In the Shadows of the Shafts

Remembering mining in the Keweenaw Peninsula, Michigan in 1972-1978

Meeri Karoliina Kataja

University of Helsinki

Faculty of Social Sciences

Political History

Master's Thesis

May 2020

Tiedekunta/Osasto – Fakultet/Sektion – Faculty	Laitos – Institution – Department
Faculty of Social Sciences	

Tekijä – Författare – Author
Meeri Karoliina Kataja

Työn nimi – Arbetets titel – Title
In the Shadows of the Shafts: Remembering Mining in the Keweenaw Peninsula, Michigan in 1972–1978

Oppiaine – Läroämne – Subject
Political History

Työn laji – Arbetets art – Level	Aika – Datum – Month and year	Sivumäärä – Sidoantal – Number of pages
Master's Thesis	May 2020	89

Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

Copper mining has characterized the Keweenaw Peninsula, in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, from the 1840s. The industry that lasted in the region over 100 years has been profoundly studied, but the industrial heritage has received less attention. This study is interested in the memory of mining and in the future prospects of locals right after the closure of the mines in 1969. This study is data-driven, using the interviews conducted within the Finnish Folklore and Social Change in the Great Lakes Mining Region Oral History Project by the Finlandia University in 1973-1978. The method is thematic analysis, which is used to identify, analyze and report themes related to talk on the mines, mining, the 1913 Strike, and the future.

Two main themes are negative and positive talk. Within negative talk, three sub-themes are identified: insecurity, disappointment and loss. There is more negative talk within the data set, especially because of the 1913 Strike and the Italian Hall Disaster, which were still commonly remembered. In addition, insecurity is present with topics like working conditions, copper mining operations and workers' organization. The theme of disappointment is most clear in parts where the interviewees are talking about the economic heritage of mining and strikes that were organized after 1913 too. Loss is felt with the dying industry itself, with environmental heritage, but also when discussing the many men who died in the mines.

The sub-themes of positive talk are paternalism, comfort and communality. Paternalism is mostly seen positively: the mining companies took care of the people and the communities. Keweenaw was a single-industry area and the interviewees found comfort in having the mines operating, as this was all they had. The theme of communality includes talk on achievements outside the mining shafts. Interestingly, the region was able to maintain a stable, yet smaller population. Education in particular became important, and many interviewees saw hope in the future even without the mines. The themes within future talk respond well with the themes identified within the remembrance of mining.

The history of mining in the Copper Country has largely followed the grand narrative of mining sites. This study focuses on what happens after mining activities come to an end, which is always the case with boom-and-burst industries. It brings to the forefront the locals that have been recognized as important actors in mining operations. In a broad meaning, industrial heritage can comprise the experiences, beliefs and attitudes of locals. In this case, the regionality of industrialization, modernity and de-industrialization is clear, and it can be taken as an example of the industrial heritage of mining.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
Mining, memory, single-industry, locality, industrial heritage

List of Figures

1.1 Map of Keweenaw Peninsula

6.1 Thematic Map

Content

1 Introduction **1**

1.1 Research questions 4

2 Literature review **8**

3 Theory **14**

3.1 Oral History 15

3.2 Mining and Industrial Heritage 19

4 Data and methods **26**

4.1 Oral history collection 26

4.2 Oral History and interviews as data 28

4.3 Thematic Analysis 31

5 History of the Keweenaw Peninsula **36**

5.1 Early stages and maturity of the Keweenaw mines 36

5.2 Shadows over the shafts 42

5.3 Shadows over the communities 45

6 Results **50**

6.1 Negative talk: insecurity, disappointment, loss 54

6.2 Positive talk: paternalism, comfort, communality 66

7 Discussion **75**

8 Conclusions **79**

References **83**

1 Introduction

> Miners sank shafts that usually ran down through the copper lode itself. --- They were multipurpose thoroughfares. They opened up ground at ever greater distances from the surface. They served as key passageway for moving men and materials and for hoisting copper rock. Shafts allowed fresh air to enter and stale air to exit the underground. They also carried technological systems into a mine, such as pump rods and pipes for unwatering, pipelines that carries compressed air to drive machinery, and, later, electrical and telephone lines. Often the shafts were divided into two compartments, separated by a plank wall. The working compartment held all the appliances for mechanically transporting men, materials, and rock. The second compartment housed a ladderway for men.[1]

Here, the role of mining shafts in Keweenaw Peninsula is described by Larry Lankton. These shafts were a central part of locals' life in the area that is also called the Copper Country, in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. From the mid-19th century to the mid-20th century Copper Country's copper mining experienced the best and the worst times, and the industry saw many changes in technology, world economy and workers' unions. Before copper mining the Keweenaw Peninsula, was a remote and unknown area, inhabited by Native Americans. Copper changed it all, and from 1845-1887 the area was America's leading copper producer. The Copper Country truly earned its moniker, and the industry defined the region inside and out. The town of Calumet was cosmopolitan and cultured, and almost became the capitol of Michigan in 1848. With sculptured art, commissioned architecture, a public bathhouse, streetcars, paved roads, electric streetlights and a multilingual library, it was home to many innovations during its heyday. At its peak, the number of inhabitants reached 100 000. Thanks to urbanization and electrification the demand of copper was high, but the years after the First World War were not as easy. At the latest, the Great Depression forced many mines to shut down. The Second World War gave a little hope, but in the 1950s it became evident that the mines would not be able to continue. When the last mine closed in 1969, many people lost their jobs and the common single-industry phenomena happened: jobs, opportunities and residents in the Copper Country became

[1] Lankton, L. (1991). *Cradle to grave: Life, work, and death at the Lake Superior copper mines*. New York: Oxford U.P., 27.

notably fewer. After the shafts shut their doors life became irrevocably different. Those who stayed had a reason to miss the good old times.

Mining was tough work, in a meaning that you were lucky if you were physically well after your work shift. In the Copper Country at least 1,900 men died in underground accidents and this was never “the company’s fault”. There were a few bigger accidents, but lots of one-man incidents. On top of the accidents, many died of disease, and had severe breathing symptoms. Despite the disagreeable working conditions or the environment around the mines, the cities depended on mining, which brought lots of prosperity to the region. At the time, death of children and infants was common, and everybody knew the risks of miner’s work, so death was not always so shocking. What became a shared tragedy in the community was the Italian Hall Disaster on Christmas Eve in 1913. Seventy-three people, including 58 children, were trampled to death when people were unable to leave the building during the panic caused by someone yelling “Fire!”. The disaster happened during the Copper Country Strike when violence was common on both sides. The strike of 1913-1914 still characterizes the memory of mining in the Copper Country. It made clear that the era of accepted paternalism and local agreement had ended. Locally, the strike was about working conditions, like the introduction of the one-man drill, but it was also part of the global organization of workers. The companies hated that something external, like the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) had an influence in their region. The strike lasted for eight and a half months and did not achieve its goals. It also proved that Finns, who were the biggest ethnic group in the area, were active in reaching towards socialist dreams.

Copper mines in the West challenged the Copper Country very fast at the end of the 19th century. However, the World Wars boosted the demand for copper, and mines were able to cease operations for some time and then resume them during the first half of the 20th century. Bigger companies, like Calumet & Hecla, were able to buy smaller ones but it was not enough to save them. In 1969, all native copper mining activities had ceased in the Copper Country. At this point, the industry had produced about 5 million tons of the red metal and chased it down mine shafts as far below the surface as 2,8 kilometers. Buildings like mining shafts were left to stand and get ruined, and local bodies of water full of tailings. It was only after the closure of most of the mines that environmental issues became a problem. There was no need for organized

environmental activism to raise these questions, because they were, and still are, related to such mundane questions as eating local fish or taking a dip in Lake Portage. About 110 kilometers south of the heart of the old mining district a new copper mine, White Pine mining copper sulfide, continued to operate until 1995, despite its environmental problems. When it was announced that the mine will be closed, locals blamed environmentalists and environmental acts. I have been unable to find a study on how people in the region nowadays see mining activities, but all these open questions are relevant because there are plans to re-open mines in the Copper Country. There is plenty of copper left, and with modern technology mining could become profitable again.

The industry touched every aspect of life. The Quincy Mine in the town of Hancock was looming on top of the hill and reminded even the people who did not work for the company that this was a single-industry region. The companies played an all-encompassing role, and the relation to local community was paternalistic: they took care of the community by building houses, schools, churches, and hospitals. With high probability, one's father, husband or brother worked in a mine, and of course, many women worked in board houses and other mining-related activities. The area lived out of mining and there was no place and no individual that was not impacted by its side effects. Quincy Mine's n:o 2 shaft-rockhouse is still standing and reminds the locals of the first mineral boom in the United States (U.S.). Quincy had a nickname "Old Reliable" because it paid dividends every year from 1862 to 1920 and kept on going through the hard times. Established in 1848, it was one of the early mines and the discovery of the Pewabic lode on its property made it the second largest mining company in the area by the 1880s. Quincy Mine was closed in 1945 and it is now a preserved attraction operated by the Quincy Mine Hoist Association.[2]

Copper Country cities like Hancock and Calumet did not become one of those ghost towns one can find in the West. During the 1913 Strike and other bad times, many people moved to Detroit to work for Ford, and to other bigger cities to find employment. Later, many of these people came back to the north when they were retiring. In 2018, there were approximately 40,000 people left in the Copper Country,

[2] Retrieved from https://quincymine.com/ on April 20, 2020.

but the population has become stable and the region is still highly respected among locals. Hancock-Houghton area was lucky to have two universities: Michigan Technological College and Finlandia University. The former is a public research university founded in 1885 as the Michigan Mining School to train mining engineers to better operate the local copper mines. Later it got also an Industrial Heritage program which participated in local heritage preservation actions. The latter was founded as Suomi College in 1896 by the Finnish immigrants who are still very visible in the area: Korhonen sells insurances and Leinonen rents snowmobiles, Kaleva Café entices you with *pannukakku* instead of the American version, vowels are prolonged in speech. Many of these Finnish American ancestors worked in the mines and rarely got the best jobs because they lacked experience, especially when compared to Cornish workers and other Europeans. Finns were known for their political activity and for their presence in the events of the 1913 Strike and the Italian Hall Disaster. Finnish Americans are an important part of this study, because my data was collected among them in a project conducted by Finlandia University in 1972-1978.

1.1 Research questions

My interest to study the mining history in the Copper Country arose when I was working as an intern at the Finnish American Heritage Center's archive and lived five months in Hancock in the winter of 2018-2019. While there, I came across the Finnish Folklore and Social Change in the Great Lakes Mining Region Oral History project conducted in the area in the 1970s. I had planned to conduct my own interviews, but this resource presented a great opportunity to use pre-existing data to study locals' opinions and memories on mining right after the closure of the mines. This thesis is interested in the regional heritage and remembering of the mines in the Copper Country. It is very data-driven and I have tried to step back from previous literature and theories related to mining sites in the early stages of my research, and to stay open to the data itself. Mining sites and industrial heritage have been studied extensively in recent years and I did not want to approach the data from these perspectives. Instead, I sought to identify themes in the data and only after this see how they link to similar studies in other regions.

This study is linked to mining history and industrial heritage in general, as well as to the whole history of the Copper Country, which has been profoundly studied. Thanks to the previous research, I have been able to get an overall picture, and go into details of many aspects where needed. I have been unable to find literature on how locals remembered mining and approached the future, especially in this rich oral history collection. Most of the studies in the field focus on the era of mining activities, whereas few ask what happened after the mines were closed; what the industrial heritage is; and how locals have experienced all these changes. Copper mining shaped the Keweenaw Peninsula for over 100 years, and its legacy continues to affect life there. For this reason, my study will bring valuable knowledge to the discussion of the history of the Copper Country and also to the wider discussion of industrial heritage. This study is important, because it participates in drawing a picture of the mining history's heritage in the Copper Country and brings locals to the forefront. Extractivism is living a second coming, and despite the historic and local nature of this study, it is related to pressing current issues. Nguyen et al have found out that even when extractivism brings benefits to a country, it might have different impacts on a local level[3]. Locality is important in resource extraction since activities are often very limited in a temporal sense, and overwhelming in a physical and environmental sense. The same development is true historically: although industrialization has enabled modernity, the two are not always visible in the same region. Resource extraction might always be profitable nationally, but not regionally. Industrial heritage and the management of it has been very different in different regions, and through this study we can learn more about the industrial heritage of the Copper Country.

In this research, I take part in the discussion of broadening the industrial heritage concept. The experiences, opinions and future prospects of the locals can be seen as a part of the industrial heritage in the region. My research asks how the mines and mining history were remembered right after the mines were closed in the Keweenaw Peninsula. What aspects did interviewers see as integral parts of the story of mining? Did economic, social or environmental heritage rise in the interviews? The work was comparable to slavery and money did not eventually stay in the area, but did people nevertheless consider mines as something positive in the end? Another aspect of

[3] Nguyen, N., Boruff, B., Tonts, M. (2017). *Mining, development and well-being in Vietnam: A comparative analysis*. The Extractive Industries and Society, Volume 4, Issue 3, 564-575.

interest is the future talk, since imaginations of the past and memory politics affect the future sense of regionality and industrial heritage management. How did people see the future of the area without mining? My method is thematic analysis, so I am trying to find answers to these questions by identifying themes in the data and by analyzing their meanings and connections. My intention is to form an idea of the post-mining atmosphere, a picture of industrial heritage from this one perspective.

Here I have set the research problem and the research questions. Next, I will review the literature that is important for my study and the previous research on the mining history in the Copper Country. This will position my research within the broader topic. After this, I will discuss the theoretical and practical aspects of the study. First, the Theory chapter will provide the conceptual foundation and analytical framework, and introduce oral history, mining history and industrial heritage. Second, the Data and Methods chapter will introduce the data, oral history collection, and discuss oral history interviews from this point of view. It will also explain thematic analysis and how the research was conducted in practice. In the fifth chapter, I will give a summary of the history of the Copper Country and its people. Here, the interviews are put into context and the background of that context is explained. Chapter six presents the analysis and results of themes related to the mining history and remembrance and to the future talk. After this, chapter seven discusses the results and includes the theoretical dialogue. In the conclusions, the broader significance of the results is discussed, the research is critically evaluated, and possible further research is defined. Figure 1.1 presents the location of Keweenaw Peninsula.

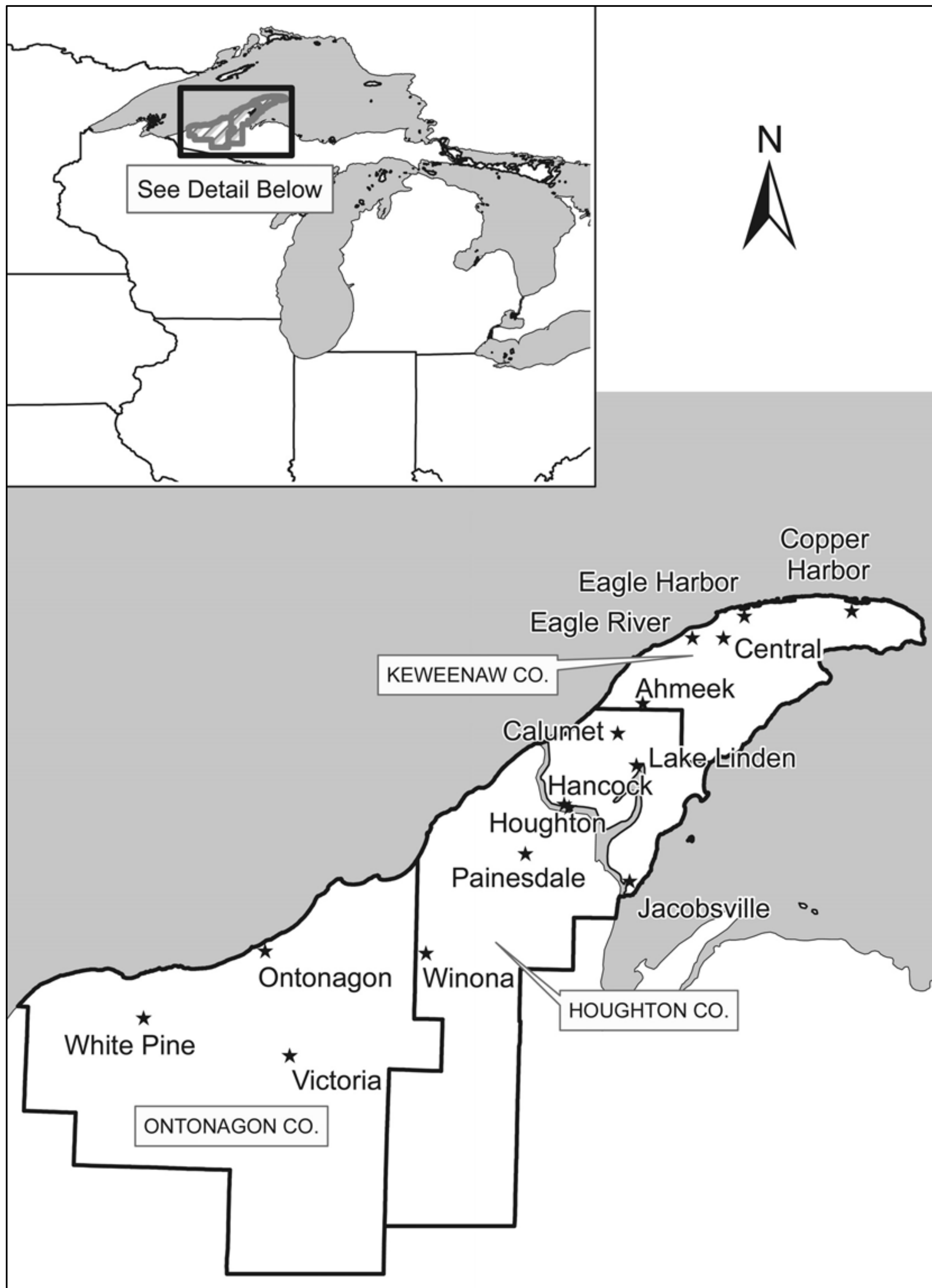

Figure 1.1 The Map of Keweenaw Peninsula

Note: Keweenaw Peninsula, Michigan. The area is called Copper Country thanks to its rich native copper deposits. Map copyright Timothy A. Goddard, 2008.

2 Literature review

The most important name in Copper Country mining history research is Larry Lankton, who is professor emeritus at Michigan Tech. He has studied the history of the area profoundly and from multiple perspectives. In his books *Cradle to Grave*[4], *Beyond the Boundaries*[5], and *Hollowed Ground*[6] he has dived into the trade, industry, communities, social aspects and technology of the Copper Country's copper mining. Already in 1982, he co-authored the book *Old Reliable: an illustrated history of the Quincy Mining Company*[7] together with Charles Hyde and the Quincy Mine Hoist Association. For my study, *Cradle to Grave* and *Hollowed Ground* have been the most valuable. In contrast, while the time frame of *Beyond the Boundaries* does not suit my purposes, it gives a detailed sense of life in the Copper Country in the early decades. In *Cradle to Grave,* Lankton goes into details of the copper deposits, the development of the mining techniques, and the changes in the communities. Through his books, I was able to form an overall picture of the mining history in the Copper Country. In *Hollowed Ground*, he documents the growth of the three most important mines—the Quincy, Calumet & Hecla, and Copper Range—and their paternalistic involvement in community buildings. In contrast to *Cradle to Grave*, Lankton goes beyond the closure of the mines in the 1960s and continues the story all the way to the closure of White Pine in 1995.

