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The Great War and Lake Superior PART 1

Russell M. Magnaghi Ph.D.

As we commemorate the centennial of American entry into World War I or the Great War it is important to focus on the Lake Superior Basin to see the impact of the war in this region far from the fighting in France. Historian John W. Larson best sums up the situation facing the United States when war was declared on April 6, 1917:

The nation was speedily mobilized. Equipment, training, food, arms and clothing were provided for the fighting forces; ships, tanks, airplanes and motor trucks were needed, and America's allies, clamored for steel, coal and grain. So much urgent activity placed a heavy strain on the nation's transportation facilities, which by the end of 1917 were on the verge of collapse from congestion.¹

In early August 1917, Michigan wartime governor Albert E. Sleeper made the following statement about the Upper Peninsula:

The upper peninsula is an empire in itself, and within its borders are a diversity of industries covering the entire field of human activity. I have seen some of the finest farmland, some of the greatest industrial plants, and the greatest mines in the world in upper Michigan, and it is small wonder that the people of Cloverland [name given to the Upper Peninsula] are proud of their heritage.²

What the governor said of the Upper Peninsula can also be said of the Lake Superior Basin. As the government took action to put the nation on a war-footing we can focus on the Lake Superior Basin and take a close look at how the region including Canada fit into this new configuration. In the end we can appreciate the history of the region and how we have a borderland heritage to realize and appreciate.

Few comprehensive works have been developed on this important historical development. Many works completely ignore the war in places like Sault Ste. Marie,

Michigan, whose locks connect Lakes Superior and Huron. The most complete sources available are from the local newspapers, which are many and filled with a variety of information. In terms of developing this story it is necessary to remember that for the Canadians, who were part of the British Empire, their involvement in the war effort began in August 1914. As a result there is a lengthy story to be told on this northern borderland where the war entered and impacted the people and their lives.

Native Americans and the War

The Lake Superior Basin was home to a variety of people who played major roles in the war years. The Native American/Aboriginal Peoples consisted of Ojibwa and Cree people. Hundreds were located in isolated areas of the Canadian north shore from Sault Ste. Marie to Fort William and Port Arthur (today united as Thunder Bay, Ontario). Some 4,000 Aboriginal People served in the Canadian military. Communities across the border were at Sault Ste. Marie, Bay Mills, L'Anse-Baraga, Michigan; Bad River and Red Cliff, Wisconsin; and at various locations in Minnesota. In both nations many of the people did not have citizenship and served in both armies on a volunteer basis. It was pointed out that members of protector clans such as the Bear Clan readily joined the military. In the United State some 12,000 Native American served during the war. There were many stories of Native heroism in the trenches. Joe Isaacs, a Native American was one of the first volunteers to leave Manistique. Wounded with a shattered knee and part of his cheek gone he crawled over to where his comrade Frank Stibbins of Owosso lay wounded. He loaded him on his back and brought him back to the American lines. Due to their patriotism the U.S. Congress gave all Native Americans citizenship in 1924.³

The Lac Courte Oreilles community near Hayward in northern Wisconsin had some sixty soldiers in France and more than a dozen in training camps in the United States. This community furnished a greater proportion of its able-bodied males than any other Native community in the United States. Of the 1,277 people enrolled 80 percent of the eligible males enlisted as volunteers.⁴ At Grand Portage, Minnesota Native men like Alex Maymaushkowaush, Frank LeGarde and Phillip Caudreau registered with the draft.⁵ Private Edward S. DeNomie was originally from Keweenaw Bay, Michigan, attended Tomah Indian School and was recruited and served in the Mexican Border War with Company K, Third Wisconsin Infantry Regiment. During World War I he was with the 128th Infantry Regiment of the 32nd “Red Arrow” Division. He saw action in all seven major battles with the American Expeditionary Forces. He had the foresight to keep a diary which contain brief daily entries describing troop movements, supply distributions, disease on the front line, undergoing artillery bombardments, and collecting war souvenirs from dead German soldiers.⁶

When the war broke out in August 1914, approximately one hundred Ojibwa from isolated areas north of Thunder Bay made their way to the nearest recruiting centers at Fort William and Port Arthur, many of them served in the 52nd Canadian Light Infantry Battalion and at least six were awarded medals for bravery. Another 65 Ojibwa and Cree joined the 52nd. Thirty-five Ojibwa recruited from Fort William became snipers.⁷

In both nations, Native Americans/Aboriginal People were placed in the front lines, used as snipers and reconnaissance scouts and in general placed in dangerous positions. Recruiting officers and military officers did this because they felt that Native People had the ability due to their traditional hunting and military skills combined with

racial stereotypes. They also served in support units as railway troops, tunneling companies and forestry units. Historian Patty Loew concludes that the Native American casualty rate was five times higher than regular troops.

The deadliest sniper in the war was Francis “Peggy” Pegahmagabow, an Ojibwa from near Parry Sound, Ontario just outside of the Basin. However he was the most decorated First Nations soldier in Canadian history having killed at least 378 Germans.

