, Ann Van Huzien, Jon Holbrook, and Al Hutchings, “Resolve questions and issues to get KEWE GMP back on track,” March 28, 1997, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

The first model the team proposed was a Board of Partners structure that included the Commission, the Cooperating Sites, state agencies, the NPS, local agencies, preservation groups, and other organizations. The role of the board was to “...discuss issues of common interest, devise strategies to resolve problems, and coordinate activities among the various partners.”²⁶⁰ The board would elect a chair and then rotate the chair responsibilities throughout the membership. Once the Commission’s operating authority was enabled, the GMP team recommended the implementation of a Permanent Partnership Concept that placed the Commission in the role of facilitator/coordinator of the group, and tasked the group with developing a “...joint, multiyear planning and development program to accomplish the overall vision and goals and assist each other in contributing to the benefit of the Keweenaw through their own special areas of expertise.”²⁶¹ This was a huge change in philosophy. In less than a year, the GMP team had evolved from proposing a plan that marginalized the Advisory Commission, to one that suddenly tasked the Commission with facilitating the development of a plan to achieve the park’s purposes across the entire peninsula!

Finally, another major topic addressed during Witkowski’s tenure was the nature of the preferred alternative recommended in the GMP. As outlined by the GMP team, the preferred alternative took the idea of providing technical and financial assistance to

²⁶⁰ “Keweenaw National Historical Park, General Management Plan / Environmental Assessment, Park/Special Review,” NPS Denver Service Center, May 20, 1997, 59, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 61.

park partners contained in alternative 2 and combined it with elements from the traditional park model contained in alternative 3. Specifically, the language in the GMP included the following description, “In concept this alternative would be approached by gradually building park funding and the park’s staff of professionals to provide increased financial and technical assistance to the partners and cooperating sites and other community groups (as described in alternative 2). Once the park has a strong technical assistance program, the National Park Service would begin a concerted effort to acquire, or otherwise protect, significant properties in the core industrial areas of the Calumet and Quincy units...”²⁶² This was really the best of both worlds – it provided a strong partner assistance program while also allowing the NPS to actively acquire key resources. Unfortunately, accomplishing both of these as objectives came at a price; the preferred alternative was the most expensive alternative included in the draft GMP. The GMP team estimated that, at full implementation, the preferred alternative would require an annual budget of \$3,170,000, including 24 permanent staff, 16 seasonal employees, and \$400,000 a year for grants and other technical assistance.²⁶³ Predictably, the objections against this alternative did not come from the local supporters; they came from within the NPS.

In the same memo that provided advice about the Cooperating Sites Program, Doug Barnard also expressed a concern that he and Linda Witkowski shared about the

²⁶² Ibid., 22.

²⁶³ Ibid., 42.

estimated costs for the preferred alternative. Barnard observed that, “In general, the Service’s preferred alternative calls for a large infrastructure with a large budget and a large workforce. This is, by the very nature of the individuals involved locally, going to raise high hopes and expectations which are going to remain unmet.”²⁶⁴ Barnard also pointed out the inconsistency of including an assumption that the park would have limited federal funding, and then recommending the most expensive alternative.

Barnard’s suggestion for alleviating this issue was to eliminate the specifics in the GMP and replace the information with general statements that spoke to providing adequate levels of staffing and investment to accomplish the goals. Once again, the GMP team adopted Barnard’s advice. In the May 1997 draft, the GMP team replaced their earlier language with a paragraph that read, “The superintendent is responsible for determining the staffing levels necessary for meeting park goals. The intent is to provide the best resource protection and visitor services within budgetary constraints.”²⁶⁵ The GMP team included an annual budget estimate of \$1,900,000, but without the details to explain how they arrived at this estimate.

The May 20, 1997, draft of the GMP was the last version that Witkowski was directly involved in; Keweenaw’s new superintendent started in early June. The changes made to the GMP during Witkowski’s tenure, however, affected the direction of the park for

²⁶⁴ Memorandum by Doug Barnard to Bill Schenk, “General Management Plan issues – Keweenaw NHP,” February 11, 1997, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

²⁶⁵ Keweenaw National Historical Park, General Management Plan / Environmental Assessment, Park/Special Review,” NPS Denver Service Center, May 20, 1997, 51, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

years to come. Moreover, while Witkowski's personal efforts and opinions were important to the process, it is clear that Doug Barnard was also a major force who influenced Witkowski and the GMP team. In fact, Barnard's role in directing the activities at Keweenaw was so successful that the NPS decided that Bill Fink's replacement would no longer report directly to the field office, but instead, the new superintendent would report directly to Barnard. Al Hutchings, Associate Field Director, told the Advisory Commission at its February 1997 meeting that this new reporting relationship would allow the two national park units to work together more closely without negatively affecting Keweenaw's authority.²⁶⁶ Commissioner Lehto expressed concern about this new reporting relationship, but the NPS pushed forward. In May, when the NPS named Frank Fiala as the new superintendent, the *Daily Mining Gazette* noted that Doug Barnard would be Fiala's direct supervisor. Barnard explained, "I look at this as primarily a mentoring relationship. The regional director and I would like the two parks to work closer together than we currently do."²⁶⁷ While this statement was certainly true, Barnard also seemed to have a vision for Keweenaw, and now he had the authority to continue to influence Keweenaw's development.

²⁶⁶ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Minutes of February 7, 1997, 3.

²⁶⁷ Ray Sharp, "Park finds new leader," *Daily Mining Gazette*, May 7, 1997.

Frank Fiala

Frank Fiala became Keweenaw NHP's second superintendent on June 8, 1997. At the time, Fiala had been with the park service for 19 years, most recently as a ranger at Lake Clark National Preserve in Kenai, Alaska. Doug Barnard said that, "One of the deciding factors in hiring Frank was his ability to get along with communities affected by parks."²⁶⁸ Barnard highlighted Fiala's successes in Kenai as proof that he was the right person to build relationships and improve the standing of the NPS within the small communities on the Keweenaw Peninsula.

Frank Fiala served as superintendent at Keweenaw NHP until January 3, 2007. During his tenure, he finalized the GMP, added to the professional NPS staff, acquired several important historic properties, formalized the partnership program, completed two alternative transportation studies, and worked to preserve the historic Quincy Smelter. Like his predecessor, however, the complexity of the physical and political landscape, and the high expectations of the public, presented Fiala with a number of challenges. Purchasing historic resources and hiring qualified employees were the easy tasks; achieving the park's purposes through partnerships proved much more difficult.

²⁶⁸ Ray Sharp, "Park finds new leader," *Daily Mining Gazette*, May 7, 1997.

Completing the GMP

Fiala arrived at Keweenaw just after the release of the May 20, 1997, draft GMP. While there were a number of other issues that required his attention, the pent up frustration to complete the GMP demanded that he keep the process moving. Fiala told the *Daily Mining Gazette*, “It has been a slow process until now – like pushing a rock up a hill. I think we are almost at the top now and one more push will get us rolling toward our goals.”²⁶⁹

At the end of August, the NPS released the draft GMP for public comment. The NPS held several public input sessions in September, and encouraged members of the public to provide written input. The final version of the GMP incorporated the written feedback received during this period, including letters from: the National Parks and Conservation Association; the Calumet National Park Committee comprised of local Calumet-based supporters; the City of Hancock; the Quincy Mine Hoist Association; the Keweenaw Bay Indian Community; Steve Albee; and Advisory Commission member Kathryn Eckert.²⁷⁰

The comments made by the public ranged from disagreements with the proposed partnership model, to concerns about the park boundaries, to questions about how the park would develop over time. This time, however, the draft GMP did not receive the overwhelming number of negative comments received by the previous version. Yes, the

²⁶⁹ Ray Sharp, “New park leader to mine local talents,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, July 10, 1997.

²⁷⁰ “Keweenaw National Historical Park, Final General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement,” United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, April 1998, 139-159, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

Quincy Mine Hoist Association and the Calumet supporters were still jockeying for position as to whom would receive the majority of the attention of the NPS, but the tone of the comments seemed to indicate that plans laid out in the GMP were getting closer to what all of the parties desired.

The NPS printed the Final General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement in April 1998, and released it to the public on June 17, 1998. Fiala noted the focus on partnerships contained in the document by telling the *Daily Mining Gazette* that, “Partnership is the genesis of the plan. There are both federal and non-federal roles and responsibilities.”²⁷¹ After a final 30-day comment period, the NPS published the Record of Decision in the Federal Register on August 31, 1998, nearly six years after the establishment of the park. Keweenaw National Historical Park now had an approved general management plan – a milestone that everyone had been waiting for. Ironically, the printed document also contained a visible reminder of the difficulty of partnerships – the inside front cover included a black square, applied after the document was printed, that covered an historic photograph that the NPS had used without the proper permission from the local owner (Figure 6-1).

The final GMP contained 218 pages of information about the past, present, and future of Keweenaw National Historical Park. The document included five major sections: Purpose of and Need for a Plan; The Alternatives, Including the Proposed Action;

²⁷¹ Paula Pintar, “Park management plan released,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, June 17, 1998.

Affected Environment; Environmental Consequences; and, Appendixes and Selected Bibliography. While all of the sections provided important information about the park, the first two sections, plus additional information contained in the appendices, provided the bulk of the direction required by the NPS, the Commission, the Cooperating Sites, and other partners to move the park forward.

For the NPS, the list of issues included in the GMP described a park within a living community with rapidly disappearing historic resources, and an NPS staff too small to meet the challenges of the environment. Initial guidance for the NPS started with the planning assumptions included in the document. The planning team assumed that NPS involvement in the core industrial areas was critical; that the challenge for Keweenaw was so big that partnerships were essential to the overall success of the park; that the park would receive limited federal funding; and that the NPS would not be a major landholder.²⁷² While the GMP recognized the need for the NPS to own some significant resources, the limitations captured in the assumptions also led the GMP team to encourage the NPS to consider “...other protection measures available to the National Park Service [including] less-than-fee acquisition (scenic/facade easements); purchase and lease- or sell-back; donation/bargain sale; and assisting another private or public entity to purchase a particular property.”²⁷³ These statements echoed the concerns

²⁷² “Keweenaw National Historical Park, Final General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement,” United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, April 1998, 17, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

²⁷³ Ibid., 31.

raised earlier by Doug Barnard and Linda Witkowski; the plan included a foundational assumption that the NPS just would not have the funding to purchase and protect all of the nationally significant resources.

The narrative description of Alternative 4, the preferred alternative in the GMP, further described the role of the NPS at Keweenaw. The overall goal for the NPS was “to create a dynamic national park area where the National Park Service has a strong public presence and, through community assistance, is a contributing member of a very organized and active partnership of local government and community groups.”²⁷⁴ The GMP team envisioned this happening through the creation of financial and technical assistance programs to benefit the local partners, and through efforts to “acquire or otherwise protect” significant historic resources. For visitors to the two units, this plan would ultimately result in, “a very traditional park experience, with uniformed NPS staff providing interpretation of many of the preserved structures and walking tours of the area.” The GMP team did not describe the visitor experience outside of the park units, but the text did include the expectation that a larger NPS staff would mean increased assistance to cooperating sites and other partners.

For the Advisory Commission, the final GMP document presented yet another model of partnership and high expectations. The GMP team included the Commission’s inactive operating authorities as the first item on their list of issues to address, but they also

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 50.

assumed that Congressional action would enact the full authorities in the “near future.” Unlike the May 20, 1996, version of the GMP, however, the final GMP did not include a two-phased partnership approach, and it did not promote a vision where the Commission provided direction to all of the parties involved. Instead, the final GMP recommended that the Commission be “...the facilitator through which the area’s diverse interests can gather and collectively work to achieve a common vision and mutual goals and objectives.”²⁷⁵ A graphic developed by Fiala and included in the GMP illustrated this model with the Commission and the NPS interacting at one level, and then the Commission serving as the go-between with the Cooperating Sites, state agencies, local agencies, preservation groups, and other organizations (Figure 6-2). Furthermore, the GMP team explained that the responsibility for managing Keweenaw National Historical Park would reside solely with the NPS, while the Commission should pursue the development of a comprehensive management plan for the peninsula, presumably in the area outside of the official boundaries. For all of the NPS talk about the importance of partnerships, the model suggested by the GMP team seemed to indicate that the NPS now wanted to insulate itself from anyone but the Commission. This vision seemed a long way from the model proposed in the early years of the park effort where, using the experience at Lowell, the local supporters determined that they also needed a body of local residents to help the federal and state governments funnel money into the local area.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 68.

For the Cooperating Sites, the GMP team noted their role, and gave some clues about their long-term relationship with the park. The GMP team described the sites as “...places to learn about the park stories, especially during the early years of the park’s existence before NPS facilities are developed.”²⁷⁶ The GMP team also acknowledged that the sites provided an important local connection, and that they would be part of the visitor experience even after the NPS developed its own facilities. The NPS, however, seemed to be of two minds about the future relationship with the Cooperating Sites. The GMP team identified the lack of formal agreements with the sites as an issue to be resolved. However, with the language first proposed by Doug Barnard and subsequently included in the final GMP, the team also characterized the future state of the relationships with the sites as “...informal arrangements that allow the park and the sites to mutually benefit.”²⁷⁷ Once again, the NPS seemed unsure about how to deal with this particular type of partnership, with the GMP team seemingly leaving it to the Commission to work out the details.

Finally, the GMP team also addressed the importance of the role of local governments to the future success of the park. The NPS had already worked with several local governments on conducting inventories, establishing historic districts, and creating historic district ordinances. The GMP team signaled the willingness of the NPS to continue to contribute to these efforts, but it also made it clear that the success of these

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 8.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 30.

efforts lay with the local governments and their ability to enforce the ordinances and provide funding for historic preservation grants.²⁷⁸ Moreover, similar to the arrangements with the Cooperating Sites, the GMP team identified the Commission as the entity for facilitating the future relationship between the NPS and the local governments.

Taking a Stand

Bill Fink's experience with Mine Street Station in Calumet illustrated how private developers could move much more quickly than the NPS planning processes. Mine Street Station also illustrated how the NPS at Keweenaw was unable to intercede with private actions on private land, even when the actions clearly had a negative impact on historic resources or landscapes. As a partnership park, the only real tools available to influence potential development were offers of financial and technical assistance, and the persuasion powers of the NPS staff and Commissioners. One exception to this was the ability of the NPS to weigh in on projects that included the expenditure of federal dollars. Section 106 of the National Historical Preservation Act (NHPA) requires that federal agencies take into account the impact to historic resources on the National Register of Historic Places, or eligible for listing on the register, and then, "...seek ways to avoid, minimize or mitigate any adverse effects..." on those resources. Almost

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 51.

immediately after arriving at Keweenaw, Fiala had the opportunity to leverage section 106 in an attempt to protect historic resources in the Quincy Unit of the park. In a series of battles played out in public meetings and in the press over four years, Fiala and the City of Hancock argued over the balance between historic preservation and economic development. While both sides won and lost individual battles, the overall war left scars on both sides.

In 1997, the City of Hancock began a series of improvements inside and adjacent to the Quincy Unit of the park. Hancock wanted to install a new water system and replace an aging water tower on top of Quincy Hill with a larger 250,000-gallon water tank. The new tank and its mine rock platform would stand 50-feet tall and represent a modern intrusion on the historic landscape (Figure 6-3).²⁷⁹ Hancock also wanted to improve the road access from Highway 41 to the sites of a new regional hospital, a new high school, and a privately owned quarry. The funding for these infrastructure improvements included funds from the United States Department of Agriculture's Rural Development Authority. Fiala became aware of the projects after receiving a call from a local resident who was concerned about how the work might negatively affect their property. After contacting Brian Conway, the Michigan State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), to ask for assistance, Fiala discovered that the SHPO's office had already approved the project based on assurances from Hancock that the work did not negatively impact historic resources. Fiala's assessment was that this was incorrect, and he explained the situation

²⁷⁹ "Park head not to blame for water controversy," *Daily Mining Gazette*, December 8, 1997.

to Conway. Conway subsequently issued an adverse impact finding officially recognizing that Hancock's actions were a threat to historic resources on or eligible for listing on the National Register. Hancock suspended work on the hill in November of 1997.

Although the SHPO's action was justifiable under the law, Hancock officials and members of the local community accused the NPS of obstructing progress. Glenn Anderson, the City Manager of Hancock, told the *Daily Mining Gazette* that the NPS had an "...absolute zero-growth agenda and isolationist approach."²⁸⁰ Anderson added that the NPS was "...clearly (putting) historical preservation ahead of human needs."²⁸¹

In March 1998, pursuant to the processes outlined in section 106, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Rural Development, the SHPO, the city, and the NPS signed a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) outlining solutions and processes to minimize the impact to historic resources within the Quincy Unit. The MOA found that the current water tower plans were a threat to the district and instructed Hancock to construct a water tower designed to resemble the historic structure and remove the remnants of the work already completed. Fiala assisted with this requirement when he discovered that the company that built the original water tower was still in business. Fiala obtained the original plans for the historic water tower and provided them to Hancock and a local engineering firm. The MOA also stipulated that Hancock consult with the NPS in the design and implementation of future improvements within the Quincy Unit.

²⁸⁰ Vanessa Dietz, "Park group, city feud over water project," *Daily Mining Gazette*, January 13, 1998.

²⁸¹ Ibid

Unfortunately, the MOA did not resolve the adversarial relationship, and further disagreements arose as the work on the hill progressed.

In September 1998, the NPS argued with Hancock about the color of the new water tower. The NPS wanted the tower painted black to match the historic color and Hancock wanted to use the crimson and gold colors of the Hancock High School. In addition, Hancock wanted to extend a side road, First Avenue, to provide heavy trucks alternate access to the City's public works garage and a private quarry owned by Paul Tomasi. Hancock's mayor, Brian Cadwell, asserted that the city was adhering to the MOA, and that, "Consultation with affected parties has been and will continue to be part of this process. However, consultation does not mean that each detail must bear a stamp of approval from the other parties."²⁸² Fiala disagreed, and in December, he filed a formal complaint with Rural Development alleging that Hancock had violated the MOA and that the work resulted in "irreparable harm" to the national historic landmark.

As the responsible federal agency, Rural Development initiated an investigation to determine what had happened, and if there had been any violations of the MOA. Fiala contended that the work on First Avenue had happened without his consultation. Hancock contended that the issue was raised at numerous meetings, but that Fiala refused to engage in conversations about the matter.²⁸³ Furthermore, Hancock claimed

²⁸² Vanessa Dietz, "New twist in Hancock water-tank dispute," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 2, 1998.

²⁸³ Vanessa Dietz, "Feds to decide latest city-park dispute," *Daily Mining Gazette*, January 7, 1999.

that any damage to historic resources happened on private property and were the result of actions of someone other than the city.

On January 27, 1999, Rural Development released its report on the situation. Rural Development found Hancock in violation of the MOA because the city did not obtain “...concurrence... prior to securing easements and removing top soil...,” and because the city did not contact Rural Development for dispute resolution on the matter.²⁸⁴ In addition, Rural Development found the NPS did not “comply with the spirit of the MOA” since Fiala refused to discuss the First Avenue project in several meetings during 1998. The authors of the report recommended that the parties involved attend a meeting with Rural Development to resolve the issues.

While Anderson and the city seemed to accept the report’s findings, Fiala was not happy with the results, and stated that he still felt that the First Avenue discussion should have been separate from the meetings that he had attended throughout 1998. Fiala also took issue with Rural Development’s authority to issue the report since it was a party to the MOA. As a result, Rural Development and the NPS both appealed to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation for review and comment. In parallel to these actions, the SHPO issued a response to the city’s plans that directed Hancock to “...halt all further work at the site until all outstanding issues have been resolved.”²⁸⁵ Predictably,

²⁸⁴ Report by Harry Brumer and Gary Goodemoot, “Investigation: Alleged Violations of the February 1998 Memorandum of Agreement – Hancock, Michigan,” 8, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

²⁸⁵ Brian Conway, State Historic Preservation Officer, to Brian Cadwell, “First Avenue Extension Project and Campus Drive Plans,” February 9, 1999, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

the city did not react positively, and Anderson accused the SHPO of being “...in bed with the National Park Service.”²⁸⁶

Fiala and the Hancock city council met in March to discuss their issues. Both sides tried to explain their positions and find common ground. The *Daily Mining Gazette* reported that the meeting was cordial, but that the two sides did not make any significant progress in resolving their differences. Ultimately, the situation moved forward due to the actions of Paul Tomasi. Tomasi had an easement on First Avenue in order to access his quarry. Although Hancock could not move forward with the road extension because of the MOA, Tomasi was not a party to the MOA. Fiala told the Advisory Commission that, “Since this situation is a private matter now, the terms of the memorandum of agreement no longer apply and it appears that [the] First Avenue extension will be built by a private party.”²⁸⁷ Despite Fiala’s exhaustive efforts, the landscape within the Quincy Unit received another significant modern intrusion. Fiala did have one victory; Hancock agreed to paint the water tower black.

Then, in June 1999, yet another incident took place on Quincy Hill. On Saturday, June 5, the new hospital had a contractor demolish the former 1917 Quincy Mining Company bathhouse in order to make way for a new hospital sign (Figure 6-4). Fiala expressed surprise at the demolition. Although the hospital management stated that the NPS and

²⁸⁶ Vanessa Dietz, “Park asks for new Quincy Hill review,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, February 18, 1999.

²⁸⁷ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of August 24, 1999, 3.

the Quincy Mine Hoist Association should have received notification letters two weeks prior to the demolition, Fiala was positive that the NPS had not received the letter. Showing that the underlying differences between the NPS and Hancock were still alive, Glenn Anderson told that the *Daily Mining Gazette* that the demolition of the dilapidated historic building was “good news.”²⁸⁸ Over the days and weeks that followed, the NPS, the hospital and the city traded barbs in the press. Fiala appealed to the SHPO to start an investigation, and James Bogan, the CEO from the hospital, continued to maintain that the hospital had properly notified the interested parties. Then, on June 16, Fiala told the Hancock City Council that he was requesting a federal investigation to assess whether or not the cumulative changes on Quincy Hill threatened the national landmark status of the Quincy Unit, and the very existence of the park itself. Fiala told the group, “...we cannot and will not invest taxpayer dollars into an area that’s no longer significant.”²⁸⁹ Glenn Anderson felt that Fiala was over-reacting to the changes on Quincy Hill, and asked why the NPS failed to purchase the property if it was so important to the landscape. Anderson’s assessment of the landscape impacts and Fiala’s assertions may have been accurate as Doug Barnard, Congressman Stupak, and the Chief of Cultural Resources for the NPS’s Midwest office all later told the *Daily Mining Gazette* that the park was not seriously in danger.

²⁸⁸ David Maki, “Quincy Hill bath house demolished; park official upset,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, June 7, 1999.

²⁸⁹ David Maki, “Investigation could result in closure of park: Fiala,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, June 16, 1999.

The assessment team sent by the NPS ultimately concluded that the existing landmark boundaries still made sense, but they also classified the landmarks as threatened; the NPS needed to remain watchful about the character of the landscape. As time went by, the relationship between Hancock and the NPS slowly improved. In March of 2001, the Hancock City Council rescinded a resolution it had passed in 1997 that had formally withdrawn support for the park. Abby Sue Fisher told the *Daily Mining Gazette* that, “[The NPS was] very pleased with the decision and we look forward to working collaboratively with the Hancock City Council in the future.”²⁹⁰

The existence of the park brought responsibilities that the local community still did not fully understand, and the events over the last four years had taken their toll on the NPS and the community. Still, the NPS, and the Commission, needed to take a stand to protect the park’s interests, and Fiala was the right superintendent at the right time to be the face for historic preservation.²⁹¹ For Fiala, the events on Quincy Hill also offered an opportunity. Even in the early days of the dispute, Fiala realized that the NPS needed to do something to make a positive impact in the community. The fight on Quincy Hill had left many local residents with the perception that the NPS was the enemy. If Fiala and the NPS were going to turn the situation around, Fiala had to deliver on some of the federal investments desired by the community.

²⁹⁰ Ryan Olson, “No hard feelings, Hancock council decides it likes Keweenaw national park, after all,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, March 8, 2001.

²⁹¹ Kim Hoagland, interview with the author, January 14, 2013, and Robert Langseth, interview with the author, December 5, 2012.

Building an NPS Presence

When Fiala took over as superintendent in June 1997, the park did not own any property and only had approval for four full-time employees. Fiala had worked at parks where the federal government owned and had sole responsibility for nearly all of the property within the boundaries of the park. The events on Quincy Hill led Fiala to determine that the NPS needed to establish a visible presence at Keweenaw. In January 1998, he traveled to Washington, DC, with Al Hutchings and Doug Barnard to meet with the Congressional delegation. Fiala later told the Advisory Commission that he requested funding for staffing, to create an assistance program for non-federal property owners, and to acquire four key buildings in the Calumet Unit.²⁹²

Fiala prepared a position paper to support his request for building acquisition and rehabilitation funding. In his paper, Fiala justified the acquisitions as a way to “...establish vested ownership and a leadership role by the National Park Service in the Calumet Unit” and to “...stimulate and promote partnership opportunities envisioned and authorized by the enabling legislation of the park.”²⁹³ Fiala cited the controversial Mine Street Station project as an example of a modern intrusion on the historic landscape. Fiala then argued that the NPS needed to provide positive historic preservation examples to local developers and the larger community; in order for the

²⁹² Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Minutes of February 24, 1998, 3.

²⁹³ Memorandum by Frank Fiala, “Keweenaw National Historical Park: Request for Acquisition Funding,” 1998, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

partnership model to work, the NPS needed to lead the way.²⁹⁴ Fiala also felt the NPS needed to establish a formal presence in case the still unproven partnership model failed.²⁹⁵ To meet these objectives, Fiala proposed the following acquisition priorities for the NPS:

Priority 1(a) – Acquire the C&H Library building for use as the park headquarters and museum facility.

Priority 1(b) – Acquire the C&H Administrative Office building and lease the space back to the public.

Priority 2 – Acquire the C&H Warehouse #1 to be leased back to Michigan Tech for the creation of a mineral museum, “...and to provide access to a proposed tunnel through the rich Calumet lode to the Coppertown USA Mining Museum.”²⁹⁶

Priority 3 – Acquire the Union Building for use as a visitor center, as well as to provide additional leasing opportunities.

Fiala estimated that the total acquisition funding required for these four buildings was \$1,900,000, plus an additional \$800,000 to rehabilitate the buildings for the suggested uses. Fiala also noted that historic leasing revenue could partially offset these initial

²⁹⁴ Frank Fiala, interview by Jo Urion, June 10, 2008, tape recording, Keweenaw National Historical Park Oral History Collection, Calumet, MI.

²⁹⁵ Frank Fiala, interview with the author, December 7, 2012.

²⁹⁶ Memorandum by Frank Fiala, “Keweenaw National Historical Park: Request for Acquisition Funding,” 1998, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

expenses. While this was a significant investment, Fiala argued that the local community had already shown its support for this fledgling park, and that it was now time for the NPS to make investments that would “...become the foundation for a viable, self-sustaining national park.”²⁹⁷

Although the park’s budget for the 1999 fiscal year (FY99) did not include Fiala’s acquisition priorities, Senator Levin made sure that the acquisition plan soon received some high-level support. In October 1998, Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt visited Keweenaw with Senator Levin. Fiala took the opportunity to express his desire to establish an NPS presence in Calumet, and Babbitt committed to help by promising his support for acquisition funding in the park’s FY00 and FY01 budgets. Babbitt told the *Daily Mining Gazette*, “(This park) is an important concept. I want to get that money within my watch.”²⁹⁸

Over the next four years, Babbitt, Levin, and the NPS brought Fiala’s original acquisition plan, and more, to reality. During Fiala’s tenure, Keweenaw made its most significant property acquisitions (Table 6.1).