Paternalism and management-worker relations are present also in Alison Hoagland's work. She is a professor emerita of history and historic preservation at the Michigan Tech. In her book *Mine Town,* she has studied these topics through space and buildings in the Copper Country[8]. For her, the architecture built or facilitated by the companies was a vehicle for understanding the complex relationship of paternalism, since many of management's paternalistic actions concerned buildings, especially company-

---

[4] Lankton, 1991.
[5] Lankton, L. (1997). *Beyond the boundaries: Life and landscape at the Lake Superior copper mines, 1840-1875*. New York: Oxford University Press.
[6] Lankton, L. (2010). *Hollowed ground: Copper mining and community building on Lake Superior, 1840s-1990s*. Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press.
[7] Lankton, L. & Hyde, C. (1982). *Old Reliable: An illustrated history of the Quincy Mining Company*. Hancock (Mi): The Quincy Mine Hoist Association.
[8] Hoagland, A. (2010). *Mine Town: Buildings for workers in Michigan's Copper Country*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

owned houses, but also libraries, churches, schools, hospitals and more. She has argued that "in their interest in progressive managers and well-designed towns, historians have tended to overlook the conservative community-builders who held onto old models of corporate paternalism"[9]. Autocratic yet benevolent, guidance over a community was seen as the best way of doing things, and the traditional managers preferred to follow set patterns. To Hoagland, their desire for control seemed more embedded in their personalities than in any explicit strategy. This "father knows best" way of thinking did not characterize company managers only in the Copper County, but in many other industrial communities. However, the control was not absolute despite its top-down and autocratic nature. Workers played an important part in guiding and influencing this paternalistic relationship. Hoagland prefers to approach this as **negotiation**, over **agency** and **action** that some historians have found useful. Although workers were active participants, they did not take a seat at the bargaining table.[10]

Kent Curtis is a researcher with an interest in the nature of mining. In his book *Gambling on Ore*, he states that the defensiveness he has encountered during his projects reflects the basic failure of our historical storytelling about mining[11]. He reminds us that plans and investments were made on the basis of mineral resources as they existed in the market, rather than as they existed in the ground[12]. Mining history, like industrial history overall, has traditionally represented mining in a simple and straightforward manner. Its broader impacts are not understood and, for example, research on the history of electrification rarely mentions copper. The focus is on the process of extracting the material and on the communities around the industry. The process is looked from two perspectives, namely what happens before: the uncertainties and metals as a part of nature; and what happens after: how mining affects and changes our societies have been neglected. The patterns of dependency on mining have been replicated many times over. Curtis reminds us that they are barely mentioned or remembered how much mining was necessary to make the engineering of an atomic weapon possible, or that the rise of commercial air transport depended on both the availability of cheap electrical energy and the mining and processing of

---

[9] Hoagland, 2010, xxi.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Curtis, K. A. (2013). *Gambling on ore: The nature of metal mining in the United States, 1860-1910*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
[12] Ibid., 203.

bauxite to produce aluminum. Copper processors' overproduction of arsenic also contributed to an expanding pesticide industry that flourished after World War II.[13] The nature of mining is not the focus of my research, but I found Curtis' idea of rethinking the history of mining important to any study of the subject matter:

> The formation of the US metal mining industry during the nineteenth century, perhaps among the most important economic developments and environmental commitments in US history, did not take place as the predictable exploitation of a given natural wealth. Instead, from the start the metal mining industry made its own history by gambling on the unknown, gambling on ore, and then adjusting to the consequences or stepping aside for more ambitious developers.[14]

Christian Wicke has discussed the unevenness of industrialization in the book *Industrial Heritage and Regional Identities*, co-edited with Berger and Golombek,[15]. He states that industrialization has clearly different impacts at the regional level, since some regions face modernity and others de-industrialization. Hence, regions, rather than nations, might be the more useful spatial categories. He also reminds us that "assuming entire regions were turning completely post-industrial would be an overly holistic approach". Instead, particular sectors, communities, classes, families and individuals will always be influenced more than others.[16] In addition to de-industrialization, Wicke discusses industrial heritage and brings valuable insights to this study.

For the discussion of industrial heritage in the Copper Country, Bode Morin has conducted important research in his book *The Legacy of American Copper Smelting*[17]. Morin studied three premier copper mining locations: Kewenaaw Peninsula, Butte-Anaconda (Montana), and Tennessee's Copper Basin asking how heritage preservation and environmental clean-ups were reconciled, and how well the preservation has succeeded. The key environmental problem in Keweenaw was mining tailings, and in 1986, the area got into Superfund listing. The federal Superfund

---

[13] Curtis, 2013, 207.
[14] Ibid, 203.
[15] Wicke, C. (2018). Introduction: Industrial Heritage and Regional Identities. In: Wicke, C., Berger, S. & Golombek, J. (Ed.). *Industrial Heritage and Regional Identities*. London: Routledge.
[16] Ibid., 1-2.
[17] Morin, B. (2013). *The Legacy of American Copper Smelting: Industrial Heritage Versus Environmental Policy*. Vol. 1st ed. University Tennessee Press.

program administered by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) was signed into law in 1980, and is designed to investigate and clean up sites that are contaminated with hazardous substances. Though both clean-up and heritage preservation actions took place later than the oral history collection, Morin's book gave important knowledge on the industrial and environmental heritage situation in the Copper Country in the late 1900s. He has stated that whereas there tended to be exchange of mining workers and engineers among active mining districts, later an older generation tended to stay put, especially as production ended[18]. Morin has described the situation for the locals after the mines were closed:

> Those later residents had to face the ultimate decline of production and the indignities of not only deepening mineralogical insignificance, but also the implicit culpability of being party to serious environmental degradation without necessarily sharing in much, if any, of the wealth generated by mining. --- Those same forces that created these heroic landscapes, however, also significantly degraded the environment. The combination of mining decline, economic decline, blight, and loss of prestige with the need to clean up past egregious behavior and the stigma of Superfund led to a contrasting landscape of defeat.[19]

From a Finnish American perspective, both American and Finnish researchers have contributed to writing the history of Finnish immigration, also in the Copper Country. Arnold Alanen, Peter Kivisto and Paul Georg Hummasti have authored the most remarkable work of American researchers. Alanen has focused on landscape, buildings and physical environments and is the author of *Finns in Minnesota*[20], and co-editor of the recent book *Finns in the United States: a history of settlement, dissent, and integration*[21], with Auvo Kostiainen. His article *Finns and the Corporate Mining Environment of the Lake Superior Region* describes the salient features of the Lake Superior mining environment and discusses the Finnish community that dealt with the problems of industrial society in a unique and often controversial manner[22]. Kivisto is

[18] Morin, 2013, 182.
[19] Ibid, 182, 184.
[20] Alanen, A. (2012). *Finns in Minnesota*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.
[21] Alanen, A. & Kostiainen, A. (2014). *Finns in the United States: A history of settlement, dissent, and integration*. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press.
[22] Alanen, A. (1981). Finns and the Corporate Mining Environment of the Lake Superior Region. In: Finn Forum, Multicultural History Society of Ontario & Karni, M. G. (1981). *Finnish diaspora*: Papers of the Finn Forum conference, held in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, November 1-3, 1979. 2, United States. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario.

a sociologist and has studied socialist immigrants, integration and ethnicity[23]. Hummasti's specialty is cultural history, and he has studied Finnish immigrants in Oregon[24].

The younger generation of American scholars are Gary Kaunonen and Erik Hieta. Kaunonen, the author of *Finns in Michigan*[25], has a special interest in the working-class history and socialist movement of Finnish immigrants in the area. In his books *Challenge Accepted*[26] and *Community in Conflict*[27] he has focused on the conditions before the 1913 Strike and Finns' part in this event. He has stated that Finns were not the first or lone voices of discontent, but they were in leadership roles and joined the cause to create a more equal and democratic industrial society in large numbers[28]. They were determined to alter the course of Keweenaw labor and social relations and used direct action to reach this goal. Erik Hieta has studied, for example, the Finnish Relief Fund of 1939-1940 and the ethnic dilemma of second-generation Finnish Americans[29]. He has also written two articles in *Finns in the United States*[30]. One notable Finnish American is Armas Holmio, who worked as the archivist at the same institution where I worked during this research project, the FAHC. He has written the book *History of the Finns in Michigan*[31]. He is also among the interviewees in the Oral History Collection. This book brings the story of the contribution of Finnish immigrants into

---

[23] see e.g.: Kivisto, P. (1984). *Immigrant socialists in the United States: The case of Finns and the Left.* Rutherford: Farleigh Dickinson; Kivisto, P. & Faist, T. (2010). *Beyond a border: The causes and consequences of contemporary immigration*. Los Angeles: Pine Forge Press.
[24] see e.g. Hummasti, P. G. (2002). *Finns on Both Sides. The Development of Finnish Communities along the Lower Columbian River*. Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Summer 2002, 93:3, 137-145.; Hummasti, P. G. (1979). *Finnish radicals in Astoria, Oregon, 1904-1940: A study in immigrant socialism*. New York: Arno Press.
[25] Kaunonen, G. (2009). Finns in Michigan. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
[26] Kaunonen, G. (2010). Challenge accepted: A Finnish immigrant response to industrial America in Michigan's copper country. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
[27] Kaunonen, G. & Goings, A. (2013). Community in conflict: A working-class history of the 1913-14 Michigan Copper Strike and the Italian Hall Tragedy. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
[28] Kaunonen, 2010, xxi.
[29] Hieta, E. (2009). *Benefitting Finns: How the Finnish Relief Fund of 1939-1940 Impacted American Politics and Society*. Journal of Finnish Studies 13, no. 1: 24-31.; Hieta, E. (2017). *Finns and Finnicans: Walter Mattila and the Ethnic Dilemma of Second-Generation Finnish Americans*. Journal of Finnish Studies 20, no. 2: 31-54.
[30] Hieta, E. (2014). Distant Dreams, Different Realities: North American Immigrants Revisit Finland, 243-252; Help among Nations: The Humanitarian Impulse in American-Finnish Relations, 253-262. In Kostiainen, A. (2014). *Finns in the United States: A History of Settlement, Dissent, and Integration. East* Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
[31] Holmio, A. (2001). History of the Finns in Michigan. Wayne State University Press: Detroit. Original in Finnish: (1967). Michiganin suomalaisten historia. Hancock: Michiganin suomalaisten historia-seura - Society for the publication of the history of Michigan Finns.

the mainstream of the history of Michigan. Holmio combines first-hand experience and personal contact with the first generation of Finnish immigrants with research in Finnish-language sources to create a compelling story of an immigrant group and its role in the development of Michigan.

The original core of Finnish immigrant scholars is Reino Kero[32], Keijo Virtanen[33], Auvo Kostiainen[34] and later Hannu Heinilä[35]. Younger Finland-born researchers with extensive experience of North America are Johanna Leinonen and Mika Roinila. Leinonen has focused on gender and transnational families[36]. Roinila has studied Finland-Swedes in Michigan and in Canada and, for example, Finnish commercial fishermen on Lake Superior[37]. Language plays an important role in immigration studies. North American researchers are not familiar with Finnish, and although Finnish researchers have a better grasp of the English language, they have a considerable need for cultural experiences in North America. By the 1950s a "fileo-pietistic view" dominated the discussion and leftist tradition had been eclipsed, but in the 1970s the Red Finns were rediscovered by the third generation of Finnish Americans, led by Michael Karni[38]. Still, positive contributions were touted, the commemoration of the past was a strongly felt need by Finnish American historians, and the research has not always been as objective as it could.[39]

[32] Kero, R. (1986). *Suomen siirtolaisuuden historia: Osa 1, Pohjois-Amerikkaan suuntautuneen siirtolaisuuden tausta, määrä, rakenne, kuljetusorganisaatio ja sijoittuminen päämääräalueelle* (2. edition). Turku: University of Turku.
[33] Virtanen, K. (1979). *Settlement or return: Finnish emigrants (1860-1930) in the international overseas return migration movement.* Turku: Migration Institute of Finland.
[34] Kostiainen, A. (1978). *The forging of Finnish-American communism, 1917-1924: A study in ethnic radicalism*. Turku: Migration Institute of Finland.
[35] Heinilä, H. (2002). *Osuustoimintaliikekasvatus USA:n Keskilännessä 1917-1963*. Turku: Migration Institute of Finland.
[36] see e.g.: Leinonen, J. (2011). *Elite migration, transnational families, and the Nation State: international marriages between Finns and Americans across the Atlantic in the twentieth century.* Retrieved from the University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy, http://hdl.handle.net/11299/101803; Donato, K., Alexander, J., Gabaccia, D., & Leinonen, J. (2011). *Variations in the Gender Composition of Immigrant Populations: How They Matter*. International Migration Review, 45(3), 495–526. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2011.00856.x
[37] Roinila, M. (2012). Finland-Swedes in Michigan. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.; Roinila, M. (2003) Finnish commercial fishermen on Lake Superior: the rise and fall of an ethnic fishery, Middle States Geographer, 36:25-37.
[38] see e.g. Karni, M. & Kaups, M. (1975). *The Finnish experience in the Western Great Lakes region: New perspectives*. Turku: Migration Instute of Finland.
[39] Alanen & Kostiainen, 2014, 4.

3 Theory

The idea of qualitative research is to find new structures and meanings, previously indescribable ways to understand the human reality around us[40]. Due to the nature of my research material, the interview responses are treated as actively constructed narratives through which people describe their world. This constructionist position approaches narratives as something that need analysis themselves: the focus is on methods through which interviewers and interviewees generate plausible accounts of the world instead of treating accounts as true pictures of reality, even of the respondents' own life[41]. Oral history is always produced through the contemporary world and there is no reason to expect that the interviewees could describe the past as it "really" was. An experience does not become a narrative naturally and it cannot be interpreted from a narrative as it is but both narrative and interpretation include many choices[42]. For this reason, it is more fruitful to study how the past was remembered when it was seen through the lens of the present in the 1970s. Instead of asking what happened or how did the people feel, this research focuses on how people remembered the local mining history.

Reading and preliminary coding of research materials are not analytically neutral but are based on the researcher's epistemological and ontological understanding of what kind of phenomena the material includes, what is relevant and what is of special interest when analyzing[43]. Ontological questions ask what a research is about in a fundamental way, what the nature of the phenomena is, and what entities or social reality a researcher wishes to investigate. For my study, the key properties are memory, stories, attitudes and communities. I am looking for empirical patterns and approaching the interviews as multiple versions of realities. An epistemological position defines what might represent knowledge or evidence. Simply put, what is remembered tells us what memories are. However, interviewees might leave

---

[40] Ruusuvuori, J., Nikander, P. & Hyvärinen, M. (2010). Haastattelun analyysin vaiheet. In Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen (ed.), *Haastattelun analyysi*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 16.
[41] Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing qualitative research: A Practical Handbook* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: Sage, 238.
[42] Aaltonen, T. & Leimumäki, A (2010). Kokemus ja kerronnallisuus. In: Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen (ed.), *Haastattelun analyysi*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 147.
[43] Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative researching* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE Publications, 148.

something unsaid and intentionally or unintentionally alter the memory. Interviewees' responses are not treated as evidence of what has happened or what was remembered, but as evidence of the social situation in the 1970s. Interpretive reading involves me constructing a version of what I think the data represents or what I think I can infer from it. I am mostly concerned with what I see as the interviewees' interpretations and understandings, because I did not have a part in generating the data. In this chapter I will first discuss the relevant theoretical aspects of oral history, and then introduce the industrial heritage and my key concepts.

3.1 Oral History

Oral history is a method of research, but it also has theoretical aspects. Practice and theory are entwined in the conduct of oral history research. Since I did not conduct the interviews myself but instead used a pre-existing oral history collection, oral history as a product, not as a practice, is more important in my study. Oral history is distinct from other forms of collecting interview data in the way that they do not always focus on the act of remembering the past.[44] All personal narratives are embedded with something bigger. The aim is to link oral history individual narratives to the general experience, the personal experience to the public, and the past to the present. Here, theoretical insight will help us decode the complex historical document.[45] As Lynn Abrams has described oral historians' position nowadays:

> [they] feel sure of the distinctive elements of their practice, acknowledging that oral history is a subjective methodology, celebrating its orality, recognising that memory stories are contingent and often fluid, and in short arguing that oral sources must be judged differently from conventional documentary materials, but that this is no way detracts from their veracity and utility.[46]

What makes oral history different from other interview data is time. Memory must be considered with all interview material but with oral history, the events that are being discussed may have happened decades ago. In this research time plays a duplicate role.

---

[44] Abrams, L. (2010). Oral history theory. London; New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2.
[45] Ibid., 16.
[46] Ibid., 6.

Firstly, as a part of historical research and me interpreting the data in the 2020s; and secondly, as a part of oral history data and the interviewees remembering past events in the 1970s. Abrams has stated that we can only make sense of an experience if we do so in "a way that makes sense to others and therefore we use common or agreed frameworks and discourses to give shape and meaning to our stories"[47]. So, I have to be aware of the discursive constructions available to the respondents at the time they were reconstructing them and at the time they were remembering them. The fact that I am do not expect the interviewees to tell how things really were or treating their responses as pictures of reality does not solve all possible challenges with the oral history material.

One important aspect of oral history is the concept of self. The perception of the existence of the individualized self is a necessary precondition for producing a life narrative. Abrams has named three general elements of self-narration: 1) continuity of the self through time, 2) relation of the self to others, 3) reflexivity of the self. Most interviewees are comfortable in telling chronologically organized stories, traversing the usual milestones, and reconstructing the self as a coherent whole, as Abrams says, "I tells stories about the me by being aware of talking their self and reflecting themselves in relation to other people".[48] The self is always and continually socially constructed in a series of relationships with the interviewer, with the social world and with other versions of the self[49]. The self is a modern western concept, and the older interviewees in my material may be less influenced by the "confessional culture" and may have more respect for dominant historical narratives. There is a tension between the freedom of the individual in action and words and the reliance of the individual upon culture for discourses, models and language. So, an interviewee can say something meaningful about identity but by using public discourses.[50] Therefore, oral history sources are narrative sources. Instead of just the words that are said, the importance is on the manners in which the stories are told and the structures of

[47] Abrams, 2010, 66.
[48] Ibid., 38.
[49] Ibid., 46.
[50] Ibid., 48.

explanation as well as the cultural context within which each participant of the interview and the encounter itself is situated[51].

An interviewee has a conversation with oneself, with the interviewer, and with culture. Because of the role of the interviewer occupies in the process of creating the oral history story, there can be no pretense of neutrality or objectivity. Abrams has two important theoretical concepts related to intersubjectivity. The idea of the **cultural circuit** means a process by which personal memories of events and public representations of events inform one another. The concept of **composure** means the striving on the part of the interviewee for a version of the self that sits comfortably within the social worlds, an account that achieves coherence or "subjective composure".[52] Graham Dawson has stated that:

> Within our social world all of the possibilities are circulated in discourses and presented in a variety of written, visual and aural media forms, but although the repertoire of possibilities may be unlimited, the ability to choose amongst them is shaped by the powerful hegemonic constraints of an effectively established culture.[53]

Discourses move from society to the individual and back into society again. Hence, interviewees' own experiences are often shaped by public memory. Nevertheless, Abrams reminds us that respondents' narratives are not wholly constrained by dominant discourses, but most respondents are capable of agency or a critical subjectivity which involves a subject "internalising, reflecting upon and then reacting against a set of circumstances or a widely accepted version of the past"[54]. In the 1970s there were histories on the Copper Country and the mining history, and versions on past and future were presented in public. All this affected the interviewees possibilities to remember and produce representations.

Memory is one of the key concepts for an oral history study. There are different questions that can be asked from memory: what happened, how did it feel, how is it recalled, and what is the role of wider public memory. Memory is refracted through

---

[51] Abrams, 2010, 16.
[52] Ibid., 59.
[53] Dawson, G. (1994). Soldier heroes: British adventure, empire and the imagining of masculinities. London: Routledge, 24.
[54] Abrams 2010, 70.

the subjectivity, constructed by the respondent, and shaped by the intersubjective relations in the room. It is not a storehouse but in constant change and it exists in a symbiotic relationship with the public memorialization of the past.[55] What interviewees remember is a multistage process. Humans remember things they have recorded at the time they experience it, and what they record is always dependent upon a variety of factors such as emotions, knowledge or interest. After something is recorded it has to be retrieved to be recalled. Once the experience has been recalled it is ordered and shaped by the narrator. Sense is made of pieces of memory linked together by using knowledge of what such an experience should look like, so when we remember we complete "a pattern with the best match available".[56]

People remember what is important to them and broad contours of the memory remain throughout life. Habits and routines are easier to recall than a memory of a single event and its personal experience. But the more emotion an event arouses in the present, the more likely a person is to recall the central details of it.[57] Research into the relationship between ageing and memory demonstrates that in fact, memory functions do not necessarily deteriorate with age as long as the subject remains healthy and there is no evidence of different memory functions between genders. But women and men probably encode differently because of gendered socialization. Women also conceive communication as a co-operative activity, whereas men view communication as a competitive activity.[58] These issues are important to acknowledge, since most of the interviewees in my data are old men.