Both American and Canadian Native People were decorated heroes. From the Thunder Bay area Sergeant Leo Bouchard of the 52nd Battalion received the Distinguished Conduct Medal as did Private Daniel Ketivk/Kisck for capturing 33 German prisoners; Private Augustin Belanger of the 52nd received a Military Medal Ypres as did Private Joseph Delaronde (Military Medal, The Somme).

At home Native American/Aboriginal People followed war-life patterns of the general population. They planted war gardens, worked with the Red Cross and purchased Liberty Bonds and in Canada they did the same and donated funds and bought bonds, amounting to \$45,000.

The population in the Basin consisting of native-born people and immigrants amounted to 721,853. When we add the population of the American territory there were 677,957 people living in the Lake Superior Basin. On the Canadian side of Lake Superior the largest cities were: Sault Ste. Marie (10,984), Fort William (16,499), and Port Arthur (11,220) while the scattered intermediate population composed of railroad workers, miners, and lumbermen added an additional 5,193 people for a total population of 43,896.⁸ On the American side of the border along the shores of Lake Superior there were 677,957 people drawn by mining, manufacturing, lumber, and commercial ports. They

were located along the shore of the lake or in interior counties where mining dominated the economy: Minnesota (Aitkin, Carlton, Cook, Crow Wing, Itasca, Lake, St. Louis Counties and the city of Duluth); Wisconsin (Ashland, Bayfield, Douglas, Iron Counties and the city of Superior); and Michigan with the fifteen counties of the Upper Peninsula. The total white population was 677,957 with 263,076 foreign-born (39 percent). The three mega urban centers were Duluth (78,466 pop.)-Superior (40,384 pop.) with a total population of 148,850 and the tight-knit communities of the Copper Country Houghton and Keweenaw Counties with 95,242 people.⁹

Immigrant Populations

Both the United States and Canada had immigrant populations from the Central Powers – Imperial Germany, Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Turkish Empire – but they were a small fraction of the ethnic total. Historical evidence shows that the Germans were more prone to support the Kaiser, the Fatherland, and German culture. On the other hand the Austro-Hungarian Empire was a collection of Slavic people - Bohemians, Croatians, Poles, Slovenians, and Ukrainians - who felt little attachment to the emperor, had left their homeland to start new lives, and hoped for an allied victory, which would provide them with independence. The small number of immigrants from the Turkish Empire was Christian Syrians and Lebanese who were being slaughtered by the Turks in their homeland.¹⁰ On the American side of the border Croatians, Slovenians, and Poles frequently showed their allegiance and loyalty to the United States and supported the war effort. On the Minnesota iron ranges, Croatian miners held frequent dances and parties with ethnic music to raise money for Liberty Bond sales. In January 1918 there was a

mass meeting of Slovenian, Croatians and Serbs from the Copper Country backing the war and called for organizing a branch of the Slovenian Republic League calling for an independent Slovenia. Germans like members of the Menominee *Verein* (Society) in October 1917 passed resolutions pledging their unswerving loyalty to the United States and made special efforts to get deeply into the Liberty Bond drives, as many American were concerned about their reaction to the war.¹¹

The Canadian side of the border had a large number of Ukrainians from the provinces of Bukovina and Galicia, and Poles all from within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At the time the war broke out for the Canadians in August 1914, the economy was a poor shape, and patriotic employers let these immigrants go in order to provide jobs for Canadians.

An unfortunate event took place. In Winnipeg the first bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, Galician-born, Nykyta Budka (1877-1949) a few days before Canada entered the war issued a pastoral letter calling for support of the Austrian-Hungarian Emperor, Franz Joseph and encouraged reservists to return to their homeland to enlist and fight. Although he quickly rescinded his position once Canada was in the war, this enflamed existing suspicions of security concern among Ukrainians by the public and government and war hysteria led to a xenophobic backlash against Germans and Slavic people of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Using the British War Measures Act of 1914, enemy aliens from Germany and Austria-Hungary had to register and report regularly to authorities. The Poles and Ukrainians along the Lake Superior shore were put out of jobs and homes or interned and their savings were confiscated until their release. A small number were interned in a

camp located at Kapuskasing 400 miles to the northeast of Sault Ste. Marie. There were twenty-four such camps, called concentration camps across Canada housing 4,000 Ukrainians.

In the summer of 1915 eleven Austrian Poles were arrested while trying to enter the United States. They related their heartbreaking existence in Canada to Inspector Brown McDonald. Some of them had been living without work or shelter for four months and several had only worked as little as sixteen days in the past year. The Canadian government said that it was trying to provide for interned aliens but was unsuccessful. It allowed 50 cents (2017 equivalent \$12.21) per week for each adult and 40 cents (2017 equivalent \$9.77) for each child. There were about 3,500 intern aliens at Fort William and 800 at Port Arthur where local authorities provided each male 70 cents (2017 equivalent \$17.10) and each female and child received 50 cents. A pregnant woman feared that her baby would die for lack of food and the father worried about his wife for the same reason.