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Paula Pintar, “Babbitt pledges funds for park,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 28, 1998.

Table 6.1 NPS Property Acquisitions, 1999 - 2008

Property	Date Acquired	Purchase Price
Union Building	May 20, 1999	\$134,000
Quincy Hill property (26 acres)	Dec 21, 2000	\$184,000
C&H Administrative Office	Dec 29, 2000	\$455,000
Quincy Mine Office	Apr 13, 2001	\$123,000
Quincy Hill property (0.47 acres)	Apr 13, 2001	\$8,200
Quincy Hill property (104 acres)	Dec 21, 2001	\$415,000
C&H Library	Dec 26, 2001	\$607,100
C&H Warehouse #1	Sep 30, 2002	\$350,000
Quincy Streetcar Station	Jan 22, 2008	Donation received after Fiala's tenure
Total		\$2,276,300

In addition to the properties identified in Fiala's original acquisition plan, the NPS also acquired the Quincy Mine Office and about 130 acres on Quincy Hill in order to protect the historic landscape.²⁹⁹ These additional acquisitions took place as events on Quincy Hill, described below, started to provide real threats to the historic landscape.

Fiala was remarkably effective in adhering to the plan he laid out in 1998, but the complexities of the federal government's property acquisition processes meant that not all of the transactions occurred as efficiently as he would have liked. Because the NPS, and the federal government in general, is prohibited from paying more than the appraised value to acquire properties, several of the real estate transactions hit snags when the owners felt that the property was worth more than the appraisal. The owner of the Union Building, Ray Ostermyer, was disappointed with the appraised value of

²⁹⁹ Frank Fiala, interview with the author, December 7, 2012.

\$112,000 and threatened to sell the building to a group of out-of-town snowmobilers who reportedly offered him \$40,000 more than the NPS.³⁰⁰ In the end, Ostermyer sold the building to the park after the NPS informed him that the purchase offer also included an additional \$22,000 in relocation expenses.³⁰¹

In a similar situation, the owner of the C&H Administrative Office building, Dr. David Gilbert, expressed disappointment and rejected the initial offer of \$400,000 from the NPS. Dr. Gilbert had commissioned his own appraisal of the building in 1996 with an assumption that the highest and best use of the building was as a medical facility. This resulted in an appraised value much higher than the government appraisal. At the request of the Advisory Commission, Dewayne Prince, a Realty Specialist from the NPS regional office, traveled to Keweenaw to discuss the situation with Fiala and representatives from the Commission. The meeting took place on June 12, 2000, and the attendees included Fiala, Prince, Paul Lehto, Sue Cone, Bob Langseth, and Tom Tikkanen.³⁰² Prince described the NPS property acquisition processes with the meeting attendees, but the group expressed concern that the area would continue to lose important properties if the NPS had to restrict itself to appraised value. When the attendees also expressed a lack of confidence in the government's appraiser, Prince noted that appraisals do vary and that Dr. Gilbert was free to commission his own

³⁰⁰ Paula Pintar, "Park may not get landmark," *Daily Mining Gazette*, March 4, 1999.

³⁰¹ Paula Pintar, "National historical park buys Union Building," *Daily Mining Gazette*, May 29, 1998.

³⁰² Memorandum by Dewayne Prince, "Trip Report: Keweenaw National Historic Park, Calumet, MI," June 12, 2000, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

appraisal, as long as it met government standards. Although the meeting ended with the attendees seemingly pessimistic about the NPS acquiring the building, Dr. Gilbert eventually sold the building to the NPS for \$455,000.³⁰³

The building acquisitions and the subsequent rehabilitation work provided a visible presence for the NPS. While the NPS still relied on the Cooperating Sites to handle the visitor load, Fiala's plan provided the community with actual facilities that represented federal investment in the area. These buildings, however, were only one piece of the NPS presence that Fiala desired for the park. For the park to be successful, the NPS also had to have employees with the skills necessary to make this unique park work. As Fiala described in 1998, the NPS needed additional employees to provide "...the necessary professional expertise to manage the park and provide technical assistance to park partners."³⁰⁴ At the time, the park employed a Superintendent, Historical Architect, Historian, and Community Planner. In his initial plan, Fiala wanted to add a Cultural Resource Manager, Interpretation Manager, and Administrative Office Manager. Over the years, the needs of the park grew beyond these initial requests and Fiala grew his staff accordingly (Table 6.2).

³⁰³ Dan Sullivan, "Acquisition mode: Park buying, preserving history," *Daily Mining Gazette*, January 27, 2001.

³⁰⁴ Memorandum by Frank Fiala, "Keweenaw National Historical Park: Request for Initial Development Funding," 1998, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

Table 6.2 NPS Permanent Staff, 1993 - 2011

Name	Position	Employment Dates
Hired under Fink		
Lynn Bjorkman	Historian, Community Planner	1993 - 2000
Ed Yarbrough	Historian	1994 - 1998
Joseph Balachowski	Historical Architect	1995 - 2000
Hired under Fiala		
Brian Hoduski	Interpreter, Curator	1999 -
Rodney Larsen	Administrative Officer	1999 - 2003
Geri Larsen	Maintenance	1999 - 2003
Fritz Rushlow	Exhibit Specialist	2000 - 2003
John Rosemurgy	Historical Architect	2000 -
Abby Sue Fisher	Chief of Research, Archival, and Museum Services.	2000 - 2007
Tom Baker	Archivist, Interpretive Ranger, Management Assistant	2000 -
Kathy Baker	Administrative Technician	2000 -
Steve DeLong	Landscape Architect	2001 -
Charles Masten	Facilities Manager	2001 -
Martha (Lyon) Armington	Management Assistant	2001 - 2003
Leslie Newkirk	Curator	2001 - 2003
Jo Urion	Oral Historian, History Technician, Historian	2002 -
Kathleen Harter	Chief of Interpretation	2003 -
Ken Kipina	Maintenance	2003 -
Ellen (Leppanen) Schrader	Administrative	2003 -
Dan Johnson	Interpretive Ranger	2004 - 2011
Jeremiah Mason	Student, Archivist	2004 -
Hired under Pflaum		
Valerie Newman	Interpretive Ranger	2011 -

As Fiala worked to grow the base budget to allow for the addition of permanent staff, he and his staff also took advantage of other programs that allowed him to utilize the labors of new employees while getting their salaries partially or fully covered for a certain period. For example, Fiala hired Rodney Larsen and Leslie Newkirk through a strategic hiring program; Fritz Rushlow was on loan from the NPS Historic Preservation Training Center; and Jeremiah Mason started with the NPS through a strategic program designed to give students experience as a path to permanent employment with the NPS. In addition, Fiala made use of several youth-oriented programs to hire local students for temporary jobs in the park. Fiala knew how to work the various NPS programs, and he effectively used his knowledge to grow the staff.

One additional area where Fiala expanded the presence of the NPS was in museum collections. At the Advisory Commission meeting on August 25, 1998, Commissioner Larry Lankton asked Fiala how the NPS would deal with donations of collections to the park. At the time, Fiala told the Commission that he did not expect the NPS to get in the business of accepting collections because there were enough other entities in the area already doing this type of work.³⁰⁵ Several of the Cooperating Sites had artifact and manuscript collections, and the Michigan Tech Archives housed an extensive collection that included company records from both Quincy and Calumet and Hecla mining companies. Subsequent to this meeting, however, Bob Langseth and Paul Lehto met

³⁰⁵ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Minutes of August 25, 1998, 3.

with Fiala to ask the NPS to start acquiring museum collections. Langseth and Lehto had seen other artifacts sold to buyers outside of the Keweenaw, and they wanted to slow the flow of important items leaving the area.³⁰⁶ In particular, they were worried about a collection owned by former Calumet and Hecla employee, Jack Foster. Foster's collection included artifacts such as "...4,000 photographs, mining hardhats, firehouse alarm boxes, and miner signatures."³⁰⁷ Foster, who was 90 years old at the time, was actively advertising that his collection was for sale. Fiala knew that starting a museum collection was not a role envisioned for the NPS in the GMP, and that going down this path would require extensive investment in staff and facilities, but Langseth and Lehto were persuasive.³⁰⁸ In June 1999, Fiala informed the public that he had acquired the Jack Foster Collection for \$40,000.

During Fiala's tenure, the NPS went from owning nothing at Keweenaw to having five historic buildings and just over 130 acres of land. Fiala grew the staff from four full-time employees to thirteen full-time employees, plus numerous other seasonal, youth, and intern workers. Fiala also initiated a museum capability to acquire manuscript and artifact collections. These accomplishments were significant, and they clearly demonstrated the federal commitment to Keweenaw NHP. Many of these accomplishments, however, largely represented milestones characteristic of a typical national park unit. Acquiring resources and hiring staff were tasks that the NPS knew

³⁰⁶ Robert Langseth, interview with the author, December 5, 2012.

³⁰⁷ Paula Pintar, "Park acquires large collection of artifacts," *Daily Mining Gazette*, June 7, 1999.

³⁰⁸ Frank Fiala, interview with the author, December 7, 2012.

how to do. The challenge lay in working with local governments, the Commission, and a growing number of Cooperating Sites to accomplish the purposes outlined in the legislation.

Suspension

In November 2001, the NPS conducted an internal audit of Keweenaw's finances. On June 7, 2002, Phyllis Green, the new superintendent at Isle Royale who had replaced Doug Barnard, and Fiala's direct supervisor, notified Fiala that the findings of the audit led her to recommend that he receive a seven-day suspension without pay.³⁰⁹ In November, the NPS approved the suspension recommendation and the *Daily Mining Gazette* reported the story. The basis for the suspension involved three instances where Fiala had violated NPS policies. According to the NPS, Fiala spent government funds on flowers for a funeral and tickets for the Advisory Commission members to attend a park-commissioned opera performance. Fiala also purchased food items for a park-sponsored workshop, and failed to provide adequate documentation for several purchases made by Keweenaw. The NPS found that each of these acts violated department policy.

Following the NPS approval of the suspension, David Given, the deputy regional director of the park service, seemed to try to minimize the situation. Given told the *Daily Mining Gazette* that this was Fiala's first offense and that "...none of the charges involved

³⁰⁹ Jesse Drake, "Park chief suspended," *Daily Mining Gazette*, November 7, 2002.

misusing federal funds for personal benefit.”³¹⁰ In fact, the flowers that Fiala purchased on behalf of the park were for Doug Barnard, Fiala’s former boss who had lost his fight with cancer. The opera tickets were for a performance of an historical opera the NPS had commissioned called “Children of the Keweenaw.” For Given, the situation was over and he hoped that Fiala would accept the punishment and move on. Fiala, however, was extremely upset with the result. Fiala assumed this was the end of his career, and he filed a grievance protesting the findings. Fiala told the *Daily Mining Gazette* that “...I guess I was just trying to operate in a new day with yesterday’s rules.”³¹¹

The *Daily Mining Gazette* ‘sarticle prompted an outpouring of support for Fiala. Letters to the editor praised Fiala for his work, and wondered aloud if there were ulterior motives for the punishment; did Fiala really do anything wrong, or was his stormy relationship with Phyllis Green really at the heart of the matter? The *Daily Mining Gazette* took a more even tone that acknowledged that Fiala had broad public support, and that his offenses were minor, but that other NPS employees would likely “...think twice the next time they’re tempted to cut corners.”³¹²

Ultimately, Fiala’s grievance led to a confidential out-of-court settlement between the park service and Fiala.³¹³ The two parties reached an agreement just prior to an administrative hearing scheduled for August 18, 2003. A park service spokesperson told

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Editorial, “Fiala case minor, but NPS makes a point,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, November 16, 2002.

³¹³ Garrett Neese, “Suspension settled,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, August 27, 2003.

the *Daily Mining Gazette* that the NPS realized that Fiala's actions were not for personal gain. Fiala expressed relief at the resolution, and Ron Welton, who had been hired as the executive director of the Advisory Commission stated that "The initial problem was more of a difference of management styles, and [the Commission] think[s] this is much more fitting to the incident than was originally proposed, so we're very happy with it."³¹⁴ Two months after the settlement, the NPS announced that Fiala would end his reporting relationship with Phyllis Green and would now report directly to the new regional director, Ernie Quintana.³¹⁵

Regardless of the internal politics possibly at play behind the scenes, Fiala's suspension served to indicate that operating a partnership park provided unique challenges to the NPS. Bill Fink had spent an enormous amount of time trying to set realistic expectations and build partnerships with the community. Fiala continued these efforts, and attempted to promote goodwill with his partners by doing things like providing food at an event and giving the Commissioners tickets to a park-supported cultural event. Fiala did these things to demonstrate that the NPS was a true partner in the community, even though his actions violated government policy. As Fiala later noted, "I don't think there had been a park in the region that was really so contrary to traditional park management and control."³¹⁶ Unfortunately, this need to balance government policy

³¹⁴ Garrett Neese, "Suspension settled," *Daily Mining Gazette*, August 27, 2003.

³¹⁵ Garrett Neese, "Historical park under new supervision," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 22, 2003.

³¹⁶ Frank Fiala, interview by Jo Urion, June 10, 2008, tape recording, Keweenaw National Historical Park Oral History Collection, Calumet, MI.

and procedures with the expectations of the community was something that the NPS would continue to struggle with as the park developed.

New Ideas: Transportation

By the 10th Anniversary of the park in 2002, Fiala had significantly raised the visibility of the park service at Keweenaw, especially within the park boundaries. The NPS owned three buildings in the Calumet Unit, and one building and acreage in the Quincy Unit. The park also had four Cooperating Sites within the Calumet Unit and one Cooperating Site in the Quincy Unit. In Fiala's mind, however, one of the missing elements was a method to move visitors around the park. The area had once been home to several streetcar and bus lines, and Lowell had introduced a short trolley system in 1984. Fiala desired a transportation system that would get people out of their personal vehicles; move them between and within the two units; and provide an opportunity to improve the interpretation of the park.

Fiala contacted William Sproule, a professor in the Civil Engineering department at Michigan Technological University, who had an interest in transportation planning. Initially, this contact led to a master's thesis by Joshua Pudelko entitled "Planning a Visitor Transportation System for the KNHP Quincy Unit."³¹⁷ Pudelko analyzed several

³¹⁷ Joshua D. Pudelko, "Planning a Visitor Transportation System for the KNHP Quincy Unit," (master's thesis, Michigan Technological University, 2003).

methods of providing public transportation including transit buses, rubber-tired trolleys, vintage trolleys, and a cog railway. Fiala then set two parallel efforts in motion. First, Fiala was able to tap NPS projects funds designated for alternative transportation studies in order to fund a study by Michigan Tech that examined market demand and financial feasibility for an alternative transportation system within the park. Secondly, Fiala applied for, and received, a National Park Transportation Scholars Program grant offered by a consortium of the National Park Foundation, the Eno Transportation Foundation, and the Ford Foundation. The grant offered the opportunity for a park unit to work with a professional to explore various transportation solutions. For Keweenaw, the grant provided transportation planner Jonathan Church for a six-month assignment from June to December of 2004. Church was from Massachusetts and had worked for three years with the Boston Metropolitan Planning Organization.³¹⁸

While the two studies covered similar ground with regard to collecting data on park visitation and current public transportation methods in the community, the studies differed on their analysis of potential solutions. Church examined two primary transportation systems, buses and streetcars, and then focused on how each system, or a combination of two, could meet the needs of park visitors and the local residents. The Michigan Tech study largely concentrated on meeting the needs of visitors. While the

³¹⁸ "In Motion" newsletter, Keweenaw National Historical Park, November 2004, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

Tech study also looked at streetcars, it included larger systems such as a cog railroad in the Quincy Unit and a steam train between the two units.

In the end, Church recommended that the NPS explore creating a local bus system that, “...will increase ridership and provide additional public transportation options to both the park visitor and local residents.”³¹⁹ While this recommendation was more expensive than a bus system focused solely on the park visitors, Church felt that a combined purpose would help with funding the effort and expose the local residents to the park resources. Michigan Tech’s recommendations were broader in that they deemed all of their alternatives to be feasible, and they suggested that the NPS engage specialized consulting firms to progress with the engineering required in order to answer detailed questions about the alternatives and obtain better cost estimates.³²⁰

Unfortunately, the NPS never pursued the recommendations and plans contained in the alternative transportation proposals. The studies, however, were examples of Fiala’s ability to attract non-operational money, and of his desire to build more of a traditional park presence. Furthermore, Fiala felt so strongly about the opportunity for local alternative transportation that he founded the Red Jacket Trolley Company following his retirement from the NPS. Fiala purchased a used rubber-tired trolley bus and gave local tours of the Keweenaw during the summer months.

³¹⁹ Jonathan Church, “Keweenaw National Historical Park: Alternative Transportation Study,” 2004, 49, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

³²⁰ “Market Demand/Financial Feasibility Study for An Alternative Transportation System: Keweenaw National Historical Park,” Michigan Technological University, September 2005, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

Quincy Smelter

In addition to dealing with the City of Hancock in the Quincy Unit, Fiala had another preservation challenge on the banks of Portage Lake. Although the Quincy Smelter had been part of the local community for nearly 100 years, its remains faced an uncertain future. Fiala acknowledged the importance of the smelter and actively sought solutions for its long-term preservation.

The Quincy Mining Company built its smelter on the banks of the Portage in 1898. Quincy constructed its own facility to process its own copper as well as to take in custom work from neighboring mining operations.³²¹ Quincy built several sandstone furnace buildings, as well as a number of support structures. Quincy then added additional buildings as technologies changed and new needs arose. The smelter eventually closed in 1971. Fortunately, rather than demolish the structures and scrap the equipment, Quincy closed the doors and left the complex intact. Soon, however, the site began to decay due theft, vandalism, and severe winter weather. In 1978, the Historic American Engineering Record documented the smelter complex as part of its Quincy Mining Company project. Due to the unique resources at the site, the National Park Service then included the complex in the Quincy Mining Company National Historic Landmark, and ultimately within the boundaries of Keweenaw National Historical Park.

³²¹ Larry D. Lankton, and Charles K. Hyde, *Old Reliable: An Illustrated History of the Quincy Mining Company*, (Hancock, MI: The Quincy Mine Hoist Association, Inc., 1982), 80.

For the NPS, there was no doubt that the Quincy Smelter was nationally significant, but the path to preservation and interpretation remained unclear.

The Quincy Mining Company sold the smelter to the Quincy Development Corporation in 1986. Starting in 1997, the Quincy Development Corporation began looking for a development partner to work on the site.³²² Fiala had just arrived at Keweenaw, but the prohibition against acquiring contaminated property contained in PL 102-543 provided an insurmountable hurdle for the NPS. Because the site was on the Superfund list due to industrial waste and contamination, it was ineligible for acquisition by Keweenaw NHP. Still, the complex was too important to the copper story to let it go to an entity that did not value its historical significance. With the encouragement of Fiala, the National Park Service, and the Quincy Mine Hoist Association, Franklin Township took possession of the smelter complex in 1999 when the Quincy Development Corporation was unable to meet several financial obligations. The township assumed several debts and absorbed the back taxes owed on the property. Although Fiala was unable to make any solid commitments for the site, the township hoped it could lease the property to the NPS, or potentially hold the property for a brief period before eventually transferring it to the NPS.

Over the next several years, the NPS worked with Franklin Township to assess the conditions of the buildings and discuss possible uses for the complex. The NPS conducted an artifact inventory, created some photo documentation, and improved the

³²² Karen Bell-Hanson, "History on the block," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 16, 1997.

design of the storm drainage system on the site. In addition, Keweenaw's General Management Plan called for a visitor center in the Quincy Unit, and the smelter location was an obvious possibility. There was even talk about the possibility of a joint visitor facility with Isle Royale National Park at the smelter that could serve visitors to both national parks.³²³ Unfortunately, discussions about the environmental hazards often sidelined the re-use and rehabilitation conversations.

In July and September of 2003, the Michigan Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ) inventoried the potential environmental hazards on the site. The DEQ then requested the assistance of the Environmental Protection Agency to further assess and remediate the site. Specifically, the DEQ requested that the EPA address the presence of asbestos and drums of chemicals throughout the site, and that the EPA determine a longer-term approach that dealt with the presence of stamp sands on the property. Not only did the site contain contaminants from Quincy's activities, the whole complex sat on deposits of potentially contaminated stamp sands from earlier milling operations.

The EPA arrived at the site in the summer of 2004 and began testing the site and removing the obvious chemical hazards. The EPA also found and remediated asbestos contamination on the former railroad grade that ran through the property. By December, the EPA had significantly improved the property, but there was still a lot of work to do. Soil tests on the eastern half of the property revealed the presence of heavy

³²³ Jane Nordberg, "National park visitor's center plans dissolve," *Daily Mining Gazette*, January 25, 2005.

metals, and the EPA left known asbestos contamination inside the buildings because it deemed the structures too hazardous to work in. Unfortunately, the EPA work also provided a surprise for the NPS. In attempt to recoup the cost of the remediation work, the EPA designated the NPS as an operator and potentially responsible party. The EPA realized that Franklin Township did not have the resources to pay for the cleanup, and witnessing the close cooperation between the NPS and the township, which included the NPS possessing a key to the property, the EPA decided that the NPS should help pay for the cleanup. This move drove Fiala and his staff away from helping the township, and it put the long-term plans for the smelter in jeopardy; the NPS was already wary of the potential costs associated with the site, and now the EPA was raising their fears.

During the remaining years of his tenure, Fiala continued to try to move the conversation forward, but the actions of the EPA limited his ability to make significant progress. By the time Fiala retired in January 2007, township officials were frustrated; a poor working relationship existed between the EPA and the NPS; and an important historic resource continued to crumble into the ground.

Formalizing the Partnership

As Fiala worked to grow the size and influence of the NPS at Keweenaw, he also began formalizing the partnerships described in the GMP. Unlike Fink, Fiala saw opportunities for the Commission to be a valuable partner for the NPS. He wanted the Commission to

“...feel that it had a role and responsibility within the management of the park.”³²⁴ Fiala first worked with the Commission to activate its operational powers through a legislative change. In February 1999, Congressman Stupak introduced HR 748 that contained modified language that activated the operational powers of the Commission. President Clinton signed PL 106-134 on December 7, 1999. This allowed the NPS to include \$100,000 for the Commission operations in the budget increase received by Keweenaw in October 2000. Now the Commission had access to funding, and the operational authority to spend it. However, language in the original legislation still required the Commission to provide a 1:1 match of non-federal funds to any federal funds it spent - a requirement that would continue to challenge the Commission for another ten years.

As an all-volunteer organization, the Commission suffered from limited capability to focus on meaningful tasks. One of the first things the Commission did with its new funding was to hire an executive director. The Commission advertised the position in the spring of 2001, but took until October 2002 to hire Ron Welton. Welton came from Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park, one the of the park’s Cooperating Sites. Welton had been the manager at the Porkies for the previous 12 years, and was a 30-year veteran of Michigan’s Department of Natural Resources. Commissioners Langseth and Lehto described Welton’s duties to the *Daily Mining Gazette* as fundraising,

³²⁴ Frank Fiala, interview with the author, December 7, 2012.

lobbying, and working with the Cooperating Sites.³²⁵ The Commission hoped that Welton could leverage his connections with the State of Michigan, and acquire additional grant funding, to further the purposes of the park.³²⁶ Unfortunately, Welton only worked for the Commission until November 2004. Funding issues and persistent disagreements between the Commission and the NPS led to a situation where the Commission could no longer afford a staff position.

Fiala began by including Welton in as many meetings and discussions as he could. Welton's office was in the same building as Fiala and his staff, and Fiala wanted Welton to understand his vision and plans for the park. Ultimately, Welton was able to make progress in putting structure around the quarterly Commission meetings and the Cooperating Site meetings, but as time progressed, the Commission and the NPS frequently disagreed about how to spend the Commission's annual funds. The Commission was still trying to solidify its own vision and priorities, and Welton was spending much more time with Fiala than he was with the Commission. In addition, the NPS controlled the frequency and amounts of funding distributed to the Commission. This arrangement gave rise to a perception that Fiala was setting the priorities and telling the Commission where to spend its funds.³²⁷ There were disagreements on funding the 10th anniversary celebration of the park, funding for Main Street Calumet, the potential purchase of a copper boulder, and paying for interpretive rangers in the

³²⁵ Steve Neavling, "Park board gets new executive," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 28, 2002.

³²⁶ Paul Lehto, interview with the author, January 29, 2013.

³²⁷ Sue Dana, interview with the author, December 6, 2012.

Quincy Unit. In discussing these items at Commission meetings, Welton frequently sided with Fiala in arguing for the Commission's support. In the end, the Commission felt that Welton had been unable to make progress on its fundraising priorities, and instead had evolved into acting as Fiala's assistant.³²⁸ When the Commission ultimately voted to eliminate the executive director position, Welton seemed surprised and told the *Daily Mining Gazette* that the Commission did not tell him why they were letting him go.³²⁹ While ensuring that the Commission had staff was an essential part of its future success, the Commission and the NPS still had a lot of work to do to define their working relationship and improve their communication.

The role and relationship with the Commission was one aspect of the park that obviously needed attention. The other area that Fiala wanted to improve was the structure of the Cooperating Sites Program. Fiala was frustrated with the lack of formal procedures guiding the program, and the lack of accountability on the part of the sites. For Fiala, the handshake agreements made by Bill Fink were no longer sufficient. Lacking formal procedures, Fiala instituted a moratorium on adding new sites, even though there were historic sites and organizations such as the Ontonagon County Historical Society that wanted to become part of the program. In 2004, the NPS and the Commission began working with existing sites to draw up a set of program procedures, performance standards, and a list of criteria that the sites would have to adhere to in

³²⁸ Paul Lehto, interview with the author, January 29, 2013.

³²⁹ Garrett Neese, "Park commission eliminates position," *Daily Mining Gazette*, November 19, 2004.

order to be part of the program. Many of the program documents were developed, discussed, and ratified by the existing Cooperating Sites through a series of meetings held in 2004 and 2005. During the November 29, 2005, Advisory Commission meeting, the Commission reviewed the documentation and unanimously passed a motion to modify the drafted documents in order to allow for the grandfathering of the existing Cooperating Sites into the new program. The Commission believed that the existing Sites should have to follow the new standards, but they should not have to reapply for admission to the program.³³⁰

The NPS and the Commission presented the new program, now dubbed the Heritage Sites Program, to the existing Sites at a meeting in May 2006. Unfortunately, the NPS had not included the language that grandfathered in the existing sites, and Fiala told the group that he was also concerned about for-profit entities such as the Delaware Mine and the Laurium Manor Inn being part of the program. Fiala did not feel that it was right to use taxpayer money to assist for-profit organizations, and he wanted them removed from the program.³³¹ Commissioner Kim Hoagland, who had replaced Larry Lankton on the Commission in 2004, and was now chair, told the *Daily Mining Gazette* that Fiala had “...ignored the recommendation of the commission [to grandfather the existing sites].”³³² The reapplication requirement caused several of the site representatives to

³³⁰ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Minutes of November 29, 2005, 7.

³³¹ Frank Fiala, interview with the author, December 7, 2012.

³³² Jane Nordberg, “Backlash after KNHP unveils sites criteria,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, May 26, 2006.

express frustration with the new program; the representatives felt it was unfair to ask for the existing sites to reapply given that they had worked for years to support and promote the park. A few of the site representatives even began talking about forming a separate coalition to have a stronger voice with NPS.