As we have seen above, oral history materials are narrations. A narrative turn was taken by social scientists in the 1970s as they increasingly rejected positivist methods drawn from the natural sciences which emphasized the importance of isolating facts. The post-modern recognition that there are multiple, competing and non-definitive representations of the past has meant that the individual's account has received greater attention, and this trend has been emphasized in the rejection of metanarratives.[59] Narratives are often used when the respondents situate themselves in more public

---

[55] Abrams, 2010, 77-79.
[56] Ibid., 83-84.
[57] Ibid., 86-87.
[58] Ibid., 90-91.
[59] Ibid., 108-110.

history (broader meaning) or when they are telling something they have told many times before (a familiar story). In oral history material it is important to recognize that some speech modes are cultural, and some appear to be gendered. An oral history interview can reveal various cultural conventions, but at the same time, it is a challenging source material. Narratives are told in a particular cultural and historical context, and they can include different motifs. Oral history interviews require particular historical, political and contextual sensitivity.[60]

3.2 Mining and Industrial Heritage

Mining can be seen as one aspect of humans' relationship with nature. Curtis has stated that mining has had a profound influence on the human ecology and social relationships of modernizing North America throughout the 20th century and the world after World War II. Mining established a set of approaches to natural resources that have come to define our production practices since that time.[61] Though it is possible to study mining from an environmental history perspective, mining has not been a hot topic in environmental history. On the other hand, mining history does not discuss issues like the nature of metals or humans' relationship to these rocks. Geological sciences have never been the traditional interpretative lens for environmental narratives. As Curtis puts it: "Rocks are, at best, the underlying and distant foundation creating the limits and possibilities atop which the real action of nature—ecology and community interaction—takes place; rocks have few stories of their own to add."[62]

At the time of the interviews, in the 1970s, environmental issues were not the biggest concern of ordinary people, though environmentalism in the United States was already strongly established. Curtis has compared mining's relation to the environment as a failed marriage, but unlike an old couple, the parties to this relationship are unable to go their separate ways. Instead, denial, deflection, and deceit worked to marginalize the ultimate results.[63] In his book *Gambling on Ore*, he tells how mining companies were producing pamphlets that depicted a sanitized and labor-free ore processor

[60] Abrams, 2010, 28, 108, 110.
[61] Curtis, 2013, 7.
[62] Ibid., 6.
[63] Ibid., 9.

environment and suggested that the entire process rested on a natural wealth that made life in the United States easier. At the beginning of the 20th century, modern US urbanities became “more and more dependent on copper and at the same time they were encouraged to know less and less about how it was produced and about the consequences of their dependencies”.[64]

Resource extraction is a present issue especially with the rising environmentalism. Resource extraction includes mining, logging, oil and gas extraction and fishing. There is a wealth of research on contemporary mining sites, mining’s environmental issues, mining protests and conceptualization on extractivism[65]. The discussion is hot especially in Latin America and new deposits are found in different countries on the African continent and under the melting ice in the Arctic. Although resource extraction is common in less developed countries, it has significant influence in the wealthiest countries as well. Although the U.S. no longer has the largest copper output in the world, it still produced 1.3 million metric tons of copper in 2019, which is slightly above the yearly U.S. average for the preceding century. In Sweden, in the town of Kiruna, Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara AB (LKAB) mining company is relocating the whole town to be able to keep the mining activities going. It is not straightforward which new resources are found and extracted. Hence, it is important to take political, social and economic factors into consideration in understanding these vast processes. One of the social factors is locals’ role at mining sites.

This study is interested in locals’ beliefs and opinions. Jessica Steinberg has studied resource extraction in Africa and introduced “local populations as a strategic actor, with its own set of preferences and beliefs”[66]. By this she challenges the traditional way of analyzing national governments and transnational companies. To understand why different local outcomes may occur, we must link also the local with the national and transnational by taking seriously the geographic environment and the presence of a local community. After all, the strategies locals employ can constrain and shape the

[64] Curtis, 2013, 207.
[65] see e.g.: Svampa, M. (2019). Neo-extractivism in Latin America: Socio-environmental conflicts, the territorial turn, and new political narratives. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.; Veltmeyer, H., Albuja, V., Chapple, L. & Petras, J. F. (2014). The new extractivism: A post-neoliberal development model or imperialism of the twenty-first century? New York: Zed Books.
[66] Steinberg, J. (2019). Mines, Communities, and States: The Local Politics of Natural Resource Extraction in Africa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

behavior of states and companies.[67] Steinberg states that local outcomes are determined by the interaction of local, national, and international structural factors as well as the beliefs of the actors[68]. Anssi Paasi has stated that when the concern is activation of inhabitants, administrative ways to strengthen an image of a region is a matter of little import. Activation and the creation of an identity is more important in the context of their everyday life, at the local level.[69] Therefore, the beliefs, interpretations and attitudes of local people in the Keweenaw Peninsula in the beginning of the 1970s are worth studying.

From a historical perspective this holds true as well: Christian Wicke has stated that the methodological nationalism in the history of industrialization has obscured the unevenness of this development at the regional level[70]. Hence, regions, rather than nations, might be the more useful spatial categories. He continues:

> Any traveller crossing highly industrialized nations such as England, Germany or the United States in the 21st century would be able to confirm this observation: the concentration of the modern does not necessarily correspond to the concentration of the industrial. Urban and rural infrastructures, ecological and agricultural systems, class and gender relations, labour and ethnic migration, customs and dialects, aesthetics and memories have all been affected by heavy industries particularly in areas of high concentration. The industrial region became a foreign country.[71]

Energy transitions and increasing economic globalization have left urbanized regions in highly industrialized countries extremely vulnerable. Deindustrialization processes are greatly affected by global market mechanisms, but national economies and political cultures also have some power to determine the speed and timing of such processes. Industrial heritage management is not only about economic management but also memory politics and cultural-trauma management, thus leading to the fact that industrial heritage initiatives have experienced very different degrees of financial support.[72] Deindustrialized regions are not to be treated as unitary object. There is

---

[67] Steinberg, 2019, 22.
[68] Ibid., 178.
[69] Paasi, Anssi. (1986). *The Institutionalization of Regions: Theory and Comparative Case Studies*. Joensuu: University of Joensuu.
[70] Wicke, 2018, 1.
[71] Ibid., 1.
[72] Ibid., 1-2.

more than one regional identity, which is not only dependent on "the internal complexities but also on the regions' embeddedness in fluid national, transnational and global networks". In addition, regions, like nations, are not only administrative or economic units, but "imagined communities reliant on historical narratives and visions for the future that legitimize their continuous existence as spatial entities".[73]

Regional identities often emerged in modern Europe in combination with the tourism industry, offering an escape from urbanized and industrialized spaces. Today, de-industrial sites themselves have the potential of attracting thousands of tourists. Once engrained in the region's official heritage, the relic infrastructure, like Quincy No. 2 Shaft, may acquire its own agency in the regional identity. Regional identities are closely linked to memory since they rely on "relatively limited historical repertoire from which memories can be selected, reformer, rearranged and estranged from previous meaning, though not endlessly".[74]

Most of the interviewees are Finnish, born either in Finland or in the U.S, and therefore Finn's immigration has to be considered as well. The data includes also other ethnicities — and this study is not interested in ethnicity — but instead the memory of mining of the mostly Finnish locals. Finnish or not, the Copper Country was largely inhabited by immigrants. First there were Cornish and other English people, Swedes and Norwegians. Later came Finns, Italians, Algerians, and Croatians. In the literature and in the data, it seems clear that different ethnicities got along well, and all were able to work in the mines despite the different languages[75]. Of course, those who spoke English got management positions and often people from same ethnicity were working and living together. Copper Country would not have become the place it is today without immigrants working for its future. Paul Hummasti has stated:

[73] Wicke, 2018, 2-3.
[74] Ibid., 3-4.
[75] see e.g.: Huhta, Aleksi (2017): Everyday Ethnicity in Michigan's Copper Country in the Early Twentieth Century. Master's Thesis, University of Turku.

> Although migration is about movement of people, it is also about place. People become immigrants by leaving the place they had known as home. And immigrants move to specific places for specific reasons. Once they have established themselves in a new place, they order their lives within the limits set by that environment. However, ties to their old homes remain strong.[76]

The opportunities available in the United States at the time of their immigration drew Finns to areas where the economy was basically extractive. Besides in mining and logging in the Great Lakes region, Finns worked in mining in the Rocky Mountains and fishing and logging on the lower Columbia River, unlike the great majority of new immigrants who settled in large cities. Only Norwegian, Danes, and Mexicans were more concentrated in rural areas. The relationship with nature was ambivalent, but frustrating as well.[77]

2.3 Concepts

Memory is the ability to remember information, experiences, and people, the faculty by which the mind stores and remembers information. It is also something that is remembered from the past, a recollection. In this study I am interested in the latter, memories on mining. Humans remember things they have recorded at the time they experienced it and what they record is always dependent upon a variety of factors such as emotions, knowledge or interest. After something is recorded, it must be retrieved to be recalled. Once the experience has been recalled, it is ordered and shaped by the narrator. Sense is made of pieces of memory linked together by using knowledge of what such an experience should look like, so when we remember we complete "a pattern with the best match available.[78] Memory exists in a symbiotic relationship with the public memorialization of the past[79]. In contrast, **remembrance** insists on common activities. It is either the act of remembering and showing respect for someone who has died, or a past event or a memory of something that happened in the past. It might be commonly shared action in a community or a top-down organized behavior on a

[76] Hummasti, 2002, 137.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Abrams, 2010, 83-84.
[79] Ibid., 79.

specific day or in certain situations. **Remembering** tells things as they are recalled, and a memory is always formed based on experiences but remembering can be guided better. **Reminiscence** is the act of recollecting past experiences or events, a story told about a past event remembered by the narrator, whereas to **reminisce** means to talk or write about past experiences.

The term **single-industry town** is used to describe an area which first booms and then busts because of its natural resources. They are located where resources are found, and other economic possibilities are often limited. Roger Hayter has described the stereotype of a single-industry town: "--- remote, specialized outposts comprising populations with limited social and economic options, and vulnerable to the forces of economic destruction whether originating in globally based restructuring or local resource exhaustion, or both.[80]" **Company town** refers to a town which is led by a certain company. This was very far the truth in Keweenaw: companies participated in community building and owned stores. Towns or cities that experience a sudden increase in size and business activity can be called boomtowns, often a mining or an oil **boom town**. Single-industry towns can also be called **monotowns**, especially in Russian context.

Paternalism means, according to Cambridge Dictionary, "thinking or behavior by people in authority that results in them making decisions for other people that, although they may be to those people's advantage, prevent them from taking responsibility for their own lives". In this context it means the company-workers relation in the mines and the companies' status in the whole region. Paternalism was considered by many nineteenth-century businessmen as a moral responsibility, which would advance society whilst furthering their own business interests. Angus Murdoch has in his famous book *Boom Copper* described the paternalistic nature of the Copper Country companies as a benevolent octopus[81].

---

[80] Hayter, R. (2000). Single Industry Resource Towns. In: Barnes, T. & Sheppard, E. *A companion to economic geography*. Oxford: Blackwell., 290.

[81] Murdoch, A. (1943). *Boom Copper: The Story of the First U. S. Mining Boom*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Industrial heritage is not an easily explained term and it is under continuous change. Traditionally, it refers to the physical remains of the history of technology and industry, such as manufacturing and mining sites as well as power and transportation infrastructure. It can be expanded to also cover places used for social activities related to industry to highlight the interdisciplinary character of industrial heritage. The industrial heritage of a region is an aspect of its cultural heritage. It also forms part of a location's identity, as it serves as evidence of progress and landmark achievements. Industrial culture has connected regions around the world, since machinery, terminology, work process, environmental transformation, labor migration, timing, sounds and smell work as a proof of the commonalities and transnational influences in the economic and cultural performances of these regions. On the contrary these regions have been managing the public memory of their industrial past very differently.[82]

The traditional concept had been challenged and broadened[83]. According to Ahmad Yahaya, nowadays there seems to be a consensus among the many kinds of scholars working on industrial heritage that it comprises more than just “big stuff”. Indeed, there are also many forms of more subtle, intangible forms of heritage that have no direct connection with material culture.[84] Immaterial culture can provide us with similarly important insights about the relationship between imaginations of the past and the region. As scholars have suggested re-conceptualizing notions of human history vis-à-vis planetary history, industrial heritage may acquire new meaning.[85]

---

[82] Wicke, 2018, 4.
[83] see e.g. Alfrey, J., Nfa, J. A. & Putnam, T. (2003). *Industrial Heritage: Managing Resources and Uses*. Florence: Taylor and Francis.
[84] Yahaya, A. (2006). The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible. International Journal of Heritage Studies, 12(3): 292–300.
[85] Wicke, 2019, 4.

4 Data and methods

In this chapter I will first introduce my data corpus, then I will describe how I collected my data set before turning into key aspects of oral history data. Finally, I will explain how I have approached the data and in practice conducted the research with thematic analysis, following Braun and Clarke[86].

4.1 Oral history collection

The Finnish Folklore and Social Change in the Great Lakes Mining Region Oral History Collection was conducted by the Suomi College, now Finlandia University, located in Hancock[87]. Rev. Dr. Arthur Puotinen led the project and many students and staff members participated in the interviewing process that resulted in 248 interviews. This large collection of oral histories from the Copper Country and north-eastern Minnesota was recorded in the 1970s and received a grant from the United States National Endowment for the Humanities.

While there were many interviews with Finnish Americans and the original topic was their culture and experiences, the scope of the project included people from other communities and ethnic groups, which makes it a diverse and important oral history collection. Interviewees include clergy, lawmen, doctors, and business leaders such as William Parsons Todd, the president of the Quincy Mining Company. There are approximately 250 hours of transcribed and 150 hours of non-transcribed interviews. The tapes and transcripts are located at the Finnish American Heritage Center's (FAHC) archive, in Hancock. In 2010 the Finnish American Historical Archive and Museum received a grant from the Keweenaw National Historic Park Advisory Commission to digitize the oral history collection. Here, 580 digital audio files and 211 digital audio excerpts were created, and all 203 transcripts were scanned into .pdf documents. In addition, 233 interviews were described using United States Library of

[86] Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3:2, 77-101.
[87] Maki, John, Finnish Folklore and Social Change in the Great Lakes Mining Region Oral History Collection, Finlandia University, Finnish American Historical Archive and Museum.

Congress Subject Headings and 28 interviewee portraits were scanned for online presentation. The .pdf documents are text-searchable and there is about 80 % coverage with the OCR text-scanning software. These .pdf documents allowed me to continue the research in Finland. The oral history collection has been useful for many researchers. For example, in the United States Gary Kaunonen has used the collection as material in his studies. Finnish researchers have also found this valuable data and at least Akseli Huhta[88] has approached it from ethnicity.

The research is very data driven. Before I found the data corpus, I had a vague and broad idea of studying mining history in the Copper Country and conducting interviews. I was working as an intern at the Finnish American Heritage Center in Hancock in the winter 2018-2019 and this is how I found the oral history collection and got the research idea. The data moved my focus from happenings to memory and heritage. Out of the 203 .pdf transcripts 83 mentioned mining, mine or strike on their subject list. Out of these interviews discussing mining, 67 interviews can be assumed to have taken place in the Copper Country. These interviews were the data set I started with and I focused especially on the parts where mining, mines, strikes or future were discussed. So, my study focused on specific topics and on documenting analytical observations based solely on this. The most important reason for using this data is that it has not been used for this purpose before, even though the local mining history has been studied profoundly. In my opinion, it has a lot to add to the history of mining in the Copper Country, above all from the local people's perspective.

This is an empirical case study which uses qualitative interview analysis. As a typical qualitative research, I have tried to stay openminded with the materials and take new perspectives when needed. My manner to derive data is interpretive, meaning that I think I can answer to what the results mean, and that they can infer something outside of the interview interaction itself[89]. I have used my method, thematic analysis, as a constructionist method, examining the ways in which events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are effects of a range of discourses operating within society[90]. Thematic analysis conducted within a constructionist framework cannot and does not

[88] Huhta, 2017.
[89] Mason, 2002, 78.
[90] Braun & Clarke, 2006, 81.

seek to focus on motivation or individual psychologies, but instead seeks to theorize the sociocultural contexts and structural conditions that enable the individual accounts that are provided.[91]

My approach to the data was inductive, meaning I allowed the data to determine my themes. There is plenty of research on contemporary mining sites, but I felt that there is not enough existing knowledge on the role of locals and historical mining sites, and that it would be useful to have some preconceived themes. My intention was to stay as open as possible to the data and let it help me to develop the framework. My approach was also latent, meaning reading into the subtext and the assumptions underlying the data. Instead of simply looking at what people said, I wanted to know what their statements revealed about their assumptions and the social context. The approach examines the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations that are theorized as shaping the semantic content of the data. Societal change, mentioned in the name of the oral history collection, is not seen only as a breakdown of standard structures of the outside world, but it occurs also as a destructive force of the actors' identity[92].

4.2 Oral History and interviews as data

There are some aspects of oral history interviews as data to be considered here. Interview material offers one of the best opportunities for studying and comparing opinions, beliefs and experiences of local people. It is a time-consuming method to collect data, but luckily pre-existing interviews can also be used for different research questions. Using data collected by other people is challenging, but I think that cannot lead to a situation where interviews are disposable, and it is interesting to analyze interviews that were conducted many years or, in this case, decades ago. However, much is lost when using only the transcriptions of interviews conducted by other people. The written transcript is already the third form in oral history process after the original oral interview and the recorded version of the interview. There are hidden interactions that do not transfer to the tape, and interactions that are not adequately

[91] Braun & Clarke, 2006, 85.
[92] Törrönen, J. (2010). Identiteettien ja subjektiasemien analyysi haastatteluaineistossa. In: Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen (ed.) Haastattelun analyysi. Tampre: Vastapaino, 180.

transferred to the transcript.[93] A transcript only palely reflects the multi-layered communicative event of an oral interview, but it is justified and economic to use also pre-existing data. Through the transcriptions I cannot capture all the nuances of the interaction, but on the other hand, it is easier to position myself as an outsider and observe the interaction. The interviewer and the interviewee produce the content together, and the interviewer has an important role in what kind of outcome there will be. In this data set, an individual interviewer does not have a profound influence because the interviews were conducted by several different persons.

When analyzing interviews, the interest is not on individuals' opinions, but on their ways to give meanings for things and similarities and differences among these, as well as on what these similarities and differences tell us[94]. Culture is one of the key elements in oral history. While interviews cannot tell us how individuals experienced something, they can tell us about the culture in which they experienced it and the culture where they were telling narrations[95]. Luisa Passerini has stated:

> We should not ignore that the raw material of oral history consists not just of factual statements, but is pre-eminently an expression and representation of culture, and therefor includes not only literal narrations but also the dimensions of memory, ideology and subconscious desires.[96]

The interviewing situation itself has probably been a collision of two cultures. Many of the interviewees were Finnish Americans and raised in a Finnish way, or even born in Finland. The rest were mostly immigrants from other European countries. Their life at the beginning of the 20th century had been very different from that of the baby boomers' post-war life in the United States, represented by most of the interviewers. I think this can be seen in parts where interviewers ask how life has been and what the interviewees think about the future. A situation where the interviewee is a representative of their culture is very clear when collecting Finnish American culture, even when culture *per se* is not discussed.

---

[93] Abrams, 2010, 9.
[94] Ruusuvuori, J, Nykander, P. & Hyvärinen, M (2010). Haastattelun analyysin vaiheet. In: Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen (ed.) Haastattelun analyysi. Tampre: Vastapaino, 16.
[95] Passerini, L. (1979): Work, Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism. History Workshop Journal, 8: 82-108.
[96] Ibid., 84.

The culture and language are important issues in my research material. This has required me to familiarize myself with the history of the topic. I spent five months in the area in the winter 2018-2019 and visited some of the mining sites. Still, it would be wrong to say that I know the culture and language of those locals interviewed in the 1970s. In a historical study, the researcher can never truly know the cultural, societal and historical reality, but try to create a reliable narrative of it. There is a discussion in cultural studies to which extent an outsider can reveal blind spots of another culture and in which way can inadequate notions be made because of a lack of knowledge. It is important to remember that not all differences to the researcher's own culture are meaningful for the study. Without recognizing this, it is easy to fall to either over- or under-interpretation. On the other hand, translating some metaphors and figures of speech can offer new and important perspectives.[97] When relying solely on the transcriptions, there is a high risk of not recognizing humor, especially irony and sarcasm, which can be tricky even in one's mother language. I have marked parts of the interviews that were hard to understand and consulted native speakers.

The use of reminiscence has long been discounted in historiography. This criticism derived from a positivist view of scholarship, in which written original material was seen as a scholarly absolute, and a criterion for truth. As the focus in historiography has shifted towards everyday life and the history of ordinary people, increasing use has been made of the research methodology of other disciplines, in respect both of methods of investigation and of sources of information. From the perspective of source criticism, reminiscence is just as valid as a potential source of material as any other source, for all traces of the past necessitate critical evaluation. Naturally, the use of reminiscence raises its own special problems, which the scholar will need to weigh in each specific case. Oral history is unlike any other historical document or primary source consulted by a historian and therefore it requires analytical techniques that are peculiarly suited to interpreting its many layers. A human respondent cannot be analyzed in the same way as a written document, a material artefact, or a visual image because it is a dialogic process.[98]

---

[97] Pietilä, I. (2010). Vieraskielisten haastattelujen analyysi ja raportointi. In: Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen (ed.) Haastattelun analyysi. Tampre: Vastapaino, 420-421.
[98] Abrams, 2010, 18-19.