McDonald reported that some of the men had walked through a hundred miles of backwoods from Fort William without food. Some of them found stale food at abandoned lumber camps and five of the men were lost in the woods for nine days and survived on a few loaves of bread they brought from Canada. When they ran out they found old cornmeal and made bread, which kept them going. As McDonald recounted, “When they were given real food in Hovland, they were unable to control themselves. One said he had not tasted meat for so long, he had forgotten the flavor.” They did not want to return to Canada because it would mean enduring unspeakable hardships. They were housed in the Cook County jail until instructions were received from Washington.¹²

The United States was at war with Germany since April 6, 1917, but did not declare war against the Austro-Hungarian Empire until December 7, 1917. In either case President Wilson warned enemy aliens that they would have to register with the government, were restricted as to where they could live and travel near post offices, military and industrial establishments and canals, and they were forbidden to possess guns, ammunition, explosives or wireless equipment. However unless they violated the law or spoke or worked against the war effort they could go about their business.

With the outbreak of the war some Croatians and Slovenians followed the order of Edgar Prochnik, the Austro-Hungarian consul in St. Paul calling for them to return and serve in the army.¹³ However the vast majority of these immigrants and the Bohemians and Poles supported the war seeing that its allied outcome would mean their national independence.

At Duluth and St. Louis County with approximately 28,000 Croatians and Slovenian and in the Copper Country they quickly showed their loyalty to the United States. These people publically resented being called "Austrians." Many of them had been in the United States longer than the Canadian Ukrainians so they had assimilated. On the Mesabi Iron Range and in the Copper Country these two nationalities played important labor roles in the mines and mills.

Polish immigrants hated the fact that their country had been cut-up among the Germans, Austrians and Russians and hoped that the end of the war would bring them a united independent Poland. As a result they heartily supported the war effort. At Duluth a group of Polish recruiters organized a public program promoting the idea that an independent Poland would be a result of the war. They were well received by the

immigrants and many men were recruited for the Polish Legion, which fought with the French army. These recruiters worked their way across Wisconsin and Michigan. At Ironwood 120 were recruited and another fifty at Calumet. In Marquette with a relative small Polish population, but a hatred for German domination, they held a mass meeting in the municipal courtroom of city hall and sent recruits for the Polish Guard of the United States. These recruiters moved on across the Upper Peninsula.¹⁴

Throughout the region known for a concentration of Finnish immigrants there were interesting developments. Many Scandinavians and Finns at first were reluctant to support the war because it did not involve them in the Old Country, however this soon changed when war was declared. Many Finns were socialists and became members of the International Workers of the World (IWW) that took a radical anti-war position. Emil Hanninen for instance was arrested in Mohawk, Michigan for distributing anti-draft handbills while others in Iron Mountain did the same and physically interfered with Army recruiting efforts with the same results. As a result Finns met in small and large groups to declare their loyalty and aversion to the IWW and the socialist cause. A mass meeting was held in Duluth and brought together religious and community leaders from the tri-state area to declare their loyalty and support for the war.¹⁵

Rumors, and Sabotage

Throughout the United States and the region hysteria spread in the form of rumors and resulting fear. Housewives heard stories that enemy agents were putting glass into the sugar supply or poison in Red Cross produced gauze. It was said that one old German built a high tower overlooking Lake Michigan so he could send wireless messages

between Germany and Mexico. Things German became soundly unpopular – frankfurters became “hot dogs” and hamburger became “Salisbury steak” because Frankfort and Hamburg were German cities. At Northern Michigan State Normal School and in high schools throughout the Basin, the study of German, which had been very popular, was removed from the curriculum. French and Spanish took its place and the popularity of German was never revived.

The town of Berlin near Grand Rapids, Michigan was renamed Marne after a French battle site. Berlin, Ontario had been settled by German immigrants in the early nineteenth century. However during the war there was strong anti-German sentiment and in 1916 the city was renamed Kitchener after a British field marshal. In Menominee, Michigan a city with a large German immigrant population, German textbooks from the high school were collected. In June 1917, John J. O’Hara president of the patriotic American Club and prosecuting attorney led a parade, which ended with the public taking a pledge to boycott German goods and the textbooks were burned.¹⁶ In Proctor west of Duluth, on April 7, 1918 about 200 residents gathered to burn all of the collected German books and as flames turned the books to ash the people sang “Yankee Doodle.” Later they went to the Odd Fellows Hall where they tore German songs from the ritualistic books. The people strongly pointed out that they were totally behind the war effort and the purchase of Liberty Bonds.