Over the summer, the Commission and some of the Sites expressed their frustration with the Fiala and the new program directly to Regional Director Ernie Quintana. At the October 24, 2006, meeting of the Commission, Quintana stated that he would like to see the existing sites grandfathered in, and that for-profit organizations could be part of the program as long as they met the program criteria.³³³ The existing sites had successfully appealed the proposed changes, and soon several new sites would join the program. In addition, the park was about to see another change as Fiala announced his retirement effective January 3, 2007. Fiala's 32 years of service with the NPS was about to come to an end.

Fiala's Legacy

Fiala was superintendent at Keweenaw for nine and a half years. Although Doug Barnard initially praised him as someone who could successfully build community partnerships, his enduring legacy was building the foundation for a more traditional national park. Fiala acquired historic properties, hired staff, and increased the NPS budget for the

³³³ Kurt Hauglie, "KNHP accepting all applications," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 31, 2006.

relatively new park. Fiala's actions also anchored the park in Calumet; the signature building acquisitions were in Calumet, all of the permanent staff positions were in Calumet, and Fiala's support of Calumet's Main Street program brought a sizable federal investment into Calumet. Although there were several NPS investments in the Quincy Unit during Fiala's tenure, and Fiala waged public battles for the preservation of Quincy Hill and the Quincy Smelter, it became increasingly clear that the Calumet Unit was now the home of the national park.

Unfortunately, for all of his accomplishments, Fiala's style and actions also left some formal partners and important community members unhappy with the NPS and the development of the park. Several of the Heritage Sites were upset with the requirements of the new partnership program; a few members of the Advisory Commission felt disenfranchised; and some in the community felt that the NPS was an enemy to progress or economic development. Fiala had gone to great lengths to take a stand for historic preservation and establish a physical presence for the park, but the next superintendent was going to have to focus on healing a number of damaged relationships in order to move the park forward.

CHAPTER SEVEN. BALANCING THE OBJECTIVES

On January 14, 2007, Andy Ferguson became the acting superintendent at Keweenaw.

At the time, Ferguson was superintendent at Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial in Ohio. Ferguson served at Keweenaw from January 14 to April 7, 2007, while the NPS searched for a permanent superintendent. Although Ferguson's tenure was short, he did provide his successor with an exit report that offered a brief assessment of the situation at Keweenaw.

Ferguson summarized the issues at Keweenaw into three areas: planning, sustainability, and visibility. With regard to planning, he argued that the NPS had not followed the GMP and that "...the lack of long-term planning has caused funded projects to be canceled, partnerships to be strained, agreements to be voided, requests for Congressional earmark submissions to be withdrawn, and severe measures to counter deficit spending."³³⁴ Ferguson also highlighted sustainability and funding issues with the Advisory Commission and the Heritage Sites that he felt severely limited the effectiveness of these entities. Finally, Ferguson lamented the lack of visibility or recognition in the community for the work of the park service and the park itself. For Ferguson, the lack of signage was particularly troubling, as was the lack of an NPS visitor center. To address these issues, Ferguson's exit report contained dozens of suggested solutions that ranged from big (revise the GMP) to small (put snow tires on the park

³³⁴ Andrew Ferguson, "Exit Report: Prepared for Park Staff," April 4, 2007, 1, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

vehicles). While Ferguson succeeded in summarizing the status of the park, his short tenure did not provide the time needed to act on a detailed set of goals or improvement plans.

James Corless

In April 2007, the NPS announced that Jim Corless would take over as superintendent starting on June 10, 2007.³³⁵ Corless was superintendent of the Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park in Skagway, Alaska, and had been with the park service for 27 years, including a stint as the chief of interpretation at Lowell National Historical Park. Kim Hoagland, chair of the Advisory Commission, told the *Daily Mining Gazette* that, “His background sounds very promising, and we’re looking forward to working with him.”³³⁶ Betsy Rossini, Keweenaw’s administrative officer and Isle Royale’s assistant superintendent, replaced Ferguson as acting superintendent until Corless arrived.

Corless served as superintendent at Keweenaw until October 30, 2010, or about three and a half years. During this time, he oversaw the creation of long-term goals for the park, the initiation of a heritage grant program, the completion of several tasks related to the preservation of the Quincy Smelter complex, the design of a park sign program, and the design of the park’s first visitor center. In addition, Corless made significant

³³⁵ Garrett Neese, “National park names new superintendent,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, April 10, 2007.

³³⁶ Ibid.

progress in building positive relationships with the Advisory Commission and the Heritage Sites.

Big Hairy Audacious Goals (BHAGs)

One of Corless' first tasks was to refine the direction for the park. Although the GMP gave general guidance, it lacked the specifics required to achieve the described vision. Coincidentally, at about the same time as Corless' arrival at Keweenaw, the NPS requested each park unit to prepare a strategy document outlining the steps that the unit would take to prepare for the hundredth anniversary of the National Park Service in 2016.³³⁷ Responding to this request, Corless and his staff developed a set of what they called ten "big, hairy, audacious goals" (BHAGs) to achieve over the next decade. The unique name Corless gave his document came from a term used in a book by Jim Collins and Jerry Porras called *Built to Last: Successful Habits of Visionary Companies*. Corless released a version of these goals, grouped into six categories, in March 2008 (Appendix II).

The BHAGs began with a vision statement that included a future state description for the park.

³³⁷ National Park Service, "Centennial Initiative 2016," <http://www.nps.gov/kewe/parkmgmt/centennial-initiative-2016.htm> (accessed February 18, 2013).

The National Park Service (NPS) aims, by the time of the NPS Centennial in 2016, to establish the 15-year old Keweenaw National Historical Park as a premier public history consortium, preserving significant historic landscape resources and interpreting the diverse stories of mining technology, corporate/human interaction, economic cycles, geology and environment, immigration and culture, and the role of copper in human endeavors.

The NPS will accomplish this through continued and expanded cooperative efforts, particularly through local governments and an expanding group of individually but cohesively operated Keweenaw Heritage Sites. The NPS will provide both financial and technical assistance to these organizations as they continue to provide and enhance many of the preservation activities and visitor services along the Peninsula. The NPS will anchor these activities with a traditional core of facilities in its two legislatively designated units, and will focus its programs on orientation and dynamically interpreting the overview and untold elements of the copper story...

The vision statement included many of the elements from the legislative findings and purposes included in PL 102-543, and highlighted the partnership aspects of the park described in the GMP. Corless followed the vision with ten specific goals grouped into six categories: partnerships and sustained operations; resource preservation; visitor experience; education and interpretation; public history; and diversity. Building from

the vision, most of the goals had foundations either in the park's legislated purposes, or in larger NPS objectives. Three of the goals, however, described efforts in areas that lacked universal agreement among the park's stakeholders. These goals deserve additional discussion.

The first goal addressed the need for additional funding for the park.

By 2017, an organization or network of organizations is well established in raising support for Keweenaw NHP (NPS, Advisory Commission, and partners) as demonstrated through annual grants and donations (cash, in-kind) equivalent to at least ¼ of the park's appropriated budget and the doubling of the number of volunteers.

A detailed explanation of this goal added:

This will be accomplished with the Advisory Commission (first by developing the means to have a fully operational Commission) and additional partners, including development of strong relations with the Isle Royale Natural History Association and the National Parks of Lake Superior Foundation, developing a sustainable development program including making friends of mining-related and other potential corporate sponsors, and facilitating the recruitment and training of volunteers.

No one doubted that the NPS at Keweenaw, the Commission, and the Heritage Site partners could all use additional funding, but this goal seemed to disregard the basic fact that the Heritage Sites already dedicated funding and volunteer resources far in excess of the stated goal. Although prior superintendents at Keweenaw often included visitors to the Heritage Sites as part of the park's overall visitation statistics, they did not typically include the value of the annual budgets or volunteer labor provided by the Sites as part of an overall park budget. In addition, at this point in Corless' tenure, he did not have a documented baseline for this information. Still, while there was nothing wrong with Corless and his team including a goal that sought to increase the funding for the overall park, the basis for the goal could have acknowledged the existing contributions of the Sites and other partners, and outlined a measure of success that built off the combined contributions.

In addition, this goal seemed to illustrate a fundamental difference between how the NPS and the community viewed the park. As federal budgets decreased, the NPS encouraged park superintendents to look for creative ways to obtain external funding. At many parks, this meant that a friends group or other philanthropic partner would provide money and assistance to the NPS. At Keweenaw, however, the expectation of the community, the Heritage Sites, and the Commission was that money and assistance should flow from the NPS to the community, not the other way around. In addition, the Commission worried that any attempt to raise money or identify volunteer resources in the local community might negatively affect the Heritage Sites; the Commission did not

want to harm the very organizations that were providing the bulk of the visitor experience. This basic difference of expectations put Corless and his management staff in a very difficult position; the NPS regional office wanted Corless to ask the community and philanthropic groups for more private funding, and the community wanted Corless to ask the NPS for more federal dollars. Again, there was nothing inherently wrong with a goal of increasing the available funding for the park, but the goal could have also included targeting additional NPS or other federal funding; *all* potential funding sources should have been open for discussion in a partnership park.

Another goal in the BHAGs reiterated the desire to create a traditional national park experience.

By 2017, the General Management Plan goal of providing a traditional national park experience is met in the two NPS units of the park through development of a core resource and interpretive experience that anchors the national park and partner sites.

A detailed explanation of this goal added that:

This will be accomplished by establishing a strong NPS identity through enhanced programming, a strong sense of arrival, contact stations in each unit, sustained access to park facilities, and a graphics identity/wayfinding program, by developing a core NPS park experience to anchor the Heritage Sites and other partners in interpretation and preservation (e.g., at the industrial complex in

Calumet, Quincy Hill, and on larger tracts of NPS-owned land), and installing exhibits in each NPS-owned historic building.

Although Keweenaw was not a “traditional national park,” this language surfaced in the final drafts of the GMP and in the subsequent Record of Decision. Fiala’s focus on acquiring buildings and land built on this idea, and Corless picked up the thread by including this goal in the BHAGs. For some of the NPS staff, the desire to create a traditional national park experience implied additional NPS ownership and operations rather than a focus on partnership efforts and accomplishing preservation or interpretive goals through partners. Unfortunately, neither the GMP nor the BHAGs gave instructions on how to balance the desire for a traditional national park experience with the need to help the partners.

Finally, another goal spoke to providing specific services to researchers and the public.

By 2017, Keweenaw NHP is nationally recognized and frequently sought out as a prominent and accessible source of copper mining history through museum collections, research, and interpretation.

Although the GMP did not specifically envision the museum and research role for Keweenaw, Fiala had acquired collections and hired staff to build this capability. Corless embraced the growth of this role and encouraged his staff to find ways to improve the services they provided. The Advisory Commission remained supportive, but was now wary of the opportunity cost lost by having the NPS focus on its own collections; the

more the NPS staff focused on its own collections, the less time it had for helping the Heritage Sites improve their capabilities.

The BHAGs provided a welcome level of detail to the vision and goals for the park.

Corless told the Commission that he hoped to achieve a number of the goals by tapping additional funding sources associated with the NPS centennial.³³⁸ The Commission then passed a resolution of support for the goals and pledged to help the NPS attain them.³³⁹

Unfortunately, the funding opportunities for centennial projects disappeared as changes in Washington led to different priorities and tightened budgets across the federal government. Over the next three years, however, Corless and the NPS staff used the BHAGs as a framework to justify and accomplish several important milestones for the park.

Keweenaw Heritage Grant Program

There had always been an expectation that the NPS or the Commission would provide financial assistance to the local community. The early versions of the legislation included millions of dollars in assistance funneled into the preservation needs of historical organizations and private property owners. As discussed earlier, the original justification for the Advisory Commission was to have local representatives directly administer

³³⁸ Kurt Hauglie, "KNHP to seek funding for 10-point goal plan," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 24, 2007.

³³⁹ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of October 23, 2007, 2.

preservations funds, and to provide advice to the NPS on how best to spend additional money. The reality was that the federal dollars had not materialized in the amounts, or with the consistency, that the park proponents originally envisioned. Instead, the NPS and Commission doled out whatever funds they could using various methods and priorities. The community had a real need for the funding, but the park lacked an open and fair process for distributing financial assistance.

In 2008, Corless announced that he had reserved \$30,000 from his operational budget to initiate the park's first formal grant program. Per the restrictions placed on the NPS in the park's enabling legislation, grant applicants had to be owners of property within the boundaries of the park, and they had to be able to provide a 4:1 cash match. While these minimum criteria severely limited the number of applicants, the NPS did award the entire \$30,000 to ten separate projects in 2008; the public now had a consistent process to request funding from the park.³⁴⁰

For 2009, the NPS increased the funding pool to \$40,800. What the program really needed, however, was some additional flexibility. Fortunately, Frank Fiala had set the stage for making just such a change by working with Senator Levin on a legislative fix that called for a reduction of the matching requirement from 4:1 to 1:1. Instead of requiring applicants to provide 80% of the cost of a project, the proposed change required an applicant to provide only 50% of the cost. The language included in the

³⁴⁰ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of October 28, 2008, 8.

legislative fix also proposed the removal of the prohibition on acquiring contaminated property, the removal of the matching fund requirement for the Commission, an increase to \$250,000 in the Commission's annual spending authorization, and increases to the technical assistance and property development spending limits contained in PL 102-543. Senator Levin introduced Senate bill S. 189 on January 4, 2007, and Congressman Stupak introduced a companion bill, H.R. 3704, on September 27, 2007. Although both of these bills died in the 110th Congress, Senator Levin and Congressman Stupak reintroduced identical bills in January 2009 as part of the 111th Congress. This time, the bills became part of the Omnibus Public Land Management Act of 2009 that became Public Law 111-11 with President Obama's signature on March 30, 2009.

The changes contained in PL 111-11 were a significant accomplishment for Senator Levin, Corless, and the Commission. Using the reduced match requirement, the NPS awarded the entire \$40,800 across 11 projects in 2009.³⁴¹ PL 111-11, however, had an even greater impact on subsequent years. In addition to lowering the match requirement for money coming from the NPS, the law also removed the Commission's match requirement embedded in the original legislation. The Commission no longer had to raise half of its operating funds in order to access its federal funding. This allowed the Commission to add funding to the pool of grant money available. Going forward, the NPS and the Commission decided to operate the grant program jointly. To the

³⁴¹ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of July 21, 2009, 6.

applicants, there was still one Keweenaw Heritage Grant program, but now the pool of money was bigger. This was significant for the applicants because the Commission did not have the same restrictions on expending funds; applicants still had to provide a 1:1 match, but the match for the Commission funds could be up to 100% in-kind.

Furthermore, applicants eligible for the Commission funds did not have to own historic properties, and they did not have to be located within the boundaries of the park – anywhere on the Keweenaw Peninsula would suffice. The following table illustrates how the Commission’s contributions increased the overall funding for the program, as well as how the Commission’s ability to relax the grant requirements for a portion of the funds increased the pool of applicants (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Heritage Grant Program, 2008 - 2012

Year	NPS Funds	Advisory Commission Funds	Total Program	Number of Applicants	Total Amount Requested	Number of Grants Awarded
2008	\$30,000	-	\$29,998	11	\$49,356	10
2009	\$40,800	-	\$40,480	15	\$88,185	11
2010	\$50,000	\$50,000	\$100,000	33	\$208,682	24
2011	\$37,600	\$112,500	\$150,100	52	\$446,936	32
2012	\$49,000	\$100,000	\$149,000	42	\$359,267	26

While the resulting grant program fell far short of the millions hoped for by the park founders, and even short of the \$400,000 annual grant program envisioned in the GMP, Corless and the Commission built a funding source that provided desperately needed money to preservation and interpretation needs in the community.

Quincy Smelter

Bill Fink and Frank Fiala each confronted preservation challenges where the desire for modern development clashed with the park's role in preserving local history. Fink had to deal with a local developer building a modern shopping complex in Calumet, and Fiala struggled with the City of Hancock about its development plans on Quincy Hill. For Corless, the biggest preservation challenge was determining a course of action for the Quincy Smelter. Just over a week before Corless started at Keweenaw, the cities of Houghton and Hancock passed a joint resolution that implored the federal government to do something with the complex by 2010. If the NPS failed to act, the cities would support razing the site to deal with safety concerns and then request Franklin Township to open the site for development.³⁴² The cities had drawn a line in the sand as their welcoming message for Corless. Fortunately, the resolution also caught the attention of Senator Levin. Levin had been instrumental in the establishment of the park, and he had shown a particular interest in saving the smelter.

Levin organized a meeting of community leaders on August 6, 2007.³⁴³ Levin invited representatives from the two cities, Franklin Township, the NPS, the EPA, and several others. Although he was not in attendance, Levin asked the attendees to discuss how to move forward with remediating and rehabilitating the smelter site. The group discussed a number of issues and ideas, but ultimately agreed that one of the keys to moving

³⁴² Garrett Neese, "Meeting produces smelter resolution," *Daily Mining Gazette*, May 31, 2007.

³⁴³ Jane Nordberg, "Smelter meeting garners SRO crowd," *Daily Mining Gazette*, August 07, 2007.

forward was to have the NPS and Franklin Township produce a plan for the site. Corless told the group, “We need to see it stabilized as soon as possible and then look at partnering with a variety of organizations and agencies to look at possibilities for future use and funding.”³⁴⁴

In March 2008, the EPA announced that it would return to the smelter to partially stabilize several structures, remove the remaining asbestos, and start the planning for remediation of the soil contaminants that occurred throughout the property.³⁴⁵ Steve DeLong, the landscape architect at Keweenaw, assisted the EPA in the planning and execution of the cleanup in order to minimize any damage to the historic resources. By January 2009, the site was clear of asbestos and the EPA announced that it was going to move forward with a plan to cover the eastern portion of the site with soil and vegetation. The EPA also announced that it was not going to conduct any further remediation on the smelter buildings or the slag piles; these historic features would remain, but the township would have to add a deed restriction to the property that prohibited future residential use. For the NPS, this was a positive compromise. Although the character of the landscape would change due to the remediation activities on the eastern portion of the site, the EPA would not remove the unique historic structures and signature waste piles. In addition, by prohibiting future residential use, the EPA removed some of the modern development pressure on the site.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Kurt Hauglie, “Big mess, big bucks,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, March 07, 2008.

Also in January 2009, the EPA presented the NPS with a letter that withdrew the general notice of liability they had issued to the NPS when Fiala was superintendent. Corless had spent a significant amount of time attempting to convince the EPA that the earlier letter was a mistake. The EPA's new letter noted that, "...the EPA does not presently have information sufficient to continue identifying the NPS as a potentially responsible party."³⁴⁶ While the EPA reserved the right to revisit their decision if new information came to light, this finding was a significant step in allowing the NPS to ramp up its assistance at the site.

With most of the contaminants removed, a plan in place for remediation, and the green light for the NPS to reengage fully with the site, the conversation turned to stabilization and future re-use. Once again, Senator Levin provided the needed assistance to move the conversation forward. Alice Yates from Senator Levin's Washington office and Amy Berglund from Levin's Upper Peninsula office worked with the NPS staff and Franklin Township officials to pursue several funding opportunities. In March 2009, Franklin Township Supervisor Glenn Ekdahl announced that the township was going to receive a \$285,000 grant from Housing and Urban Development to help with stabilization at the smelter.³⁴⁷ In June, Levin announced that a \$1,000,000 earmark for the smelter was included in the proposed FY11 budget for the Department of the Interior.³⁴⁸ Over the

³⁴⁶ Memorandum by Thomas R. Short Jr. to James Corless, Withdrawal of General Notice of Liability, January 20, 2009, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

³⁴⁷ Kurt Hauglie, "Quincy smelter benefits from federal earmarks," *Daily Mining Gazette*, March 12, 2009.

³⁴⁸ Kurt Hauglie, "\$1 million earmarked for smelter," *Daily Mining Gazette*, June 27, 2009.

next two summers, Franklin Township worked with the NPS to plan and complete a series of safety and emergency stabilization projects that provided additional protection for the structures and improved the safety of public tours given by local advocates from the fledgling Quincy Smelter Association.

In July 2009, the EPA and Senator Levin hosted a public forum to discuss the reuse of the complex. The EPA enlisted the help of E2, a Virginia-based environmental consulting firm, to facilitate the conversation. After a series of events that included public tours, a public forum, and a brainstorming meeting with several dozen stakeholders, E2 reported that the public overwhelmingly favored protecting the site and making it available for public use and interpretation. Mike Hancox, president of E2, proposed the formation of a steering committee made up of local stakeholders and various technical advisors in order to advise Franklin Township on how to continue moving forward. The EPA supported this approach, and enlisted Hancox to help form and facilitate the committee. Glenn Ekdahl and Jim Corless were the co-chairs of the Quincy Smelter Steering Committee, and Hancox facilitated several meetings of the committee in 2009, 2010, and 2011.

While the sub-committees of the group addressed topics such as commercial reuse, structure stabilization, and site infrastructure, Corless focused his efforts on two primary areas. First, he worked with the EPA on the tasks required to eliminate any roadblocks for potential NPS acquisition, including the tasks required to remove the

smelter from the Superfund list. While the NPS regional director did not support acquiring the smelter at the time, Corless and Isle Royale superintendent Phyllis Green believed that NPS ownership of the site might be beneficial for both parks. To that end, Corless also worked with the regional office and Isle Royale National Park to reexamine the feasibility of moving Isle Royale's administrative offices and docking facilities for the Ranger III from Houghton to the eastern portion of the smelter site. Moving Isle Royale's facilities to the smelter property was not a new idea, but Green and Corless convinced the regional director that the opportunity deserved a closer examination.

By the time Corless retired in October of 2010, the situation at the Quincy Smelter was much improved. During Corless' tenure at Keweenaw the EPA removed its notice of general liability, completed a draft of a reasonable steps letter that would help the NPS avoid future liability for any remaining contamination at the site, and planned to complete the remediation on the eastern portion of the site in 2011. In addition, Franklin Township completed one round of emergency structural stabilization and had a second round scheduled for the summer of 2011. The NPS completed a Value Analysis report in August 2010 that indicated that Isle Royale's planned use of the smelter site provided positive value for the park service. Finally, the Quincy Smelter Steering Committee developed into an active and engaged group of people focused on returning the smelter to beneficial use. Notably, Corless succeeded in making dramatic improvements at the smelter without first having to acquire the property. With Senator Levin's support, and the help of the steering committee, Corless oversaw a series of

accomplishments that exceeded the expectations expressed by the city councils of Houghton and Hancock three years earlier.

Park Signage

In Corless' very first commission meeting, he told the Advisory Commission that one of his primary focus areas would be to create a "sense of arrival" at the park.³⁴⁹ At the same Advisory Commission meeting, Bob Langseth stated that he had spoken with visitors who were unsure where the park began and ended. Almost since the park was established, the NPS, the Commission, and the partners frequently discussed what sort of signage was appropriate. The partners desired a full signage program that would help visitors navigate to, and identify, their facilities. The Advisory Commission longed for improved visibility of the NPS facilities and the Heritage Sites. For the NPS, the challenge was to improve the visitor experience without introducing confusion. While the Commission had authority to operate on the whole Keweenaw Peninsula, the official boundaries were much smaller, and the NPS owned very little property within the boundaries. The discussions focused on whether signs should indicate the peninsula, the park boundaries, the Heritage Sites, the actual NPS property, or some combination. The park definitely needed improved signage, but there was no clear solution.

³⁴⁹ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of July 24, 2007, 2.

Bill Fink originally provided the Cooperating Sites with site identification signs that included the NPS arrowhead (Figure 7-1). Responding to concerns about the use of the NPS arrowhead at the partner sites, Frank Fiala later tried to replace the original signs with new site identification signs that included a blending of the NPS arrowhead with the miner logo image (Figure 7-2). With the name change of the partnership program in 2006, Fiala initiated the introduction of a third set of signs that included the miner logo and the term Keweenaw Heritage Site (Figure 7-3). Fiala also erected site identification signs at most of the buildings acquired by the NPS during his tenure. While all of these efforts helped associate individual resources with the larger park, the park was still missing directional and boundary signs that told visitors and residents that they were in a national park.

Steve DeLong presented a peninsula-wide signage proposal to the Advisory Commission on April 22, 2008. In addition to recommending new facility identification signs for partner sites and NPS owned properties, the proposal included specific recommendations for the design and placement of way-finding signs throughout the peninsula.³⁵⁰ These sign proposals included colors and design elements that would tie the resources together while also providing directional information to the visiting public. DeLong acknowledged that there was a lot of work to do with the Michigan Department

³⁵⁰ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of April 22, 2008 4.

of Transportation to approve the sign designs, wording, and placement, but the plan represented the first comprehensive attempt to place park signs across the landscape.

In July 2008, Corless told the Commission that the NPS was going to move ahead with the replacement of a billboard-type sign next to the park headquarters (Figure 7-4). The existing sign, erected by the local Chamber of Commerce years earlier, announced the Village of Calumet and mentioned the existence of Keweenaw NHP. The sign, however, was badly deteriorated and not in the monument-like style reminiscent of visiting a unit of the National Park Service. In its place, the NPS erected a stone and wood sign (Figure 7-5) that Corless noted, “...mirrors the construction methods of the Calumet and Hecla craftsmen that build the adjacent structures.”³⁵¹ This was the first implementation of the new sign plan, but construction of the rest of the signs required additional funding.

DeLong refined his larger proposal and submitted an internal NPS request for funding. The hope was that the project would compete well for funds provided by the Recreational Fee Demonstration Program. This federal fund source redirected a portion of the fees collected on some federal lands to other federal units that did not collect fees. Since Keweenaw did not charge admission, the park was eligible to submit project proposals on a competitive basis. More importantly, Corless worked with the program director to get permission to place the signs outside of the park boundaries as long as the NPS retained ownership of the signs – a significant advantage given the locations of

³⁵¹ “Park sign unveiled,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, July 27, 2009.

the Heritage Sites. Fortunately, the NPS funded the sign proposal and Keweenaw learned that it would receive \$192,699 in fiscal year 2010 to fund the program. DeLong worked through 2010 on the permitting and site work required to get the signs in place, but Corless retired before the bulk of the site installations took place.

The sign program undertaken by Corless represented a significant step forward for identity, way-finding, and general awareness for the park. Although the park was still missing general entrance signs at its boundaries, the new signs finally delivered a huge portion of what the partners, the Commission, and the NPS desired.

Partnerships

Fiala retired with a significant list of accomplishments, but his uncompromising style had often rubbed people the wrong way. When Corless arrived, the NPS had a strained relationship with the Advisory Commission due to a perception that Fiala had not taken the advice from the Commission seriously, and that he had taken advantage of the Commission's inability to raise matching funds.³⁵² After several years of providing the Commission with funding, the money that Keweenaw had started to receive in FY01 for the Commission's operations was now absorbed into the general operational budget of

³⁵² Paul Lehto, interview with the author, January 29, 2013, and Sue Dana, interview with the author, December 6, 2012.

the NPS at Keweenaw. In his first Commission meeting, Corless highlighted the Commission's lack of funding as one of his top priorities.³⁵³

In 2008, the Commission began work with Scott See, a PhD candidate in the Industrial Heritage and Archaeology program at Michigan Tech, to develop a fundraising plan. See worked with the Commissioners and Corless to assess the Commission's capabilities to raise funds for its operational and project needs. One of the major issues reaffirmed by this work was that the Commission was ill prepared in its current form to raise large amounts of money. First, the Commission was still an all-volunteer organization. The volunteers knew that they needed to acquire their funds from somewhere, but they did not really have the capacity to mount a robust fundraising campaign. Secondly, the Commission did not have the money to hire an employee. While it had some funds in the bank, and it had received an earmark for \$197,000 in 2008, it was unable to raise the 1:1 match required to spend these funds. This was a classic Catch-22 scenario; they needed staff to raise money, but they needed money to hire staff. The passage of PL 111-11 altered this dynamic by removing the match requirement and increasing the annual funding authorization.