4.3 Thematic Analysis

Despite this study's constructionist position, it does not use narrative analysis but thematic analysis. This means that the methods of telling narratives are not studied but the themes included within the narratives. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. In contrast to interpretative phenomenological analysis or grounded theory and other methods, thematic analysis is not wedded to any pre-existing theoretical framework. Therefore, it can be used within different theoretical frameworks and can be used to do different things within them. Its theoretical freedom allows to provide a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of data. By thematic analysis we answer the questions such as: What do the themes mean? What are the assumptions underpinning it? What are the implications of this theme? What conditions are likely to have given rise to it and why do people talk about this thing in this way? What is the overall story the different themes reveal about the topic? I followed Braun and Clarke with thematic analysis, and this chapter is based on their article *Using thematic analysis in psychology*, except the parts were other references are mentioned. They have argued that "the fact that thematic analysis has no particular kudos as an analytical method stems from the fact that it is poorly demarcated and claimed, yet widely used[99]".

Now, I will discuss the pros of thematic analysis according to Braun and Clarke and in relation to this study. Thematic analysis is a very flexible method and relatively easy to learn and do, which makes it accessible to researchers with little experience. Results of thematic analysis are generally accessible to an educated public, and it can be useful in producing qualitative analyses suited to informing policy development. Thematic analysis works well with a set of qualitative data, like interview transcripts, and is used for finding out something about people's views, opinions, knowledge, experiences or values. I was interested in all these aspects within locals, so I found thematic analysis the most helpful method to approach this large data set. Thematic analysis can usefully summarize key features of a large body of data and offer a thick description of data set. One of its pros is the ability to highlight similarities and differences across the data set and to generate unanticipated insights. Thematic analysis allowed me to work

[99] Braun & Clarke, 2006, 97.

with the whole large data set. Instead of being interested in nuances of the conversations or the nature of given meanings, I wanted to get the overall picture of the mining related speech and recognize common thoughts, ideas and beliefs. With thematic analysis, I was able to identify these common themes, which can be topics, ideas or meanings that come up repeatedly. However, nuances are not to be forgotten. With thematic analysis the researcher must pay special attention to the data to ensure that important aspects are not understated, and less meaningful things are not getting too much attention. By staying aware, thematic analysis helped me to produce a rich, detailed and complex description of my data.

The textual nature of my data is more suitable for a thematic analysis than for something that would approach the wholeness of the interviews. The method was suitable for my purposes also because I am using interviews conducted and transcribed by someone else. Thematic analysis, even constructionist thematic analysis, does not require the same level of detail in the transcript as conservation, discourse or even narrative analysis. By thematic analysis we create themes from data set and Braun and Clarke have explained the themes to "capture something important about the data in relation to the research question and represent some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set[100]". Following Braun and Clarke a data set refers to the selected and analyzed part of the whole data corpus, whereas data item refers to individual piece of the data set or corpus. In this case, it is an individual interview, and a data extract is an individual coded piece of data, which has been identified within, and extracted from, a data item. My data set was a discussion related to mining and I tried to describe this, instead of going into details of one sub-theme, for instance working conditions. This is a useful method when investigating an under-researched area and working with participants whose views on the topic are not known. The identified themes need to be an accurate reflection of the content of the entire data set and although some depth and complexity is necessarily lost, this will give the reader a sense of the predominant and important themes.

Using inductive analysis means a process of coding without trying to fit into a pre-existing coding frame or the researcher's analytic preconceptions. This makes the

[100] Braun & Clarke, 2006, 82.

analysis data-driven. However, I cannot free myself of my theoretical and epistemological commitments. The inductive approach encouraged me to not engage with literature in the early stages of analysis. The analysis involved a constant moving back and forward between the entire data set, the coded extracts that I was analyzing, and the analysis of the data I was producing. I followed the six steps of thematic analysis developed by Braun and Clarke. The first step is familiarization. Here the researcher "immerses themselves in the data to the extent that they are familiar with the depth and breadth of the content[101]". Immersion might mean transcribing, but since the interviews were already transcribed, I did not get to know my data this way. In any case, immersion involves repeated reading, and reading in an active way meaning searching for patterns and taking initial notes. The purpose of the first step is to get a thorough overview of all the collected data. Here, I went through the 67 interviews mentioned mining, mine or strike as subjects and especially looked into parts of the transcriptions where these same issues were discussed. I formed an overview of which topics were mentioned in relation to mining and mines in the region and searched for repetition and contradiction.

The second step is to code the data. This means organizing the material by choosing, marking, and naming meaningful parts of the text. Data is analyzed and organized into meaningful groups. It is important not to lose the context but to code extracts of data inclusively and keep a little of the surrounding text. Here, I highlighted sections of text and came up with codes to describe these sections. The final research material package was found by thoroughly coding the materials. Coding is already interpreting, and meaningful things never arise independently: hence, at this stage, it is important to highlight everything that jumps out as potentially interesting and add new codes while going through the text. I identified different codes to describe topics, ideas, beliefs and feelings related to mining and the future of the area. After going through the texts, I had code groups and I could see how frequently different codes occurred. The codes allowed me to gain an overview of the main points that are repeated in the data.

The third step is generating themes, which are generally broader than codes. This re-focuses the analysis to the broader level of themes, rather than codes, and involves

[101] Braun & Clarke, 2006, 87.

sorting the different codes into potential themes and collating all the relevant coded data extracts within the identified themes. Here, we start to think about the relationships between codes, themes, and different levels of themes. Themes are where the interpretative analysis of the data occurs, and in relation to which arguments about the phenomenon under examination are made[102]. Nothing is abounded at this stage because without looking at the extracts in detail, it is uncertain whether the themes hold as they are or whether some need to be combined, refined and separated, or discarded. Here, I combined several codes into a single theme by looking over the codes and identifying patterns among them.

Fourth, we review themes and make sure they are useful and accurate representations of the data. Here, all the collated extracts for each theme are read and whether they appear to form a coherent pattern is considered. The themes are compared against the data set and the idea is to make sure that anything important has not been missed and the themes are present in the data. In this phase, the entire data set is also reread for two purposes. Firstly, to ascertain whether the themes work in relation to the data set. Secondly, to code additional data within themes that has been missed in earlier coding stages. Here, we consider whether the candidate thematic map accurately reflects the meaning evident in the data set as a whole. At this stage, I for example combined themes insecurity and changed the theme wealth to comfort to make my themes work better. After this step, I had a final list of themes and was ready to define and name the themes.

The fifth step involves formulating exactly what we mean by each theme and figuring out how it helps us understand the data. By define and refine Braun and Clarke mean identifying the essence of what each theme is about and determining what aspect of the data each theme captures. It is necessary to consider the themes themselves, and each theme in relation to the others. The names of themes should be succinct and understandable. The sixth and last step in Braun's and Clarke's thematic analysis is to write up. Appropriate extracts need to be embedded within the analytic narrative that compellingly illustrate the story the researcher is telling about their data.

---

[102] Boyatzis, R.E. 1998: Transforming qualitative information: thematic analysis and code development. Sage.

I used the ATLAS.ti program as a tool to support the coding and to check the analysis. It was used to re-define the codes when necessary and to observe what is typical without jumping into conclusions, since it makes it easier to count the frequency. With the program it was possible to check whether the interpretation applies to the whole research material or if it is true in only some contexts. I also used the program to visualize connections between my codes and it helped me to be systematic but also to not lose the big picture. Here, I have explained how I conducted the thematic analysis with the oral history collection. Before moving on to the results, I will present the important aspects of the history of the Copper Country for this study. It is necessary to know the history to understand what conditions were likely to have given rise to a particular theme, why people talk about something in a particular way and what is the overall story the different themes reveal about the topic.

5 History of the Keweenaw Peninsula

In this chapter, I will put the interviews into context and introduce the historical background. Here I will mostly follow Lankton's work. Lankton has divided the mining era in the Copper Country into four parts. The first subchapter will present the first and second part, the second subchapter will consider aspects of the third part, and the third subchapter the fourth part of the mining era:

> 1) From the 1840s to the Civil War, the mines grew from mere pioneering outposts into important, productive settlements
> 2) led by Calumet and Hecla, a lengthy period of robust maturity that was little marred either by economic or social problems, characterized by great growth and successful change
> 3) 1900-1920 the mines showed their age, they had not run out of copper but the copper still left was harder and more expensive to get, mines peaked and then started their descent (strike 1913-1914, the boom years of the IWW, postwar collapse)
> 4) final era started in 1920-1921, over several decades the industry coped with one infirmity after the next, struggled to survive and persevere until the 1960s when Calumet and Hecla and Copper Range both shut their last native copper mines.[103]

5.1 Early stages and maturity of the Keweenaw mines

> Certainly in the history of American mining, it is a rare and special mineral range that can support an active, ongoing industry for anything approaching a century of continuous operation, the Keweenaw Peninsula had such a mineral range and it attracted tens of thousands of settlers to a remote region that otherwise would have remained virtually unpopulated.[104]

Keweenaw Peninsula projects 120 kilometers into Lake Superior from the western end of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. From 880 to 1,280 million years ago, some 400 basaltic lave flows overtopped the peninsula's original sandstone base. These flows were interbedded with 20 to 30 layers of sedimentary rock. The lava and sedimentary beds gave rise to two types of copper-bearing lodes: amygdaloids and conglomerates.

[103] Lankton, 1991, 24.
[104] Ibid.

Cracks in these rock beds allowed for the formations of mineralized veins, which tended to be charged with large pieces of native copper, called mass copper. The Lake Superior basin provided almost all copper used by prehistoric Native Americans in the eastern portion of the United States, and they actually mined for it[105]. The basin held the world's largest deposit of native copper, almost pure copper in its metallic state. When early European explorers and missionaries arrived in the Lake Superior region in the 1600s, they learned of the Keweenaw's legendary deposits of native copper. The French launched several expeditions to the region between 1660 and 1740 but made no significant progress in tapping into its resources. In 1766, a British expedition to the banks of the Ontonagon river confirmed the existence of a massive piece of float copper. The band of explorers failed to remove the Ontonagon Boulder.[106]

Mining in the area did not start quickly and easily. Nearly two centuries passed between the time Europeans first searched for Lake copper and the time when the first dollar was turned. In 1820, territorial governor Lewis Cass and Henry Schoolcraft mounted an expedition to the Keweenaw and visited the Ontonagon Boulder. Schoolcraft recommended that the U.S. government mine the deposits, but the government declined. Six years later, a treaty that allowed for federal explorations for minerals on Native American lands was concluded with the Ojibwa. Schoolcraft launched the next excursion in 1831 and this time a young geologist Douglass Houghton accompanied him. The Upper Peninsula became a part of Michigan as a compensation for losing the area around Toledo to Ohio, when the two became states in 1837. Houghton became Michigan's first state geologist and an important contributor to the opening up of the copper district ten years after he had first visited it. Houghton scoured Michigan for natural resources and returned to the Keweenaw in 1840. Lankton has described how Houghton was bothered by the fact that this was native copper and doubted that a profitable mining industry soon could be founded. He feared that any speculative rush to claim the Keweenaw's copper would produce far more losers than winners. Participants in gold rush could hope for strike it rich, but that was not the case with Michigan copper.[107]

---

[105] Hasley, J. R. (1983). Miskwabik – Red metal: Lake Superior copper and the Indians of Eastern North America, MH, Sept/Oct 1983, 32-41.
[106] Lankton, 1991, 4.
[107] Ibid., 7-8.

Copper was used to sheath the hulls of wooden ships and to roof buildings. Copper can be alloyed with zinc to make brass and with tin to make bronze. Copper went into buttons, candlesticks, weapons, and hardware, so to make much money from this metal one had to take large quantities to market. But getting it out of the ground in the Michigan wilderness required expenditures for wages, tools, equipment, forest clearing, shaft-sinking, and road and building construction. Incorporated mining companies developed this region. Investors from midwestern locales and from Detroit, Pittsburgh, and New York did the most to promote the development of the copper district during its early, high-risk years from the 1840s through the end of the Civil War. The Lake Superior copper district was deemed an overall success: its record of copper production rose from 51 tons in 1848 to 7,200 tons annually by the close of the Civil War. From its opening through 1865 the Keweenaw accounted for three-fourths of America's copper production.[108]

Early discoveries in the north end of the district, in present-day Keweenaw County, and in the south, in what is now Ontonagon County, directed much of the pre–Civil War development to those places. After the mid-1850s, the middle of the Keweenaw, Houghton County, proved home to the best lodes, the richest companies, and the largest settlements. Over 95 percent of the district's total native copper production came from the stretch of mineral range running 24 kilometers north and 16 kilometers south of Houghton County's Portage Lake. A group of mines formed between the mid-1850s and the early 1870s: Huron, Isle Royal, Atlantic, Quincy, Pewabic, and Franklin mines. Another string of important mines developed between the late 1860s and the early 1880s, 15-25 kilometers from these operations. These included the Osceola, Tamarack, and Calumet and Hecla mines in the Houghton County, and the Allouez and Ahmeek mines just over the border into Keweenaw County. South of Portage Lake a final major group of Houghton County mines opened at the turn of the century – the Baltic, Trimountain, and Champion mines. Several mines exceeded five decades of operation and a few nearly reached the century mark.[109] The industry meant the mining, milling, and smelting of copper, a material used for kettles, ordnance, and sheathing for ship's hulls even before the intense demand for it by the electrical industry beginning in the 1880s. In 1886 the Keweenaw mines still produced over half

[108] Lankton, 1991, 8-9.
[109] Ibid., 10.

of America's copper. Thereafter, its output was exceeded by Butte, Montana, and then the American Southwest. In addition to their most profitable years, the mines ended the nineteenth century with an important tradition, being known for their fairness, humanity and paternalism.[110]

In *Hollowed Ground*, Lankton has focused on three mining companies. The Quincy Mining Company was the longest-lived of the first-generation producers, starting in the 1840s and ending in the 1940s. Calumet & Hecla (C & H) was by far the richest and largest copper mine in Michigan—it mined from the late 1860s to the late 1960s. It was one of the world's foremost mines and by itself accounted for 43% of all Lake copper produced through 1925 and for half of all dividends.[111]

> Calumet and Hecla made the district a clear winner and a producer of wealth. Calumet and Hecla dominated the Lake Superior copper industry. --- It became the principle magnet for immigrants. It set the standards for wages, for company paternalism, for technologies. And because Boston investors had launched C & H, after 1870 that eastern city became the most important home of money still to be invested in the Lake Superior copper district – and of money taken out of that district in dividends.[112]

Copper Range started only around 1900, but quickly rivalled C & H as the district's major producer of native copper and then started up the White Pine copper sulfide mine in the 1950s. Lankton has stated that consistent leadership was "a hallmark of many of the regions' profitable mines, they tended to be formed and directed by stable groups of major stockholders who knew each other as friends or relatives"[113]. The mines had stable leadership even in unstable times: the men who guided Quincy, C & H and Copper Range through the 1913 Strike and the First World War still led them when they were making it through the 1920s and 1930s. William Schacht worked 37 years at Copper Range, including 14 years as president. Charles Lawton served as superintendent at Quincy from 1905 to 1946. James MacNaughton put in total of 40 years with the company as general manager and president.[114]

[110] Lankton, 1991, 22-23.
[111] Lankton, 2010, 2.
[112] Lankton, 1991, 14.
[113] Ibid., 20.
[114] Lankton, 2010, 226.

In this region the companies were well endowed with another important natural resource: water. In the center of the Keweenaw, Torch Lake connects to the Portage Lake, which connects to Lake Superior. Mining was only the first of three distinct steps in the production of marketable copper. The second and third steps, milling and smelting, used water either for processing or transporting material. Many steps in the milling process used water to help separate materials into three categories: copper concentrate (suitable for smelting), middlings (a copper and rock mixture that required separation), and tailings (waste rock what was run out of the mill into its nearby lake).[115] Companies filled the shorelines with docks, stamp mills and copper smelters:

> Day after day, the stamp sand tailings flowed out of the mills in vast quantities, filling the lake bottoms and redrawing shorelines. Since the stamp rock that arrived at the mills was far richer in rock than in copper, the mills always tailed out more in waste sands than they produced in the form of concentrates.[116]

In the Copper Country, the combination of a remote location and a highly profitable industry fostered the development of a relationship between management and labor that extended beyond the workplace. Eastern capital, American managers, and immigrant miners developed the resource and built a community that approached a population of 100,000 by 1910. To attract workers to this remote location and to keep them here, the companies offered not only adequate wages but also houses, health care, schools, and other amenities. Paternalism succeeded for decades because it served the interest of managers and workers, and the broader industrial society. Paternalism speeded up the development of stable companies and communities. As Lankton has described until the 1913 Strike things seemed to get better:

> Over time life on the Keweenaw became decidedly less harsh, isolated and bleak, railroads offered an alternative connection to the outside world, one that operated throughout the winter months, stores, schools and churches multiplied, communities erected theatres and opera houses, in the summer street cars and boats carried picnickers out to park, circuses came to town and the kids lined the streets were chattering in more than a dozen languages.[117]

[115] Lankton, 1991, 11.
[116] Ibid.,12.
[117] Ibid., 14.

Yet the system did not cope well with social change and the influx of new peoples. By 1900, despite the companies' continuing presence in a wide range of social and community affairs, the paternal bonds between employer and employee grew noticeably weaker.[118] Not all of these benefits were distributed equally, and this inequality shadowed the companies' benevolence.

Finnish immigration to Michigan started already in the 1860s and in 1870-1890 possibly as much as 40% of Finns in the U.S. were living in Michigan. There were plenty of immigrants from Northern Europe in Minnesota, and they called the city of Duluth the American Helsinki, but Michigan became a special target of Finns. People from northern and eastern Finland and from rural areas were overrepresented in the state. For instance, to the town of Hancock, people came mostly from Oulu and Vaasa provinces.[119] Early immigrants from Finland were conservative and religious, founding the first Finnish temperance society in the U.S., Pohjantähti, in 1885[120]. Later came the socialists and the line between the two was very clear. Before 1910, the Finnish immigrant socialist and unionist groups were "a rag-tag mixture" of anarchists, Marxists, social democrats, Christian socialists, utopian theorists, and temperance crusaders[121]. Finns played an important part in the Mesabi Iron Range Strike in 1907, and in the 1913 Strike in the Keweenaw. Blacklists forced some strikers to move to other areas and new professions. After these and other industrial actions, all Finns were about to gain a reputation of being "red". The so-called Church Finns tried to save their reputation as hard-working and decent people.[122] The reputation of troublemakers and workers' radicalism complicated Finns' possibilities to enter the United States.

---

[118] Lankton, 1991, 163.
[119] Kero, R. (1986). Suomen siirtolaisuuden historia: Osa 1, Pohjois-Amerikkaan suuntautuneen siirtolaisuuden tausta, määrä, rakenne, kuljetusorganisaatio ja sijoittuminen päämääräalueelle (2. painos.). Turku: Turun yliopisto, 10.
[120] Kostiainen, A. & Pilli, A. (1983). Suomen siirtolaisuuden historia: Osa 2, Aatteellinen toiminta. Turku: Turun yliopisto, 64.
[121] Kaunonen, 2010, xxii.
[122] Kostiainen & Pilli, 1983, 103.

5.2 Shadows over the shafts

In 1905-1911 there were almost 61 underground deaths per year, with half of all the fatalities occurring in just 20 years at the beginning of the 20th century. The industry depended on an influx of immigrants, and foreign-born workers accounted for 80% of all fatalities after 1900, and Finns as the biggest ethnic group with 475 deaths. Mine officers believed that carelessness was the chief killer of men and the communities were prone to believe that accidents do happen.[123] Traditional mining workers, like the Cornish, had been more willing to accept the hazards, as mining risks had given them more dignity and respect. Finns, along with other new immigrants like Austrians and Italians, did not hold mine work in high esteem and did not accept its risks and were more likely to complain about hazardous working conditions. For them, the mines were hostile and alien environments.[124] Although accidents killed men of all ranks and ethnic groups, they were not equally compensated for taking the risk: some received better compensation than others[125]. Quincy was especially known for its dreadful air blasts. At this stage, the district had come to a point where "the pain and suffering inflicted by the industry had reached proportions that workers could no longer tolerate, that companies could no longer ignore"[126].