Rumor and fear spread across the region and much of the gossip was unsubstantiated. For instance the Minnesota Public Safety Commission in Crow Wing County, home to the Cuyuna Iron Range, began an investigation of a shipment of “Manchurian black beans” that they considered poisonous. It was stated that three

hundred carloads had been shipped from Michigan and two carloads arrived in Minnesota. In reality black beans are a healthy type of bean with low carbohydrates, but unknown to these Minnesotans.¹⁷

Although rumors abounded there were accounts of German sabotage activity, which proved that many of the stories were true even in the distant north. Prior to the declaration of War in late March 1917, the management of the Great Lakes Towing & Wrecking Company at St. Ignace offered its yacht to the government if it was needed. Shortly after it was broken into and acid poured into the engine rendering the yacht useless. A few days after American declaration of war, Canadian immigration officials at Sault Ste. Marie, following up on an intercepted message that German agents planned to enter the United States, stepped up their border watch and carefully examined everyone crossing the border.¹⁸ In June, 1917 explosives were found near the *USS Gopher* at the Minnesota Naval Militia in Duluth. This initiated in more rigorous patrol and small boats were kept from the training vessel.¹⁹ In late 1917 a fire broke out at the Alger Smith Lumber yard in Duluth at 12:30 a.m. and was out of control within an hour. This threatened the Interstate Bridge crossing to Superior. The night watchman reported that the fire was started in three locations, which gave rise that German saboteurs were at work. On the Mesabi Iron Range when the Secret Service warned of possible sabotage at an ore plant, members of the 4th Minnesota Infantry, on guard duty, refused Christmas furloughs in order to protect the property. A prominent "Austrian" in Duluth quickly reported to authorities of an Austrian agent who was watching Duluth manufacturing plants and factories and spreading propaganda. In Iron County, Michigan a Chicago & Northwestern train with fifty National Guardsmen aboard was nearly wrecked. Alert

section men found all the spikes in a section removed. They replaced them before the train arrived saved it.²⁰ The reaction to this growing hysteria and fear was rapid.

Enemy Aliens Imagined and Real

Menominee County and City in the Upper Peninsula had a high concentration of Enemy Aliens. In Menominee City the Enemy Aliens numbering 2,094 constituted 47 percent of the ethnic population but only twenty percent of the total population. In neighboring Menominee Township where farming was the major occupation, Enemy Aliens numbered 893 or 67 percent of the population.²¹ In November 1917 when German registration was enforced, 63 Germans registered per federal regulations, which was more registrants than all of the counties of the Upper Peninsula.²²

Throughout the Basin there were violent and less violent reactions to enemy aliens as immigrants from the German, the Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman Turk Empires were categorized. In Sault Ste. Marie and Port Arthur, Ontario there were large communities of Ukrainians from the provinces of Galicia and Bukovina located in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Some of the refused to pay allegiance to the Dominion of Canada while others argued with officials that they wanted to return to the Old Country as recruits. Obviously this was not allowed, as they would be killing Canadians and British. Some 1,600 were arrested and sent to an internment camp at Petewawa, east of the Soo. Others lost their jobs and were without funds and were willingly interned. At times others illegally crossed into the neutral United States seeking employment in lumber camps around the Soo but were returned to Canada. In 1917 many were released to provide critical farm laborers.

The state of Wisconsin had the highest concentration of German-born citizens in the 25 percentile. As a result there was anti-German reactions during this time of super-patriotism created by wartime propaganda. A vigilante group calling themselves the Knights of Liberty some 800 strong took responsibility for the attacks. In a letter to the editor of a local newspaper they stated: "We have no purpose to do injustice to any man, but we do feel that any treasonable and seditious acts, or utterances, demand prompt punishment. These cases must not be allowed to run indefinitely, without anything being done. We want action and we want it now."

On the Wisconsin shore of Lake Superior at Ashland there were six incidents of vigilantism against men suspected of pro-German sympathies that were kidnapped in the night, driven to remote locations and tarred and feathered. Professor E. A. Schimler was born in Germany and taught French at local Northland College. He was taken from his boarding house tarred and feathered but was unable to identify his assailants. The same was true to Adolph Anton, a bartender who was suspected of pro-German sympathies and dealt with in a similar manner. On April 9 he was taken from his home. In July a municipal judge dismissed the cases at a preliminary hearing. William Landriant, 62 was seized in front of a downtown hotel by a mob of fifty men who put a bag over his head, handcuffed him, drove him into the country and tarred and feathered him. Of German birth, Landriant was a deputy tax assessor who had lost his job due to suspected disloyalty. Despite dozens of witnesses to the kidnapping by unmasked men, no one claimed to know any of the participants. After receiving a threatening letter Landriant asked for police protection and subsequently fled to St. Paul, Minnesota. In early June 1918, Emil Kunze went to Ashland police headquarters to report hearing men outside his

home conspiring to tar and feather him for his alleged pro-Germanism and asked to sleep in a jail cell. He then quit his truck driving job and left town. In July and October, 1918 Martin Johnson, a farmer of nearby Sweden, Wisconsin and John Oestrycher a farmer living eight miles outside Ashland were tarred and feathered. Oestrycher was attacked for not buying Liberty Bonds and for being “pro-German.”

In general the local citizenry was “pleased” with the action taken and there were no convictions. When the governor of Wisconsin sought to direct an inquiry into these charges he found people uncooperative including the John C. Chapple, editor of the *Ashland Daily Press*. Two months after the war ended the Knights of Liberty disbanded having readily engaged in unconstitutional behavior.