After the passage of PL 111-11, the first step that the Commission made was to work on hiring an executive director. It advertised the opening in April and took applications through May 31, 2009. The Commission received eight applications, conducted three

³⁵³ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of July 27, 2007, 2.

interviews, and hired Scott See on a two-year contract as their second executive director.³⁵⁴ The next thing the Commission did was to review the fundraising plan and discuss how to move forward. Ultimately, it decided that its next best step was to see if it could get its federal funding restored. Keweenaw still received \$100,000 a year for the Commission, but the NPS allocated the funding to other staff and expenses. If Keweenaw were to restore the annual funding to the Commission, it would have to eliminate some other park function. In September, Commission chair Kim Hoagland and Corless traveled to Omaha, Nebraska, to meet with NPS Regional Director Ernie Quintana and some of his staff members. Corless and Hoagland described the importance of the Commission's operations and its role in ensuring the success of the wider partnership model at Keweenaw. During this visit, the Deputy Director Dave Given directed the Chief of Administration to provide the Commission with \$100,000 a year out of the region's contingency funds. This agreement with the regional office stipulated that NPS at Keweenaw would have to start providing the Commission with annual funding out of its own budget once it received its next operational budget increase.

Corless demonstrated to the Commission that he saw it as a full partner in the management of Keweenaw National Historical Park. He helped it acquire operational funding, and included the Commissioners or their executive director in planning efforts, project discussions, and prioritization activities. He also saw fully funding the

³⁵⁴ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of July 21, 2009, 2.

Commission as a major park priority, and provided this viewpoint when asked by the federal congressional delegation. Likewise, Corless understood the importance of the Heritage Site Program. Corless made a point to visit all nineteen Sites during his first five months on the job.³⁵⁵ During these, and subsequent, interactions with representatives from the Heritage Sites, Corless repeatedly asked what the NPS could do to help them, and also asked if there were issues in the relationship that needed mending. Corless treated the Heritage Sites as full partners in the operation of Keweenaw NHP, and the representatives appreciated the approach that he brought to the partnership.

To further stress the importance of the partnerships, Corless created a diagram of how he viewed the management model at Keweenaw (Figure 7-6). Internally referred to as the “the Umbrella”, Corless’ diagram included the NPS, the Commission, the Heritage Sites, Historic Districts, and other partners into an overall partnership model that Corless dubbed “the parknership.” For most national park units, ‘the park’ is synonymous with the NPS staff and presence. At Keweenaw, ‘the park’ meant the collection of all these participants working together to achieve the legislated purposes, and Corless communicated this fact whenever he could. As Bob Langseth later remembered, “Jim Corless articulated the partnership better than others – he was the best [superintendent] for seeking funds for the partnership.”³⁵⁶

³⁵⁵ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of October 23, 2007, 4.

³⁵⁶ Robert Langseth, interview with the author, December 5, 2012.

Visitor Center

One of Corless' most significant accomplishments was the creation of the park's first NPS visitor center. Fiala had acquired the Union Building in Calumet with an eye toward using a portion of the building as a visitor center. Fiala also acquired the \$2.5M in funding necessary to rehabilitate the exterior of the building, install a fire suppression system, and make the facility handicapped accessible.³⁵⁷ These foundational steps set the stage for the reuse of the building, but the funding to create the actual visitor center remained elusive during Fiala's tenure, and Fiala retired before the necessary funding materialized.

In 2007, just as Corless was transitioning from Klondike Gold Rush, Keweenaw received word that the FY08 budget included \$496,000 to create architectural plans and exhibit designs for the visitor center. Although acting superintendent Rossini and the staff initially felt they should refuse the money because they were not ready for the project, they ultimately decided to proceed. In 2008, the NPS interpretive staff entered into a contract with design firm Krister Olmon Incorporated to develop an exhibit design that included permanent exhibits, a space for temporary exhibits, an orientation to the Heritage Sites, and a sales outlet on the first floor. The second floor included a more substantial series of permanent exhibits that highlighted various aspects of community

³⁵⁷ Kurt Hauglie, "Calumet's Union Building getting back in shape," *Daily Mining Gazette*, June 21, 2006.

life.³⁵⁸ Most importantly, the design team also decided that the primary theme of the exhibits would be life in a mining town, with a focus on Calumet. This particular set of exhibits would not be about the industrial workplace, mining technology, or the development of the industry along the Keweenaw Peninsula – those topics would have to wait for a future, primary visitor center in the Quincy Unit. With completed architectural drawings and an exhibit design finalized, the NPS needed the funds to rehabilitate the interior of the building and construct the exhibits. It would find help in the election of a new President and his subsequent efforts to stimulate the economy.

Barack Obama became the 44th President of the United States on January 20, 2009. On February 17, 2009, President Obama signed the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA) into law. An attempt to deal with a deepening economic recession, ARRA provided \$787 billion to fund projects that would protect or create jobs. Almost immediately, a call went out looking for “shovel-ready” projects that would benefit from an infusion of funds. The NPS at Keweenaw had a project waiting.

Through a series of meetings, Corless worked with Senator Levin and the regional office to present and justify the Visitor Center project. In the end, Keweenaw was able to attract over \$5.2M in ARRA funds to fund the interior rehabilitation of the Union Building. Congressman Stupak and Senator Levin added to the effort by providing an additional \$1.3M earmark appropriation that the NPS used to fund exhibit construction.

³⁵⁸ Kurt Hauglie, “Union Building to tell story of miner’s lives,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 29, 2008.

In total, the NPS invested over \$10.4M into the new visitor center, not including the NPS staff time required to complete the project (Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Calumet Visitor Center Investment

Project	Year Funded	Year Completed	Cost
Acquisition (inc. relocation funds)	1999	1999	\$134,000
Exterior Rehabilitation	2006	2006	\$2,500,000
Window Rehabilitation	2007	2010	\$278,995
Steam Heating Repairs	2008	2008	\$299,224
Planning	2008	2008	\$496,000
Interior Rehabilitation (ARRA)	2009	2011	\$5,238,088
Exhibit Fabrication	2010	2011	\$1,318,160
Interior Rehabilitation (NPS)	2011	2011	\$167,415
Total			\$10,431,882

The interior rehabilitation work began on June 17, 2010, and by that time, the exhibit design was well under way.³⁵⁹ Yalmer Mattila Contracting, Inc., from Houghton was the primary contractor on the interior work. In addition to planning exhibit spaces on the first and second floors, the NPS decided to rehabilitate the third floor for community use.³⁶⁰ The plan for the third floor included rebuilding the historic stage and building a modern catering kitchen. Corless envisioned that local non-profit organizations could conduct meetings in the space for little or no cost. Corless also hoped that the usage

³⁵⁹ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of July 20, 2010, 28.

³⁶⁰ Kurt Hauglie, "Telling the copper mining story," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 24, 2010.

would not compete with local Heritage Sites such as the Keweenaw Heritage Center and the Calumet Theatre that already offered rental space to the local community.

As construction continued and work ramped up on the exhibit design, the project consumed nearly all the efforts of several members of the NPS staff. Members of the Preservation Services Division focused on the construction activities. The Interpretive Division and the park historian focused on the exhibits. The staff of the Museum Services Division acquired needed artifacts and helped plan exhibits. The visitor center was a huge project that required lots of attention. The negative aspect of this was that the amount of time available for the NPS staff to provide technical assistance to the Heritage Sites practically disappeared during this period. This ensured that there was a significant amount of pent up demand from the Sites once the visitor center opened to the public. In addition, some of the Sites feared competing with the NPS for visitor attention; none of the Heritage Sites had the capabilities or resources to create anything even close to the size and quality of the visitor center. The NPS assured everyone that the visitor center would complement the experiences at the Heritage Sites, and that the new attraction might even direct more visitors to the Sites.

The visitor center was the biggest project, and the largest single investment, ever undertaken by the NPS at Keweenaw. The \$10.4M price tag represented nearly one quarter of the \$44.1M total in federal funds received by Keweenaw NHP (through 2012). Fiala had the foresight to acquire the building and invest in its rehabilitation, but Corless

oversaw the creation of the actual visitor center. Although Corless retired a year before the public opening, his efforts positioned the funding and resources necessary to make the facility a reality.

Corless' Legacy

Jim Corless retired on October 30, 2010. Corless left at a high point in his career and for the park. In 2007, Andy Ferguson lamented about the lack of visibility for the park during his time as acting superintendent. By the time Corless retired, the park was about to deliver three highly visible improvements: stabilization work at the Quincy Smelter, new Heritage Site signs across the landscape, and the opening of the park's first NPS visitor center. Seizing on the foundations built by Fiala, Corless established a set of goals and then worked with his staff, the Commissioners, and the Heritage Sites to make progress on them. He also delivered a formal, defensible, grant program that provided needed funds in the community. Most importantly, Corless worked diligently to improve the partnership relationships with the Commission and the Heritage Sites; Corless left the park with a better sense of what it meant to be a partnership park. Bob Langseth noted that it may have taken six months or so for Corless to internalize the partnership, but, "Once he got it, he *really* got it!"³⁶¹

³⁶¹ Robert Langseth, interview with the author, December 5, 2012.

While Corless' experience, personality, facilitation skills and cultural resource background absolutely contributed to the progress made during his tenure, he also had the benefit of timing, and a bit of luck. The struggles of Keweenaw's previous superintendents were not secrets; Corless studied the challenges faced by his predecessors and adjusted his approach accordingly. While the Commission and the community were still unsure of exactly what they wanted Keweenaw NHP to be, they were very clear on what they did not like about Corless' predecessors. Corless also benefited from the excellent staff assembled by Fiala – Corless did not have to hire a single permanent employee while at Keweenaw. Finally, Senator Levin's ability to obtain \$1.285M in funding for the Quincy Smelter, Congressman Stupak's \$1.3M earmark for the visitor center, and President Obama's economic stimulus program that provided over \$5.2M to the visitor center all injected new federal funding into the community after years of relatively flat spending by the NPS. Corless brought some needed skills to the job, but the good fortune of inheriting an excellent professional staff combined with favorable environmental factors in Washington also meant that 2007 – 2010 were excellent years to be the superintendent of Keweenaw NHP.

CHAPTER EIGHT. CLARIFYING THE VISION

Two weeks after Corless retired, the NPS announced that it had selected Michael Pflaum to become the new superintendent at Keweenaw. Pflaum had been with the NPS for over 30 years, most recently as the regional partnerships coordinator at the Midwest regional office in Omaha, NE. Prior to his assignment in Omaha, Pflaum had served 17 years in a visitor and resource protection role as chief ranger at Mount Rushmore National Monument. While Pflaum had completed several acting superintendent roles during his career, the position at Keweenaw was his first assignment as a permanent superintendent. Regional Director Ernie Quintana told the *Daily Mining Gazette* that, “Mike brings excellent communication and partnership skills and a strong understanding of the value of working with the Copper Country communities....”³⁶²

By the time of the park’s twentieth anniversary on October 27, 2012, Pflaum had presided over the opening of the park’s first visitor center and begun discussions about increasing the resources and support available to the NPS, Commission, and park partners. In addition, Pflaum worked closely with Kim Hoagland, Scott See, and an energized Advisory Commission to support two peninsula-wide survey efforts, revise the Heritage Site program, and take the next major step in the preservation of the Quincy Smelter. Pflaum’s first two years as superintendent also reinforced some major challenges that would require his attention as the park entered its third decade.

³⁶² “KNHP hires new superintendent,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, November 16, 2010.

Calumet Visitor Center

Pflaum's official start date at Keweenaw was January 16, 2011. By that time, a large portion of the NPS staff was working furiously toward the planned fall opening of the Calumet Visitor Center. The team hoped to have the interior building renovations completed by May, and then begin exhibit installations in August or September. If all went as planned, the building would be ready for a grand opening ceremony by late October – just in time to coincide with the park's nineteenth anniversary.

As the NPS staff worked on their respective tasks to get the building and exhibits ready, Pflaum helped facilitate the planning for the grand opening activities. As chief ranger at Mount Rushmore, Pflaum planned and attended dozens of events for numerous politicians and dignitaries. His experience with these events helped a planning team consisting of NPS staff, park partners, Commissioners, and members of the public design a 3-day event around the ribbon cutting for the visitor center. In July, Pflaum told the Advisory Commission that the committee planned, "...a private exhibit reception, ribbon cutting, naturalization ceremony, pasty luncheon, Coppertown Miners' Reunion, Fourth Thursday in History program, and educational tours."³⁶³ In addition, Pflaum ensured that the list of invitees included Senator Levin, the Secretary of the Interior, the NPS Director, and Pflaum's new boss, Midwest Regional Director Mike Reynolds. Pflaum's approach to the celebration was to think big and adjust the plans accordingly.

³⁶³ Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Meeting Minutes, Meeting of July 19, 2011, 8.

The major work on the interior restoration finished up in June with a few minor items dragging into July and August. The completed exhibits arrived in early September, and by mid-October the facility was ready for a soft opening. Senator Levin confirmed his attendance for the festivities, as did Mike Reynolds. Unfortunately, the Secretary of the Interior and the NPS Director sent their apologies. Just days prior to the event, Pflaum told the Commission that the visitor center, "...was going to be a tremendous addition to the park and the community, as well as the partners."³⁶⁴

On the morning of October 27, several hundred attendees gathered in front of the visitor center to hear remarks from Senator Levin, Pflaum, Hoagland, Reynolds, and Keweenaw's Chief of Interpretation, Kathleen Harter. The crowd included members of the public; local government officials; past and present commissioners; NPS staff from Keweenaw, Isle Royale, and Pictured Rocks; and all three former Keweenaw superintendents. After the remarks, Levin and Reynolds jointly cut the ribbon to open the facility. Following the ceremony, Senator Levin told the *Daily Mining Gazette* that while there were still things to do, he was very pleased with the overall progress of the park.³⁶⁵ Although it had taken nineteen years for the park to open its first visitor center, the resulting facility was a truly impressive attraction.

Although the opening of the visitor center occurred during Pflaum's tenure, the actual project was years in the making and nearing completion when Pflaum arrived. Pflaum

³⁶⁴ Stacey Kukkonen, "Park readies for grand opening," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 26, 2011.

³⁶⁵ Kurt Hauglie, "All eyes on Calumet," *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 28, 2011.

did influence the events surrounding the grand opening, but the success of the opening also reflected the careful planning and hard work of the NPS staff and volunteers who assisted with the event. With this significant milestone met, Pflaum now needed to find a challenge that he could apply his talents to – a challenge that he could brand as his own.

Partnerships

Jim Corless took steps to include the Commission in his management decisions and improve the overall relationship with the Commissioners. Corless also successfully improved the working relationships with the Heritage Sites. These relationship improvements were necessary for the park to succeed, but as Corless had noted in the BHAGs, and Pflaum quickly concluded, they were not sufficient, Pflaum also wanted to increase the financial and volunteer resources available to the NPS, the Commission, and the park partners. Using a frequently repeated term, Pflaum felt that the park needed to “take it to the next level” with regard to partnerships and philanthropic efforts.

Throughout his career, and particularly during his role as the Midwest regional partnerships coordinator, Pflaum had seen the value provided to the NPS by robust partner organizations. Throughout the country, friends groups, cooperating associations, nonprofit organizations, and other entities provided valuable assistance to

the NPS in the operation of national park units. These groups were not part of the NPS, but they dedicated themselves to assisting the parks and the NPS. The NPS relied on these organizations to recruit and manage volunteers, conduct events, raise funds, acquire land, and even develop park facilities.³⁶⁶ Pflaum dedicated a major portion of his Midwest partnership role to providing services to help these organizations survive and thrive. Upon arriving at Keweenaw, Pflaum noted a relative absence of these types of groups and suggested that the NPS and Commission explore ways to develop this type of support. Pflaum offered a number of examples of successful friends groups, but he repeatedly mentioned two groups to the Commission and NPS staff – the Mississippi River Fund in Saint Paul, Minnesota, and the Conservancy for Cuyahoga Valley National Park in Peninsula, Ohio, just north of Akron. Each of these organizations conducted activities that Pflaum felt could benefit Keweenaw.

The Mississippi River Fund is a non-profit organization with a mission to “strengthen the enduring connection between people and the Mississippi River and build community support for the Mississippi National River and Recreation Area.”³⁶⁷ The four staff members at the Fund focus on fundraising, volunteer activities, operating a membership program, and advocacy for the park and the river. The organization leverages the impressive presence of the Mississippi River to build support for the river itself, and to assist the NPS in its preservation, interpretation, and education efforts. In 2011-2012,

³⁶⁶ *Making Friends Handbook*, (National Park Service, April 2009) 8-9.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

the fund facilitated 14,980 volunteer hours along the river and provided \$334,595 in grants and program services.³⁶⁸ The Fund's revenue for that year totaled \$406,493, with the major sources of revenue being foundation and corporate grants (36%), an endowment distribution (34%), and individual donations (11%).

The Conservancy for Cuyahoga Valley National Park is also a non-profit organization dedicated to helping the NPS operate a unit of the national park service. The Conservancy's website describes the organization's purpose as, "We're driven by an intense passion to help Cuyahoga Valley National Park achieve its full potential for the people of Northeast Ohio and the nation." Like the Mississippi River Fund, the Conservancy also oversees fundraising efforts, volunteer opportunities, a membership program, and acts as an advocate for the park. In addition, the Conservancy manages several rental properties, runs a park store, and operates an extensive youth program that includes resident and day camp opportunities. The Conservancy is a large and thriving friends group. In 2011, it spent \$893,165 on environmental education programs, \$911,640 on community outreach activities, and \$281,900 on special events. During the same year, its major sources of revenue were program fees (46%), donations (33%), an NPS subsidy (11%), and memberships (10%).³⁶⁹ With an annual budget of about \$2.6M, the Conservancy is larger than the entire Heritage Site Program at Keweenaw.

³⁶⁸ "2011 – 2012 Annual Report," Mississippi River Fund. <http://www.missriverfund.org/> (accessed February 19, 2013).

³⁶⁹ "2011 Annual Report," Conservancy for Cuyahoga Valley National Park. <http://www.conservancyforcvnp.org/> (accessed February 19, 2013).

The Mississippi River Fund and the Conservancy at Cuyahoga both benefit from local economic and population bases that are orders of magnitude larger than Keweenaw. In addition, the two groups also have the advantage of working with iconic natural resources in the midst of densely populated areas. The situation at Keweenaw is almost the opposite; a collection of cultural resources in the midst of a sparsely populated rural area. Still, Pflaum felt that these groups provided the Commission and Keweenaw's partners with examples to learn from and successes to emulate.

In 2011, two primary organizations assisted Keweenaw beyond the support provided by the Commission and the Heritage Sites. First, the NPS worked with an official Cooperating Association called the Isle Royale and Keweenaw Parks Association (IRKPA). Established in 1958 to support Isle Royale National Park, the group began supporting Keweenaw during Fiala's tenure. Like other cooperating associations across the country, IRKPA's primary responsibilities involved operating sales outlets and maintaining a membership roster in order to provide financial support to fund interpretive and educational efforts at the two parks. For Keweenaw, IRKPA ran a small sales outlet at the park headquarters and provided about \$3,700 in annual financial support that enabled the NPS to produce its annual park newspaper. By the time Pflaum arrived, IRKPA was still trying to figure out how to best support Keweenaw given that most of its income, and a large majority of its members, came from a focus on Isle Royale.

In addition to IRKPA, the NPS also received support from a non-profit philanthropic group called the National Parks of Lake Superior Foundation (NPLSF). NPLSF provided financial support to the five national parks on Lake Superior – Keweenaw National Historical Park, Isle Royale National Park, and Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore in Michigan; Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in Wisconsin; and Grand Portage National Monument in Minnesota. Founded in 2007, NPLSF conducted various fundraising activities to support the five parks, as well as occasional “friendraising” activities designed to build community support for the parks. Unfortunately, the relative newness of the organization, and the breadth of their efforts, meant that Keweenaw only received about \$3,000 in annual support from the organization. NPLSF had the potential to become something bigger, but its existing support was paltry compared to what Pflaum had seen elsewhere.

As Pflaum surveyed the partnership landscape, his initial reaction was to conclude that Keweenaw needed a dedicated friends group to increase the support for the park. Pflaum suggested that the Commission and the NPS float the idea of creating a new organization to various community members to see if someone would run with it. This suggestion ran counter to the prevailing approach adopted by the Commission. Fearful that the creation of a friends group or other membership organization would negatively affect the fragile Heritage Site organizations, the Commission had steered clear of creating another organization in the environment. Hearing this concern, Pflaum suggested that the NPS and the Commission sponsor a partnership summit to bring

together the park's primary partners with a goal of discussing how to increase the financial support available to the NPS, the Commission, and the partners.

On June 14, 2012, the park held its first ever partnership summit in the third-floor ballroom of the Calumet Visitor Center. The group included NPS staff; Commissioners and commission staff; representatives from IRKPA and NPLSF; and representatives from seven of the nineteen Heritage Sites. Although the Heritage Sites met as a group on a semi-annual basis, this was the first time that all of the major support organizations had gathered to discuss common interests. Diane Keith, the regional partnership coordinator from the Midwest office facilitated the session. Keith had taken Pflaum's previous job when he moved to Keweenaw. The meeting began with some foundational presentations on the vision and purposes for the park, and then the group moved into short presentations from each organization that covered individual goals, needs, and challenges. While the organizers designed this exercise as a way for the whole group to learn about the individual organizations and think about commonalities, it quickly became clear that the diversity of the organizations made it difficult to identify common ground. For example, while the NPLSF representatives discussed their efforts to raise tens of thousands of dollars for support across the five Lake Superior parks, the representatives from the Old Victoria Heritage Site discussed their struggles with keeping the grass mowed during the summer.

The second half of the partnership summit involved group brainstorming to identify common goals and opportunities. The attendees also struggled through this exercise. Once again, the diversity of needs frustrated the process. While support organizations like IRKPA and NPLSF suggested various opportunities for providing additional support to the NPS and its partners, the Heritage Sites largely focused on needs that required support *from* the NPS. The two overwhelming messages from the summit were that everyone in attendance needed more financial resources and, more importantly, that the partners did not share a common vision for what the park should look like in the future. Although the GMP and the BHAGs had provided elements of a vision for the park, the partnership summit showed that the partners did not share these elements. These discoveries frustrated Pflaum – not only did the group fail to have the larger conversation about how to bring more resources to the area, but there was a much more fundamental problem in the environment that needed discussion before fundraising could occur. Almost twenty years into the existence of the park, the NPS, Commission, and their partners still needed to determine a collective vision.

Advisory Commission

In 2009, Jim Corless worked with Kim Hoagland and the regional office to establish an operational funding stream of \$100,000 a year for the Commission. Then, in 2010, an anonymous donor came forward and pledged a \$300,000 donation to the Commission - \$100,000 a year over three years. By the time Pflaum arrived in early 2011, the

Commission had money in the bank, a stable budget, and an executive director to work with; Pflaum had a Commission that was more capable than at any time in the history of the park. The Commission used its funding to increase the size of the park's grant program, improve the support of the Heritage Sites through several grant opportunities, and help the NPS hire a seasonal ranger dedicated to the Heritage Sites. The Commission also took a leadership role in four important efforts: a peninsula-wide historic resource survey, a peninsula-wide industrial waste survey, a revision to the Heritage Site program, and determining how to move forward on the protection of the Quincy Smelter.

One of the enduring challenges for the Commission and the NPS at Keweenaw had been the lack of a peninsula-wide preservation plan. There were definitely significant resources outside of the official park boundaries, but the NPS did not have the authority to inventory or work with these resources. The legislation gave the Commission the authority to operate outside the boundaries, but the Commission had never had the financial resources to conduct a survey. Starting in 2009, however, the funding situation changed and the Commission began a comprehensive district survey of all aboveground historic resources on the peninsula that were older than 1970. The primary goal of the survey was to identify districts, and in some cases individual buildings or structures, that warranted designation on the National Register of Historic Places. In addition, the survey results provided the foundational information required to develop a historic preservation plan for the area.

The Commission contracted with Jane Busch, a preservation consultant from Cleveland, Ohio, to lead the survey. Because of the size of the project, and the uncertainty of future funding, the Commission split the project into three major phases: Phase I consisted of surveying Ontonagon County; Phase II consisted of surveying Keweenaw County, southern Houghton County, and a portion of Baraga County; and Phase III included surveying northern Houghton County, as well as the development of the overall preservation plan for the peninsula. Busch and her team began their survey work in the summer of 2009, with additional fieldwork in the summers of 2011 and 2012. By the time the fieldwork was complete in August 2012, the team had identified 27,642 resources across 62 districts, and compiled 1,598 sample photographs. The final cost of the survey and preservation plan, not including staff time from NPS and Commission, was just over \$200,000. Funding for the effort included grants from the Americana Foundation and the National Byway Program; money from the NPS regional office and Keweenaw NHP; funds from the Commission; and several individual donations. When fully completed in the spring of 2013, the survey and the accompanying preservation plan will provide the NPS, the Commission, and various local government agencies with valuable information and recommendations about the remaining historic resources on the landscape. The plan will also represent the largest project undertaken by the Commission to-date.

In addition to surveying the landscape for historic buildings and structures, the Commission also completed a companion survey project to identify and assess the

remaining industrial waste products in the area. Although the poor rock piles, stamp sand deposits, and slag heaps from the copper industry provided environmental challenges during the formation and operation of the park, the waste products also represented an important interpretive opportunity. Although the underground workings of the mines all still existed, they were not accessible or visible to the normal Keweenaw visitor – only the remaining waste deposits provided a view into the scope and scale of the mining operations that took place on the Keweenaw. The issues for the Commission were the lack of information on the remaining deposits, and the lack of a prioritization method to determine which deposits might merit preservation and interpretation. In the fall of 2011, the Commission contracted with the Industrial Archeology Program at Michigan Technological University to conduct a survey of these resources. Doctoral student Sean Gohman conducted the survey and recommended 40 discrete sites for possible future action.³⁷⁰ When combined with the historic resource survey, these results will help the Commission and NPS prioritize future preservation efforts both inside and outside of the official park boundaries.

Another effort undertaken by the Commission during Pflaum's tenure was a revision to the Heritage Site program. Representatives from each of the Heritage Sites signed five-year Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) agreements with the Commission and the NPS at the end of 2007. In anticipation of the expiration of these MOUs, Scott See

³⁷⁰ Sean M. Gohman, "Identification and Evaluation of Copper Country Mine Waste Deposits Including Tailings, Waste Rock, and Slag in Parts of Baraga, Houghton, Keweenaw, and Ontonagon Counties, Michigan," Unpublished report, August 1, 2012.

facilitated a series of meetings starting in December of 2010 to review and revise the documents associated with program. The meeting attendees included Heritage Site representatives, Commissioners, and NPS staff members. By the summer of 2012, the committee had clarified the minimum requirements for participation in the program, significantly revised the program documentation to stress the partnership nature of the program, and recommended the formation of a nine-member permanent committee to oversee the operation of the program. Significantly, the working group also recommended that a Heritage Site representative chair this new program committee and that the majority of the seats on the committee belong to Heritage Site representatives – five seats to the Heritage Sites, two to the Commission, and two to the NPS. While the ultimate responsibility for the overall program still rested with the NPS superintendent, the hope was that the program would now operate as a true partnership instead of an NPS or Commission-driven effort.