Kaunonen has stated that the socioeconomic conditions in the Copper Country were "a powder keg waiting for a match" that would explode the exploitive living, working, and wage conditions[127]. Finnish immigrant proletarians acted on this challenge. The mining companies—and sometimes even their own organizations—answered with a fast and furious resistance to their actions, as the movement struggled to create a focused direction, a shared ideology, and utilize an agreed-upon strategy. The copper "bosses", as many workers knew them, owned much of the land, machinery, houses, and in some cases local governments. They seemed to sit on the assets of the single-industry region, and they were able to dictate which ethnic groups were allowed to work and when. Jim MacNaughton, general manager of the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company, once wrote to the commissioner of immigration at Ellis Island: "We do not

[123] Lankton, 1991, 132.
[124] Ibid., 140.
[125] see e.g. Lankton, 1991, 110-113.
[126] Lankton, 1991, 125.
[127] Kaunonen, 2010, xxii.

want Finlanders".[128] At Quincy, general manager Lawton recruited ethnic groups different from those on strike in 1913-1914. The Finns were the largest ethnic group in the Quincy mine, constituting more than half of the workforce. After the strike, Lawton noted that the Finns were "the nationality above all others that gave me the greatest trouble during the strike", but also that "some of the very best miners and trammers, as well as other workers in our employ, were Finns". William Parson Todd repeatedly cautioned Lawton not to rehire too many Finns, suggesting in November no more than 350. Six months after the strike, Quincy employed 271 Finns and five years later 641 Finns, who constituted more than a third of the workforce.[129]

Because most of these immigrants were not United States citizens, they could not vote in federal, state, or local elections. But they certainly could vote in their socialist local or union. In 1904, Hancock was chosen as the venue of this grassroots organizational effort to begin "a localized challenge to the dangerous, unsanitary, and economically dissonant conditions" in the Copper Country mines. The first target of the organized social unionists was the Quincy Mining Company, which represented the "physical manifestation of a paternalistic hierarchy that watched over the citizens of Hancock from a vigilant perch high atop Quincy Hill".[130] As the movement flourished, the challenge to monopoly capital expanded to other areas of the Copper Country, culminating in the 1913-1914 Strike. During the strike, Hancock witnessed frequent parades on its main street thanks to the solid population of socialist Finns. Kansankoti Hall did not only provide a gathering place but also housed the radical Finnish printing press, which produced the newspaper *Työmies*.

The strike begun on July 23 as a result of several years of organizing by the Western Federation of Miners and lasted for eight and a half months. The companies refused to meet with the union or listen to its demands. Simply put, at the issue were pay, working hours, the introduction of the one-man drill, grievance procedures, and recognition of the union. Hoagland has stated that more broadly examined, the key issue was recognition of a workforce for whom paternalistic care was not effective in securing its loyalty[131]. The more recently immigrated workers were looking for guaranteed

[128] Kaunonen, 2010, xxii.
[129] Hoagland, 2010, 77.
[130] Kaunonen, 2010, xxiii.
[131] Hoagland, 2010, 55.

improvements in their working and living conditions, since they were by and large excluded from substantial company houses and other benefits of paternalism. The companies, led by Calumet & Hecla, had experienced a decade of high profits and were well positioned to withstand the strike. They responded with violence and loyal workers took up the fight. On the eve of the strike, the union claimed more than 7,000 members out of a workforce of nearly 15,000, but many of these men surrendered their union cards and returned to work. Few surface workers joined the union—for example, Quincy claimed that none of its shop or surface men, nor any of its mill or smelter employees went on strike. The mines began to reopen on a reduced scale three weeks into the strike. Violence was commonplace, along with confrontations and insults. By one count, at least 168 people were beaten or injured during the strike, 9 men were shot the death and 26 others injured by gunfire.[132]

The mine companies were well funded, and the Western Federation of Miners was not. Propaganda efforts by the companies rallied public opinion to their cause, and the shooting of three strike-breakers asleep in their beds in Painesdale on 7 December further alienated the public from the union. The greatest tragedy of the strike, the Italian Hall Disaster, brought sympathy to the strikers. People had gathered to the Hall on Christmas Eve and many children were taking part in the festivities. Someone apparently yelled "Fire!" causing a panic, and because the doors opened inwards, people were unable to get out of the building. In this stampede 73 people lost their lives, 58 of them children. The disaster shocked everybody, and some tried to use it to political advantage, charging the companies with being behind the crying of "Fire!". The union president's rejection of the 25,000 dollars that was raised in a public outpouring of sympathy, saying that the union would bury its own, discouraged public support.[133] Hoagland has found out that:

> While in other mining districts company houses during strikes meant mass evictions, with tenants retreating to tent colonies, in the Copper Country there were few evictions. Instead, the companies used their houses to favor workers, to engage company loyalty, to keep wages down, and as a propaganda tool in the battle for public opinion.[134]

[132] Hoagland, 2010, 59.
[133] Lankton, 1991, 237.
[134] Hoagland, 2010, 89.

The strike dragged on until April, but finally the union ran out of money. After the national union announced a cut in benefits, the locals voted on April 12th to terminate the strike. The companies had voluntarily instituted an eight-hour working day, but that had also changed the calculation of shifts. The one-man drill was introduced, along with a state law that mandated that someone else be working within 150 feet of a driller. Grievance procedures were formalized.[135] Little had been gained and the companies did not recognize the union.

5.3 Shadows over the communities

The First World War increased the demand for copper, but the boom hardly lasted until the armistice. In 1921 Michigan's copper production fell to its lowest level since 1889. After the strike the companies struggled to maintain a labor force of adequate size and skill.[136] People were compelled to move to Detroit or elsewhere to earn a decent living. By 1925, due to closings and to C & H's consolidation, only six companies were operating: C & H, Copper Range and its group of mines, Quincy, Isle Royal, Mohawk, and Seneca. Productivity had increased and the companies expected to profit well, but the Great Depression beat them down. (252) In the 1920s, unemployed men had been swept from the region by out-migration, but in the early 1930s out-of-work men chose to stay in rural Houghton County. Between 1930 and 1934 the county's population actually rose by 4,000 persons, when many people who had once left now came back.[137] Lankton has described the atmosphere:

> For the mining companies it had been best that the Copper Country remained populated with one-industry towns, and the communities themselves had not objected to this state of affairs—until they started to see that one industry die. --- Their remote location, their notorious winters, and the Depression itself, draped like a pall over the national economy—all thwarted the hope that some significant new industries would locate on the Keweenaw.[138]

---

[135] Lankton, 1991, 239.
[136] Ibid., 244-245.
[137] Ibid., 252, 255.
[138] Ibid., 253.

Before the Second World War, organized labor finally got a grip on the area. It had benefited from liberal, New Deal legislation such as the Wagner Act, which demonstrated the federal government's support of collective bargaining. Between 1939-1941 the union came to every Lake mine. The Second World War was not the boon to the mines that the IWW had been.[139] There were strikes at different mines in 1949, 1952, 1955, 1965 and 1968. Although Quincy ended mining in 1945, its mills continued through 1967 and its smelter until 1971. Copper Range ended mining in 1967, but its copper sulfide operation continued in Ontonagon County until 1997. The shutdown of C & H dragged on into the spring on 1969: on 9 April the strikers were informed that they had no jobs to return to. It was not the old, independent Calumet & Hecla company that made the decision to terminate all mining operations. Universal Oil Products had recently bought up C & H, and the union found itself in a "standoff with a company whose leadership was less committed to the continuation of operations on Lake Superior than the old C & H, which had a century of history on the Keweenaw". With the announced closure, church bells tolled in Calumet.[140]

The Michigan landscape never suffered from significant environmental problems in its early phase. The region's industry generated coal smoke denuded some of the surrounding forests for mining needs and dumped its tailings into waterways. However, its mines were so spread out in the district that timber was never that far away, and its major twentieth-century mills, more centrally located in Houghton County, simply moved to nearby locales on larger or non-navigable streams or lakes when the Army Corps of Engineers complained that their mill wastes interfered with navigation.[141] Most of the copper in the Keweenaw was native copper, 99.99 % pure copper. This means that there were fewer mining waste products than in other parts of the world. The main byproducts were waste rock piles from the mines, tailings from the stamp mills and slag piles from the smelters. Waste rock piles, locally called poor rock, once dotted the landscape accompanying every shaft of every mine. These piles have slowly disappeared, as poor rock is a cheap and readily available material to be used in road construction. The sand and silt from the stamp mills, called stamp sands, were often directly deposited into waterways in large volumes. It is these stamp sands

[139] Lankton, 1991, 257-258.
[140] Ibid., 262-263.
[141] Morin, 2013, 185.

and associated materials that have caused the most severe environmental hazards.[142] However, stamp sands only posed a human health and exposure threat if the sands were going to be redeveloped into residential property. Otherwise the sands were considered a less critical environmental threat.[143]

The more serious "landscape of defeat" normally occurs during the declining or postmining periods after most metals processing have ended and concerned about contamination swelled[144]. Mining activities continued until 1968 around Torch Lake and environmental concerns arose shortly afterwards. Fish with cancerous tumors were found and high levels of copper, arsenic, mercury and PCBs were measured in the lake and the mine tailings. Indeed, in 1986 a Superfund Site was established that included Torch Lake, the western shore of Torch Lake, the northern portion of Portage Lake, the Portage Lake Canal, Keweenaw Waterway, North Entry to Lake Superior, Boston Pond, and Calumet Lake. It is estimated that around fifty percent of the Torch Lake's volume was filled with 200 million tons of tailings and other waste products.[145] The EPA covered the tailings with a soil and vegetation cap, a loss to some in the district who considered the tailings an important and largely benign historic feature of the landscape[146].

Michigan's Superfund project within this relatively small area and relatively simple work resulted in a comparatively inexpensive cleanup, and likely influenced EPA's withdrawal of its normally aggressive pursuit of potentially responsible parties early in the process. Only one of the sites, the Quincy Smelter, had properties determined eligible for the national register.[147] After remediation the site was removed from the national priorities list, but the area remains a Michigan Department of Environmental Quality Area of Concern. Torch Lake has been left to recover through natural sedimentation, which means that the lake bottom still has high levels of toxic metals that severely impact bottom-dwelling organisms. For stamp sand deposits in Lake Superior itself, no remediation efforts were conducted as the erosive power of the lake

[142] Retrieved from https://www.nps.gov/kewe/learn/nature/environmental-impacts-of-mining-in-the-keweenaw.htm on April 20, 2020.
[143] Morin, 2013, 187.
[144] Ibid., 185.
[145] Retrieved from https://www.nps.gov/kewe/learn/nature/environmental-impacts-of-mining-in-the-keweenaw.htm on April 20, 2020.
[146] Morin, 2013, 187.
[147] Ibid., 190-191.

makes stabilization efforts all but futile. Some of these deposits are quite extensive, with the sands near the town of Gay now covering over 8 kilometers of shoreline.[148] Because of the mining-oriented water rights and what might be called the commodification of nuisance, copper producers and other miners and processors—and eventually all producers—were given almost free reign to create some of the largest toxic waste dumps in the United States during the 20th century[149]. Lankton's description from 1991 gives an idea of the environmental heritage of mining:

> Monolithic concrete foundations, 10 to 20 feet tall, litter the lakeside, flat beach – usually composed of a coarse, gray-black sand – spreads out over acres and acres, it is an unnatural landscape, nothing grows on the black sand, but out in the water cancerous tumors grow on the fish[150].

Serious challenges remain in the area, but not all the effects from the mining legacy have been negative. Countless kilometers of mine shafts and stopes turned out to be excellent bat habitat. Hibernating bats have been found in dozens of abandoned mines throughout the Keweenaw, with as many as 250,000 bats now utilizing this new habitat. Additionally, recent efforts have highlighted the potential of using flooded mine shafts for geothermal heating and cooling as an environmental and economical alternative to traditional heating methods.[151]

The fact that the Copper Country is located closer to Milwaukee (530 kilometers) and Minneapolis (600 kilometers) than to Detroit (890 kilometers) still characterizes it. The area mostly looks as though time has stood still since 1910, and markers of a dead industry are everywhere. Because of early heritage tourism, locals in the Keweenaw were familiar with the concept already in the 1970s:

---

[148] Retrieved from https://www.nps.gov/kewe/learn/nature/environmental-impacts-of-mining-in-the-keweenaw.htm on April 20, 2020.
[149] Curtis, 2013, 206.
[150] Lankton, 1991, 4.
[151] Retrieved from https://www.nps.gov/kewe/learn/nature/environmental-impacts-of-mining-in-the-keweenaw.htm on April 20, 2020.

> The district, because of its age and disbursed mining locations, lost many of its structures to neglect, abandonment, or redevelopment, as mining and economic centers moved closer to Houghton over one hundred years. Despite this loss, the abandonment of places, in some ways, led to the growth of early heritage tourism and the exploration of ghost towns.[152]

Industrial heritage has been preserved and used for touristic purposes. In Keweenaw Peninsula there are several old mines working as museums and other heritage sites. One of the important heritage buildings is the Quincy Smelting Works that is the last remaining historic smelter left anywhere in the world and reflects smelting technologies of the late 19th century. Quincy closed the smelter in 1971 and, fortunately, locked the doors and left the complex intact. In 2007, at the urging of U.S. Senator Carl Levin, a group of interested parties began working together to save the crumbling smelter. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) conducted environmental cleanup activities and delisted the site from the national Superfund list. The combined actions of many parties demonstrated to the community that the smelter was much more than a seemingly abandoned industrial complex. In 2014, the Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission acquired the smelter from Franklin Township. With the help of the Quincy Mine Hoist Association and the Quincy Smelter Association, the site is now open for guided tours.[153]

---

[152] Morin, 2013, 187.
[153] Retrieved from https://www.nps.gov/kewe/learn/historyculture/quincy-smelter.htm on April 19, 2020.

6 Results

In this section I will first give an overall picture of my data set and then present themes I found and consider the connections between them. When I was coding my data, it quickly became rather clear that there was little neutral, and a lot of either positive or negative talk about mining history and future. Some of the interviewees were more outspoken than others, but almost none of them seemed indifferent. My initial thematic map included all these: positive talk, negative talk, neutral talk, and uncertain talk. Neutral talk could be included in uncertain talk in this context, since it occurred with an unwillingness to claim anything and a feeling of knowing too little about the topic. Since neutral talk and uncertain talk proved less important and less frequent, I discarded them. It seemed more like some interviewees were unwilling or uncertain to talk than that some topics would remain totally silent. Thus, I felt that neutral and uncertain talk were unfruitful for my research questions and unequal with positive and negative talk. However, it is an important observation that it seemed that for some interviewees mining remained a topic that only experts can talk about.

One topic that came up quite often and in a surprisingly neutral manner was the mining companies' attempts to affect voting behavior. Some interviewees thought that this was not a real thing, and nobody ever told them how to vote (e.g.: (MacDonald, James, Born 1897, Ramble Town, Interviewed by: Jalkanen, Paul. 24 July 1972) But others had very different experiences:

> I remember the first time I voted, the 01' mining captain in Mohawk, he was on the election board that time, supposed to be out their mining, officials were on the election board, and I asked for a Democratic ballot, I said "Gimme a Democratic ballot", he looked at me and said, "your father voted Republican all your lite, your brother voted Republican, who are you, you little 'bum"', he said, "the first time you're voting, you're voting Democrat", I said, "gimme that ballot" and he had that against me for a long time because I worked for him afterward on depression and he still had that against me because I voted Democrat.[154]

The most common topics were work in the mines, life in company towns, and the 1913 Strike and Italian Hall Disaster. Many of the interviewees had either worked in the

[154] Foremen, 1 Aug 1972.

mines themselves or had a father, brother or husband who had. The work is often described as tough, men going down before sunrise and walking dead-tired back home after sunset. Work in the mines was recognized as dangerous and some interviewees brought up how many young boys died in the accidents. In contrast to work in the mines, life in company towns was often talked about as something positive. It was an indisputable fact that the companies had cheap housing and were active in building the communities. If one got a job in a mine, his family was doing pretty well. Attitudes towards the strike are at times very far from each other: some thought it was only natural and justified to start the strike, while others thought that it was insane and that workers were better off negotiating with the companies than they did with the unions. The presence of the National Guard was often remembered, as was violence during the strike. Many interviewees mentioned the Italian Hall Disaster, and some had personal experiences and memories of it. Versions of what happened were various even 60 years after the disaster.

The interviews were more about remembering the mines than about reviewing the whole industry that lasted in the region for over 100 years. For me, it was surprising how little discussion there was on the contemporary situation and the heritage of mining, but maybe it took more time for that to come about. Also, very little is said about environmental issues. In at least one interview, the interviewer asked whether the mines pollute, and the interviewee was very familiar with toxins in water bodies and fish[155]. Still, the other interviewees did not talk about this and we might consider whether it is because interviewers did not ask about it, whether the environmental heritage felt uncomfortable, or whether the interviewees did not see it as such an important topic.

One of the repeated questions in the data was what interviewees thought about the future of the area. Some had strong ideas, and some did not say much. Sometimes, the interviewer helped by asking whether mining would come back, if tourism could boost the economy or if the area was losing people. In this study, I am interested how locals saw the future right after the closure of the mines. I wanted to include this perspective

[155] Olander, 1 Jul 1975.

in my research to see if there is any correspondence or contradiction between memories of mining and future prospects.

It was commonly known that there was lots of copper left underground. Some of the interviewees estimated that 15 percent of the copper had been extracted. For some, this made it evident that mining activities would start again sooner or later. For others, the problems that had made mining unprofitable remained. These problems could be mining methods, a difficult mining environment or labor management relations. Even though the copper in the Keweenaw is almost pure copper, it is hard to bring it to the surface. The hard lava rock and the deep mines made it difficult to run profitable mining activities. Still, many interviewees believed that with new technology the old mines could be re-opened or at least there could be new mines. For some this was crystal clear just because the Copper Country had the best copper in the world and the vein might go all the way to Canada under Lake Superior[156]. One challenge with re-opening the mines were the environmental acts. The mines could not operate like they used to since tailings had to be processed instead of just dumping them in lakes. Later, the case of White Pine proved how expensive it could become with the new environmental acts.

Many of the interviewees thought that even without the mines the future could be bright. The optional industry was tourism. Tourism had become the second or at least the third most important industry in the U.S. in the 1950s but the Copper Country still had challenges with its location and image. Some interviewees saw that the problem was that people did not spend enough time in the region because there were not enough attractions. On the other hand, it was stated that there is always a future in tourism since people have more and more leisure time. In addition to tourism, there were two universities. Some interviewees did not count much on mining, but still viewed the future optimistically.

Next, I will introduce my themes. As I said above, my final main themes are negative and positive talk. Within these I have six sub-themes: ***insecurity, disappointment, loss*** (negative sub-themes), ***paternalism, comfort, communality*** (positive sub-themes). Coding helped me to form the initial themes which was not always easy, since some

[156] See e.g. Snabb, 7 Aug 1973.

of the codes might fit in one theme but for several reasons. For example, memories on the 1913 Strike were often negative, but for some the reason was companies' actions and for other workers' actions. Still, I found the theme ***insecurity*** suitable for describing feelings on both sides. Then again, some codes might fit several themes: for instance, paternalism can be both negative and positive. Themes within future prospects fit surprisingly well with themes within memories and thus there was no need to analyze them separately. I will first go through the negative themes and secondly the positive themes and address each subtheme in turn. I will describe what they mean, how often they come up and give examples from the data. I will also consider connections, similarities and differences between the subthemes. The figure 6.1 presents my final thematic map.

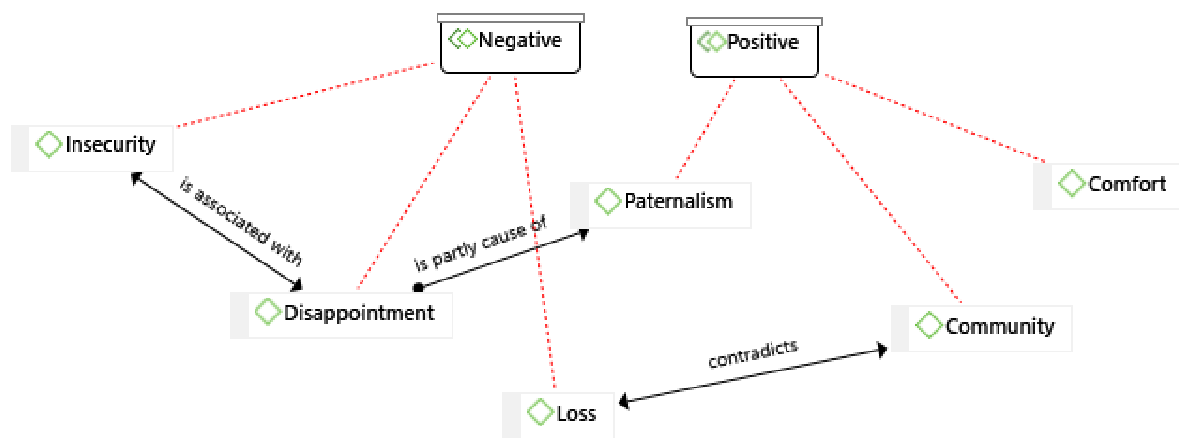

Figure 6.1 Thematic Map

Note: Final thematic map shows the themes I identified and connections between them.