In West Duluth Frank Jablinsky publically questioned America’s winning capability. He was summarily discharged from his job at the Minnesota Radiator Company and then his co-workers made him apologize and kiss the American flag.²³ In September, 1918 members of Duluth’s Knights of Liberty grabbed a Finnish immigrant, Olli Kinkkonen from his boarding house and proceeded to tar and feather him and then lynched him. His “crime” was that he did not want to fight in the war having planned on returning to Finland. His body was found two weeks after the murder hanging from a tree in Duluth’s Lester Park. Duluth authorities concluded that it was a suicide to which Kinkkonen had been driven having been “humiliated” by the tar and feathering. Anti-Finnish sentiment was powerful throughout the region and thus this result. Newspapers justified these acts as “noble acts retribution for the despicable crimes of the Huns.”

In Michigan, Governor Albert Sleeper and his cabinet had to deal with similar concerns. A few days after declaration of war the state legislature authorized the

governor to develop the Michigan State Constabulary, the forerunner of the State Police. Roy Vandercook, secretary to the War Security Board created the mounted constabulary. Its mission was to replace the National Guard, which had been federalized and on its way to France, and enforce state laws. As a result anti-war advocates and labor strikers could protest and picket as long as state laws were not violated. The Constabulary proved itself putting down IWW strikes and related threats in the Upper Peninsula. They also guarded an important hydroelectric plant on the Menominee River that provided power to the war industry, especially food manufacturing and electrical equipment in Menominee-Marquette. They were heartily welcomed by citizens throughout the Peninsula and the state because they made people secure without violating constitutional rights.

Minnesota Germans were the largest ethnic group in the state and seen as potential enemies. The state legislature created the Public Safety Commission at the onset of the war committed to getting the public—from the smallest child to the oldest adult—to support the war and root out “enemies.” The committee suspended civil rights of citizens and aliens, set up an armed militia, and created a network of spies. It raided the offices of the IWW in Duluth and on the Iron Range and this led to the arrest of many leaders and it denied employees the right to unionize during the war. It set up measures to pressure people to purchase Liberty Bonds. German immigrants were especially suspect because many were socialists and pacifists and were targeted as “un-American.” The Commission wanted professional agitators of violence and disloyalty classified as vagrants so that people could be rounded up who could not be tried for treason but could be arrested under the new classification.²⁴ At the Hotel Duluth on August 20, 1917, the

Duluth New Tribune wrote that flying ace Eddie Rickenbacker called for “Right-Wing Extremism” to aid the war effort.

The American Protective League, a highly secret service volunteer division of the Department of Justice organized a division of Duluth citizens. It was highly efficient and had no peer of similar groups in the United States. Through investigation it cleared up more cases of pro-Germanism and sedition; had the highest number of arrests sending the guilty to state and federal prisons; rounded up army deserters and slackers. The story is told that the League’s members discovered and demolished seventeen wireless stations in northern Minnesota capable of delivering messages from coast to coast operated by German ex-officers or under German supervision. Their “Flying Squadron” of autos, owned by fifteen prominent Duluth citizens covered over fifty thousand miles pursuing their duty. Since Duluth and the North Country were seen as a Mecca for draft dodgers (slackers), drifters, and deserters the League travelled on snowshoes covering Wisconsin and Michigan to find violators in logging camps, trappers’ shacks or even logging drives.

In Wisconsin, the Wisconsin Defense League formed on March 24, 1917 and then in September it became a more aggressive Wisconsin Loyalty Legion. It went after slackers, distributed patriotic literature, and funded Four-Minute-Men in Ashland, Bayfield, Hurley and Superior. A.W. Sanborn of Ashland was an officer of the legion and personally saw to it that patriotism was promoted and disloyalty was rooted out.²⁵

During this time of patriotic fervor, even clergymen especially those with German backgrounds were found suspect of pro-German or pro-Austrian leanings. At Superior, Wisconsin the Catholic bishop, Bohemian-born Joseph Maria Koudelka (1913-1922) a strong religious leader became entangled with some of his clergy over parish

assignments. They in turn reported that he was pro-German and had betrayed the local war effort. The Wisconsin Loyalty Legion became interested in the charges. As a result in July and September 1918 FBI agents visited Superior and investigated the bishop. Koudelka defended his allegiance and presented materials he wrote in support of the war. Agent W.N. Parker reported, "Bishop Koudelka is not guilty of disloyalty. . . . It hardly seems probably that a man of his intelligence and wisdom would put himself in a position of disloyalty to this country." Instead, Parker suggested the squabble between bishop and priests "should be attributed to differences of opinion founded upon nationality rather than upon a question of patriotism it would therefore seem that this department should not in any way whatsoever mix in the fight involved between the nationalities of the priests of the Diocese of Superior." He recommended that the investigation be closed and that ended the disloyalty question.²⁶

In Winnipeg the first bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, Galician-born, Nykyta Budka (1877-1949) became a strong supporter of Ukrainian interests in Canada. Immediately before Canada joined the war he issued a pastoral letter calling for support of the Austrian-Hungarian emperor, Franz Joseph and called to reservists to return to their homeland to enlist and fight. Although he rescinded his position once Canada was in the war, this enflamed existing suspicions of security concern among Ukrainians by the public and government and ultimately led to the internment of Ukrainians.