Finally, just prior to the 20th anniversary of the park, the Commission took a leadership role in moving forward with preservation of the Quincy Smelter. Following Corless' retirement, the Quincy Smelter Steering Committee continued to work with Franklin Township to explore future alternatives uses for the complex. While the EPA remediation activities and the second round of building stabilization work took place in the summer of 2011, Franklin Township engaged with the Christman Company from Grand Rapids, Michigan to develop a lease proposal. Christman proposed purchasing the site from the township, building new offices and docking facilities for Isle Royale NP

on the eastern portion of the site, and then leasing the facilities to the NPS with a path toward eventual NPS ownership. Franklin Township and the Quincy Smelter Steering Committee sent this proposal to NPS regional director Mike Reynolds in October 2011 and waited for a reply. Unfortunately, the group did not anticipate the initial reaction brought forth by the proposal.

The regional office staff questioned the perceived or actual conflict of interest in having members of the NPS participating in a group that was recommending government acquisition of the smelter property. In addition to Pflaum, the steering committee also included Tom Baker and Steve DeLong from Keweenaw, and Phyllis Green and Betsy Rossini from Isle Royale. While the other members of the steering committee welcomed the NPS involvement, the regional office viewed their direct participation as a liability. Consequently, on February 14, 2012, these five NPS employees notified the steering committee that they “...must resign from the Quincy Smelter Steering Committee so as not to create the perception of a conflict of interest concerning Franklin Township’s proposal to the National Park Service for future development and reuse of the site.”³⁷¹ These resignations left Glenn Ekdahl and Scott See as the co-chairs of the committee, and slowed the momentum of the overall effort.

In addition to the resignation of the NPS participants, Mike Reynolds informed Pflaum, Hoagland, and See that it was unlikely that the NPS would be able to enter into a lease

³⁷¹ Memorandum by Michael Pflaum, et.al. to Glenn Ekdahl and Scott See, February 14, 2012, Central Files, Keweenaw NHP, Calumet, MI.

agreement for the smelter property. Budget pressures in Washington and throughout the NPS meant that few, if any, parks would receive operational budget increases in the near future. Reynolds added, however, that if there was a way to acquire the property for a reasonable price, the NPS might be able to invest small amounts of money over time. Similar to the approach used by Fiala with the Union Building, the first step to preserving the smelter was to get it in the hands of the NPS. Additional preservation, reuse, or interpretation investments could come later. Although neither the NPS nor the Commission had funds available to purchase the property, Reynolds' recommended approach seemed like a reasonable alternative to explore.

Outside of the steering committee, See, Pflaum, and Phyllis Green made inquiries to several organizations that might help acquire the smelter. In particular, See contacted the Trust for Public Land and arranged a visit to the smelter for their regional representative. Unfortunately, the involvement of a third party also meant significant costs beyond the actual purchase price, and the Commission wanted the overall cost to be as low as possible. Ultimately, this led the Commission to decide that the best approach would be to have the Commission act as the facilitator in the process.

Although the Commission did not have the funds on hand to purchase the property, and it did not have the authority to own the property for the long term, the Commission did have the authority to offer Franklin Township an option agreement to purchase the property for a specific price within a specific timeframe. An option agreement did not guarantee the actual purchase, but it would provide the impetus for the Commission to

raise or otherwise acquire the funds necessary for the purchase. The agreement also temporarily insulated the smelter from a changing local political landscape; the Franklin Township board was on friendly terms with the NPS and the Commission at the time, but that might change. If the Commission succeeded in raising the required funds and actually purchased the property, it planned to transfer the property immediately to the NPS.

See worked with a local real estate attorney, James Tercha, to create the legal paperwork. See also approached the township supervisor, Glenn Ekdahl, to discuss a purchase price and option timeframe that was agreeable to the township board. Although the township acquired the smelter property in 1999 with a plan of eventually transferring it the NPS, the political landscape in the township had changed over the years. While the township board had once verbally offered to sell the property for the actual amount it had invested into it (reportedly about \$100,000), the township board now felt that the property was worth much more. In late summer of 2012, Glenn Ekdahl told the NPS and the Commission that the township board wanted \$1,000,000 for the property. This was ten times what the Commission expected, and beyond the reach of the Commission or the NPS.

Through a series of informal negotiations during the fall, the Commission and the township board eventually came to terms. On October 15, 2012, See presented an option agreement to the township board at their regularly scheduled meeting. The

Commission offered \$335,000 plus loan forgiveness of \$11,437 for the purchase of the smelter property and all the Quincy Mining Company-related artifacts and documents owned by the township. Due to the larger than expected purchase price, the Commission asked for three years, or until September 30, 2015, to execute the option. The township board asked for a week to review the agreement, and then accepted the agreement at a special meeting on October 22, 2012. One week before the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the park, one of its most significant industrial resources finally had a plan for eventual NPS ownership.

Pflaum's Challenges Ahead

Mike Pflaum presided over the park's twentieth anniversary events. Similar to the celebrations held a year earlier for the opening of the visitor center, Pflaum ensured that the planning committee invited dignitaries and park founders, scheduled events, and fed the press with information about the celebration. Senator Levin confirmed his attendance, and Patty Trap, NPS Deputy Regional Director for the Midwest region, said she would attend. Although the park's actual anniversary was on October 27, 2012, the planning committee scheduled the major anniversary events for October 13 in an attempt to ensure better weather.

Unfortunately, the weather on October 13 was rainy and cold. The outdoor events that took place in Calumet and at Quincy were poorly attended. Instead of the hundreds or

thousands of people that showed up for the fish boils and public meetings in the 1980s, only a few dozen people turned out to celebrate the twentieth anniversary. Senator Levin, Patty Trap, Mike Pflaum, and Kim Hoagland gave short remarks at each venue, but there were many open chairs under the erected tents. While poor weather and competing local events might explain the small crowd, another element may also be to blame. To the park proponents and community members who turned out in droves in the 1980s, the common objective was clear – make Calumet a national park. Twenty years later, the objective was less clear. Calumet, and the Keweenaw, had a national park. Since October 1992, the NPS had invested tens of millions of dollars and created dozens of full and part-time jobs in the area. This federal investment had brought additional interest and investment from the private sector and state government. Still, the future remained murky, and it was difficult for the public, the park partners, and even the NPS to rally around unclear objectives.

Keweenaw National Historical Park had been an experiment in several ways. For the citizens of Calumet and the wider Keweenaw, the creation of the park and its corresponding federal investment was an attempt to rejuvenate a declining economy while also celebrating a proud history. For the National Park Service, Keweenaw represented a hybrid business model – part traditional park and part partnership park. The NPS wanted to make an investment and uphold the traditions of the service, but the model also recognized that the landscape and the local culture made achieving the NPS mission difficult; the communities and local heritage organizations needed to participate

in order to have any hope for success. As the park developed, the stakeholders pushed their respective expectations and visions. Community leaders kept up a drumbeat of financial assistance requests, and yet they were sometimes troubled by the requirements that came with the federal dollars. In parallel, the NPS took actions that veered from partnership aspects of the legislation and developed a general management plan that insulated them from partnership responsibilities and espoused the eventual creation of a “traditional national park experience.” With no funding and no staff, the Advisory Commission wandered for years before adopting a role as an advocate for the Heritage Sites and stressing the desire to create a true partnership park.

The tension brought forth by these competing expectations and disparate visions is the central story of the park, and the major challenge for Pflaum and the Commission as the park enters its third decade. Pflaum wants to create a shared vision, increase the awareness of the park, and improve the financial sustainability of the NPS and the park stakeholders; these are not easy goals. While the NPS, Commission, partners, and community members all agree that the Keweenaw Peninsula is a special place with nationally significant stories, there are still widely differing opinions on what the future looks like and how to get there.

CHAPTER NINE. LESSONS, ASSESSMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Keweenaw National Historical Park provides an interesting case study for how a community can work in partnership with the National Park Service to preserve and interpret nationally significant resources. The residents of the Keweenaw successfully oversaw the establishment of a national park in their area, but the park that they received was not the park that they envisioned. The NPS, Commission, and park partners have successfully made progress on a number of important objectives, but there is still a lot of work to do.

Lessons

The history of Keweenaw NHP offers a few core lessons for anyone hoping to establish a national park. First, at a basic level, the effort required to create a unit of the national park system is a political process. Regardless of where the idea comes from, it takes an act of Congress to establish a park, or an order from the President to establish a national monument. Participation and support from state and local government officials can certainly help the effort, and federal legislators may look for this support, but the creation of a national park requires at least one federal champion. Congressman Davis served in this role for Keweenaw. Davis provided the path to introduce the initial legislation, and he was essential to engaging other federal legislators, including the rest of Michigan's federal delegation. Anyone working to establish a park should also

consider that the relative success of the legislative effort may also depend on the power, connections, and committee assignments of the federal champion. While Davis ultimately delivered a park to the Keweenaw, the park came with flawed legislation and no appropriated funds. This was an underwhelming result compared with what Paul Tsongas had accomplished for Lowell.

Another lesson from Keweenaw is that it is much easier to influence legislation before the establishment of a park than it is to change the legislation later. Keweenaw's legislation went through multiple iterations in the five years preceding the park's designation. During this time, large alterations to the language affected the proposed roles of the NPS and the Commission. Following the park's creation, however, it took seven years to make one small wording change to activate the Commission's operating powers, and another 10 years to remove the 4-to-1 match requirement and the prohibition on acquiring contaminated properties. These legislative changes have influenced how the park now operates, and would have significantly altered the park's growth if they had been included in the park's original enabling legislation.

The success of a national park effort can also directly depend on how well the underlying motivations connect to the mission of the NPS. The primary desire of the effort should be to preserve and interpret nationally significant cultural and natural resources. The NPS is not opposed to other motivations, but an obvious connection to its mission is what drives it. NPS staff will be involved at the proposal stage, and if the

effort is successful, NPS staff will be joining the community. Unclear or disconnected motivations can negatively affect the efficacy of the entire process, especially in times of tight federal budgets. At Keweenaw, the NPS has repeatedly pointed to misdirected community motivations or unrealistic funding expectations as the cause of many of the park's community relations issues. The early park proponents did not hide their desire for economic development and community revitalization, but the NPS was also quick to point out that these outcomes were not part of its mission.

Finally, the experience at Keweenaw also illustrates that working with the NPS takes patience. It took over five years for Keweenaw to complete its General Management Plan, and it took nineteen years for the park to open its first visitor center. While the results of its work are often amazing, bureaucratic approval processes and complex standards mean that projects tend to take longer and cost more than one might expect.

Is the park a success?

An assessment of the success of Keweenaw National Historical Park is almost as complex as the park itself, but the three major motivations for the establishment of the park provide a framework for an analysis. The early park proponents expressed a desire to revitalize their community, promote economic development, and celebrate their nationally significant past by preserving important historic resources and interpreting them to the public.

The residents of the Keweenaw Peninsula hoped that the creation of a national park would breathe new life into the area. They hoped for new jobs, less poverty, more community pride and a more vibrant environment. While this idea is related to economic development, it is much more. For Calumet in particular, community revitalization meant having a purpose and a positive attitude similar to what the community felt during the mining heyday. For the folks involved in CLK Foresight, the creation of a national park was a means to an end – a path to rejuvenation and relevance.

Author Cathy Stanton noted that one of the key elements to Lowell's success was the ability of the community to change its brand from a declining post-industrial town to a community rising from near death and reinventing itself.³⁷² At Lowell, federal legislators, community leaders, and local boosters led this effort, and the work continued well after the park was established. In addition, Lowell received a huge infusion of federal funding right from the beginning that helped the NPS, the Commission, and the local partners quickly make visible impacts. Establishing the park was a significant milestone for Lowell, but the follow-through was equally important. For example, within two years of the park's establishment, the Lowell Historic Preservation Commission developed a preservation plan and began to offer rehabilitation grants to local property owners.³⁷³ The financial incentives came quickly to the property owners, and the community

³⁷² Cathy Stanton, *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006) 108.

³⁷³ *Details of the Preservation Plan*, (Lowell Historic Preservation Commission, 1980) 146.

witnessed positive changes that it could logically link to the park's establishment. For Keweenaw, the experience was fundamentally different. The park lost its federal champion when Congressman Davis decided not to run for reelection in 1992, President Bush's signing statement on the park's legislation hobbled the Commission, and Congress failed to appropriate *any* money for the new park. The residents on the Keweenaw expected the new park to make a big impact, and instead years passed before there was any visible evidence that the park even existed.

Although the NPS at Keweenaw did not set out to revitalize the community, a few efforts provided glimmers of hope to the local citizens. First, the NPS oversaw the work required to establish historic preservation districts in the Village of Calumet and Calumet Township. The Village of Calumet subsequently created a Historic District Commission (HDC) in 2002 to review proposed changes to buildings in the district and help preserve the historic character of downtown Calumet. The NPS provided annual financial support and direct technical assistance to the HDC, which then worked with a number of private property owners to restore their storefronts or building facades.

While some of the HDC's actions have been controversial, and the NPS is careful to point out that the HDC is technically an extension of the village government, the support from the NPS has been essential to the positive effects of the HDC.

In addition to the HDC, the NPS also had direct ties to the creation of Main Street Calumet (Main Street), a local nonprofit organization dedicated to, "...the revitalization

of an exciting and vibrant historic downtown district.”³⁷⁴ The NPS drove many of the tasks required to establish Main Street, helped the organization acquire start-up funding, and took an active role in Main Street’s efforts by filling an ex-officio role on its board. One of the most visible roles of Main Street is its annual sponsorship of several community festivals. The PastyFest and Heritage Celebration festivals invite residents and tourists to visit Agassiz Park and the downtown area in a manner reminiscent of the community celebrations of the past. These community outreach events complement the preservation and interpretation work of the NPS by encouraging direct interaction with the historic downtown. In fact, in recent years, Main Street has received several grants from the park’s grant program to promote civic pride and heritage appreciation.

Beyond these few examples, however, it is difficult to make the case that the creation of the park revitalized Calumet or the wider Keweenaw. On a large scale, while the population of Houghton County has increased about 13% since 1990, the poverty rate also increased, from 21% in 1990 to 22.8% today. In addition, property values in Calumet and Calumet Township have remained stagnant in relative terms since the park’s creation. In Calumet, the downtown had already lost several major retailers by the mid-1980s. J.C. Penney’s, Sears, and the Vertin Department Store had all closed or moved away. The major remaining businesses included a few restaurants, a hardware store, a furniture store, a sporting goods store, an automobile dealer, a number of bars,

³⁷⁴ “Mission of Main Street Calumet,” http://www.mainstreetcalumet.com/About_Us/ (accessed April 18, 2013).

and a few others. All of these businesses struggled to survive. In the years since the park's establishment, however, several new restaurants, cafes, and art galleries have opened in the downtown area. Unfortunately, while these businesses have added to the economic activity, they have not provided the taxes or employment opportunities at the levels of the businesses that they replaced. In parallel, the creation of the park also encouraged speculative real estate investments in the downtown. Some people purchased buildings with the hope that the NPS would either want to buy their buildings, or that they would receive significant financial incentives from the NPS to rehabilitate their properties. When neither of these things happened, the buildings fell into disrepair as their owners struggled to take care of them. Today, there are a number of prominent buildings in the downtown area with collapsed roofs and other significant damage. In aggregate, the promise of the park drove a minor resurgence in economic activity in the historic downtown area, but, arguably, also led to the loss of several significant resources.

With regard to the NPS itself, the federal funding received by Keweenaw came later than expected, and was too small to make the scale of impact originally envisioned by the park proponents. In addition, even though a number of the current NPS employees are from the Upper Peninsula, and many of the park's seasonal employees are from the local area, only two of the fourteen full-time employees are originally from Calumet. The NPS did bring a number of good, high-paying jobs, but Calumet lacked the qualified candidates for the professional positions on the NPS staff.

In summary, although the creation of the park may have helped slow or stabilize Calumet's decline, and even helped create a more positive attitude among its residents, it has not revitalized the area. The NPS focused on preservation and interpretation of cultural and natural resources, not community health. The community expectations for the park were too high. The park was not a new Calumet and Hecla Mine. Over the last twenty years, some in the community have adjusted their expectations accordingly, while others resent what they see as the failure of the NPS and the Commission to do everything necessary to save Calumet.

With regard to focused economic development, however, the park has certainly made a difference. With fourteen full-time employees, more than twenty seasonal employees, and an annual budget of nearly \$1.5M, the NPS created an employer in the local community that did not exist prior to the park's establishment. Local contractors, such as those who worked on the Visitor Center and the Quincy Smelter stabilization efforts, have also benefited from the \$21.6M in project money brought to the park by the NPS over the last twenty years. More recently, the Commission contributed to the local economy by hiring an executive director and using local labor or businesses for projects such as the mine waste survey and portions of the historic resource survey.

In addition, the mere presence of the park has contributed to wider investments in the area. The construction of Mine Street Station in Calumet, although controversial, was an example of a private developer creating new jobs and business opportunities in large

part because of the park's creation.³⁷⁵ The Village of Calumet, Calumet Township, Franklin Township, and other local units of government have noted the presence of the park in grant applications and other funding opportunities. In particular, Calumet and Calumet Township have been able to acquire state and federal funding for infrastructure efforts such as road improvements and streetscape projects at least partially due to the recognition that the proposed work was within the boundaries of a national park. While these examples may not represent the scale of development that the community members had hoped for, the presence of the park has clearly had an impact on the local community.

The final motivating factor cited by the park founders was a desire to save their historic resources and interpret them to the public. Fortunately, these are the central elements of the NPS mission – this is what the NPS does best. The NPS-owned buildings at Keweenaw stand as great examples of historic rehabilitation projects and visitor use facilities. The NPS has even received awards from the State of Michigan for its work on the park headquarters and the visitor center. The NPS and the Commission have also provided technical and financial assistance to the Heritage Sites and other partner organizations to help them improve their preservation and interpretation efforts. Although the NPS is unable to provide financial support outside of the official boundaries, and they are generally limited to a maximum of \$100,000 for each non-federally owned building project they undertake inside the boundaries, they have still

³⁷⁵ Paul Lehto, interview with the author, January 28, 2013.

been able to provide significant assistance to a number of partners. Within the park boundaries, the NPS has helped stabilize historic structures at the Quincy Smelter, Quincy Mine, Coppertown Museum, and within the Village of Calumet. In addition, Joseph Balachowski, John Rosemurgy and Steve DeLong have given countless hours of valuable preservation advice to property owners and park partners throughout the peninsula. Similarly, Kathleen Harter, Dan Johnson, Jo Urion, Brian Hoduski, Jeremiah Mason, Valerie Newman, Tom Baker and others have provided advice and assistance to the Heritage Sites to improve interpretive experiences at Quincy, the Keweenaw Heritage Center, the Keweenaw Historical Society sites, Houghton County Historical Society, and many others. Given that the Heritage Sites deliver over 90% of the visitor experience at Keweenaw, the NPS targeted the places that made the biggest impact for the visitors. For the partners, the NPS staff members are sometimes the only local source of appropriate advice. In other cases, even when there is another local source of help, most of the Heritage Sites cannot afford to pay for the assistance. Of all the expectations set forth by the park proponents, the progress toward saving important historic resources and making them available to the public is the area where the park's existence has made the most impact. This does not mean that the NPS has been able to save every important historic resource in the area, but rather that historic preservation is the one motivating factor from the early park proponents where the NPS has made significant progress.

In addition to these three factors, there is also the basic measurement of what the local citizens think of the progress of their community during the park's existence. Matthew Liesch's recent dissertation provides a fascinating look into the thoughts and opinions of the residents of Calumet. Liesch lived in Calumet and made a concerted effort to interview people across the entire economic and educational spectrum. He found that the more educated, white-collar residents in the area generally supported the efforts of the park, while the less educated, blue-collar residents either struggled to grasp the value of the park, or held negative opinions of the park's contributions.³⁷⁶ In some respects, this result is not surprising. Until the recent opening of the Calumet Visitor Center, the NPS offered very few tangible opportunities for Calumet residents to engage with the park. In fact, for most of the park's existence, the NPS buildings were only open from 9:00a to 5:00p, Monday through Friday. Now that the NPS has a dedicated visitor center in Calumet, the Commission and the NPS can use the facility as a catalyst to conduct school tours, special events, and other programs targeted at local residents. Still, the challenge for the NPS and the Commission will be to make these programs attractive to the blue-collar population. As Commissioner Sue Dana noted, a significant percentage of the local population is still wary of government and authority; some residents will not go to events at the park's headquarters because the federal government owns the building, or because they feel that the building still represents the

³⁷⁶ Matthew Liesch, *Community Conceptions of Keweenaw National Historical Park*, University of Wisconsin – Madison, 264.

paternalistic values of the mining companies.³⁷⁷ Dana suggested that the NPS and the Commission explore holding events at places like the high school auditorium or the Calumet Theatre because the residents were more comfortable in these venues. If the NPS and the Commission wish to educate and engage the local citizens, they are going to have to meet them on their own turf.

In summary, while the creation of the park has not significantly revitalized Calumet or the peninsula, the park has protected important resources and resulted in some economic development activity. White-collar residents generally support these achievements, but many blue-collar residents remain skeptical. Even with these successes, however, the NPS and the Commission currently have very little ability to make large-scale changes on the landscape. There are no approved acquisitions of property or major projects scheduled for Keweenaw over the next five years, and funding constraints across the NPS make it unlikely that this situation will change anytime soon. While the Commission is attempting to help the NPS acquire the Quincy Smelter, there is no guarantee that the transaction will happen. Furthermore, even if a historic property owner is willing to donate an important resource, the current NPS guidelines require that the NPS staff determine whether they can afford the long-term maintenance costs before they accept the donation.

³⁷⁷ Sue Dana, interview with the author, December 6, 2012.

As for partner properties and other non-federal resources, the NPS is restricted in the amount it can spend on structures within the park boundaries, and prohibited from spending federal funds on properties outside of the boundaries. For its part, the Commission can invest in properties both inside and outside the boundaries, but the Commission has been unable or unwilling to raise the significant funds required to purchase or rehabilitate historic properties. All of these factors make it extremely important that NPS and the Commission have a well-defined plan for the future that identifies the important resources on the landscape and outlines the approaches required to preserve and interpret them. This plan should also include steps to increase the awareness of the park, and provide an improved definition of the park itself.

Where is the park?

For most national park units, the park's boundaries are not in question. Traditional national parks are often well-defined federal reservations. Tourist maps highlight their existence, highway signs point the way, and entrance stations let you know that you have arrived. Once you have entered these parks, familiar elements on the landscape let you know that you are somewhere special. NPS signage, uniformed rangers, designated parking areas, and welcoming visitor centers with clean restroom facilities all provide a level of comfort and security that you are about to have an engaging and safe visitor experience. This is not how Keweenaw National Historical Park works.

From the start, the local park proponents knew this park was going to be different. Even if the NPS agreed to make Calumet a national park, Calumet and Calumet Township were living communities with residents, businesses, and local governments. While the community welcomed additional federal investment, no one envisioned the NPS buying up the whole area and running it like Yosemite. Instead, the proponents initially hoped that, like Lowell, Calumet would benefit from a huge influx of federal and state money that would attract tourists and additional private investment. The park would provide its own economic development efforts, but it would also act as a catalyst for community revitalization. The existence of a national park in Calumet would be plainly obvious to residents and visitors alike. As the structure of the proposed park evolved to a model that added Quincy and the larger Keweenaw, however, the reality set in that Calumet was going to have to share attention and resources across a wider landscape.

The final design of the park represented a compromise among the various players. The creation of the Calumet Unit addressed the desires of residents of Calumet who initiated the drive to create the park. The creation of the Quincy Unit recognized the national significance of the remains of the Quincy Mining Company, and answered the suggestions from the Michigan Tech professors, the Quincy Mine Hoist Association and the NPS historians who felt that the Quincy resources were just as important, if not more so, than the resources in Calumet. Finally, the creation of a commission with operational powers and authority to operate throughout the peninsula addressed the desire of the community to have a body of local representatives who worked with the

NPS. The creation of a commission also balanced the desire of the NPS to keep the park small with the fact that there were important resources and stories outside of the national historic landmark areas. Unfortunately, all of these compromises left a park that was difficult to manage, and difficult to explain to visitors. As the park developed, the park superintendents took advantage of the ambiguity of the park to focus on activities that each felt would advance their vision of the park.

By creating the Cooperating Sites program, Bill Fink established a broad but thin park presence across the peninsula. He used the Commission's authority to build partnerships on a much broader scale than anyone had imagined. Lacking any sort of significant federal funding, Fink's partnership approach provided the best answer at the time to get a park presence established quickly. Visitors to the Cooperating Sites saw some evidence of a national park, even if they did not truly understand what the park meant or how the organizations worked together. Frank Fiala brought the focus back on the two units, especially on Calumet. After a very public preservation battle on Quincy Hill, Fiala acquired resources, hired staff, and espoused a vision that tended toward components of a more traditional national park. Fiala ensured that visitors and residents could visit NPS facilities and take tours led by NPS rangers. While he made a few important investments at the Quincy Mine, Fiala made his most significant investments in Calumet. To most visitors, regardless of the name, Keweenaw National Historical Park was now in Calumet. The park headquarters was in Calumet, as were all of the permanent NPS jobs. The landscape that included the NPS buildings near the corner of

Highway 41 and Red Jacket Road in Calumet began to look like a national historical site while the resources in the Quincy Unit still had the feeling of a local historical attraction.

Jim Corless' approach attempted to even out the focus of the park by strengthening the relationships with the Heritage Sites while also significantly advancing the progress toward the implementation of an NPS visitor center. This balanced approach took cues from both Fink and Fiala, but to Corless, "the park" was not an NPS construction, it was the combination of the NPS, the Heritage Sites, the Commission, and the communities along the peninsula. For Mike Pflaum, one of the overwhelming remaining issues with the park was a basic awareness that the park even existed. The installation of the new wayfinding signs championed by Corless, and the opening of the Calumet Visitor Center, improved the situation somewhat, but it was still too easy for a visitor to the Keweenaw to miss that they were traveling through a national park. The NPS and the Commission should take several steps to help improve the basic awareness of the park.

First, as Pflaum has already suggested, the NPS and the Commission should augment the existing park signage with the addition of several traditional NPS entrance signs. Most NPS units have monument-like signs that mark the boundaries of the park and provide a photo opportunity for visitors (Figure 9-1). For Keweenaw, these signs would attract the attention of the traveling public, and provide an opportunity to distribute information about the park through companion kiosks or brochure racks. Given the invisible nature of the Keweenaw's boundaries, the NPS and the Commission should be flexible about

the placement of these signs. For most visitors, the actual physical boundaries of the park units are a minor curiosity – the main desire is to see and learn about the important places that make up the park. Therefore, the most important considerations for determining the sign locations should be visibility, proximity to primary resources, and the ability to provide a safe photo experience for the visitors. Given the costs of these types of signs, there should only be a few of them, and the logical locations seem to be near the two park units. For the Quincy Unit, the best sign location might be at the Michigan Department of Transportation (MDOT) overlook on US Highway 41 just south of the Quincy Mine Hoist Association's properties. This site would also benefit from the addition of public restrooms and other informational resources. For the Calumet Unit, the best sign location might be on US Highway 41 within sight of the park headquarters and the NPS's Keweenaw Heritage Center. The Calumet Unit would also benefit from another large sign located next to the Visitor Center. Dayton Aviation National Historical Park used a spot adjacent to their visitor center to mark the location of the facility and provide a photo opportunity (Figure 9-2). Again, it is highly unlikely that the visitors will care that these signs are not actually at the boundaries of the park, and their existence will significantly increase the awareness of the park.