6.1 Negative talk: insecurity, disappointment, loss

Negative talk in the interviews was often related to the 1913 Strike. The strike has been important to locals and left a powerful memory in the region. Nonetheless, the subthemes and codes under negative talk are diverse. There are negative memories, experiences, attitudes, and future prospects. The reasons for negative feelings are many and the topics under this theme vary from death of relatives to the heritage of mining.

First of the negative themes is ***insecurity***. This theme encompasses a wide variety of topics and positions of the interviewees. I found it to be a very useful theme, since it describes feelings of many different aspects of the mining district well. For "mining men" this could mean an unstable copper market, labor movement or strikes. For a regular miner the insecurity was present in the mines since accidents were common, but also on the ground. Especially during the 1913 Strike violence was common: if you participated in the strike, you could lose your job; if you did not, you could be mugged by strikers. Some felt that the workers were fairly looking for better working conditions—and security—but for others, the whole strike was insane. Of course, the vulnerability of a single-industry area meant insecurity for whole communities. The area had social problems like alcohol consumption and the Italian Hall Disaster shocked everybody:

> I do remember somebody on the stage trying to quiet the crowd down, you know, that there's nothing wrong, you know, trying to get them from panicking. But we started to run, my cousin and I, but my dad got a hold of us, both of us. Of course my dad wasn't as excitable as we'd be...or a kid would be...so he held us back; but we were on the stairway where all this was taking place and the screaming and hollering of course everybody heard this.[157]

One code clearly falling under the theme of insecurity is accidents. Accidents were discussed by people involved in tehm, by people working in the mines but not personally involved in accidents, and by people not working in the mines. As we have seen in the previous chapter, most of the accidents happened at the beginning of the 1900s, when the interviewees were very young, but this does not mean that they did

[157] Snabb, 7 Aug 1973.

not face a lot of insecurity in the mines, which were getting older every year. Here one interviewee tells about the working hazards:

> I know in one case, a man was buried under a rock slide. Another was just an industrial accident, men were blown off the ladder, in fact 2 or 3 were blown off of the ladder. There was a defective air vent there, and they couldn't figure out what was causing these men to fall, even the boss was killed doing that. But, was I say, these were sort of run of the mill accidents, that could happen in any industry. In one case, a man was suffocated just running off yardage---getting up in a pocket where there was methane gas, which they didn't realize. That was from the old timbering.[158]

The topic within insecurity which was most frequently brought up and asked about is the 1913 Strike. It meant insecurity in mining operations, insecurity of work continuity and of violence. Here we can read how bad things got during the strike:

> Yeah. Wadell men I meant to say. One time I remember there was railroad coach supposedly full of strike breakers to work in Ahmeek Mine. It came down to Ahmeek... there used to be a depot in Ahmeek there...it came down to the depot there and it was gonna back from there to the mine...they had bunkhouses at the mine...and that's all the far it got. They shot that coach full of holes. There's nobody yet today knows how many got killed or how many got dead or how many got hurt in the coach.[159]

Violence occurred on both sides: strikers were after the strike-breakers and Wadell men and the National Guard came in to secure the operations of the mines. Here, officer of Michigan State Police, William Foster, tells how things were tried to keep in order:

> R: --- The Wadell men that were brought in from New York down at Centennial used to come around on a big white horse and the first thing in the morning and the men would fall in behind him and <u>he'd take them off to the mine</u>.
>
> I: They worked for the company then.
>
> R: 'hey were brought in as strike breakers and I can remember that was the first time we had <u>electric lights down at Centennial</u> during the strike...I mean on the streets. They put in some lights.
>
> ---

[158] Reinhart, 11 July 1973.
[159] Luokkanen, 6 Aug 1973.

> R: Oh Lord help us, they deputized hundreds of people at that time. They had the horse troops too. They were uniformed men. They had about twenty men on horses going around with big clubs, you know.[160]

Here, one interviewee states very clearly the safety of strikebreakers and how there was a risk of things getting even worse as a consequence of the strike:

> Wilbert: To be a striker was the only thing; otherwise, if you were a scab, your life wasn't worth the powder to blow you to hill.
>
> Wally: Once that strike was over though, this country started going down hill, didn't it?
>
> Wilbert: Oh, definitely! And they didn't get much, you know, what they were after. In fact they got worse. Because the company had been giving them land that they could raise potatoes and have a garden, you know and all that, they discontinued that. They wouldn't let them have any land. You've seen that fine drilling that they had for a swimming pool, didn't you?
>
> Wally: Ya, right on the main drag up there
>
> Wilbert: The company discontinued that from. Those were all fringe benefits that we benefited from.[161]

At some scope, the later strikes were also seen as unsuccessful. One of the interviewees was very confident that if the mines opened again, arbitration would still be a problem. The feeling of despair and insecurity was felt on both sides and it is often stated that the 1913 Strike caused the bitterness that was present in the later strikes. Kiril Spiroff did not think that the 1913 Strike had left bitterness in the district, since most of the employees had left for mines in the West, and many important men were now in Montana or Arizona. Still, the strike had bad and long-lasting consequences as the attractiveness of the mines decreased. He also stated that without the 1968 strike at Isle Royal Mine, the mines would still be open.[162] Still in the 1960s, the Union was seen as unwanted in the region by some of the interviewees:

[160] Foster, 22 Jul 1974.
[161] Kuopus, 17 Jul 1972.
[162] Spirofff, 20 June 1973.

> Chas. That strike was a very unreasonable thing. And it is due to very incompetent heads heading the union. And you probably realize how many of the members of the union would follow these union leaders regardless of what the demands were; they didn't do any thinking for themselves.[163]

Insecurity was also related to being paid for the work. Here one man tells a story that serves as an example of what the companies were able to do and reveals how mining bosses were afraid of workers' reactions:

> We had to sign a contract the beginning of every month. We were paid $19 a foot for sinking and then we had to pay for our dynamite which was $17 a box, a box of caps cost $3, a ring of blasting fuse was 50c, and a box of candles was $8. This was all charged up to us. But one thing I notice, and I never did see the company sign this contract, we had to sign every month but I've never seen them sign it. So it was more or less open on their side. And one month in particular, we made a terribly big wage before the strike, $130 each, we made that month. And about a week before payday, the second captain came down and he said, boys, we can't pay you all that money. So dad says, why not, we honestly earned it, he says, yes, but what would the other men say if they heard that you got that much money. He was afraid they'd have a rebellion of some kind, I guess, and they paid us each $105. They robbed our family of $50 that month.[164]

Stealing from the mines was one of the rarely mentioned codes within negative talk. A few interviewees stated that there was a lot of stealing of silver and in the 1920s one could see people from Gay coming and driving better cars than the local mining men. Officer of Michigan state police, William Foster, told they had several cases where some of the employees were caught taking silver and copper. He said that the normal procedure was to fire that employee, take them into court and give them a fine.[165]

Insecurity had many faces and it was felt by the families as well. Drinking was common, and many interviewees mentioned that there were so and so many saloons in this and that town. One of the interviewees told how the Copper Country was known

[163] Hohl, 18 Jul 1972.
[164] Oinas, 3 Aug 1972.
[165] Foster, 22 Jul 1974.

for heavy drinking and tourists often “saved it for the weekend”, so to speak[166]. William Foster, an officer of Michigan state police, describes the situation:

> Yeah, let 'em go home unless you got too many complaints on the same fellow, you know, he got to be a habitual drunkard; and then they hadda go around lot of times and warn these store keepers, the families they'd really request it that you go down there and tell these guys now, no more, don't give 'em no more, you know, don't serve 'em. This often happened because they were spending...well here, a man would work in the mine, he'd go home and take his pay and go down to the bank and he'd start shooting 'em in, you know, well the family was without. So, money, this often happened.[167]

Here, a female interviewee tells about life in the companies’ boarding houses:

> Well, they were, the boarding houses were mostly for men who came over to mine from foreign countries, like Germany and Poland and they lived a bachelors’ life. A lot of times they made their own wine. I remember once at the boarding house next to us in Rogers Location they made their own wine and they threw the mash out and they had chickens in the back and the chickens all got drunk and they were laying on their backs with their legs up flapping in the air. But they'd go down town on weekends and get smashed and then come back and work the week and then- just like in lumber camps.[168]

It was often stated that Finns got a farm as soon as they were able to. Some of them still worked in the mines in winter, but it seems clear that they were willing to get out of them. On the other hand, many were forced to do that after they ended up on the blacklist during the 1913 Strike. One interviewee told that many farmers in Pelkie and Tapiola were of this kind since mining companies all the way in Montana were aware of who should not be employed[169]. Here one interviewee states how Finns did not enjoy the underground work:

> R: Oh yeah...there was lots of Italians at one time was fully Italian and you couldn't get many Finns to go underground in them days. Now there's all kinds of them but Finns wouldn't go underground.
>
> I: What'd they do...what did the Finns want to do mostly, farm?

[166] Nelson, 28 Jul 1972.
[167] Foster, 22 Jul 1974.
[168] Odgers, 1 July 1973.
[169] Pykkonen, 26 July 1972.

R: Farm and surface work.[170]

The second theme of negative talk is ***disappointment***. Like the other themes, this includes various codes that are different from each other. It means the kind of talk that shows disappointment with how things were in the past, how they were in the present, or would likely be in the future. There is disappointment in the mining companies and in workers, especially strikers. We can find disappointment in economic heritage, which in the economic sense was left behind by the companies. There is also disappointment within future talk: the prospects should have been better.

Economic heritage was an infrequent but important code. One problem with a single- and a boom-and-burst industry was that the money did not stay in the region. A few interviewees showed disappointment with that, or the fact that during those 100 years many other economic activities were not developed. One interviewee was remembering the prospective past of the Copper Country and stated:

> You know that's one of the interesting things too all the monies that have been developed here in the Copper Country and history will show you that Pittsburgh Steel was built on Copper Country money. The Boston towns, many of those were built on Copper Country money. Of course this is the bad feature about holding companies that are away from here, the money goes out of here.[171]

Instead of the money just "going out of here" this interviewee puts more responsibility on the companies:

> V: I have a feeling but nobody knows when; I have walked to the Quincy Mine, to the top, the highest I could get and look over and there was the Isle Royal and the mines up from the bridge, and I have a feeling they're going to open but see, there's one thing about the Quincy that very few people know, they were making money all the time and they were telling the men how much they lost, then a month later they'd cut a quarter off their paycheck and pile it on the pile, well, the result is Quincy has banks and they have all kinds of machinery of making wealth in Boston, Massachusetts. They own banks and they own business; all kinds of things.
>
> A: How did you become aware of this? How do you know that this actually took place?

[170] Bigando, Battista, 7 Aug 1973.
[171] McMahon, 8 Aug 1973.

V: I read it in the papers.[172]

There were also other reasons to criticize the companies. One interviewee told that there was no compensation for dead workers, they were simply taken up and buried. He continued that workers had to pay separately for tools, so that it was possible to owe a company. The companies were like gods, and no one was willing to rise against them for fear of losing their job. He was also sad about the fact that the money did not stay in the area, since the shareholders got huge profits at one time.[173] Many interviewees brought up how workers had to buy their own tools, candles and dynamite, so after a visit to a company store there was not much left of one's paycheck. Here, an interviewee shows rare dissatisfaction with paternalism and other company actions:

> H: Well yes, but there is a lot of millionaires like in Hancock and Houghton too. Gee, they were made right here.
>
> P: Investing in the mines, and stuff like that?
>
> H: Yes, but the poor old working man, he didn't get much out of it. The one who was producing the wealth, and risking his neck! But, that's the way it goes. Yes, well I don't know. I don't feel too kindly towards, as I say, they did some good. They had to.
>
> P: They had to keep the men here.
>
> H: They had to, but they could have done a lot more, and been more humanitarian.
>
> P: Maybe they should have brought in some other kinds of factories, and divided up all the land.
>
> H: Well I have heard, I don't know whether it is true or not, but C&H didn't want any other type of business here. If it's true or not, I don't know.[174]

In contrast to the companies, working men were criticized as well. Some interviewees saw that the industry and the district were doing better without any unions and that workers made a bad decision by joining. In the 1913 Strike, the companies did not recognize the union and organizations at this time were not that interested in uneducated miners and trammers far north. The union came in 1939 but even during the 1968 strike some people would have preferred a local agreement. The strike and

[172] Fredd, 17 Jul 1972.
[173] Snabb, 7 Aug 1973.
[174] Torkala, 7 Aug 1972.

union actions did not only fit to insecurity but also to disappointment. Here an interviewee gives a simple reason for the closure of the mines:

> Yes, well---that is the one that closed the mines. You see, in Hancock here you didn't have very many miners. On the hill you had some. And, for the ones that I have talked to, they never felt that they had a great deal to say in the strike.[175]

This interviewee explained how he thought that people did not know exactly what the strike was about, that it was like a routine strike. He said that it was natural for the workers to be interested in getting more for themselves, but that too much power was put into the hands of Gene Sauri, the leader of the strike. He thought Sauri was using it more as a personal vendetta, rather than for the benefit of the miners who never really had a vote in the matter.[176] Here, we can find disappointment in both sides:

> By the both sides. I think if we had someone to come in here and say, "Come on fellows, let's get together and solve this." If we had that the mines would be operating today. If we operated in the 50s at a twenty cent copper, certainly a fifty cent copper mine could operate. But, that's one of the hardest things for me to visualize----that the United States could not communicate between two peoples. To have a strike of that length---- that was too long----I could see lasting six months or something like that.[177]

There is also disappointment with the present and the future prospects. Local politicians faced many difficult questions after the shafts shut their doors. Some of the interviewees said that there had long been attempts to attract new industry to the region and that tourism alone would not be enough. One negative fact was that the Copper Country became less reachable when the train connection ended.[178] The single-industry nature affected also local people's capabilities:

[175] Reinhart, 11 July 1973.
[176] Reinhart, 11 July 1973.
[177] Spirofff, 20 June 1973.
[178] see e.g. MacDonald, 24 July 1972.

> Well a large part except for the people who were the saloons and business establishments mining was the occupation. Unfortunately the trouble with this area, especially Calumet, is that it is a one industry town and the people are not equipped to do other types of work in many cases. They would have to learn a complete new occupation.[179]

Some felt confident about the future but were disappointed in other people's attitudes. Here an interviewee is showing disappointment in Suomi College:

> As I on the last time explained here how I wanted to put in the history - the truth that the (Suomi) College associates, and leaders were against the strikers. Holmio explained that if they (SC) had been for the strikers the mining companies might have left and the College would have had to suffer. I tried, and did say in that correction that the College is still here and the mining companies have left. The economic situation is not understood. Neither then nor now.[180]

There were many kinds of disappointment: William Gardner was frustrated about Woody Gutherie's song 1913 Massacre and hoped that people would stop playing it, since it had such false and misleading lyrics[181]. Also a few other interviews were discussing the song, for example Clarence Andrews, who was a professor at Michigan Tech[182].

The third and last sub-theme of the negative themes is ***loss***. Loss is more permanent than disappointment, though it can be discussed which theme is more suitable for some codes and topics. To me, it seems that economic heritage was a disappointment, since the situation had always been that if the companies go, the money goes. Environmental heritage was a loss, since there had not been polluted waters and abandoned mining sites in the past. In addition to environmental and social heritage, this theme includes topics like death and industrial heritage. One form of loss was of course the mines themselves. For 100 years they had been a visible and all-encompassing actor in the region. These were mining towns, so what would they be without any mines? Great histories had already been written of the Keweenaw copper, but how great would the future be? Shafts had their own personalities, no miner was working just for Quincy

[179] Williams, 3 Aug 1972.
[180] Salmi, 8 Aug 1972.
[181] Gardner, 5 Aug 1974.
[182] Andrews.

or Calumet & Hecla, but for Quincy No. 7. A few of the interviewees were sad about the loss of mining sites and industrial heritage. Whether it was about preserving old engines or having attractions for tourists, some interviewees were already at this time able to see the possible loss of history:

> I tell you, it really hurts me that they went and sold them and broke them up...broke them all out, them old engine houses they smash them down to get the engines out and sell them for practically nothing to Republic Steel, you know. An. them God damn guys, I would have like to a seen them take them and put them somewhere for exhibition. Never anything like that be built anymore, you know.[183]

One important aspect for the tourism industry was industrial heritage. The U.P. had become a tourist destination already in the 1930s and had an early industrial heritage tourism. After the mines were closed, the mining got a new role as a part of history. In the 1970s, those interviewees who talked about heritage preservation did not feel very warmly about it. The mining companies left the buildings and the environment to spoil and the heyday of these mining towns was not visible anymore:

> It's really difficult to picture, you come up in this area today, the average tourist for instance who comes up here, he knows that it was a mining area at one time but he looks around and doesn't see it, much of anything, and try to picture back when there were so many people and so many mines going full blast Calumet a pretty wide-open town at the time.[184]

One interviewee tells that McNaughton would have stated if the workers did not earn enough money in the mines, they should make some moonshine[185]. A few times, it was mentioned how men were cheaper than the timber that would have been needed to make the mines safer; or that if a man died at 10 a.m. the company would pay the families according to the actual working hours. Also, securing the walls in the mines was to be done outside working hours, so it was not very profitable for workers. One woman stated that the bosses thought more about their mules than workers, since it became more expensive to lose a mule than a man. She continued:

---

[183] Olander, 1 Jul 1975.
[184] Interviewer Wallace Anderson in: Foremen, 1, Aug 1972.
[185] Nelson, 28 Jul 1972.

> Well---a friend of mine---a father was killed in a mining shaft, a skipp cable broke, or something, and the skipp went down and they were brought up in baskets. And, the widow was left with five children. Well I don't know, I don't remember, I used to go over there a lot. I don't remember how they lived, of course they would give the oldest boy a job as a water boy, or something like that. But, they must have given something for it. But, I know these crippled that were hurt like that---before that law of compensation came in.[186]

In addition to the insecurity felt by the workers and the loss felt by the families, there seems to be feeling of loss still in the 1970s:

> Like I read a lot of those old books like Boom Copper and different ones...no matter what book it is they have a report of the different companies...well, the thing that they emphasize is how much money they made; <u>but they never mentioned how many men got killed to get that</u>, no. You go into these old cemeteries like Eagle River and Cliff and different places, why sixteen-year olds and fourteen-year olds killed in the mine. Eagle Harbour cemetery there's some.[187]

Even though loss is more related to future themes, it was a part of past events as well. For example, one common topic was people moving to Detroit, because of the Ford Five-Dollar Day, and to other areas. Because of this, there was not enough work force during the First World War when the mines would have been able to make a lot of money again.

Rev. Norman Ryding's interview included so many important perspectives that it is worth bringing up separately. He had clearly become disappointed with how the companies left the area and to some point personalizes negative themes. At the beginning, he had dreamed of a great romantic mining history but at the time of the interview, the shafts were a symbol of everything that he hated in the Copper Country. The fact that the money did not stay in the area was a huge problem, the situation was still the same, and the area was just being shattered. He also thought that the 1913 Strike left a deep gap that was present in the last fateful strike because the issues were never settled. The papers had always repeated that if the mining companies leave, the whole area will die, but Rydig had always thought that the sooner the mines go, the better. He was confident in thinking that the development would be similar to Iron

---

[186] Torkala, 7 Aug 1972.
[187] Luokkanen, 6 Aug 1973.

Mountain: difficult at the beginning, but tourism, light industry and other activities would make it good. He brings up how Calumet & Hecla was not interested in funding the Senior Citizen's Center, though the men had been sweating their whole lives in the mines, and how Quincy just left everything as it was without any clean-up activities.[188]

Ryding admitted that in the beginning, the companies were ahead of their time and offered valuable services voluntarily, but now he had a negative attitude. He felt that if the area really was conservative, it was because they had experience of what it is like when external money and ideas come in, but eventually lead to nothing good. He was positive of the fact that people who were born and raised in the area were now moving back, and that Michigan Tech would be the rock for the region, if it just combined the knowledge of engineers and humanists. From Ryding's description, we can see that the future did not seem at all clean in the beginning of the 1970s:

> --- with a new law that you either have to mine or improve property or lose your mineral rights, and I think this broke the grip of Quincy of just sitting up here, I think this is how the Quincy Hoist Association got started, and I notice now with pleasure, they're brushing, they're cleaning, they're picking up, they're beginning to do certain things that are very good. I still would like to see Quincy really jacked up. To clean up Torch Lake, they've got one barge they've left sitting out in the middle and the other one is sinking right on shore now, and just sitting on the bottom. I still think they have a long way to go, this particular company. When they were done they left everything there to rot. We've had some spectacular fires basically on Quincy property that's been left unattended and somebody has finally decided it'd be fun to have a bonfire. So we've had a couple beauties that have occurred. C&H hasn't been above it, their old foundry burned across the lake a couple years ago, still sits there, accumulating rust on the girders and everything else.[189]

[188] Ryding, 9 Aug 1972.
[189] Ryding, 9 Aug 1972.