Reverend C.H. Auerswald, pastor of the German Lutheran Church in Menominee was arrested and in municipal court found guilty of making seditious remarks. He paid the \$100 fine and spent 90 days in the county jail.

Elsewhere in the region, both Catholic and Lutheran clergy openly supported the war effort. In April 1917 Father Francis X Barth, noted for his civic interest in Escanaba gave a patriotic speech titled, “Democracy in Danger” which was declared, “the greatest ever heard in Escanaba.” He told the crowd in the Strand Theater, “Jews gave to the world religion, Greece gave letters, Rome gave law and the United States of America gave democracy” and now democracy was under severe attack by the Germans. Father H.A. Bucholtz, rector of St. Peter cathedral in Marquette in May, 1917 spoke to a capacity crowd at Baraga Auditorium. He attacked slackers, praised the work of the Marquette Patriotic League and encouraged enlistments as we were fighting “a holy war.” In Duluth Rev. Stanley A. Iciek, of Polish heritage, for more than a year played a prominent role in Red Cross work and was a leader in Duluth’s multifold civic activities. In October, 1918 he left to serve as a chaplain with the Polish army in France.²⁷

Feeding the War Effort and Rationing Materials

Throughout the region national, state, and provincial governments promoted food production. Newspapers promoted the idea that this would do its part “to defeat the Hun.” This was especially true of the magazine *Clover-Land* whose pre-war goal was to fill the region with farmers on cutover forest. Now it was calling the area the “Garden Empire of the Northwest” and strongly supported Michigan Governor Sleeper’s call for support of the war effort. Farmers in Wisconsin and Michigan planted more sugar beets for the war effort. In Grand Marais, Minnesota by May 1917 the populace, following national encouragement, prepared gardens on a larger scale than 1916. There was a call for the production of more maple syrup to replace sugar used for the troops.

Berries—blueberry, raspberry, thimbleberry, and blackberry—are a common commodity throughout the region and during the war they were picked by the hundreds of bushels and preserved. They were used in place of butter and in general kept down household expenses and helped the war effort. Wild cherries and nuts—hazel and beech—also added to the diet from the forests.

Families and young children planted victory gardens, which played an important role in providing family food. In late April, 1917 Potato Clubs formed and barley was promoted as a grain to grow where corn was unproductive. Mining companies like Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company in Ishpeming provided acreage where crops could be grown and set aside an acre so children could garden. One group of children through garden clubs grew and harvested crops valued at \$3,328 and 903 quarts of canned fruits and vegetables were produced. In Chippewa County where agriculture dominated the economy, farmers announced that they would increase production for the war. Unfortunately not everyone was patriotically concerned and garden thefts took place.²⁸

In Michigan the state furnished farmers with additional seeds and encouraged city dwellers to plant gardens. As a result of this there was a 25 percent increase in food production in 1917 in the state. During the harvest season the state encouraged children, college students, and women as part of their patriotic duty to engage in the harvest.

There was a plan to continue the introduction of sheep for victory. The Soo Line railroad provided free farmland along its right-of-way. Even in tiny Cook County, Minnesota on the Canadian border war gardens were possible and promoted even in the far north.

An important part of the civilian involvement in the war effort was the focus on food rationing. As an agricultural leader, Wisconsin, was the first state to organize state and county-level Councils of Defense to help educate citizens about the war and necessary sacrifices needed to win. Magnus Swenson, Council chair promoted victory gardens and meatless and wheatless days. The U.S. Food Administration under Herbert Hoover used many of his ideas for the entire nation. The slogan, “Save the fleet. Eat less wheat” was used by the Food Administration to encourage substitutes—ground oats, cornmeal, rice, barley, potatoes, and buckwheat to replace wheat. Newspapers were filled with rationing encouragement like “Wheat Corn Yeast Bread.” As an introduction to the recipe it was pointed out that “wheat-corn bread was more nutritious than bread baked with wheat flour alone.” In patriotic gesture it was pointed out that thousands of American families used the mixed flour bread “and in so doing are enabling American to produce more wheat flour for the allies.” This was referred to as the “Victory Loaf” and hotels and restaurants had to serve it.

Meat—pork and beef—along with butter, sugar and wheat were rationed so that there would be more of these products for the troops. At Calumet in early 1917 the soda water factories operated only two days a week because of sugar rationing. Throughout the Lake Superior Basin maple sugar was readily available in the vast forests. Unrationed maple sugar and syrup replaced sugar. In Houghton County people especially immigrants added to the meat supply. Hunters took to the woods and hunted their share of rabbits. As the newspaper reporter wrote “rabbit is said to be almost the only viand finding its way into a great many homes.” This practice was carried out in Minnesota as well. In other areas people were encouraged to produce home-made cheese and can meat products.²⁹