In parallel to erecting monument-like entrance signs near the park units, the NPS and the Commission should also work with MDOT to construct additional entrance signs on the major roadways that connect to the larger peninsula. The Keweenaw Peninsula is an 800,000-acre landmass that juts out into Lake Superior. Most of the automobile traffic

enters and exits the peninsula through two major roadways – US Highway 41 and Michigan Highway 26. Additional signs near the towns of Baraga and Rockland could catch the attention of the traveling public. Unlike the monument signs described above, however, the signs at these locations could be typical highway signs that note that the traveler is entering the Keweenaw Peninsula, and that acknowledge the existence of Keweenaw National Historical Park. For example, the wording on the sign could be similar to, “Welcome to the Keweenaw Peninsula, Home of Keweenaw National Historical Park.” Several National Heritage Areas throughout the country have used similar signs on heavily traveled roadways to alert people to their existence. In particular, Silos and Smokestacks funded the construction of large highway signs on Interstate 80 that announce the heritage area. These signs would complement the existing Heritage Sites signs, and the proposed entrance signs, with a primary focus toward informing the traveling public about the park’s existence.

The last item that could improve the awareness and understanding of the park is a focused marketing and advertising campaign. Like other national park units, Keweenaw distributes a folded park brochure, or Unigrid, and an annual park newspaper.

Keweenaw also has a website presence on the larger NPS website, and a growing Facebook page. In addition, the Commission and the Heritage Sites distribute a tourist rack card focused on the Sites, and maintain a Heritage Site website and event calendar separate from the NPS website. If the NPS employees want to reach the local public, they use press releases, flyers, occasional newspaper articles, and Facebook. Most of

these efforts are typical for a traditional national park unit, but Keweenaw needs to go further.

Like other units of the national park system, Keweenaw National Historical Park receives an annual federal budget. Even if the local NPS staff is unsuccessful in attracting additional project money to the park, the NPS will still provide Keweenaw with a base level of funding for operational purposes. Although Keweenaw's operational budget may vary slightly from year to year due to changes implemented by Congress, the budget does not directly depend on the number of visitors to NPS facilities.

Furthermore, Keweenaw does not collect user fees, and thus its operations do not rely on a flow of visitors. Many of the Heritage Sites, however, do rely on visitation to help pay the bills. If visitation numbers decrease, they need to reduce their maintenance activities or eliminate staff. If the visitation decreases significantly, they may need to consider reducing services or closing completely. To ensure the most complete visitor experience, and help the long-term stability of the partner organizations, the Commission and the NPS need to facilitate extensive marketing and advertising efforts designed to drive visitors and local residents to the park and the Heritage Sites.

In parallel to the suggestions mentioned above, the Commission and the NPS also need to develop a better definition of the park itself. The awareness of the park is important, but once people are aware of it, then they want to understand it. Unfortunately, the

parties involved still do not have a good description of what the park is, or what it should be.

What is the park?

People often refer to Keweenaw National Historical Park as a partnership park, but the word partnership has several different meanings with regard to how the park operates. For some, partnership means that the story of copper is bigger than the NPS can ever hope to preserve and interpret on its own. Although Public Law 102-543 did not specifically include the word partnership, the legislation provided several methods for the NPS to assist non-federal property owners in the preservation and interpretation of important resources. The legislation also created a permanent commission and provided it with operating authority across a wide geographic area. These elements seem to indicate that the park should always include a healthy number of non-federal partners in the accomplishment of the park's mission.

Alternatively, the park's General Management Plan Record of Decision implies that over time the role of the non-federal partners will become less important as the NPS builds a "traditional national park" experience within the park boundaries. The Record of Decision does allow for a limited number of partner sites outside the boundaries, but only for those that contain resources or stories that are not "well represented within park boundaries." For the Commission, the partners, and the NPS, the overwhelming

question is what does the park of the future look like? Most importantly, if the NPS is the largest source of funding in the equation, should the NPS focus on nurturing partnerships or should it continue to work toward building a traditional national park? A look at park funding trends and visitation provides some guidance.

As of September 30, 2012, Keweenaw National Historical Park has received \$44,141,601 in federal funding. The four major components of this funding are the NPS operational funding, NPS project funding, NPS land and building acquisition funding, and funding provided to the Advisory Commission (Table 9.1).

Table 9.1 Federal Funding at Keweenaw NHP, 1992 - 2012

Funding Type	Funding Totals	Percentage of Total
NPS Operational Funding	\$19,688,000	45%
NPS Project Funding	\$21,654,901	49%
NPS Land and Building Acquisitions	\$2,276,300	5%
Advisory Commission Funding	\$522,400	1%
Total	\$44,141,601	

Keweenaw receives an operational base budget each year to cover staff salaries, utilities, equipment maintenance, and basic needs. Even if the NPS receives no project or soft money in a given year, it still receives an operational base budget. This budget has averaged just under \$1.5M a year over the last ten years. In addition, the NPS staff submits project requests each year to compete competitively for soft money from various funding sources throughout the service. The money received from these sources

has supported projects such as the rehabilitation work on the NPS-owned buildings, the creation of the exhibits for the NPS visitor center, and the stabilization work on partner structures in both units of the park. As the totals above indicate, the NPS professional staff at Keweenaw has been extremely effective at acquiring these funds over the years; the total project money received actually exceeds the total operational funding received by the park. At various times in its history, the NPS has also received funding to acquire buildings and land, and the Commission has received about \$500,000 in funding through a one-time congressional earmark and regional contingency funds over and above the designated Commission funding included in the NPS operational budget.

Because the NPS is limited to expending funds within the official boundaries of the park, another way to analyze the federal funding is to categorize the funding geographically; was the money spent in the Calumet Unit, the Quincy Unit, or did it support projects for the benefit of the entire park? This type of analysis is extremely difficult to complete for the NPS operational and Commission funding categories – the financial records just do not have the detail required to complete the analysis. Fortunately, however, the financial records do support analyzing the NPS project and land acquisition spending (Table 9.2).

Table 9.2 Acquisition and Project Funding per Park Unit, 1992 - 2012

	Calumet Unit	Quincy Unit	Park-wide
Land Acquisitions	\$1,546,100	\$730,200.00	N/A
	68%	32%	
Projects	\$17,397,336	\$2,872,011	\$1,385,552
	80%	13%	6%
Totals	\$18,943,436	\$3,602,211	\$1,385,552
	79%	15%	6%

The overwhelming message from this table is that the NPS has spent over five times as much on projects and acquisitions in the Calumet Unit as it has in the Quincy Unit. This is largely due to the limitations placed on the NPS with regard to how they can spend their money; there is a limit of approximately \$100,000 that the NPS can spend on non-federal resources, but there is no similar limit to what it can spend on resources that it owns. Given that the NPS owns more buildings in Calumet, it has been able to expend a larger proportion of their funds on rehabilitation projects and other efforts in that unit, including over \$10M on the Visitor Center alone. Although the original park proponents felt that the NPS should acquire buildings in both units, and the General Management Plan calls for the creation of a park visitor center in the Quincy Unit, these plans have not materialized. Instead, the NPS has relied on the Quincy Mine Hoist Association to be its proxy in the Quincy Unit, thus limiting the ability to obtain federal funding for significant projects at Quincy. Obviously, if the NPS had acquired buildings such as the Quincy No. 2 shaft-rockhouse, hoist house, or blacksmith shop, these figures would look

very different. If this is where the NPS spent the money, then how does this correspond to the visitation of the resources?

Tracking visitation at Keweenaw has always been a problem. While the NPS does a good job counting the number of people who visit NPS-owned facilities or attend ranger-led events, the Heritage Sites use a wide variety of methods for collecting visitor information. Still, the NPS has a long history of aggregating whatever visitor statistics were available from the Sites and reporting them as visitation to “the park.” At the start of the Cooperating Sites program, Bill Fink reported that the park had over 650,000 visitors annually. Starting in the early 2000s, most of the Sites reported monthly visitor totals to the NPS, but this method provided widely fluctuating information due to the inconsistency of reporting. In addition, the numbers were inflated due to the inclusion of total visitation numbers from Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park and F.J. McLain State Park. While both of these parks were Heritage Sites (McLain dropped from the program in 2006), the preservation and interpretation of the copper story is only a minor part of their missions, and thus it was overly optimistic to include their entire visitation in Keweenaw’s statistics. For example, in 2005, the two state parks had a combined 402,738 visitors representing 68% of the reported 592,654 visitors to the Heritage Sites for that year. By using this unfiltered aggregation, Keweenaw was able to compare favorably to other national parks in the region and in the system.

In 2011, the Commission worked with the Heritage Sites to set a baseline for visitation and several other data elements. While even this method deserves more fine-tuning, the numbers from 2011 provide the necessary information to make some larger points about the park model (Table 9.3).

Table 9.3 NPS, Commission, and Heritage Site Contributions, 2011

	19 Heritage Sites	NPS	Commission	Total
Visitation	240,230	8,305	N/A	248,535
Annual Budget	\$2,119,847	\$1,486,992	\$262,841	\$3,869,680
Volunteer Hours	41,159	2,971	485	44,615
Paid Staff, Full-time	18.65	14	1	33.65
Paid Staff, Part-time	72.05	20	0	92.05

There are three major caveats about the data in Table 9.3. First, the Heritage Site visitation total includes annual data from eighteen of the sites, but due to the issue mentioned above, only 10% of the visitation from Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park. Secondly, the Heritage Site budget information includes the total annual budgets from sixteen of the sites, no data from the two of the smaller private sites, and only 5% of the annual budget from Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park. Finally, the budget number for the NPS only reflects its operational budget. In 2011, the NPS also received an additional \$4,192,112 in project funding – an unusually high amount of soft money.

The first conclusion is that the Heritage Sites carry nearly the entire visitor load for the park. Although the opening of the Calumet Visitor Center at the end of 2011 should change these numbers slightly by increasing the number of people who visit the NPS facilities, it is still safe to say that over 90% of the visitor experience happens at the Heritage Sites. The other major point from this data is that the Heritage Sites have a combined budget larger than the operational budget for the NPS. In other words, in any given year, the Heritage Sites provide approximately half of the funding for the overall park and handle nearly 90% of the visitors.

So, what is the park, and what should it be? The NPS facilities do provide an anchor for local preservation efforts and visitor experiences; no one else in the environment could have purchased and rehabilitated the structures that the NPS now owns, and none of the Heritage Site partners could have built a visitor center to the level of quality achieved by the NPS. However, while these NPS structures are important, they are just a small portion of the overall visitor experience; the Heritage Sites handle 90% of the visitors. Furthermore, additional property acquisitions by the NPS pose a real threat to the very partnership activities described in the legislation and envisioned by the founders. The more that the NPS owns, the more it has to maintain, and the less the NPS staff is available for helping the Heritage Sites and other partners. This means that the NPS should be extremely cautious about acquiring additional buildings. While it might be true that no one can rehabilitate and operate historic buildings like the NPS, a strategy of further NPS acquisitions will eventually become fiscally unsustainable and

directly diminish the efforts to improve the sustainability of the very partners who provide the bulk of the visitor experience. It is also true, however, that there are several historic resources on the landscape that may only be saved through federal acquisition. The NPS and the Commission need to balance these competing priorities to best achieve the park's purposes.

The park, therefore, is almost exactly as Jim Corless described it – an umbrella partnership concept that combines NPS facilities and services with a wide variety of partnership experiences. In this umbrella, the Heritage Sites serve 90% of the visitors and provide over \$2M a year in support of the park's purposes. Going forward, the NPS and the Commission need to develop a plan that builds on this foundation and identifies the specific actions that each of the stakeholders need to execute.

Suggested Improvements

A key lesson that arises from a review Keweenaw's history is just how much influence the park superintendents have had on the overall direction of the park. While the General Management Plan and other planning documents provide a general level of guidance, the accomplishments of each superintendent are really more of a reflection of each individual's priorities and interests. Bill Fink established a partnership network that he thought was essential to the success of the park while Frank Fiala believed that the NPS needed a physical presence to ensure the long-term future of the park. Jim Corless

spent countless hours attempting to save the Quincy Smelter while Mike Pflaum has spent more time working on philanthropic partnerships than any of his predecessors. The suggestions included below come from a review of the motivations of the park's founders and an analysis of the park's development. Any meaningful progress on these suggestions, however, is going to depend on the attention they receive from the current or future park superintendents.

Unlike many national park units, Keweenaw National Historical Park has broad authorities and an almost infinitely flexible set of park purposes. With a bit of creative reasoning, and a combination of Commission and NPS powers, one can argue that nearly every historic resource on the Keweenaw Peninsula is within the scope of the park's activities. Unfortunately, the NPS and the Commission will never receive adequate funding to care for the entire peninsula. If the park is going to thrive for the next twenty years and beyond, then the NPS, the Commission, and the partners need to decide how to focus their efforts to achieve the greatest results. To do this, the management of the park should look inside and outside the service for how to move forward.

Inside the NPS, the service has a multitude of planning mechanisms that help guide how parks develop. General Management Plans, Cultural Landscape Reports, Comprehensive Interpretive Plans, Foundation Statements, and other documents help parks decide what is important, what actions they should take, and what the future looks like.

Keweenaw's General Management Plan is outdated, and not all of the stakeholders share the vision that it describes. Unfortunately, the NPS has been unsuccessful in acquiring funding to revise the GMP. The park does have recent Cultural Landscape Reports for each of the two units, but the NPS and the Commission have struggled over how to achieve the desired landscape changes. The park also has a Comprehensive Interpretive Plan, but due to the complexity of the park, the plan left out the Heritage Site experiences even though most of the visitors to the park receive their primary interpretive experiences at the Sites. In addition to these NPS documents, a host of other studies, including the Commission's historic resource and mine waste surveys, provide clues to the important buildings, structures, landscapes, and artifacts along the peninsula. The NPS and the Commission must summarize this information in a way that identifies the most important resources and stories, presents a coherent vision of the future, and identifies specific actions to move forward. The following suggestions should help guide these discussions.

Increased Partnership Focus

Keweenaw is a partnership park that has elements of a traditional national park. It is a hybrid model best described as part national park and part national heritage area. This is an important point in that the local economics, geography and the story make it unlikely that either model in its pure form would be successful. The historic resources

are too numerous and too dispersed to envision the success of a traditional national park with its contiguous land and federal resource ownership. Likewise, the local area just does not have the population or economic base required to allow a national heritage area model to work successfully; the local community could not consistently support the private funding requirements or long-term sustainability expectations of a national heritage area designation. The compromise described in the legislation and brought to life by the NPS, the Commission, and the Heritage Sites is really the best of both worlds. Keweenaw benefits from a relatively secure NPS operational budget, the presence of an excellent NPS professional staff, and the operational flexibility and fundraising capability provided by the authorities granted to the Commission. Keweenaw also benefits from a set of partner organizations that assist with the accomplishment of the mission and provide nearly the entire visitor experience at the park. Contrary to the vision described in the current General Management Plan, the NPS and the Commission should strive to build an excellent partnership park experience, not a traditional national park experience.

The first step in delivering an improved partnership park experience is for all of the parties to internalize what it means to be part of a partnership park. Each of the stakeholders pictured on Corless' umbrella diagram needs to identify themselves as part of something bigger; the park is the combination of all of the pieces, where all of the pieces have a role to play. The NPS must desire to work with a wide variety of local heritage organizations, and the Heritage Sites must want to be part of a national park.

This does not mean that any individual groups need to give up their own identity. In particular, the NPS and the individual Heritage Sites all have separate identities, and they would each continue to operate in some fashion even if Keweenaw NHP did not exist. With regard to the park, however, the individual entities need to talk about the park as a collection. For example, the budget of “the park” is not limited to any one entity; the budget for the park is the combined budgets of all the entities. The park visitation is not the number of visitors to the NPS facilities or a specific site; the visitation is the total visitors to all the partners – the NPS included. The number of volunteer hours dedicated to the park mission is not the number of hours for any one site; it is the total volunteer hours. A true partnership starts with the acceptance that all of the organizations are in this together, and that the collection of organizations can accomplish much more as partners than they can on their own.

Although all of the partners are important to the overall success of the park, there is also the reality that the NPS and the Commission play leadership roles in moving the partnership forward. To that end, another key to providing an excellent partnership park experience is for the Commission and the NPS to spend more time working with the Heritage Sites. In particular, they need to focus on the steps required to improve the capabilities of the Sites and ensure their long-term sustainability. Because many of the Sites have limited capabilities, the NPS and the Commission must consider the preservation and interpretation problems experienced by the Heritage Sites as “park problems” to address. While the NPS should continue its efforts to obtain additional

federal project funding through NPS sources, the professional staff at Keweenaw should also work with the Commission and the Sites to identify other federal and non-federal funding sources to augment what the Sites can offer. Similar to the process that the NPS staff uses to produce project descriptions and cost estimates for their own internal funding requests, the staff should also work with the Sites to produce grant applications that leverage the Commission's authority and non-profit capabilities to acquire outside funding. In an ideal scenario, the Heritage Site representatives would define the need and provide volunteer labor; the NPS staff would use their expertise to help define solutions and write grant applications; and the Commission would facilitate the application process, administer the grants, and potentially help the Heritage Site meet any financial match requirements for the effort. Of course, this approach assumes that the NPS, the Commission, and the respective Heritage Sites already have good working relationships. In reality, this is not always the case. Regardless, there are always Heritage Sites that are open to additional assistance, and the NPS and Commission should focus on working with those Sites first.

Reduced / Refined Scope

The park has a set of official boundaries that encompass 1870 acres between the two units, but the legislation also gave the Commission authority to operate across the 800,000 acres of the Keweenaw Peninsula. Over time, this has led the NPS staff,

Commissioners, and Commission staff to involve themselves in a wide variety of preservation discussions or issues across the entire peninsula. Unfortunately, these engagements can happen without much internal discussion or prioritization. While this reactive approach has helped built a positive park image in the community, these efforts have also spread precious resources too thin and made it difficult to adopt a more proactive approach to achieving the park's purposes.

Recently, the NPS staff developed a more formal process to receive and respond to external requests for technical assistance. While the staff has not fully implemented the process yet, this is a step in the right direction. Nonetheless, the environment would also benefit from a refined scope – the NPS and the Commission need the ability to say no to a given request. To this end, one approach could be to have the NPS staff and the Commission restrict their efforts geographically to working inside the park boundaries, or only with established Heritage Sites outside the boundaries. This would ensure that the resources and landscapes most likely to be associated with the national park have a greater chance of receiving assistance from the staff. In addition, the staff could also implement a relatively simple assessment system that would allow them to rate the connection between any given request and the park's purposes. Not all historic resources are equal and sometimes the NPS and Commission staff should decline to get involved in a request in favor of taking a more proactive approach with another more important resource. Of course, the Commission and the NPS staff would also need a

process to deal with exceptions, and a process to consider additions to the Heritage Site program.

Finally, the NPS and the Commission should attempt to implement a balance of focus between the two units of the park. As mentioned above, the Calumet Unit has received an overwhelming majority of the federal investments in the last twenty years. This appears to contradict the instructions in the legislation that state that the park should “...interpret the technological and social history of the area, and the industrial complexes of the Calumet and Hecla, and Quincy Mining Companies, with equal emphasis.” Instead, the NPS and the Commission have relied on the Quincy Mine Hoist Association to be the face of the park in the Quincy Unit. While the QMHA has been a great partner, it just cannot adequately care for the huge industrial resources it own. The NPS and the Commission need to determine methods to help the QMHA and other partners in the Quincy Unit to meet the intention of the legislation.

Commission Sustainability

While the Commission is a valuable partner in the operation of the park, the reality is that its actual capabilities fall far short of its legislated powers – largely due to a lack of adequate funding. The Commission of today is more capable and more engaged than at any other time in the park’s history, but its ongoing struggle to secure a sustainable source of funding threatens its very future. Over the last several years, the

Commissioners and its executive director have focused on implementing projects and programs for the benefit of the Heritage Site partners and the NPS. Going forward, however, they need to determine how to ensure their own sustainability.

The Commission currently receives \$100,000 a year from a contingency fund at the NPS Midwest regional office. This funding covers operational expenses (payroll, travel, supplies, accounting, meeting expenses, etc.) of approximately \$75,000, and provides the Commission with a small amount of money to fund projects. While this base funding is essential to efforts of the Commission, the regional office cannot guarantee the future availability of these funds, and the amount falls far short of the \$250,000 in federal funds authorized for the Commission in the park's legislation. In a time of reduced federal funding, there is no easy answer for this situation, but the Commission cannot lose sight of the severity of the problem. The Commission needs to remind the regional office, the superintendent, and the park's federal legislative representatives that this operational funding is tenuous and that the Commission needs a better solution.

In addition to the NPS funding, the Commission also receives funding from individual donations and foundation grants. In 2012, the largest external funding source was individual donations, due almost entirely to an anonymous donor who provided a \$100,000 donation. The Commission also received a \$61,970 grant from the federal byways program to help fund the third phase of the historic resource survey. Although it is highly unlikely that the Commission will ever find another private donor willing to

provide six-figure donations, and historic preservation grant funding is scarce, the Commission is in a good position to try new approaches to fundraising. Working with the NPS, the Isle Royale and Keweenaw Parks Association, the National Parks of Lake Superior Foundation, and other park partners, the Commission should revise its three-year-old fundraising plan. Unlike its situation in 2009, the Commission now has a list of successful programs and projects. In particular, the Heritage Grant Program that the Commission operates with the NPS has resulted in visible improvements on the landscape such as a new portico at the C&H Mill Office in Lake Linden, an exterior restoration of the Carnegie Museum in Houghton, and improved access to the 1894 hoist house at the Quincy Mine. If this program is to continue, the Commission and the NPS need to identify new funding sources. The Commission has also completed two significant surveys of the area and is in the process of creating a preservation plan for the peninsula. While the plan is important, without additional funding, it will be impossible to make progress on the suggestions contained in the plan.

For the Commissioners affiliated with the park effort from the beginning, the role of fundraiser is a radical departure from the original vision for the group. Instead of distributing millions of dollars in federal funding, the Commission must identify new funding sources to assist the overall park and to ensure its own relevancy. This is not an easy task, nor is it one embraced by many of the Commissioners, but without adequate funding and staff, the volunteer Commissioners may once again find themselves with only the capability to act in an advisory capacity.

State Funding and Philanthropic Support

Finally, there are two more aspects of park funding that get repeated mention by the park stakeholders – funding from the State of Michigan and wider philanthropic support. An expectation of funding from the state comes from the repeated attempts by the early park proponents to enlist the state’s help in the creation of the park, and from the fact that the State of Michigan operates the Michigan Iron Industry Museum in Negaunee. If the state has an iron-mining museum, shouldn’t it have a copper-mining museum? Unfortunately, the reality of the situation is that the while state representatives were always supportive of the national park idea, no one ever made a firm commitment to support the park. As John Sullivan recalled, the state was “cheerleading in the far corner” for the park effort, but the story that it promised to give money is a myth.³⁷⁸ Today, the state continues to be supportive, just not by providing significant funding. Instead, the NPS and Commission routinely work with various state agencies to accomplish the park purposes. For example, two of the park’s Heritage Sites are state parks; the NPS staff members often work with the Michigan Department of Transportation on signage and road concerns; and the NPS staff members responsible for Section 106 compliance regularly interact with the State Historic Preservation Officer. These real relationships return real commitments. Instead of lamenting the lost opportunity of having the state provide direct funding of investment for the park, the

³⁷⁸ John Sullivan, interview with the author, December 4, 2012.

NPS staff and the Commission should focus on leveraging the state relationships that they already have.

With regard to larger philanthropic efforts, the NPS is increasingly looking to partner and friends groups to help fill the gap created by ever-decreasing federal funding for national parks. In 2012, the National Park Foundation (NPF) published a report that attempted to aggregate the impacts and activities of these friends groups. For the purposes of the report, the NPF defined a friends group as, "...any self identifying organization that provided philanthropic (including in-kind and volunteer) support to a national park site." As discussed earlier, Keweenaw NHP does not have a dedicated friends group, and the NPS does not consider the Heritage Sites to be "friends" organizations in the manner described above. Although the Heritage Sites do dedicate financial and volunteer resources to the purposes of the park, they do not provide these resources directly to the NPS. In fact, they expect exactly the opposite; the Heritage Sites help the NPS fulfill the purposes of the park, but most of them expect some federal financial and technical assistance as part of the partnership.

Like many other issues at Keweenaw, there is not an easy answer for this dilemma.

While the NPS staff desires the advantages of a traditional friends group, the Commission and the Heritage Sites have been concerned about the potential negative impacts of yet another heritage organization in an already crowded philanthropic landscape. This concern is not unique to Keweenaw. The complexity of the Heritage Site

landscape is similar to that of the partner organizations within a national heritage area, and none of the forty-nine designated heritage areas have a friends group. For Keweenaw, not only is the Isle Royale and Keweenaw Parks Association a membership organization, but fifteen of the nineteen Heritage Sites also have membership groups that provide volunteer and financial support. The total aggregate membership of the Heritage Sites and IRKPA exceeds 4,300 members, and many of these organizations depend on their members for a significant portion of their funding.

To get past this conflict, and work toward the goal of increasing the resources available for the overall park, the NPS and the Commission need to treat the collection of park partners as a virtual friends group. In other words, instead of considering the addition of another organization to the environment, the partners should collectively examine their existing capabilities and determine the best method to help the park. For example, if the NPS has a park program that it would like to develop but it lacks the required funding, then it could look to the National Parks of Lake Superior Foundation to initiate a fundraising campaign for the program. If, however, the NPLSF needs help with expenses related to the campaign, it could look to the Advisory Commission's grant program for assistance. By combining the resources of both organizations, the NPS would be able to address their need. Similarly, if an individual Heritage Site such as the Quincy Mine wants to conduct a project that requires funding, expertise, and volunteer labor, it could look to the NPS for technical assistance, the Commission for funding, and appeal to the IRKPA membership for labor. In much the same way that the overall park operates as a

virtual park, these types of cooperative efforts would allow the partners to address individual needs with the collective capabilities of the larger group. Keweenaw NHP does not need a traditional friends group; the combined resources and capabilities of its existing partners already rival some of the most successful friends groups.

Conclusion

In July 1995, Wall Street Journal reporter Timothy Nash wrote an article about Keweenaw National Historical Park. “Tired of Mountains and Trees? New Park Features Superfund Site, Shopping Mall” was the title of the article. Nash focused on the many challenges that faced the fledgling park and barely mentioned the park’s purposes or the opportunities presented by so many historic resources.³⁷⁹ To Nash, Keweenaw National Historical Park was one of the “bleakest” parks in the system, and certainly not worthy to be in the company of such parks as Grand Canyon or Yellowstone. Although Keweenaw National Historical Park was not the same as these iconic parks, that did not diminish its local importance or its national significance. As Senator Levin noted in a speech during the twentieth anniversary celebrations, “Unlike probably most of the parks in our system, this is a story about ordinary people...who changed the world.”³⁸⁰ The ongoing challenge for the NPS, Commission, and park partners is to work together

³⁷⁹ Timothy Nash, “Tired of Mountains and Trees? New Park Features Superfund Site, Shopping Mall,” *Wall Street Journal*, July 28, 1995.