6.2 Positive talk: paternalism, comfort, communality

Codes like community building, heyday and tourism gave me a sense of positive remembering and future prospects related to the Copper Country. Positive refers to memories, beliefs, experiences and opinions that were discussed with feelings like warmth, satisfaction or trust. Generally, positive approaches were related to topics such as mining companies taking care of people and communities, mining bringing prosperity to the region, different ethnicities living peacefully side-by-side, or seeing a bright future for mining, industrial heritage, tourism or the universities. Positively thinking, the development of the whole area did depend on the mining industry and therefore it was good. The company took care of the people, and people had work.

The first subtheme of the positive themes is ***paternalism***. Paternalism means seeing positively the actions the companies took towards their employees, their families and the whole communities. The codes *company housing*, *medical care* and *community building* formed the theme, since all these issues were seen mostly positively, although some exceptions did arise. This theme was very common, and most of the interviewees told how cheap it was to rent and later to buy a house from the companies; how the companies had their own doctors to take care of the employees; or how the companies gave land to anyone who asked for it. As we have learned from the previous chapter, the companies built hospitals, schools and churches. In hindsight, it is easy to claim that the true intention of the companies was probably to attract and secure work force, that they were not acting out a pure benevolence and that people were prevented from taking responsibility for their own lives. But one result of the analysis here is that the contemporaries approached paternalism as something positive. Here, William Parsons Todd, the president of the Quincy Mine describes the good intentions of the company:

> All the companies...Calumet-Hecla, ourselves and all the companies in the lake section...always felt that our men respond to the company just the same as the stockholders. There wasn't any one-sided company. The stockholders in the company and the officers were all one. We tried to look after our men. We built houses...all the companies built them I guess; but we just charged six dollars a month for a six-room house, eight dollars a month for an eight-room house and we had our own medical staff too. And the men were charged a dollar and a half a month, married men. Single man, a dollar a month. That covered everything. It used to

> at one time there when we were really active, we had five physicians, five doctors and our own drugstore ---[190]

From a positive perspective, paternalism meant that the companies did their best to help employees and their families for free. Although the companies had an autocratic hold of the region, it was felt that they used their power for the common good and supported community building:

> Whenever you wanted a piece of land to plant potatoes, they always gave you a piece of land to plant potatoes and never charged you for it. And like if you worked in the mine and needed tools, or other, you could go in any house and look up the bathroom, they are all for C & H pipes, all the fittings.[191]

In some cases, positive memories were brought up by the interviewer. It seems clear that the interviewers were looking for diverse responses and tried to get the interviewees to say both positive and negative opinions. We can only guess how much the interviewers considered the fact that they were having an influence on the interview and on what the interviewees said. Here is one example of a loaded question:

> Paul: ---well, I don't know, you might because I think everyone has, you know, mining companies have been criticized heavily. Well, to a degree they've been criticized but they've done good things, too; they sold a lot of homes in the '30s for very nominal prices.
>
> Mrs: We bought this home that we're living in here for $5.50.
>
> Paul: Is that right? Well, I know that there are people in Calumet who bought their homes for $5 a room, or something like that.
>
> Mrs.: These were a dollar-a-room. And the mining company added 5$ for a garage. A pretty good buy.
>
> Paul: That's not bad.[192]

Here we can see the same interviewer, Paul Jalkanen, taking the opposite position and that not all the interviewees were as easy to guide:

---

[190] Todd, 19 March 1975.
[191] Foremen, 1 Aug 1972.
[192] Rozich, 8 Aug 1972.

> P: How do you defend a company or can you defend a company when people generally say that the company was at fault that it C&H who was tough on the men? They controlled the men, that it was a company town the company ran the stores, and the company collected the money for the houses and there were company houses.
>
> J: They were their own houses. They are still on leased land today. This house is on leased land.[193]

Of course, the approach to paternalism was not solely positive. In the following extract we can find several attitudes towards paternalism. The younger interviewee speaks about domination and restriction but recognizes that the companies might have seen the situation differently. The interviewer mentions paternalism as a word and the interviewee's grandmother simply says that she does not think the companies did very much:

> Lent: The mining companies dominated everything in those days, didn't they, grandma? The property, land, even the people if they could, in restrictions, etc., but in their way they thought they were being very gracious.
>
> Paul: It was a really a kind of "paternalism" feeling; they'd take care of their children
>
> Lent: At their own dispensary which was medical, and what else, grandma, the mines—
>
> Grandma: I don't think they did very much.
>
> Lent: Not too much, socially.[194]

The second theme of positive themes is ***comfort***. This theme means satisfaction with life, the economic boom and the prosperity mining brought to the region, the possibilities locals had and the development of the region. It is different from happiness, which would be too strong an expression for this modest contentment. At an early stage of analysis, I named this theme wealth, since it was present in many interviews and especially in those approaching mining in a generally positive light. Eventually, wealth did not capture the feelings and experiences of the interviewees very well: it seems that even if wealth was a part of copper mining, it was not very strongly felt among ordinary people. But from the comfort perspective: even if the work was hazardous, and even if the money did not stay in the area, mining was all

---

[193] MacDonald, 24 July 1972.
[194] Lent, 26 July 1972.

they had and that was better than nothing. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Keweenaw Peninsula was a remote and unknown area before mining activities began. Only by the effect of lumbering and mining up in the north did the development of Detroit and Chicago start, and the U.P. was more developed than the Lower Peninsula of Michigan in the 19th century. As we can see from this extract, people in the U.P had conveniences that were unknown in the southern parts:

> As they [national guard] were tramping up the streets you could hear this town has paved streets and this town has streetlights. Many of these boys came from lower Michigan where they didn't have these things. So you see we were quite well advanced in those days. [195]

The theme of comfort was formed from codes like heyday, common good and re-opening of the mines. In these parts, the interviewees were looking at the big picture, and, for example, sadness of accidents did not prevent them from seeing the silver lining. Here we can see how comfort was linked to the companies' wellbeing:

> Well---everybody was satisfied. They had to be because there was nothing else for us to do. That was all the living we had to take into it.[196]

> It was nice to live in this area with the hospital going, with the nurses' home and all these engine houses and mines going. Old Doc worked down at Ahmeek Mill... when those eight heads were going that ground was just moving, you know. And Doc always said, "I sleep good while the mill is going, but the minute the head stops he wakes up."[197]

In rare cases, people in good positions found comfort in things becoming better for the workers. One doctor told how the primary complaint of workers were working hours, which ranged from 10 to 12 hours. After this, there was the conditions in the mines where the ventilation was insufficient, sometimes there was a lot of gases in the air, and the conditions were either wet or dusty. He stated that in the 1930s the companies were not being fair to the workers, but the workers were afraid of speaking out. Later, the situation improved:

---

[195] Jacka.
[196] Harvey, 18 Jun 1973.
[197] Foster, 22 Jul 1974.

> That was in the '30's, ya. But as things progressed they became more brave, so to speak, they would speak out more and they'd organize unions and so on and I would say, that, as far as advancement and that is concerned, they really advanced from 1930 to where they were more like individuals that were not afraid, were not "bulldozed" so to speak by the company officials.[198]

The interviewees were remembering past comfort but also seeing comfort, even excitement, in the future. Others thought that the industry will keep going, while others saw a better future without the mines. Some felt very sure that mining activities would resume sooner or later:

> The big problem has always been as far as our mines in our area is concerned, has been the fact that they're too deep and move too much material to bring up a pound of copper. And I think under the new methods they're going to develop something whereby they'll leave that poor rock in the mine and bring up just the copper so I think that is in itself going to be a very important factor in our economy, so I personally feel very optimistic about it, I think we're going to see a great deal of economic growth in the next 10 years.[199]

One of the interviewees was feeling comfortable about all possibilities and stated that education will be the industry number one, then lumbering, and right on the heels will be tourism and mining with new methods. He compared Copper Country to Ironwood and believed that it would be possible to defeat the difficulties following the closure of the mines. He saw the a very bright future, if everybody worked hard and thought of the Quincy Mine as a great attraction complex for tourists.[200]

The third and last subtheme of the positive talk is ***communality***. This theme mostly includes positive aspects outside of the actual mining industry, even if they are caused by it. It highlights the fact that the past or the future were not solely about the copper mining industry, without denying its all-encompassing nature. The industry built communities that became able to accomplish other things besides copper mining. The theme includes codes like *ethnic relations*, *universities*, and *tourism*. Here, one interviewee explains how the region was not all about mining after all:

---

[198] Janis, 20 Jul 1972.
[199] Johnson, 11 Aug 1972.
[200] Nelson, 28 Jul 1972.

> Art: So it's really a falsity to say that mining was in total determinative of the local economy?
>
> Walter: No, it certainly wasn't. And even today we can look at the closing of the Calumet & Hecla and yet our, seemingly our economy is in fairly good shape in the Copper Country. Of course we're fortunate to have a school like Suomi College and Michigan Tech who contribute millions of dollars to our economy and that of course. They're both like an industry so that has taken up a lot of our slack that closing these mines created so we're very fortunate to have these institutions here.[201]

In addition to education, many interviewees saw tourism positively. Some stated that the area could become a place for persons to retire or to have summer homes[202]. While some saw no future without mining activities others felt optimistic:

> H: Charlie how would you rate the future of the local area? And here are the different items that could affect it. Do you believe that tourism is our best economic hope in this area? You would have to weigh tourism against the mines.
>
> C: Tourism is a big factor.
>
> H: Supplement the mines.
>
> C: Ya, just a supplement, of course, the tourist industry is a big industry, especially now with all year, skiing and snowmobiling.[203]

The code ethnic relations was a commonly asked-about topic. Almost without exception, interviewees responded that everybody got along, that there were no problems, and that all the different ethnicities were living together harmoniously. By the same token, interviewees told how it did not matter who's kid you were—everybody was respected regardless of their parents' background. Here is one example:

> R: Yeah… half of them in the mine that couldn't speak English.
>
> I: And I imagine the Italian people tended to live in the same little area so that their neighbors could speak Italian.
>
> R-l: I suppose.
>
> I: And the Finnish peoples…
>
> R: Well I noticed they all mixed together...they didn't live...they all mixed together.
>
> I: Well, how did talk? You know, if one is talking Finn and the other

---

[201] Johnson, 11 Aug 1972.
[202] Bergh, Homlund, Marsi, 31 Jul 1973.
[203] Willman, 9 Aug 1973.

> is talking Italian or Austrian or something.
>
> R: They managed to get by, anyhow. That makes no difference...they that didn't...just as many Finns as anyother nationality. Then every second house was Finn and you know, like Austrian then Finn and all like that... all along like that, see. That's how it was.
>
> I: How did they get along together?
>
> R: Got along good...all very good
>
> I: Did they have any problems?
>
> R: No...never no problem...no, no, no...just like one family like them days of they were very sociable.[204]

Women are quite absent in the data set, both as interviewees and in the interview material. In my data set there are 16 women out of 67 interviewees. Here one interviewee tells how women were active in marching during the strike and in other ways supporting their husbands:

> Yes and this (?) from Tamarack, he...these guys went, they went of course going around like you fellows, just checking around, and when they got over there these women they cleaned out the toilets and threw it all over these guys. And when they come back the man in charge he just sat down and we Lord we laughed, you know, at the way they looked.[205]

One of the most interesting interviewees is William Parsons Todd, the president of the Quincy Mine. As one can expect, many of his opinions were contradictory to more commonly held views. In his interview, he brought up multiple times how the companies tried to take care of their men by building houses for them and by providing free medical care, etc. He stated that the company took care of the whole family and seems to try to pass the question of what happened to cause the strike. According to Todd, the companies always raised salaries as soon as possible and before the employees even asked for it. Therefore, employees did not complain when salaries were cut—because they knew that the companies paid as much as they could. He emphasized that the companies considered the employees as a part of the company, regarded them as friends, and that employees trusted the companies and that there was active conversation between them. Hence, the companies did not like unionists who claimed that they would take care of the workers, when the companies were already

[204] Bigando, John, 20 Jul 1973.
[205] Trezise, 8 Aug 1974.

doing that. As problems, Todd mentioned work-force shortage and air blasts, but stated that these were not dangerous because it was mostly the old, abandoned parts of the mines that were collapsing. He estimated that two men died per year at the Quincy Mine and stated that deaths were mostly caused by the men's own negligence. He also defended the one-man drill by saying that in reality, there were two men drilling with two drills as a team.[206]

The Quincy Mine did not recognize the union or negotiate with it during the strike. Even though the companies did not have official cooperative actions, they handled the strike together. Todd told that the Quincy Mine announced they would not develop working conditions, raise salaries, nor allow workers who join the union to come back to work. He never felt that the strikers were communists: it was only normal for workers to want things to become the way they desired. He claimed that workers survived during the strike because they were living in the companies' houses. He saw that Detroit was located too close, tempting work force away from the Copper Country, citing there was no work for women, and that while the men loved the mines, but the families did not. He said that not many miners' children wanted to work in the mines, but the Finns seemed to be rooted in the region. He shared the view that Finns wanted their own farms to enjoy the light agricultural work, being outdoors and the lakes and that the area reminded them of Finland. To the question about Copper Country's future he answers:

> R: I don't know. It all depends on the future of the world to some extent. I believe that all the natural resources underground in the United States, oil and everything else, in time will be needed. I don't think they're going to throwaway a lot of copper...there's a lot of copper up there in Michigan. You believe that!
>
> I: Yes, and you always felt optimistic about it. I know you did.
>
> R: The copper that Copper Range has...they're not making any money at the moment but they have an immense amount of copper underground there.
>
> I: Yes, and Quincy has a lot of copper.
>
> R: Yes, and Calumet and Hecla copper.[207]

[206] Todd, 19 March 1975.
[207] Todd, 19 March 1975.

Harvey Al had, in addition to his interview, written short memoirs on his experiences in the Copper Country. Despite the significant amount of negative talk and feelings of insecurity, disappointment and loss, there clearly was dignity and self-respect left as well:

> As I see it up here in all my years and experience, I still say that someday if not now that our copper country is going to boom again. As I had seen it under ground in the shafts that I had worked in there is a great quantity of copper in the mines yet that was not touched by mining it as it was - - - As far as mining goes I still say that they will come up in mineralogy and find a process to get the copper out of the mines yet and at a lower cost than the companies operated on before, I know for the facts that the C&H or the Oil Co. that bought the C&H will someday open up some of the shafts and go for the copper that will be needed for our great industrial organizations will look for it to buy, I still say we will never see the day when we have runned out of copper up here in this great upper peninsula of Michigan.[208]

[208] Harvey, Al, Oral History Transcript, *The Finnish People, The Timber, and The Mines: As it was in the Hey Days*, Hancock, Michigan, July 14, 1972 (typed 9/1998).

7 Discussion

The history of the Copper Country has largely followed the grand narrative of mining sites. As Curtis has stated, mining is often presented as a straightforward operation that brings prosperity[209]. Whole regions have been built thanks to mining companies, and minerals have played an important part in national economies, especially in countries like the United States. In the late 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century, local actions, protests and environmental organizations related to mining have been of great interest. Still, the big picture of mining has remained quite similar: mining companies find deposits, come and take it with better or worse consequences to the region and leave without worrying too much about the environment or the future of the region. Lankton has studied the communities from many perspectives and presented negative aspects as well[210]. Still, the heritage of mining has largely remained in the shadows. In this study, the unpredictability of the copper market does come up, and how the world economy defines where, when and what is mined. As we have seen, there is a lot of copper left in the Copper Country but contrary to what the interviewees thought, it has not been taken out. On one side, the Copper Country has its mining history and industrial heritage, but on the other, the question of re-opening the mines has been up in the air for 50 years.

The glorious history is remembered by many interviewees. The heyday of the Copper Country had not been forgotten in the 1970s and many believed that better times were ahead. This study has shown that in addition to the re-opening of the mines, there were other reasons to approach the future positively. This is interesting, since it seems that there are often quite few possibilities in a single-industry region, and public discourse holds the single industry in prestige. Education retained its role in the Copper Country, and especially Michigan Tech became very important. It is also interesting that some of the interviewees were able to see possibilities outside the shafts right after the closure of the mines. This shows that the death of the industry in a single-industry area does not necessarily lead to the death of the whole region. Prosperous history narration

[209] Curtis, 2013.
[210] Lankton, 1991; Lankton, 2010.

can be found on the pages of many books, but the social heritage and community building after the closure of the mines has been neglected.

The most common theme under positive themes was paternalism, which was a key character in the region. It was one of the positive themes I identified, though it also had negative meanings. One person could say that the companies really took care of their employees and communities, and another could say that the companies had to do what they did to maintain a large enough work force. It is interesting to note that paternalism, which has been highlighted in research on the Copper Country's history at the turn of the 21st century, is very evident in the interviews. In addition to being obvious to researchers who study company housing systems and funding arrangements, paternalism was a clear part of everyday life to the locals during the first half of the 20th century. It was perhaps not always discussed as paternalism, but the all-encompassing nature of the mining companies was clear to everybody. Even though the companies have left, the physical remains of their paternalist actions are still there. Hoagland describes their meaning to locals:

> The survival of buildings such as the Calumet Theatre or the loss of buildings such as Italian Hall indicates that Copper Country residents view their past with mixed feelings: pride at what copper allowed them to accomplish, regret at the divisions and tragedies it caused. As time passes and the copper era fades in public memory, new understandings will emerge. Perhaps company houses, as a symbol of reasonable choices and strategies in the face of extensive company control as much as a symbol of the long arm of the company, will evoke both pride and understanding.[211]

The memory of times being good when the mining industry was doing well, and the memory of mining being all the people had in the region, are both strong. Still, there was more negative talk within these interviews, and the most common theme was insecurity, accompanied by disappointment and loss. The codes that formed the theme insecurity were vert frequent, especially because of the 1913 Strike. This strike, and the later strikes, prove that local people and workers are important and powerful local actors when considering resource extraction operations, as Steinberg has stated[212]. In research as well, the glorious history has had to give way to other interpretations. As

[211] Hoagland, 2010, 247.
[212] Steinberg, 2019.

Morin has stated, the heroic landscape turned to a landscape of defeat[213]. The heroic landscape is strongly present in the data but so is the landscape of defeat, so these interviews were conducted at a very precious time. The regionality of industrialization and modernity theories discussed through Wicke's research seem to be true with the case of the Keweenaw[214]. What could have been achieved with mining industry is often brought up by the interviewees. Instead of a feeling of development there is a feeling of disappointment and loss. De-industrialization often leaves difficult economic, social and environmental heritage behind. The regionality of prosperity brought by resource extraction is found in Nguyen et al study in Vietnam[215]. When studying resource extraction, it is important to consider also local, international and transnational levels, and to not only look at the national outcomes.

Industrial heritage was important to some of the interviewees. There was despair at seeing the buildings get ruined and no clean-up operations being carried out. Michigan had had early mining site tourism already from the 1930s, so locals had a good sense of the importance of preserving the history and making it accessible to tourists. According to Morin, the industrial heritage projects were successful in the Copper Country[216]. Nevertheless, a lot has been lost and one of the interviewees' dream of the Quincy becoming a great attraction complex was never fulfilled. Industrial heritage goes hand in hand with environmental issues, because they are often contradictory, but the latter is almost absent in the data set. In the Copper Country both preserving the history and cleaning up the environment were fulfilled, at least in some terms, successfully. The area only got into the Superfund list in 1986, so locals lived with the hazardous waste for decades. Morin has stated that the clean-up in the region was quite easy and there was no early environmental resistance, unlike in some other mining districts, and this may be one of the reasons why the interviewees did not talk much about environmental issues[217].

The memory of mining was not clearly divided to those who remembered it negatively and to those who remembered it positively. Some thought that during heyday of mining

---

[213] Morin, 2013.
[214] Wicke, 2018.
[215] Nguyen et al, 2017
[216] Morin, 2013, 183.
[217] Ibid., 185.

everything was good, but things had lately become worse and there was little hope in the future. For others, the memory of active mining era was not so pretty but now there was a good chance to make things better, and to take care of the valuable industrial heritage. Most importantly, it was felt that the mining companies had built the whole area and taken care of their employees and their families also outside of work, but at the same time caused many deaths and injuries and left the area with toxic environment and without economic prosperity. This can be said to be the shared story of boom-and-burst mining industry. But the experience was not wholly commonly shared. For some, there was a lot of hope in re-opening the mines, for some in tourism and light industry, and for others no hope at all. For "mining-men", those in higher positions, the mining history was glorious, and mines had to be shut because of labor issues. For miners, trammers and others not in leading positions, the working conditions were awful and by strikes and by forming the Union the workers only tried to get a little betterment to their lives.