The Food Administration developed a teaching program to instill conservation, to be taught in the normal or teachers' schools at Marquette, Superior and Duluth during the summer. The schoolteachers taking the course were instructed to preach "the gospel of economy throughout America in forgettable times."³⁰ Not only was food produced, but also programs were developed to show housewives how to can the harvest. At Duluth as elsewhere, canning demonstrations by women's groups were popular as was the use of kitchen supplies and equipment. The Marquette Patriotic League not only encouraged enlistments but also spread the propaganda to increase food production and conservation.³¹ For example, throwing rice at wedding parties was labeled as "unpatriotic."³²

Further promoting rationing and food economy ditties called "Hooveritis" after Herbert Hoover in charge of Food Administration appeared in newspapers:

Each paper, book and magazine,
 Sprouts upward like a geyser
Recipes for saving things;
 We're growing thin and wiser,
We salt down beans, dehydrate greens,
 Store up foods like a miser;
We're going to preserve the world,
 Also can the Kaiser.

Increased fishing throughout Lake Superior was underway during the war. Both nations strenuously promoted commercial fishing. Each government wanted the public to eat more fish. Housewives were provided cooking instructions and new efficient commercial canning operations were developed. Herring was taken from the waters around Isle Royale and shipped to Duluth via Grand Marais. In early 1918 the Canadian government spent \$200,000 to make improvements for expanding fishing on Lake Nipigon.³³

The pressure to produce large fish harvests from all of the Great Lakes including Lake Superior had a negative impact on the fish population. In the period from 1914 to 1918 government encouragement and high fish prices saw the average harvest greater than any five-year period in the twentieth century.³⁴

Fishermen found that Belgian linen produced a fine quality of material to be used for fishnets. With the German invasion of Belgium production ended and even if it continued getting the linen to the United States it would be problematic. As a result Lake Superior fishermen reworked and reused nets that would have been destroyed in the past.³⁵

In Minnesota the state fish and game commission and the Public Safety Commission promoted gathering inland lake fish like whitefish, chub/tullibee and even suckers and shipped them to communities. In the latter part of 1917 Cass Lake and adjoining lakes in Crow Wing County were the source of these fish. The price was kept low at five cents a pound and by eliminating the suckers they not only promoted the war effort, but also got rid of undesirable fish and promoted game fishing.³⁶

If food was rationed so was coal and locally the people had to deal with the coal shortage. In Duluth, Fort William and Port Arthur they had heatless days, which were strictly kept. This even went into three consecutive days without heat in February! Men and women were encouraged to dress appropriately and put aside their summer wear. Churches re-scheduled, combined or closed to deal with the fuel shortage.³⁷ In an effort to alleviate the coal shortage, a writer for the local magazine, *Clover-Land* in January 1918 noted that there were millions of acres in the Upper Peninsula and throughout the region where if we can look beyond the stumps a windfall could be readily used for fuel.

The collection of scrap metal developed community solidarity and focused both young and old on the war and their personal involvement. In both countries adults organized children to collect scrap metal, with the Boy Scouts most obviously involved. This “scrap metal” or secondary metal was not merely junk metal but would be turned into weapons of war. In Marquette an elaborate decorative copper embrasure over the main entrance of the county court house was removed and never replaced. A few blocks away at the Savings Bank Building iron balconies were removed as well. This type of scrap metal collection took place throughout the Lake Superior Basin.³⁸

Geographic and Social Connections

Prior to the war at the western and eastern ends of Lake Superior, the people in the United States and Canada developed close relations on various social levels. At the two Soos a short ferry trip united the two towns, families, businesses, and hockey in both communities. In northern Minnesota and northwestern Ontario the communities were more isolated but were united by sports—baseball (Northern League), curling, hockey, the Shriners, Rotary, real estate enterprises, and railways. The Canadian Northern Railway linked the grain-rich Prairie Provinces with Lake Superior at Port Arthur. It also established the Duluth, Winnipeg & Pacific Railway, which brought excess grain to the elevators at Duluth.

The land connection between Minnesota and Ontario played an important role in the developments between the two countries. Modern Highway 64 was begun in 1915 and was slowly improved and completed. The missing link was the Pigeon River Bridge, which united the two nations and was promoted by the Rotary Cubs of Duluth and Fort

William-Port Arthur. At the August 1917 dedicated speakers praised it as a symbol of unity between the two nations at a terrible time in their history – the Great War.³⁹

End OF Part One

This study will be concluded in the 1918 issue of *Upper Country*. It will focus on recruitment, transportation, mining, and industry among other topics.

¹ John W. Larson. *Essayons: A History of the Detroit District U.S. Army Corps of Engineers*. Detroit, Mich.: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1981, p. 135.

² *Marquette Mining Journal*, August 4, 1917.

³ Thomas A. Britten. *American Indians in World War I: At War and At Home*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1998; *Evening News* (Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.) September 28, 1918.

⁴ *The New North* (Rhineland, Wisconsin), May 23, 1918.

⁵ *The Cook County News-Herald*, October 2, 1918.

⁶ Edward S DeNomie Papers and Photographs deposited at the Wisconsin Veterans Museum, Madison, Wisconsin.

⁷ Timothy C. Winegard. *For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians in the First World War* (Winnipeg, Man.: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), p. 10; Janice Summerby. *Native Soldiers, Forgotten Battlefields* (Communications Division, Veterans Affairs, 1993), p. 7; “Twenty Indians in the Ranks of the 52nd,” *Port Arthur News Chronicle* November 4, 1915.

⁸ *Canadian Almanac and Directory . . . 1914* (Toronto, Ont.: Copp Clark Publishing Company, Ltd., 1913), pp. 58 and 59; 1911 Canadian Census Ontario, Algoma West and Thunder Bay and Rainy River.

⁹ *Thirteenth Census of the United States . . . 1910. Population*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913, Vol. 2, pp. 932, 934, 936, 938, 940, 942, 944, 946, 996, 999, 1000, 1002, 1004, 1010; Vol. 3, pp. 1082, 1084, 1086, 1096

¹⁰ Joseph Yacoub. *Year of the Sword: The Assyrian Christian Genocide: A History*. Translated by James Ferguson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 1-31.

¹¹ *Weekly Mining Journal* October 16, 1917, January 25, 1918.

¹² *Duluth News-Tribune* June 26, 1915.

¹³ *Virginia Enterprise* August 15, 1914, July 31, 1914, September 17, 1915; *Duluth News-Tribune* July 31, 1914, August 1, 1914, August 8, 1914, August 19, 1914, August 28, 1914, September 1, 1914.

¹⁴ *Ironwood Times* September 29, 1917; *Mining Journal* April 15, 1916, August 4, 1917, January 25, 1918, February 6 and 7, 1918.

¹⁵ *Weekly Mining Journal* April 14, 1917, June 4, 1917

¹⁶ *Clover-Land* 7:7 (July 1918).

¹⁷ *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* July 11, 1917.

¹⁸ *Weekly Mining Journal* April 14, 1917.

¹⁹ *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* June 15, 1917.

²⁰ *Minneapolis Star Tribune* December 25, 1917; *Weekly Mining Journal* March 31, 1917, April 28, 1917.

²¹ Russell M. Magnaghi, *Ethnics and Their Occupations As Seen in the 1910 Federal Census of Michigan's Upper Peninsula* (Marquette, Mich.: Northern Michigan University, Center for Upper Peninsula Studies, 2010) (on-line), Menominee County: Menominee City and Township.

²² *Clover-Land* 6:3 (November 1917).

²³ *Duluth News Tribune* 04-12-1918; July 10, 1918.

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- ²⁴ *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* May 16, 1917, June 27, 1917.
- ²⁵ Lorin Lee Cary. "The Wisconsin Loyalty Legion, 1917-1918," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 53:1 (Autumn 1969): 38-50.
- ²⁶ William H. Thomas. "The United States Department of Justice and Dissent during the First World War," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 2002.
- ²⁷ *Clover-Land* 7:3 (April 1918); 8:3 (August 1918); *Duluth News-Tribune* October 23, 1918; *Marquette Weekly Mining Journal* May 12 and 19, 1917.
- ²⁸ *The Cook County Times-Herald* 05-16-1917; *Weekly Mining Journal* April 28, 1917, May 5, 1917, May 12, 1917, September 15, 1917; *Calumet News* October 2, 1918.
- ²⁹ *Daily Mining Gazette* (Houghton, Michigan), "The Week that Was," January 17-24, 1917; *The Cook County News-Herald* May 9, 1917; *Weekly Mining Journal* February 7, 1918.
- ³⁰ *Minneapolis Star Tribune* July 19, 1917.
- ³¹ Frank M. Surface and Raymond L. Bland. *American Food in the World War and Reconstruction Period. Operations of the Organization Under the Direction of Herbert Hoover 1914 to 1924* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1931); Watson S. Moore. "How Wheat Was saved to feed allied folk," *The New York Times* January 5, 1919, p. 80; *The New North* (Rhineland, Wisconsin) January 31, 1918; *Weekly Mining Journal* May 5, 1917; January 28, 1918.
- ³² *Clover-Land* 6:5 (May 1917); 7:3 (March 1918); 7:4 (April 1918); 7:6 (June 1918);
- ³³ *The Cook County News-Herald* December 18, 1918; *Fort William Daily Tribune Journal* February 13, 1918.
- ³⁴ Margaret Beattie Bogue. *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History, 1783-1933*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001, pp. 275-76.
- ³⁵ *Weekly Mining Journal*, April 1, 1916; *Cook County News Herald*, September 4, 1918.
- ³⁶ *Brainerd Daily Dispatch*, November 14, 1917 and March 8, 1918.
- ³⁷ *Weekly Mining Journal*, January 25 and 26, 1918.
- ³⁸ Jeff Keshen. *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War* (Edmonton, Alb.: University of Alberta Press, 1996); "The Junkman As a Captain of Industry," *Business Digest and Investment Weekly* 5 (February 27, 1918): 279.
- ³⁹ *The Cook County News-Herald*, August 16, 1915, January 17, 1917, August 15 and 22, 1917.