³⁸⁰ Carl Levin, “Address at the Park Founders and Partners Reception,” October 12, 2012.

to connect to visitors and residents, and to tell this story of ordinary people in the best manner possible.

Twenty years after the park's establishment, the stakeholders in Keweenaw National Historical Park are still discussing what they want the park to be. The NPS has shown that it can successfully operate components of the park like a traditional national park; in terms of quality, the NPS-owned facilities at Keweenaw are as good as or better than their counterparts at other park service units. These investments, and their corresponding economic impacts, are representative of the types of federal spending that the original park proponents envisioned. Unfortunately, the partnership aspects of the park remain unclear. The Heritage Sites desire more technical and financial assistance from the NPS, and the NPS hopes that the Sites, the Commission, and other partners can help fill the funding gaps created by dwindling federal budgets. In addition, although the Commission is stronger than it has ever been, its long-term relevance depends on a reexamination of its role in fundraising for its own sustainability and for wider park purposes. Regardless of these challenges, many of the park's founders are pleased with the progress of the national park, even if the park of today does not exactly match their original expectations. The idea brought to Calumet by Steve Albee in 1986 is now a reality, although conversations about improving that reality will continue into the future.

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CHAPTER FIGURES

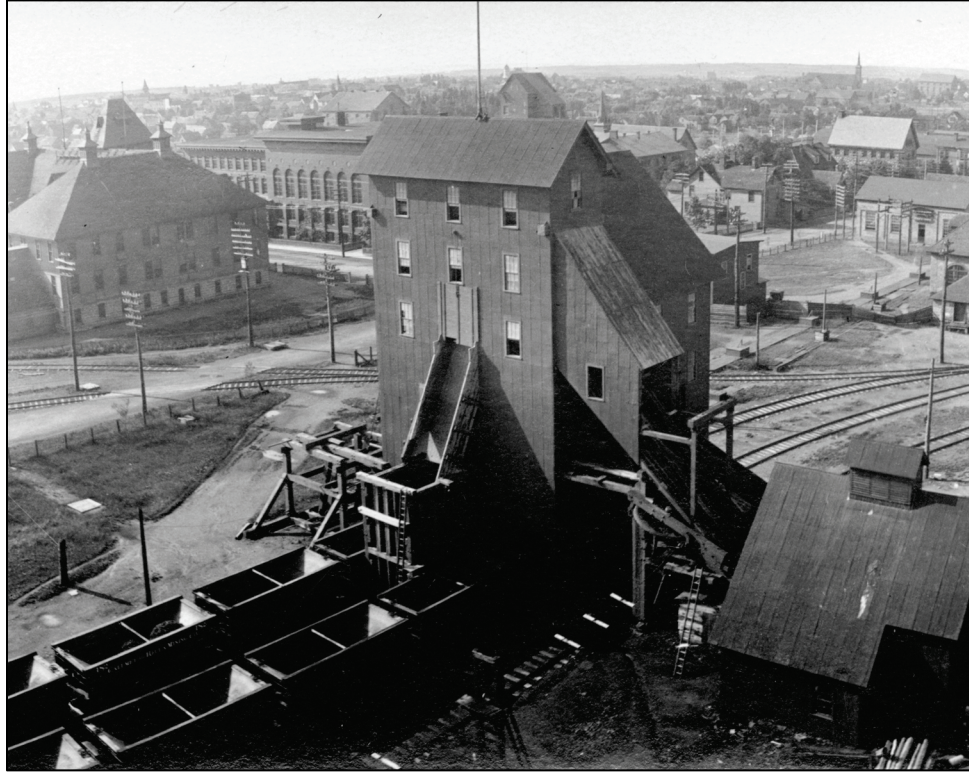


Figure 1-1, Calumet and Hecla Shaft-rockhouse

The Calumet No. 2 shaft-rockhouse was located directly adjacent to Calumet's schools. The students were well aware that Calumet was a mining town. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections, Michigan Technological University; Image # Acc-201-05-28-1957-002)



Figure 1-2, Calumet and Hecla Industrial Core

This 1893 photo illustrates the linear nature of Calumet and Hecla's facilities. The mine's surface plant placed a two-mile long industrial corridor directly between the towns of Calumet and Laurium. (Courtesy of Keweenaw NHP; Jack Foster Collection, Calumet & Hecla Library Card #19)



Figure 1-3, Aerial of Calumet and Hecla's Industrial Core, 1940s

As shown in this 1948 aerial photo, the removal of Calumet and Hecla's shaft-rockhouses, engine houses, and rail lines left huge holes in the industrial landscape. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections, Michigan Technological University; Image # Acc-146-11-19-1982-001-002)



Figure 3-1, Bob Davis, Sue Cone, and Bill Rosemurgy (left to right)

In July 1992, Sue Cone and Bill Rosemurgy met with Congressman Bob Davis in his Washington DC office to work on some final changes to the park legislation. (Courtesy of Sue Dana)

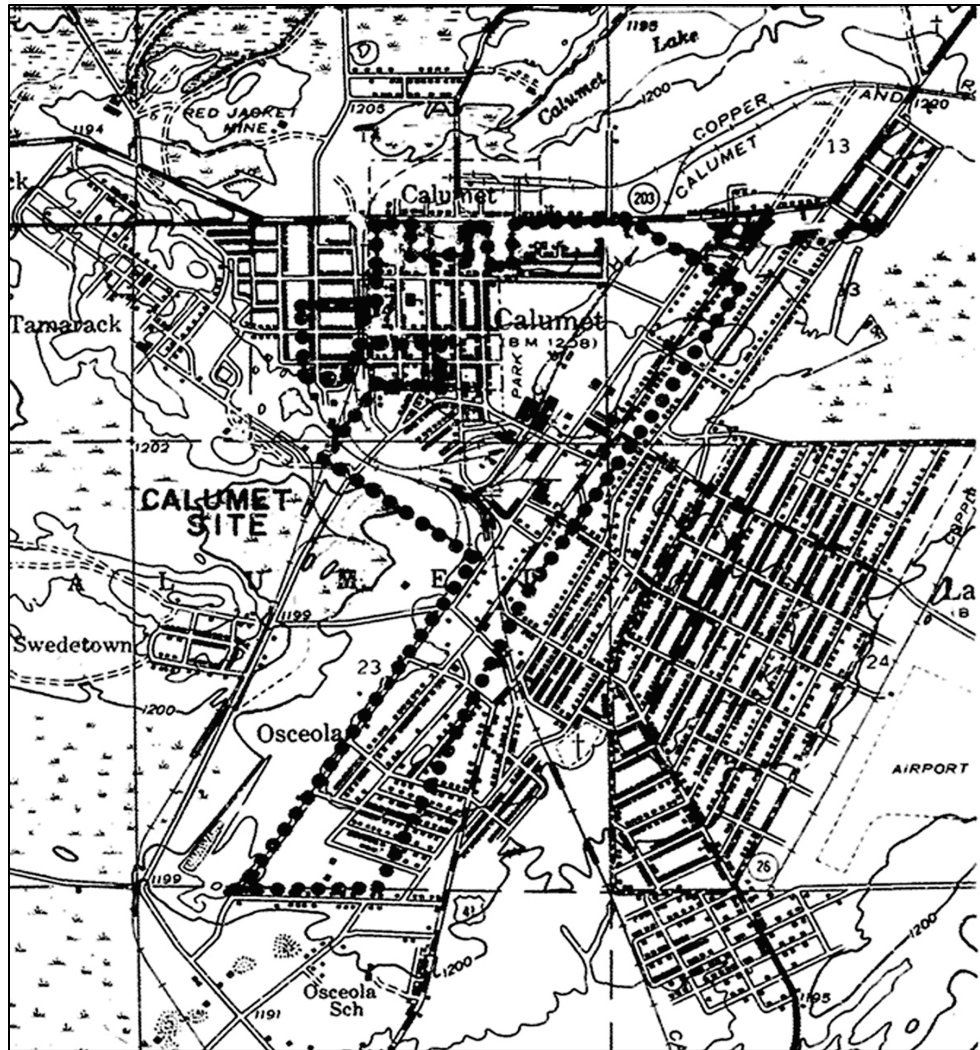


Figure 4-1, Calumet Unit Map, Inset of NHP-KP/20012-B

The dotted line indicates the initial park boundary. In the southern portion of the unit, the boundary excluded the South Hecla mine location (the area where the word Osceola appears on the map). In the northwestern portion of the unit, the NPS drew a very convoluted boundary line to include or exclude particular residential areas based on their level of historic integrity. (Courtesy of Keweenaw NHP)

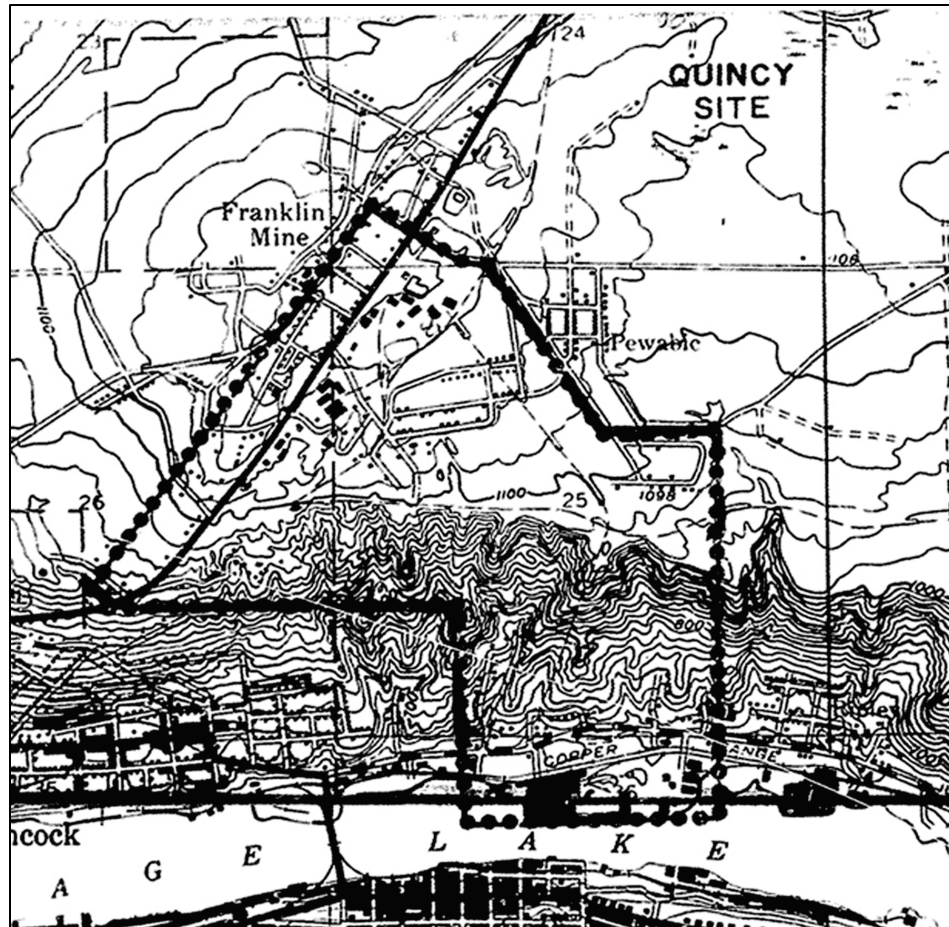


Figure 4-2, Quincy Unit Map, Inset of NHP-KP/20012-B

In the original Quincy Unit map, the NPS excluded a large portion of the national landmark district on the northern end of the unit due to new construction occurring in that area. (Courtesy of Keweenaw NHP)



Figure 5-1, Park Celebration at the Calumet Theatre, *Daily Mining Gazette*

Only days after President Bush signed the park legislation, a collection park supporters, federal legislators, and NPS staff members gathered on the Calumet Theatre stage in celebration. In the rush to prepare for the event, someone labelled the park's name incorrectly on the banner above the stage. (Courtesy of the *Daily Mining Gazette*)



Figure 5-3, Mine Street Station

This photo shows Mine Street Station under construction. Although Bill Fink had hoped the development would be compatible with the historic structures in the area, the developer ultimately constructed a modern facility that negatively impacted the historic landscape. (Courtesy of Keweenaw NHP)

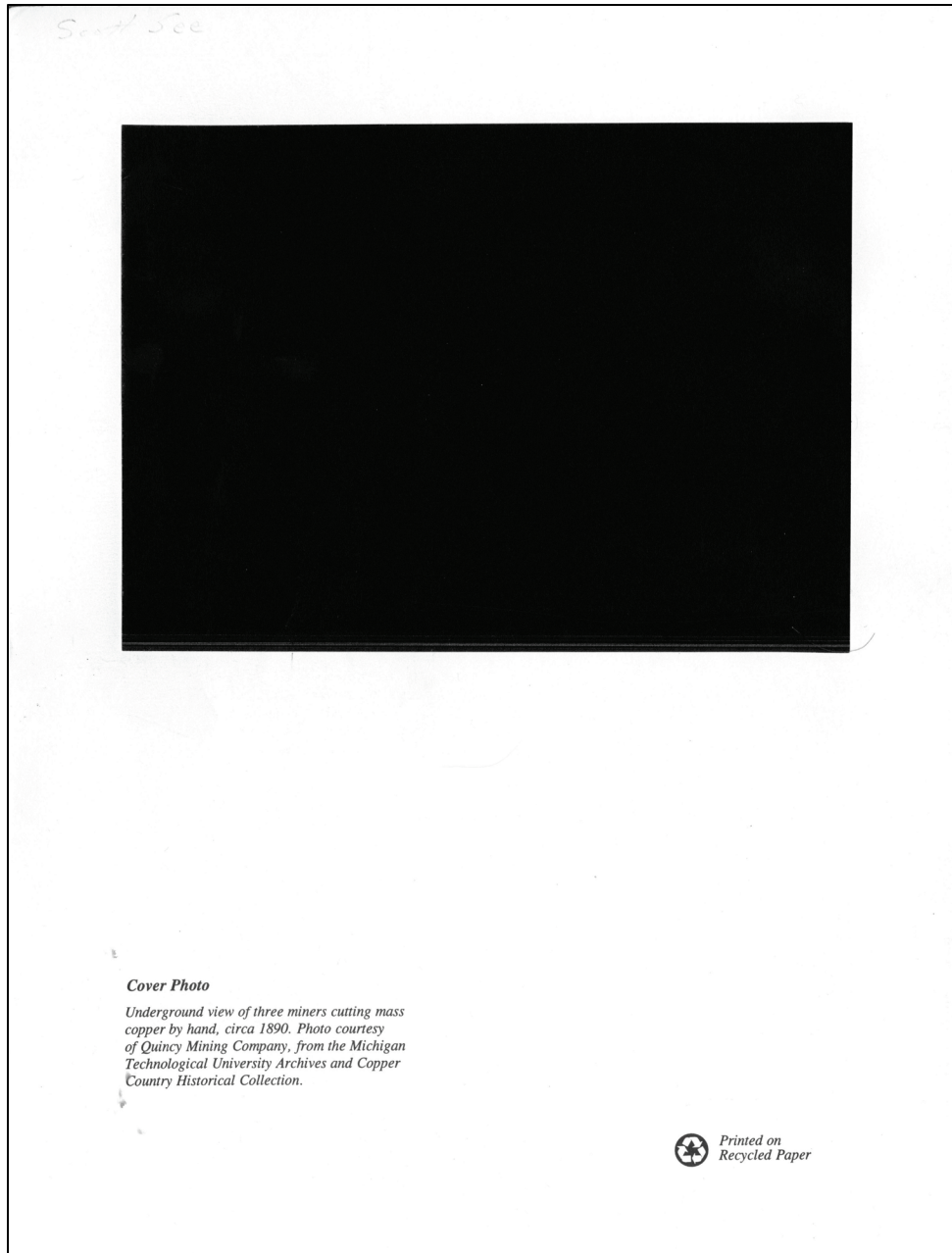


Figure 6-1, Inside front cover of the General Management Plan, April 1998

Local resident Jim Flood objected to the NPS using a photo of a Keweenaw Peninsula model that he had created. The published version of the GMP included a black sticker over the photo of Flood's model. (Courtesy of Keweenaw NHP)

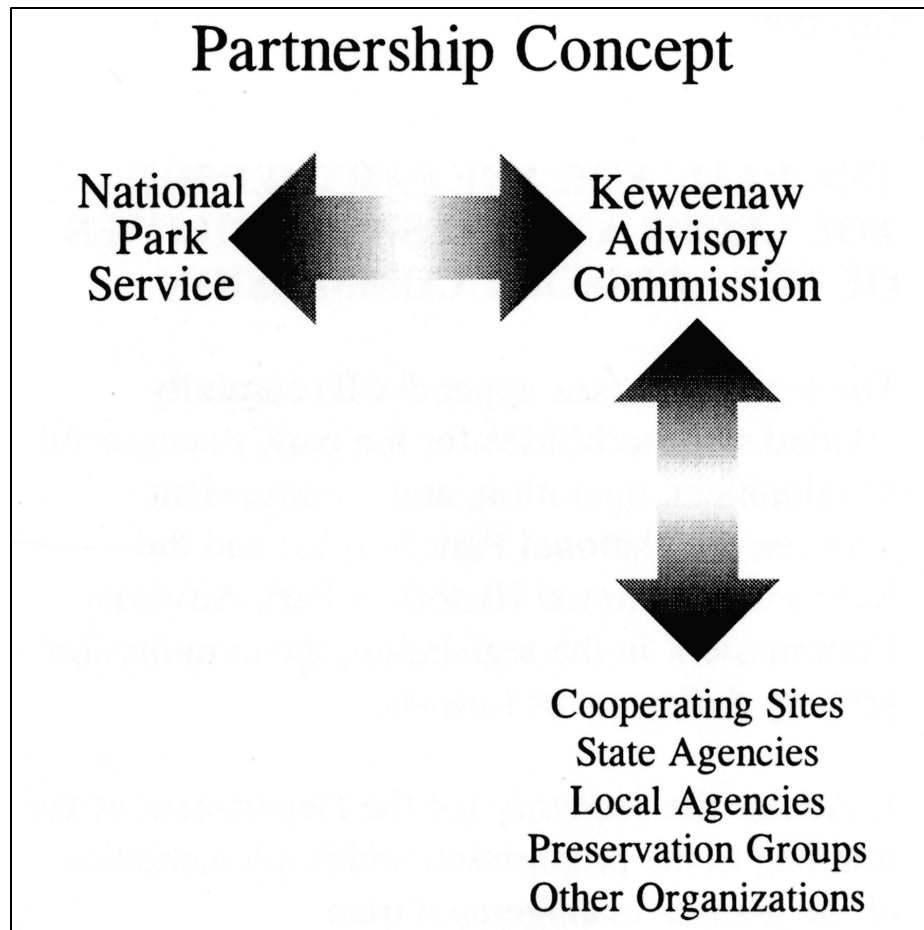


Figure 6-2, Partnership Concept, Keweenaw NHP General Management Plan

Included in the park's General Management Plan, this graphic conveyed a partnership model that gave the Advisory Commission the bulk of the partnership responsibilities for the park. (Courtesy of Keweenaw NHP)



Figure 6-3, Historic Quincy Water Tower

The City of Hancock's proposed ground-level water tank was very different from the historic water tower on Quincy Hill. This photo was included in the documentation compiled by the NPS to prepare the National Historic Landmark nomination for the Quincy Mining Company Historic District. (Courtesy of Keweenaw NHP)



Figure 6-4, Portage Health Sign

The Portage Health hospital sign on the right-hand side of the photo is an obvious modern intrusion on the historic landscape of the Quincy Unit. (Photo by the author)



Figure 7-1, Cooperating Site Sign

The inclusion of the NPS arrowhead on the original Cooperating Site signs provided a cohesive brand element, but it also raised concerns about whether the traveling public would inaccurately conclude that the NPS owned and operated the Sites. (Photo by the author)



Figure 7-2, Second Cooperating Site Sign

Frank Fiala initially wanted to implement a sign program that combined the NPS logo and the miner logo into one image. Although the NPS distributed a few of these signs, they were later replaced with signs that used the term Keweenaw Heritage Site. (Photo by the author)



Figure 7-3, First Heritage Site Sign

At the start of the revised partner program, the NPS developed and distributed new signs that incorporated the miner logo that Bill Fink had commissioned, and used the term Keweenaw Heritage Site. (Courtesy of Keweenaw NHP)



Figure 7-4, Welcome to Calumet Sign

The old Calumet sign identified the existence of the Calumet business district as well as the presence of the national park. (Courtesy of Keweenaw NHP)

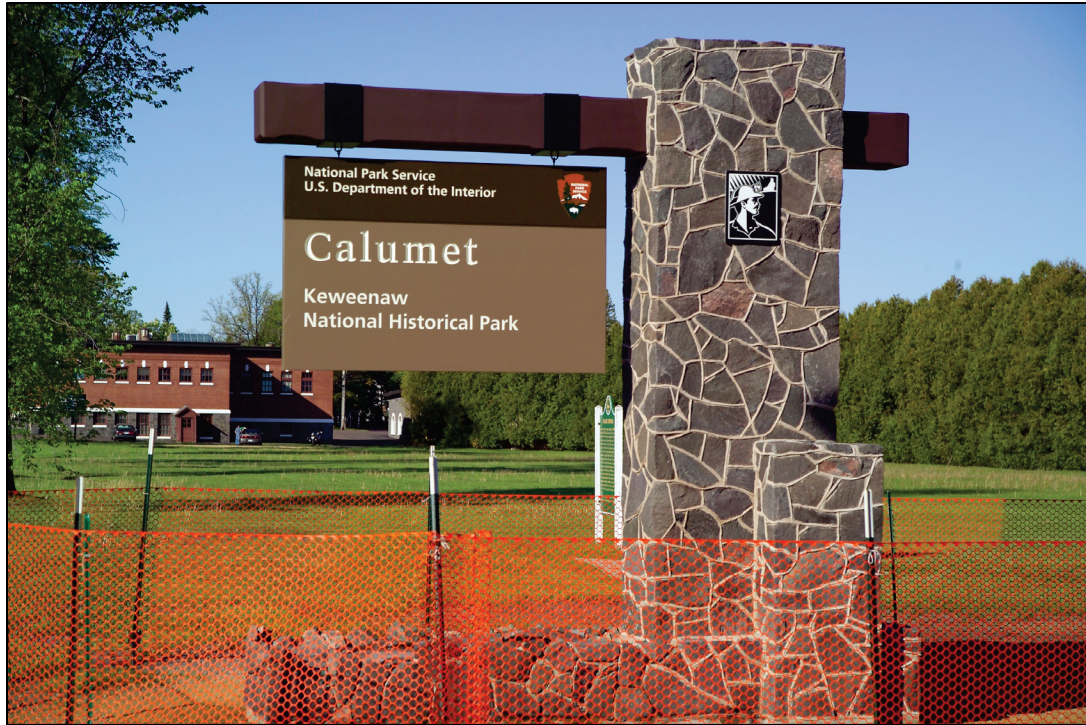


Figure 7-5, New Calumet Unit Sign

In addition to conveying a more substantial presence than the sign it replaced, the new Calumet sign included the NPS arrowhead and the miner logo used by the Heritage Sites. (Courtesy of Keweenaw NHP)

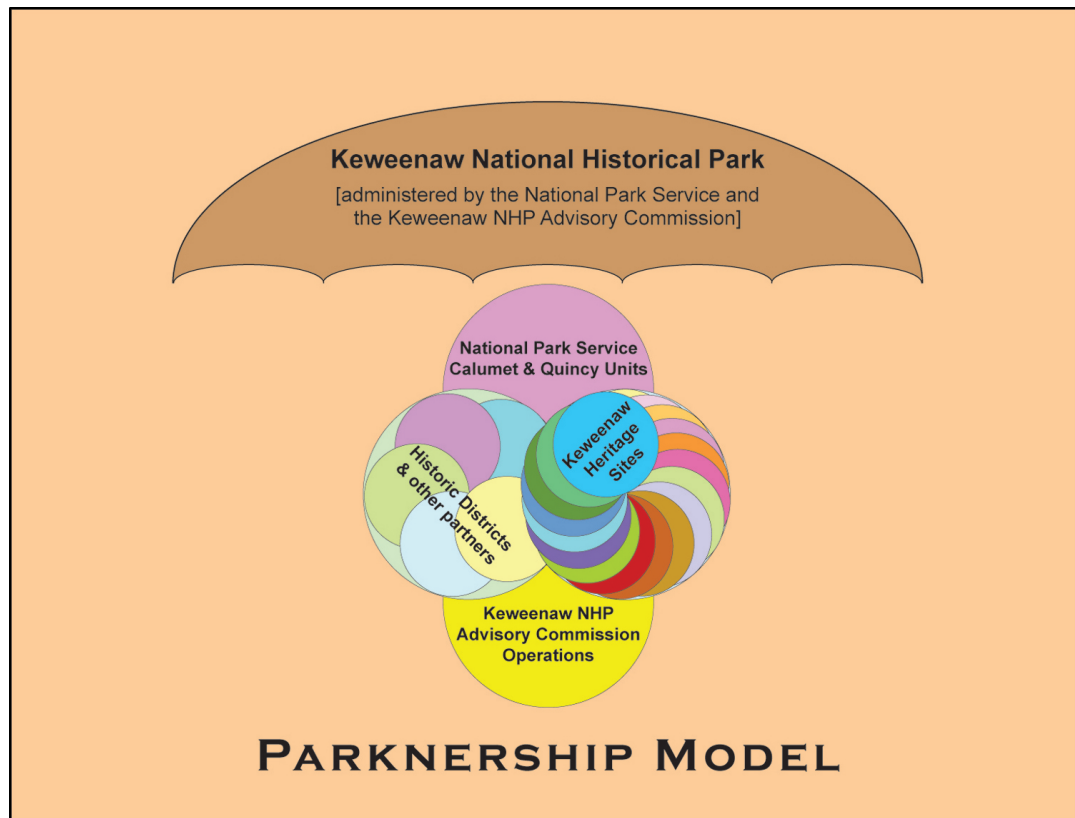


Figure 7-6, The Parknership Umbrella

Instead of equating the park with the NPS staff and facilities, Jim Corless developed a diagram that illustrated that the park was actually a combination of several entities. Corless dubbed this relationship model the “parknership.” (Courtesy of Keweenaw NHP)



Figure 9-1, Grand Canyon NP Sign

The author's children posing in front of an entrance sign at Grand Canyon National Park. Visitors frequently use NPS park entrance signs as photo opportunities. (Photo by the author)



Figure 9-2, Dayton Aviation Heritage NHP Sign

Dayton Aviation Heritage NHP constructed a traditional park entrance sign directly in front of its visitor center. Although the sign is not located at the boundary of the park, it still offers an appropriate photo opportunity for visitors. (Photo by the author)

APPENDIX I – PUBLIC LAWS

Public Law 102-543, Approved October 27, 1992

An Act: To establish the Keweenaw National Historical Park, and for other purposes.

SECTION 1. FINDINGS AND PURPOSES.

(a) FINDINGS- The Congress finds that--

(1) The oldest and largest lava flow known on Earth is located on the Keweenaw Peninsula of Michigan. This volcanic activity produced the only place on Earth where large scale economically recoverable 97 percent pure native copper is found.

(2) The Keweenaw Peninsula is the only site in the country where prehistoric, aboriginal mining of copper occurred. Artifacts made from this copper by these ancient Indians were traded as far south as present day Alabama.