The greatest challenge with the analysis was that the same topics were discussed both positively and negatively and for different reasons. I had to be very clear with the codes that fell under several themes. I also had some common problems with analyzing the interview data: those interviewees who have an ability to present their thoughts clearly and who feel confident with their opinions could easily get more attention, compared to those who are cautious to express strong opinions. People also have different attitudes towards interviewing and in this case, some seemed to treat being interviewed with contempt. I tried to focus on every interview equally and to find meaningful things even from the less interesting interviews. Still, I wanted to bring up a couple of interviews individually, because I felt the interviewee held a significantly different position compared to others or that they had prepared for their interview and made an effort to bring up a wide variety of topics. Here I have discussed my results and invited readers to interpret them. Next, I will briefly review the research questions, aims and steps of this study, compile the results and interpretations, present conclusions, evaluate the study critically and define the possible further research.

8 Conclusions

In this research, I wanted to know how people were talking about the mines in the Keweenaw Peninsula in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan in 1972-1978. The mining history has been studied profoundly but what the heritage of the livelihood was has received less attention. My data, the oral history collection, was collected shortly after the closure of the mines and allows the study of how the mining history was approached at this stage of the mining district. I used thematic analysis as my method to identify common themes in the interviews, to build connections between the themes and to understand why some themes were discussed in the way they were, what the interviews revealed about the society and culture within which they were conducted and in which the memories were originally created. I focused on interviews that mentioned either mining, mine or strike as their subjects, and searched especially for parts where these topics or the future of the area were discussed. This process formed my data set.

In the next step, I coded the data set by topics such as company housing, re-opening of the mines, ethnic relations, working conditions, the 1913 strike, environmental heritage and tourism. By considering these codes and then combining them I formed my initial themes. I then tested my themes with the whole data set and made the necessary changes. Finally, the main themes were positive talk and negative talk. Negative theme had subthemes ***insecurity*** (working conditions, the 1913 Strike, later strikes, Italian Hall disaster, violence, instability of copper market, workers' union), ***disappointment*** (economic heritage, company operations, worker actions) and ***loss*** (environmental and social heritage, future without the mines, death). Positive theme had subthemes ***paternalism*** (company housing, medical care, community building), ***comfort*** (hey-days, common good, re-opening of the mines) and ***communality*** (ethnic relations, universities, industrial heritage, tourism).

From these themes I could state that the mining history and heritage were seen both positively and negatively. However, there was more negative talk especially because of the 1913 Strike that was still commonly remembered. The interviewees had been little children during the strike, but many stated that they remembered it and brought

up the Italian Hall Disaster also. These two—the hazards of mining and the insecurity of operations—were clearly integral parts of the story of the mining. More personally, some interviewees talked about the economic and environmental heritage negatively and were clearly disappointed with the companies' actions after the closure of the mines. Despite the bad working conditions, most interviewees saw future in mining. Environmental issues were mentioned surprisingly rarely, even though they were already clearly known. This could be because of the question was not asked or because there was reluctance to think about what the actual heritage of the prosperous mining history was. The negative approach to mining personalizes in Norman Ryding's interview and the positive approach in William Todd Parson's interview.

The memory of mining developing the region and the companies taking care of the locals was strong. The fact that the money did not stay in the area and the heritage of 100 years of copper mining could not change that experience and remembrance. Paternalism was the most commonly brought up theme out of positive themes, accompanied by comfort, both showing how locals were satisfied with what they had. In contrast, the theme of communality shows that some interviewees were able to see possibilities and a future outside the mining shafts. The Copper Country is a great example of a single-industry region that was able to continue with other industries and achieve a stable, yet much smaller, population. Already right after the closure of the mines, some interviewees saw this was possible if everyone worked hard for the community. This study does not state that remembering the mines was clearly divided into those who remembered it as something negative and to those as something positive. The memories were formed by mixed feelings and both approaches could be found in one interview, especially when comparing experiences of past to future prospects. Still, it seems that in most cases an interviewee was willing to hold on their perspectives: if one wanted to see mining as something positive they really saw every part of it positively. Mining men were still unwilling to admit that accidents were not always simply the workers' fault.

The lives of those who work and live in the shadows of the shafts are much brighter today. Mining and resource extraction are still very problematic industries even in the most technologically advanced countries. For example, in Kiruna, Sweden, the mining company has enough power to relocate the whole town. Mines in North America have

ruined many bodies of water, important especially to indigenous peoples. Thus, cities like Hancock—which have developed in the shadows of the shafts—that once made the region prosper, but then left it with contaminated waters and collapsing buildings serve as an example to other cities when they consider what their future should look like.

Thematic analysis worked well with the data and the future talk themes responded nicely with the themes that were found in remembrance of mining. The results could be supported by the previous research, but the analysis also produced new insights. The topic was well defined, and the research question could be mostly answered with the thematic analysis and this oral history collection. The timing of the interviews was so soon after the closure of the mines that questions of heritage and environmental issues could not be answered as well as I had hoped. Here, interview data from the 1980s and 1990s would work better. The data was rich and sometimes overwhelming, so I feared missing some important issues when an interviewee was talking in length or rambling, or in cases where it seemed that there was nothing new compared to other interviews. With qualitative research, the researcher must trust on the feeling of when the saturation point has been reached. Having transcripts of all the records could have been useful, even though I feel that the existing topics and themes did come up already with these interviews. I hope that the remaining 100 hundred interview records will someday be translated and become available online. Naturally, listening to the interviews would have been time-consuming but rewarding. Still, I think that with this thematic analysis it was not that important to go into details with the interviews. The next step with this research would be to compare it with public discussion and with governmental plans and acts in the 1970s.

The material I used is rich and rewarding. With different research questions it has been used, and still could be used for many purposes. From the perspective of immigrant history, an unquestionable fact is that this oral history collection project was conducted too late. As Keijo Virtanen has stated:

> The most fruitful time for collecting interview material would have been at the intersection between the first and second generations, in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s; interviews carried out at that time would have made it possible to explicate the contradictions between contemporary phenomena crucial for assimilation, e.g. between the renaissance of voluntary association activity and shame over immigrant origins.[218]

However, from the perspective of mining history the timing is precious. The main purpose of the oral history collection was to preserve Finnish American folklore but due to the location, the interviews captured the post-mining atmosphere in the process. The regional heritage and identity, strongly built on mining history, has a lot of potential for further research. By collecting new interviews and using newspapers and other archival materials, it would be possible to continue the research since mining remains a current topic in the region. Ever since their closure, there have been ideas and talk about re-opening the mines. It would be interesting to see how the opinions of people who have not experienced life in an active mining location would differ from this data. The world and mining have changed a lot in 50 years, but the new coming of extractivism ensures that the topic is of high importance. The story of the Copper Country has not yet been told.

[218] Virtanen, K. (1999). Urban American and the Finnish Communities of Detroit and Chicago. In *Pitkät jäljet. Historioita kahdelta mantereelta*. Professori Reino Kerolle hänen täyttäessään 60 vuotta 2.3.1999. Kuparinen, E. (ed.). Turun yliopiston historian laitos julkaisuja 49, 1999, p. 386-401.

References

Primary sources

Finnish Folklore and Social Change in the Great Lakes Mining Region Oral History Collection, Finlandia University, Finnish American Historical Archive and Museum.

Andrews, Dr. Clarence. Born in Iowa, professor at MTU. Interviewed by: Olson, Bob in WMPL Radio Station, Houghton, Mich.

Bergh, Russell; Homlund, Walter; Marsi, Minne, Marsi. Homlund Born abt. 1908; Marsi born Jan 1888, Hurontown, Mich. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Art. 31 Jul 1973 in home of Walter Holmlund, Jacobsville, Mich.

Bigando, Battista. Born 8 Aug 1883, Italy. Interviewed by: Anderson, Wallace. 7 Aug 1973 in Home of Bat Bigando, Calumet, Mich.

Bigando, John. Born 7 Jul 1885, Italy. Interviewed by: Anderson, Wallace. 20 Jul 1973 in Allouez, Mich.

Foremen Willard. Born 24 Mar 1910. Interviewed by: Anderson, Wallace. 1 Aug 1972 in Allouez, Mich.

Foster, William John, Interviewed by: Helgren, Dorias; Harju, Larry. 22 Jul 1974 in Michigan State Police Post: Calumet.

Fredd, Victor. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Art. 17 Jul 1972 in Hancock, Mich.

Gardner, William. Interviewed by: Helgren, Doria; Harju, Larry. 5 Aug 1974.

Harvey, Al, Oral History Transcript The Finnish People, The Timber, and The Mines: As it was in the Hey Days, Hancock, Michigan, July 14, 1972 (typed 9/1998).

Harvey, Al. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Art. 18 Jun 1973.

Hohl, Charles. Born abt 1880. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Art. 18 Jul 1972.

Jacka, Bertha. Born in Calumet, Mich. Interviewed by: Berry, Betty in Jacka's home in Calumet, Mich.

Janis, Dr. A. J. Interviewed by: Jalkanen, Paul. 20 Jul 1972.

Johnson, Walter. Born 1910. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Art. 11 Aug 1972 in Hancock, Mich.

Kuopus, Wilbert. Interviewed by: Anderson, Wallace. 17 Jul 1972 in Kuopus' home in Mohawk, Mich.

Lent Harold. Interviewed by: Jalkanen, Paul. 26 July 1972 in Hancock, Mich.

Luokkanen, Henry. Born 1897, Taivalkoski, Finland. Interviewed by: Anderson, Wallace. 6 Aug 1973 in Interviewee's home between Eagle River and Eagle Harbor, Mich.

MacDonald, James. Born 1897, Ramble Town. Interviewed by: Jalkanen, Paul. 24 July 1972.

McMahon, Jack. Born 1916. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Art. 8 Aug 1973 in Franklin Mine location.

Nelson, Alex. Born 1900, Interviewed by: Jalkanen, Paul. 28 Jul 1972.

Odgers, Millicent Marie. Born in the United States. Interviewed by: Kessler, Catherine. 1 July 1973 in Iron River, Mich.

Oinas, Arthur. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Art. 3 Aug 1972.

Olander, Robert. Interviewed by: Oikarinen, Peter. 1 Jul 1975.

Pykkonen, Edward and Anna (Heikkinen). Edward Born 1894; Anna born 1899, Kuhma, Oulu Lääni. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Art. 26 July 1972 in Hancock, Mich.

Reinhart, Fr. Charles. Born 11 July 1914, Marinette, WI. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Art. 11 July 1973 in Interviewee's home in Hancock, Mich.

Rozich, Frances. Born 1915, Interviewed by: Jalkanen, R.J. 8 Aug 1972.

Ryding, Rev. Norman. Born 1934, Ishpeming, Mich. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Art. 9 Aug 1972 in Houghton, Mich.

Salmi, Walter Hugo and Mrs. Mayme. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Art. 8 Aug 1972.

Snabb, Henry. Born 25 Dec 1906, Sweden. Interviewed by: Anderson, Wallace. 7 Aug 1973 in Interviewee's home in Ahmeek, Mich.

Spirofff, Kiril. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Art. 20 June 1973 in Interviewee's home.

Todd, William Parsons. Interviewed by: Jalkanen, Paul. 19 March 1975.

Torkala, Mrs. Helen. born 1892 Finland. Interviewed by: Jalkanen, Paul. 7 Aug 1972.

Trezise, Norman. Born 1888, Ishpeming, Mich. Interviewed by: Helgren, Dorias & Harju, Larry. 8 Aug 1974 in Calumet, Mich.

Williams, Barbara. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Art. 3 Aug 1972.

Willman, Judge Charles. Born 3 Aug 1908, Rockland, Mich. Interviewed by: Puotinen, Heino "Hap". 9 Aug 1973 in interviewee's home in Ontonagon, Mich.

Literature

Aaltonen, T. & Leimumäki, A (2010). Kokemus ja kerronnallisuus. In: Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen (ed.), *Haastattelun analyysi*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 147.

Abrams, L. (2010). *Oral history theory*. London; New York: Routledge.

Alanen, A. (1981). Finns and the Corporate Mining Environment of the Lake Superior Region. In: Finn Forum, Multicultural History Society of Ontario & Karni, M. G. (1981). *Finnish diaspora: Papers of the Finn Forum conference*, held in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, November 1-3, 1979. 2, United States. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario.

Alanen, A. (2012). *Finns in Minnesota*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Alanen, A. & Kostiainen, A. (2014). *Finns in the United States: A history of settlement, dissent, and integration*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Alfrey, J., Nfa, J. A. & Putnam, T. (2003). *Industrial Heritage: Managing Resources and Uses*. Florence: Taylor and Francis.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). *Using thematic analysis in psychology*. Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3:2, 77-101.

Curtis, K. A. (2013). *Gambling on ore: The nature of metal mining in the United States, 1860-1910*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Dawson, G. (1994). *Soldier heroes: British adventure, empire and the imagining of masculinities*. London: Routledge.

Donato, K. M., Alexander, J. T., Gabaccia, D. R., & Leinonen, J. (2011). *Variations in the Gender Composition of Immigrant Populations: How They Matter.* International Migration Review, 45(3), 495–526. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2011.00856.

Halsey, J. R. (2018). *Prehistoric copper mining in Michigan: The nineteenth-century discovery of ancient diggings in the Keweenaw Peninsula and Isle Royale*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan.

Hayter, R. (2000). Single Industry Resource Towns. In: Barnes, T. J. & Sheppard, E. (2000). *A companion to economic geography*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Heinilä, H. (2002). *Osuustoimintaliikekasvatus USA:n Keskilännessä 1917-1963*. Turku: Migration Institute of Finland.

Hieta, E. (2009). *Benefitting Finns: How the Finnish Relief Fund of 1939-1940 Impacted American Politics and Society*. Journal of Finnish Studies 13, no. 1: 24-31.

Hieta, E. (2014). Distant Dreams, Different Realities: North American Immigrants Revisit Finland. In Kostiainen, A. (2014). *Finns in the United States: A History of Settlement, Dissent, and Integration*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Hieta, E. (2014). Help among Nations: The Humanitarian Impulse in American-Finnish Relations. In Kostiainen, A. (2014). *Finns in the United States: A History of Settlement, Dissent, and Integration*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Hieta, E. (2017). *Finns and Finnicans: Walter Mattila and the Ethnic Dilemma of Second-Generation Finnish Americans*. Journal of Finnish Studies 20, no. 2: 31-54.

Hoagland, A. K. (2010). *Mine towns: Buildings for workers in Michigan's Copper Country*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Holmio, A. (2001). *History of the Finns in Michigan.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press. Original in Finnish (1967) Michiganin suomalaisten historia. Hancock: Michiganin suomalaisten historia-seura - Society for the publication of the history of Michigan Finns.

Huhta, Aleksi (2017). *Everyday Ethnicity in Michigan's Copper Country in the Early Twentieth Century*. Master's Thesis, University of Turku.

Hummasti, P. G. (1979). *Finnish radicals in Astoria, Oregon, 1904-1940: A study in immigrant socialism*. New York: Arno Press.

Hummasti, P. G. (2002). *Finns on Both Sides. The Development of Finnish Communities along the Lower Columbian River*. Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Summer 2002, 93:3, 137-145.

Karni, M. & Kaups, M. (1975). *The Finnish experience in the Western Great Lakes region: New perspectives*. Turku: Migration Instute of Finland.

Kaunonen, G. (2009). *Finns in Michigan*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Kaunonen, G. (2010). *Challenge Accepted: A Finnish Immigrant Response to Industrial America in Michigan's Copper Country*. Michigan State University Press. ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.libproxy.helsinki.fi/lib/helsinki-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3338174.

Kaunonen, G. & Goings, A. (2013). *Community in conflict: A working-class history of the 1913-14 Michigan Copper Strike and the Italian Hall Tragedy.* East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Kero, R. (1986). *Suomen siirtolaisuuden historia: Osa 1, Pohjois-Amerikkaan suuntautuneen siirtolaisuuden tausta, määrä, rakenne, kuljetusorganisaatio ja sijoittuminen päämääräalueelle* (2. edition). Turku: University of Turku.

Kivisto, P. (1984). *Immigrant socialists in the United States: The case of Finns and the Left*. Rutherford: Farleigh Dickinson.

Kivisto, P. & Faist, T. (2010). *Beyond a border: The causes and consequences of contemporary immigration*. Los Angeles: Pine Forge Press.

Kostiainen, A. (1978). *The forging of Finnish-American communism, 1917-1924: A study in ethnic radicalism*. Turku: Migration Institute of Finland.

Kostiainen, A. & Pilli, A. (1983). *Suomen siirtolaisuuden historia: Osa 2, Aatteellinen toiminta*. Turku: Turun yliopisto.

Lankton, L. & Hyde, C. (1982). *Old Reliable: An illustrated history of the Quincy Mining Company*. Hancock: The Quincy Mine Hoist Association.

Lankton, L. (1991). *Cradle to grave: Life, work, and death at the Lake Superior copper mines*. New York: Oxford U.P.

Lankton, L. (1997). *Beyond the boundaries: Life and landscape at the Lake Superior copper mines, 1840-1875*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lankton, L. (2010). *Hollowed ground: Copper mining and community building on Lake Superior, 1840s-1990s*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Leinonen, J. (2011). *Elite migration, transnational families, and the Nation State: international marriages between Finns and Americans across the Atlantic in the twentieth century*. Retrieved from the University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy, http://hdl.handle.net/11299/101803.

Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative researching* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE Publications.

Morin, B. J. (2013). *The Legacy of American Copper Smelting: Industrial Heritage Versus Environmental Policy*. Vol. 1st ed. University Tennessee Press.

Murdoch, Angus (1943). *Boom Copper: The Story of the First U. S. Mining Boom.* New York: The Macmillan Company.

National Park Service, Environmental Impacts of Mining in the Keweenaw, https://www.nps.gov/kewe/learn/nature/environmental-impacts-of-mining-in-the-keweenaw.htm

National Park Service, Quincy Smelter, https://www.nps.gov/kewe/learn/historyculture/quincy-smelter.htm

Nguyen, N., Boruff, B. & Tonts, M. (2017). *Mining, development and well-being in Vietnam: A comparative analysis.* The Extractive Industries and Society, Volume 4, Issue 3, 564-575.

Paasi, A. (1986). *The Institutionalization of Regions: Theory and Comparative Case Studies*. Joensuu: University of Joensuu.

Passerini, L. (1979). *Work, Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism*. History Workshop Journal, 8: 82-108.

Pietilä, I. (2010). Vieraskielisten haastattelujen analyysi ja raportointi. In: Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen (ed.) *Haastattelun analyysi*. Tampre: Vastapaino, 420-421.

Quincy Mine Hoist Association, https://quincymine.com/

Roinila, M. (2003) *Finnish commercial fishermen on Lake Superior: the rise and fall of an ethnic fishery*. Middle States Geographer, 36:25-37.

Roinila, M. (2012). *Finland-Swedes in Michigan*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Ruusuvuori, J., Nikander, P. & Hyvärinen, M. (2010). Haastattelun analyysin vaiheet. In Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen (ed.), *Haastattelun analyysi*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 16.

Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing qualitative research*: A Practical Handbook (4th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Steinberg, J. (2019). *Mines, Communities, and States: The Local Politics of Natural Resource Extraction in Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Svampa, M. (2019). *Neo-extractivism in Latin America: Socio-environmental conflicts, the territorial turn, and new political narratives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Törrönen, J. (2010). Identiteettien ja subjektiasemien analyysi haastatteluaineistossa. In: Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen (ed.) *Haastattelun analyysi*. Tampre: Vastapaino, 180.

Veltmeyer, H., Albuja, V., Chapple, L. & Petras, J. F. (2014). *The new extractivism: A post-neoliberal development model or imperialism of the twenty-first century?* New York: Zed Books.

Virtanen, K. (1979). *Settlement or return: Finnish emigrants (1860-1930) in the international overseas return migration movement*. Turku: Migration Institute of Finland.

Wicke, C. (2019). Introduction: Industrial Heritage and Regional Identities. In: Wicke, C., Berger, S. & Golombek, J. (Eds.), *Industrial Heritage and Regional Identities*.

Yahaya, A. (2006). *The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible*. International Journal of Heritage Studies, 12(3): 292–300.