(3) Copper mining on the Keweenaw Peninsula pioneered deep shaft, hard rock mining, milling, and smelting techniques and advancements in related mining technologies later used throughout the world.

(4) Michigan Technological University, located in the copper district, was established in 1885 to supply the great demand for new technologies and trained engineers requested by the area's mining operations. Michigan Technological University possesses a wealth of both written and photographic historic documentation of the mining era in its archives.

(5) Michigan's copper country became a principal magnet to European immigrants during the mid-1800's and the cultural heritage of these varied nationalities is still preserved in this remarkable ethnic conglomerate.

(6) The corporate-sponsored community planning in Calumet, Michigan, as evidenced in the architecture, municipal design, surnames, foods, and traditions, and the large scale corporate paternalism was unprecedented in American industry and continues to express the heritage of the district.

(7) The entire picture of copper mining on Michigan's Keweenaw Peninsula is best represented by three components: the Village of Calumet, the former Calumet and Hecla Mining Company properties (including the Osceola #13 mine complex), and the former Quincy Mining Company properties. The Village of Calumet best represents the social, ethnic, and commercial themes. Extant Calumet and Hecla buildings best depict corporate paternalism and power, and the themes of extraction and processing are best represented by extant structures of the Quincy Mining Company.

(8) The Secretary of the Interior has designated two National Historic Landmark Districts in the proposed park area, the Calumet National Historic Landmark District and the Quincy Mining Company National Historic Landmark District.

(b) PURPOSES- The purposes of this Act are--

(1) to preserve the nationally significant historical and cultural sites, structures, and districts of a portion of the Keweenaw Peninsula in the State of Michigan for the education, benefit, and inspiration of present and future generations; and

(2) to interpret the historic synergism between the geological, aboriginal, sociological, cultural technological, and corporate forces that relate the story of copper on the Keweenaw Peninsula.

SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

As used in this Act, the term--

(1) 'Commission' means the Keweenaw Historic Preservation Advisory Commission established by section 9.

(2) 'park' means the Keweenaw National Historical Park established by section 3(a)(1).

(3) 'Secretary' means the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 3. ESTABLISHMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF PARK.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

(1) There is hereby established as a unit of the National Park System the Keweenaw National Historical Park in and near Calumet and Hancock, Michigan.

(2) The Secretary shall administer the park in accordance with the provisions of this Act, and the provisions of law generally applicable to units of the National Park System, including the Act entitled 'An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes', approved August 25, 1916 (16 U.S.C. 1, 2-4), and the Act entitled 'An Act to provide for the preservation of historic American sites, buildings, objects and antiquities of national significance, and for other purposes', approved August 21, 1935 (16 U.S.C. 461 et seq.).

(b) BOUNDARIES AND MAP

(1) The boundaries of the park shall be as generally depicted on the map entitled 'Keweenaw National Historical Park, Michigan', numbered NHP-KP/20012-B and dated June, 1992. Such map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Washington, District of Columbia, and the office of the village council, Calumet, Michigan.

(2) Within 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall publish in the Federal Register a detailed description and map of the boundaries established under paragraph (a)(1).

SEC. 4. ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY.

(a) IN GENERAL- Subject to subsections (b) and (c), the Secretary is authorized to acquire lands, or interests therein, within the boundaries of the park by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, exchange, or transfer.

(b) STATE PROPERTY- Property owned by the State of Michigan or any political subdivision of the State may be acquired only by donation.

(c) CONSENT- No lands or interests therein within the boundaries of the park may be acquired without the consent of the owner, unless the Secretary determines that the land is being developed, or is proposed to be developed in a manner which is detrimental to the natural, scenic, historic, and other values for which the park is established.

(d) HAZARDOUS SUBSTANCES- The Secretary shall not acquire any lands pursuant to this Act if the Secretary determines that such lands, or any portion thereof, have become contaminated with hazardous substances (as defined in the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act (42 U.S.C. 9601)).

SEC. 5. COOPERATION BY FEDERAL AGENCIES.

(a) Any Federal entity conducting or supporting activities directly affecting the park shall--

(1) consult, cooperate, and, to the maximum extent practicable, coordinate its activities with the Secretary and the Commission;

(2) conduct or support such activities in a manner that--

(A) to the maximum extent practicable, is consistent with the standards and criteria established pursuant to the general management plan developed pursuant to section 6; and

(B) will not have an adverse effect on the resources of the park;
and

(3) provide for full public participation in order to consider the views of all interested parties.

SEC. 6. GENERAL MANAGEMENT PLAN.

Not later than 3 fiscal years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall prepare, in consultation with the Commission, and submit to Congress a general management plan for the park containing the information described in section 12(b) of the Act of August 18, 1970 (16 U.S.C. 1a-7(b)). Such plan shall interpret the technological and social history of the area, and the industrial

complexes of the Calumet and Hecla, and Quincy Mining Companies, with equal emphasis.

SEC. 7. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.

The Secretary, after consultation with the Commission, may enter into cooperative agreements with owners of property within the park of nationally significant historic or other cultural resources in order to provide for interpretive exhibits or programs. Such agreements shall provide, whenever appropriate, that--

- (1) the public may have access to such property at specified, reasonable times for purposes of viewing such property or exhibits, or attending the programs established by the Secretary under this subsection; and
- (2) the Secretary, with the agreement of the property owner, may make such minor improvements to such property as the Secretary deems necessary to enhance the public use and enjoyment of such property, exhibits, and programs.

SEC. 8. FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.

(a) IN GENERAL- The Secretary may provide to any owner of property within the park containing nationally significant historic or cultural resources, in accordance with cooperative agreements or grant agreements, as appropriate, such financial and technical assistance to mark, interpret, and restore non-Federal properties within the park as the Secretary determines appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act, provided that--

- (1) the Secretary, acting through the National Park Service, shall have right of access at reasonable times to public portions of the property covered by such agreement for the purpose of conducting visitors through such properties and interpreting them to the public; and
- (2) no changes or alterations shall be made in such properties except by mutual agreement between the Secretary and the other parties to the agreements.

(b) MATCHING FUNDS- Funds authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary for the purposes of this section shall be expended in the ratio of \$1 of Federal funds

for each \$4 of funds contributed by non-Federal sources. For the purposes of this subsection, the Secretary is authorized to accept from non-Federal sources, and to utilize for purposes of this Act, any money so contributed. Donations of land, or interests in land, by the State of Michigan may be considered as a contribution from non-Federal sources for the purposes of this subsection.

SEC. 9. KEWEENAW NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK ADVISORY COMMISSION.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT AND DUTIES- There is established the Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission. The Commission shall--

- (1) advise the Secretary in the preparation and implementation of a general management plan described in section 6;
- (2) advise the Secretary on the development of and priorities for implementing standards and criteria by which the Secretary, pursuant to agreements referred to in sections 7 and 8, will provide financial as well as technical assistance to owners of non-Federal properties within the park;
- (3) advise the Secretary on the development of rules governing the disbursement of funds for the development of non-Federal properties;
- (4) advise the Secretary with respect to the selection of sites for interpretation and preservation by means of cooperative agreements pursuant to section 7;
- (5) assist the Secretary in developing policies and programs for the conservation and protection of the scenic, historical, cultural, natural and technological values of the park which would complement the purposes of this Act;
- (6) assist the Secretary in coordinating with local governments and the State of Michigan the implementation of the general management plan, and furthering the purposes of this Act;
- (7) be authorized to carry out historical, educational, or cultural programs which encourage or enhance appreciation of the historic resources in the park, surrounding areas, and on the Keweenaw Peninsula; and

(8) be authorized to seek, accept, and dispose of gifts, bequests, or donations of money, personal property, or services, received from any source, consistent with the purposes of this Act and the park management.

(b)(1) The Commission may acquire real property, or interests in real property, to further the purposes of the Act by gift or devise; or, by purchase from a willing seller with money which was given or bequeathed to the Commission on the condition that such money would be used to purchase real property, or interests in real property, to further the purposes of this Act.

(2) For the purposes of section 170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, any gift to the Commission shall be deemed to be a gift to the United States.

(3) Any real property or interest in real property acquired by the Commission shall be conveyed by the Commission to the National Park Service or the appropriate public agency as soon as possible after such acquisition, without consideration, and on the condition that the real property or interest in real property so conveyed is used for public purposes.

(4) The value of funds or property, or interests in property, conveyed to the National Park Service by the Commission may be considered as non-Federal, at the Commission's discretion.

(c) Membership-

(1) COMPOSITION- The Commission shall be composed of seven members appointed by the Secretary, of whom--

(A) two members shall be appointed from nominees submitted by the Calumet Village Council and the Calumet Township Board;

(B) one member shall be appointed from nominees submitted by the Quincy Township Board and the Franklin Township Board;

(C) one member shall be appointed from nominees submitted by the Houghton County Board of Commissioners;

(D) one member shall be appointed from nominees submitted by the Governor of the State of Michigan; and,

(E) two members who are qualified to serve on the Commission because of their familiarity with National Parks and historic preservation.

(2) CHAIRPERSON- The chairperson of the Commission shall be elected by the members to serve a term of 3 years.

(3) VACANCIES- A vacancy on the Commission shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(4) Terms of service-

(A) IN GENERAL- Each member shall be appointed for a term of 3 years and may be reappointed not more than three times.

(B) INITIAL MEMBERS- Of the members first appointed under subsection (b)(1), the Secretary shall appoint--

(i) two members for a term of 1 year;

(ii) two members for a term of 2 years; and

(iii) three members for a term of 3 years.

(5) EXTENDED SERVICE- A member may serve after the expiration of that member's term until a successor has taken office.

(6) MEETINGS- The Commission shall meet at least quarterly at the call of the chairperson or a majority of the members of the Commission.

(7) QUORUM- Five members shall constitute a quorum.

(d) COMPENSATION- Members shall serve without pay. Members who are full-time officers or employees of the United States, the State of Michigan, or any political subdivision thereof shall receive no additional pay on account of their service on the Commission.

(e) TRAVEL EXPENSES- While away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Commission, members shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same

manner as persons employed intermittently in the Government service are allowed expenses under section 5703 of title 5, United States Code.

(f) **MAILS-** The Commission may use the United States mails in the same manner and under the same conditions as other departments and agencies of the United States.

(g) **STAFF-** The Commission may appoint and fix the pay of such personnel as the Commission deems desirable. The Secretary may provide the Commission with such staff and technical assistance as the Secretary, after consultation with the Commission, considers appropriate to enable the Commission to carry out its duties, on a cost reimbursable basis. Upon request of the Secretary, any Federal agency may provide information, personnel, property, and services on a reimbursable basis, to the Commission to assist in carrying out its duties under this section. The Secretary may accept the services of personnel detailed from the State of Michigan or any political subdivision of the State and reimburse the State or such political subdivision for such services. The Commission may procure additional temporary and intermittent services under section 3109(b) of title 5 of the United States Code, with funds obtained under section 9(a)(6), or as provided by the Secretary.

(h) **HEARINGS-** The Commission may, for the purpose of carrying out this Act, hold such hearings, sit and act at such times and places, take such testimony, and receive such evidence, as the Commission considers appropriate. The Commission may not issue subpoenas or exercise any subpoena authority.

SEC. 10. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

(a) Except as provided in subsection (b), there are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out this Act, but not to exceed \$5,000,000 for the acquisition of lands and interests therein, \$25,000,000 for development, and \$3,000,000 for financial and technical assistance to owners of non-Federal property as provided in section 8.

(b) There are authorized to be appropriated annually to the Commission to carry out its duties under this Act, \$100,000 except that the Federal contribution to the Commission shall not exceed 50 percent of the annual costs to the Commission in carrying out those duties.

Statement on Signing Legislation Establishing the Keweenaw National Historical Park

October 27, 1992

Today I am signing into law S. 1664, which establishes the Keweenaw National Historical Park. The Act also establishes the Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, most of the Members of which are appointed by the Secretary of the Interior from among the nominees submitted by various State and local officials. Because most of the Members are effectively selected by various State and local government officials, and thus are not appointed in conformity with the Appointments Clause of the Constitution, Article II, section 2, clause 2, I sign this bill on the understanding that the Commission will serve only in an advisory capacity and will not exercise executive authority.

George Bush
The White House,
October 27, 1992.

Public Law 106-134, Approved December 7, 1999

An Act: To amend the Act that established the Keweenaw National Historical Park to require the Secretary of the Interior to consider nominees of various local interests in appointing members of the Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. APPOINTMENTS TO KEWEENAW NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK ADVISORY COMMISSION.

Section 9(c)(1) of the Act entitled “An Act to establish the Keweenaw National Historical Park, and for other purposes” (Public Law 102–543; 16 U.S.C. 410yy–8(c)(1)) is amended by striking “from nominees” each place it appears and inserting “after consideration of nominees”.

Public Law 111-11, Approved March 30, 2009

Omnibus Public Land Management Act of 2009

SEC. 7101. FUNDING FOR KEWEENAW NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK.

(a) Acquisition of Property- Section 4 of Public Law 102-543 (16 U.S.C. 410yy-3) is amended by striking subsection (d).

(b) Matching Funds- Section 8(b) of Public Law 102-543 (16 U.S.C. 410yy-7(b)) is amended by striking '\$4' and inserting '\$1'.

(c) Authorization of Appropriations- Section 10 of Public Law 102-543 (16 U.S.C. 410yy-9) is amended--

(1) in subsection (a)--

(A) by striking '\$25,000,000' and inserting '\$50,000,000'; and

(B) by striking '\$3,000,000' and inserting '\$25,000,000'; and

(2) in subsection (b), by striking '\$100,000' and all that follows through 'those duties' and inserting '\$250,000'.

APPENDIX II – KEWEENAW NHP BHAGS

VISION - March 2008

The landscape and interpretive potential of the Keweenaw Peninsula “Copper Country” provide outstanding opportunities to observe and understand the multi-faceted and comprehensive historic record of hard-rock copper mining that began here 7000 years ago and continued to the 1990s. This mining took place often at an immense scale, and in 1992 Congress envisioned a commensurately large partnership between the National Park Service, the Keweenaw NHP Advisory Commission, and the numerous communities and public history organizations throughout the Copper Country to lead the preservation of this vast cultural landscape and develop its interpretive potential; the partnership was to be known as Keweenaw National Historical Park.

The National Park Service (NPS) aims, by the time of the NPS Centennial in 2016, to establish the 15-year old Keweenaw National Historical Park as a premier public history consortium, preserving significant historic landscape resources and interpreting the diverse stories of mining technology, corporate/human interaction, economic cycles, geology and environment, immigration and culture, and the role of copper in human endeavors.

The NPS will accomplish this through continued and expanded cooperative efforts, particularly through local governments and an expanding group of individually but cohesively operated Keweenaw Heritage Sites. The NPS will provide both financial and technical assistance to these organizations as they continue to provide and enhance many of the preservation activities and visitor services along the Peninsula. The NPS will anchor these activities with a traditional core of facilities in its two legislatively designated units, and will focus its programs on orientation and dynamically interpreting the overview and untold elements of the copper story. The NPS will also facilitate development of a comprehensive curriculum-based education program to reach every student on the Peninsula, and will increase diversity among visitors and employees through school and university partnerships. As both the post-copper-industry Keweenaw Peninsula and the State of Michigan are now economically challenged, a sustainable network of organizations supporting the park through fund-raising and other development activities will be developed to accomplish the vision.

LONG-TERM GOALS (BIG, HAIRY, AUDACIOUS GOALS)

PARTNERSHIPS AND SUSTAINED OPERATIONS

1. By 2017, an organization or network of organizations is well established in raising support for Keweenaw NHP (NPS, Advisory Commission, and partners) as demonstrated through annual grants and donations (cash, in-kind) equivalent to at least ¼ of the park's appropriated budget and the doubling of the number of volunteers.

This will be accomplished with the Advisory Commission (first by developing the means to have a fully operational Commission) and additional partners, including development of strong relations with the Isle Royale Natural History Association and the National Parks of Lake Superior Foundation, developing a sustainable development program including making friends of mining-related and other potential corporate sponsors, and facilitating the recruitment and training of volunteers.

2. By 2017, through cooperative efforts, visitors to the Keweenaw Peninsula can easily recognize and interpret cultural landscapes related to copper mining through well preserved and interpreted cultural resources, to the point that 25% of all visitors to the Keweenaw can describe the significance of the park at the conclusion of their visit.

This will be accomplished through NPS partnerships with the Heritage Sites, Advisory Commission, and local communities, including the expansion of preservation and interpretive technical assistance and grant programs from the NPS to sustain these programs at a professional level, fostering Heritage Site collaboration, and seeking new partnerships with universities, State and regional cultural organizations, theme-related organizations, and tourism/economic development organizations.

RESOURCE PRESERVATION

3. By 2017, a strategy for the long-term protection of nationally and regionally significant copper-mining resources on the Keweenaw Peninsula is developed and its implementation initiated, and the Quincy Smelter will be stabilized and interpreted to the public. By 2010, the strategy for NPS units is being implemented.

This will be accomplished by fostering community-based historic preservation (e.g., through grants, multi-tiered park affiliations, consultation, archival research assistance, planning, mapping assistance) and reuse of historic structures, developing a land protection plan (with the Advisory Commission) to finalize boundaries, identify and prioritize resources critical to the story, acquiring or partnering in the preservation of threatened critical resources such as the Quincy Smelter, determining uses for park-owned facilities, implementing cultural landscape plans now in development, developing preservation partnerships with local universities, and supporting preservation efforts of NPS unit partners such as: the A.E. Seaman Mineral Museum; Quincy Mine Hoist Association; and Calumet Village, Township, and Heritage Sites.

VISITOR EXPERIENCE

4. By 2017, visitors can experience a cohesive national park experience along the length of the Keweenaw Peninsula, allowing for easy understanding and selection of routes, sites, programs, recreational opportunities, and activities related to the copper mining story, while recognizing that multiple partners and missions are involved in preservation and interpretation.

This will be accomplished by fostering the coordinated, cohesive, and meaningful telling of the Peninsula's diverse copper mining stories while maintaining the individuality of mission and method in the partnership sites and programs, by incorporating landscape interpretation opportunities into the area's rich outdoor recreational network, and by developing visitor contact stations.

5. By 2017, the General Management Plan goal of providing a traditional national park experience is met in the two NPS units of the park through development of a core resource and interpretive experience that anchors the national park and partner sites.

This will be accomplished by establishing a strong NPS identity through enhanced programming, a strong sense of arrival, contact stations in each unit, sustained access to park facilities, and a graphics identity/wayfinding program, by developing a core NPS park experience to anchor the Heritage Sites and other partners in interpretation and preservation (e.g., at the industrial complex in

Calumet, Quincy Hill, and on larger tracts of NPS-owned land), and installing exhibits in each NPS-owned historic building.

6. By 2017, all NPS and Heritage Site facilities open to the public are accessible, maintain a professional public appearance, are compliant with life-safety code, and foster environmentally sustainable practices.

The NPS will accomplish this goal through grants and technical assistance programs to promote meeting of/continued adherence to life-safety code and accessibility standards.

EDUCATION & INTERPRETATION

7. By 2017, a program is in place that has every student on the Keweenaw Peninsula experiencing at least once in their K-12 schooling an on-site curriculum-based program at the park (including the Keweenaw Heritage Sites).

This will be accomplished by developing a NPS/partner education program and technical assistance to partners, utilizing new technology, teacher workshops, and the coordination of the development of a place-based “text-book” as requested by regional teachers with curriculum-based classroom and on-site activities, materials, and the development of related programs.

8. By 2017, visitors year-round may gain an understanding of the park themes through dynamic and diverse interpretive opportunities at NPS facilities, including an interpretive experience in every park-occupied building and on NPS-owned properties. Partner sites will be approaching a similar result in interpretive media and programming.

Visitors will be able to accomplish this through the park’s interpretive programs enhanced with dynamic and diverse methods (e.g., cultural demonstrations, historic resources being the stage for visitor and community engagement), the application of a full-spectrum evaluation program, combined interpretive planning, and a small-grants program to enhance partner interpretation, universal access, and wayfinding.

PUBLIC HISTORY

9. By 2017, Keweenaw NHP is nationally recognized and frequently sought out as a prominent and accessible source of copper mining history through museum collections, research, and interpretation.

This will be accomplished through scholarship and publications, public engagement (e.g., the web, forums), exhibits, utilization of national engagement programs such as the Smithsonian Affiliates program, e-catalogs, traveling exhibits, traditional library and archival services, and the coordination of catalogs and museum collection development among the NPS, Heritage Sites, and partnering institutions, and serving as a clearinghouse for acquisition of museum objects outside the NPS's scope of collections.

EMPLOYEE DIVERSITY

10. By 2017, NPS seasonal employees at Keweenaw NHP will reflect the diversity of the regional universities through development of sustained recruitment programs and training opportunities.

The NPS will accomplish this goal by developing sustained relationships with individual departments at regional universities, and developing step ladder opportunities for engagement of interested students and employees.

APPENDIX III – KEWEENAW HERITAGE SITES

As of April 2013, Keweenaw National Historical Park includes nineteen Heritage Sites. The individual sites include a wide variety of historic resources and management models. There are three privately held sites, two university-run sites, two state parks, and twelve sites run by nonprofit organizations. The descriptions and location information included below come from Keweenaw National Historical Park's official website – www.nps.gov/kewe.

Adventure Mining Company

The Adventure Mine operated in Greenland from 1850 into the 1920s. Today, this privately-owned site provides a variety of guided tours that include both the surface ruins and underground workings, and range from a 45-minute walk to a 3-hour excursion.

Location: 200 Adventure Avenue, Greenland

Managing Organization / Ownership: Privately-held

A.E. Seaman Mineral Museum

Exhibits on native copper and an extensive mineral collection help visitors learn about the Keweenaw Peninsula's geology, understand the copper formation process and explore the history of mining.

Location: Michigan Technological University, 1404 E. Sharon Avenue, Houghton

Managing Organization / Ownership: Operated by Michigan Technological University

Calumet Theatre

Built in 1899, the oldest municipally built opera house in the country still offers a variety of theatrical and musical events throughout the year. Guided and self-guided tours are available.

Location: 340 Sixth Street, Calumet

Managing Organization / Ownership: Building owned by the Village of Calumet; theater operated by a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization

Chassell Heritage Center

The community of Chassell developed on the site of a lumber mill that provided timbers for bracing mineshafts and lumber for buildings at many of the mine sites. The heritage center features exhibits following the community's history from a fishing and lumber town to today.

Location: 42373 Hancock Street, Chassell

Managing Organization / Ownership: Owned and operated by a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization

Copper Country Firefighters History Museum

The historic former Red Jacket Fire Station was built of Jacobsville sandstone around the turn of the century. The second floor features exhibits dedicated to the history of firefighting in Michigan's Upper Peninsula.

Location: 327 Sixth Street, Calumet

Managing Organization / Ownership: Building owned by the Village of Calumet; museum operated by a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization

Copper Range Historical Museum

Stories of the Copper Range Mining Company, its workers, and community life of this historic company town are displayed here. Nearby Painesdale is one of the best preserved company towns.

Location: Trimountain Ave. (formerly Michigan State Highway 26), South Range

Managing Organization / Ownership: Owned and operated by a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization

Coppertown Mining Museum

Exhibits provide insights into operations at the copper mining giant, Calumet & Hecla. Housed in C&H's pattern shop on Red Jacket Road, the building is a key historic element in the Calumet industrial landscape.

Location: 25815 Red Jacket Road, Calumet

Managing Organization / Ownership: Owned and operated by a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization

Delaware Copper Mine

This privately-owned mine site provides tours of one of the oldest underground copper mines on the Keweenaw Peninsula.

Location: Off U.S. Highway 41, 12 miles south of Copper Harbor

Managing Organization / Ownership: Privately-held

Finnish American Heritage Center & Historical Archive

Finlandia University's Finnish American Heritage Center houses a theater, art gallery, and the Finnish American Historical Archive. The archive houses the largest collection of Finnish-North American materials in the world. Along with archival materials, the collection includes genealogical resources, information about Finnish culture, artifacts, and North America's largest collection of Finnish-American artwork.

Location: 601 Quincy Street, Hancock

Managing Organization / Ownership: Operated by Finlandia University

Fort Wilkins Historic State Park

Built in 1844, this military fort provided order on the Keweenaw frontier and protected the area's copper resources during the Civil War. Costumed interpreters, restored buildings and museum exhibits explore daily routine in the military service.

Location: U.S. Highway. 41, Copper Harbor

Managing Organization / Ownership: A Michigan state park

Hanka Homestead Museum

Mining provided job security, but many Finnish immigrants longed for their former farming lifestyle. Some homesteaded on marginal farmlands known as "stump farms." It was a difficult but self-reliant life. Volunteers provide guided tours of the farm, restored to its 1920s appearance.

Location: approximately 3 miles west of U.S. Highway 41, off Tower Road, Pelkie

Managing Organization / Ownership: Owned and operated by a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization

Houghton County Historical Museum

The museum features artifacts and photographs spanning over 100 years of mining life. Take a train ride behind a C&H Porter 0-4-0 Steam Engine.

Location: 5500 Michigan State Highway 26, Lake Linden

Managing Organization / Ownership: Owned and operated by a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization

Keweenaw County Historical Society

The society administers five sites throughout Keweenaw County including the Eagle Harbor Lighthouse, Central Mine & Village, Phoenix Church, Rathbone School and the Bammert Blacksmith Shop. Visitor Centers are located at the Eagle Harbor Lighthouse and Central Mine.

Location: throughout Keweenaw County, Lighthouse is in Eagle Harbor

Managing Organization / Ownership: Owned and operated by a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization

Keweenaw Heritage Center at St. Anne's

Constructed of Jacobsville sandstone, this former church stands at the entrance to downtown Calumet. Special exhibits are occasionally offered on topics such as area churches, ethnic foods, and company housing.

Location: 25880 Red Jacket Road, Calumet

Managing Organization / Ownership: Building owned by Calumet Township; Center operated by a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization

Laurium Manor Mansion Tours

Thomas Hoatson, a wealthy mining captain, built this 45-room home in 1908 using some of the finest and rarest building materials available. Today the inn offers self-guided tours and lodging during the summer season.

Location: 320 Tamarack Street, Laurium

Managing Organization / Ownership: Privately-held

Old Victoria

This group of small log houses once provided lodging for miners of the Victoria Mining Company. Today, a group of volunteers is working to preserve this early copper mining site. Guided tours interpret the rigors and solitude of miners and their families in the 1890s.

Location: Victoria Dam Road, Rockland

Managing Organization / Ownership: Owned and operated by a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization

Ontonagon County Historical Society

Copper mining began early in Ontonagon County and continued until the White Pine Mine closed in the late 1990s. The community of Ontonagon served as important port in the early days of mining. The historical society's museum includes many artifacts related to mining and other topics. Tours are also provided of the nearby lighthouse.

Location: 422 River Street, Ontonagon

Managing Organization / Ownership: Owned and operated by a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization

Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park

Michigan's largest state park contains numerous historic copper mining sites. The 59,000-acre park also offers day-hiking, backpacking, camping, remote cabins, canoeing, kayaking, biking and winter sports.

Location: West of Ontonagon on Michigan State Route 107

Managing Organization / Ownership: A Michigan state park

Quincy Mine & Hoist

Explore the former Quincy Mining Company on a 2-hour tour that includes a walk through surface structures, a ride on a cogwheel tram, and a ride into the underground mine workings. Shorter tours of the buildings are also available.

Location: 49750 U.S. Highway 41, Hancock, Michigan

Managing Organization / Ownership: Owned and operated by a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization