

A Region of Hope, A Region of Despair: Print Media, Geographical Imagination, and the Gogebic Iron Range Mining Boom

Matthew Liesch

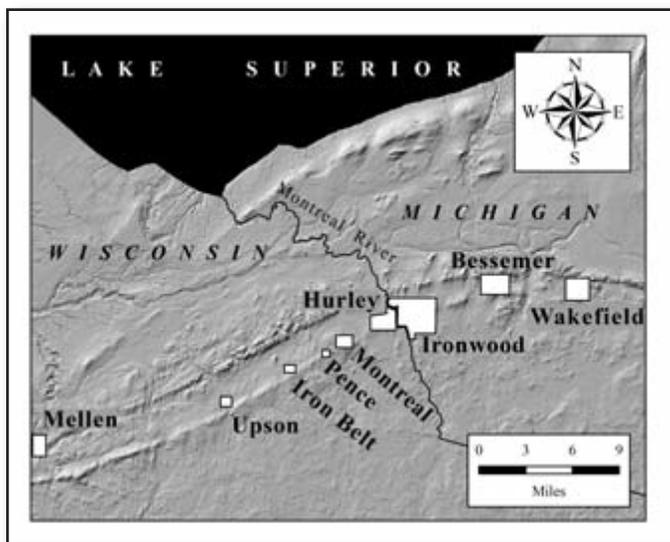
Newspaper readers who picked up a copy of the *Chicago Tribune* on September 16, 1886, may have seen a headline entitled, “Wisconsin’s Bonanza.” The article went on to proclaim: “Hundreds of people are arriving daily from all parts of the country and millionaires are being made by the dozens....The forests have given way to mining camps and towns, and a most bewildering transformation has taken place.” After setting the scene, the paper then added: “In the palmy days of gold mining on the Pacific slope there is no record of anything so wonderful as the Gogebic.”¹ The *Chicago Tribune*, like many other newspapers across the lower Great Lakes, sought to portray the Gogebic Range as a geographic region of hope and fortune, ripe for immediate investment. For many potential investors living in cities such as Milwaukee, Chicago, and Cleveland, newspaper articles such as these constituted the main source of geographical information about the booming Gogebic Range.

Located near Lake Superior’s southern shore, the Gogebic Range is one of several mineral ranges in the Lake Superior Mining District. The Wisconsin-Michigan border divides the Range into roughly equal halves. During the middle of the nineteenth century, the Wisconsin portion of the Range was termed the Penokee Range; this name is occasionally used today at the range’s western end, where mining was less successful. Low in phosphorous, the quality ores of the Range were well-suited for the Bessemer process of iron refining, which was in vogue during the 1880s.

Geographer Donald Meinig noted that during the Industrial Revolution, the largest shift in the American iron and steel industry was the increasing dependence on iron ores from Lake Superior.² Geographers have lumped the Upper Middle West’s mining ranges into one region; within this, the Gogebic Range is categorized as one of several mining districts.³ The use of the term “region” in this paper is built upon the idea that regions are fluid and

Matthew Liesch is in the Department of Geography, University of Wisconsin-Madison. *Historical Geography* Volume 36 (2008): 182-207. ©2008, Historical Geography Specialty Group, Association of American Geographers.

Figure 1. The Gogebic Range is shown using USGS DEM shaded relief. Towns are nestled between two linear sets of hills. Iron ore mining was most successful between Upson, Wisconsin and Wakefield, Michigan on the southern set of hills.



dynamic contiguous areas containing a group of places with significant commonalities. As Anssi Paasi and others have argued, the construction of regions occurs at all spatial scales.⁴ Following Paasi's argument, a mining district such as the Gogebic Range is not too small to be referred to as a region. Since Euroamerican settlement, the Gogebic Range was promoted as a region. Now dormant, this mineral range continues to be perceived as a region despite being split by a state border.⁵ Regardless of whether one prefers to use the term "mining district" or "region," these areas were labeled and spatially bounded by those who develop as an inevitable part of controlling mining lands.⁶ As the demand for iron increased, speculators sought to develop new mineral regions.⁷

During the late 1800s, this growing demand resulted in the development of the Menominee, Gogebic, and further west, Minnesota's Vermilion and Mesabi Ranges. Of these Upper Midwestern iron ranges, historian Walter Havighurst claimed that the Gogebic experienced an unusually high amount of speculation, though to date it has produced less ore than most of the Midwest iron ranges.⁸ When mining regions first develop, hope and optimism typically lead to a flurry of activity, commonly referred to as a mining "boom." Rampant speculation and glorifying narratives abound. What the Gogebic experienced, however, was truly exceptional when compared to other mineral ranges in the vicinity of Lake Superior. As testament to this the Wisconsin Historical Society has acknowledged Gogebic speculation and development as one of the turning points in Wisconsin's history.⁹ Much the same might be claimed for adjacent Michigan: Since most of the Gogebic's wealth would come from beneath Michigan's soils, the speculation and development

of the Gogebic was just as important to Michigan's historical geography. As such, the Gogebic Range's period of initial speculation makes for a compelling case study while providing a lens through which geographers may scrutinize mining speculation elsewhere.

Development of mining ranges typically occurs along with fanciful speculative claims about the potential for economic wealth. The literature on mining speculation has largely accumulated outside of the formal discipline of geography; historians have done the bulk of this work.¹⁰ Folklorists, too, have examined how the boom-and-bust nature of mining speculation leaves an imprint upon the social characteristics of a community.¹¹ While emphasizing people and their actions, scholarly studies of mining scams often overlook the power of place imagery.¹² As I will show in this paper, mining promoters harnessed the power of place with the intent to shape how the Gogebic Range, as a region, was imagined by potential investors.

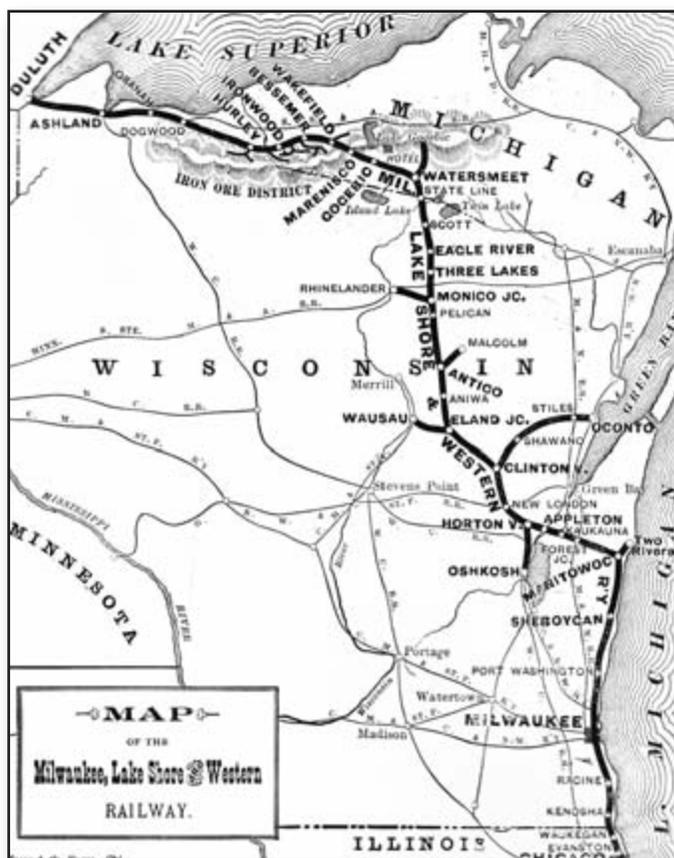
Over the past fifteen years, there has been an increasing body of scholarship on how social groups imagine places. Within these studies of geographical imagination, there has been increased emphasis on media's power to represent places. Representation shapes symbolic images of an area and how places are then imagined. Scrutinizing narratives documented in print media is a common research strategy used to examine geographical imagination.¹³ After tumultuous events, for instance, contemporary print media bias has been shown to shape our mental maps of troubled spaces.¹⁴

Through enhancing a region's image, it has been argued, newspapers and related print media are able to entice investment and therefore shape the economic future of a given area.¹⁵ Print media provides the public with a hierarchical grouping of topics deemed worthy of discussion; the general public reinterprets these narratives in oral communication.¹⁶ This claim has been applied to settlements of all sizes, ranging from global cities to rural hamlets.¹⁷ When examining topics covered by newspapers, it is important to keep in mind that communication formats and technologies affect the variety of communication.¹⁸ As part of their job, newspaper staffs have to be selective in what topics are deemed most worthy of public attention.¹⁹ Newspapers overemphasize views of social elites; for a fledgling mining region, social elites may be civic boosters, business owners, law enforcement and mine investors.²⁰ Powerful economic interests influence newspaper coverage to provide communication that is generally friendly to corporations.²¹ This situation happens in contemporary times, and, as this paper demonstrates, on fledgling mining ranges as well. Whether overt or subconscious, economics are an inevitable factor in decisions to cover a story, and the narratives that are told to the public.²² Examining newspapers of the era, it is often hard to discern the boundaries between editorials and advertisements. Promoters oftentimes seek to advertise in ways that associate products with places; these commercially-driven representations may be the only images a customer has about the place.²³

In the realm of geographical imagination, then, it can be fruitful to question how capitalism leads to skewed representations of place through developing linkages between products and idealized imaginative geographies.

As alluded to, newspapers are not the only print media to have an impact upon regional consciousness. Mining companies such as Ironwood's Aurora Mine created their own propaganda with long-winded titles such as "An Investor's Mine: Description of the Property of the Aurora Iron Mining Company, situated on the Gogebic Range in Wisconsin: its resources and future promises."²⁴ Periodicals such as *Harper's Weekly* told positive, uplifting stories about mining potential in the West, including the Gogebic Range. Trains also served as catalysts for regional development, not surprising given that increased population would bring an anticipated increase in transportation needs.²⁵

Figure 2. As depicted in the June 1887 edition of Milwaukee's *Miner and Manufacturer* monthly newspaper, the Milwaukee, Lake Shore and Western Railway's promotional map is typical of late nineteenth century railway maps in that locations along the line are included using generous font sizes and that its focal point, the Gogebic Range (top center of map) is exaggerated in size.



Railroad companies produced brochures and guides as an attempt to lure people and money to a geographic area.

Cartographic manifestations of this ideology resulted in deceitful maps which overstated a region's positive attributes. For instance, previous research has noted the tendency for railroads to include dots for settlements of any size whatsoever along the train route. Railroad companies would be much more selective with hamlets elsewhere on their maps. Ultimately, the railroad companies projected regions along their route to give the reader the impression that there were many dense nucleated settlements of significance along their route.²⁶ The size of font used to label a place-name generally increases with population or urban significance. Railroads' advertising, as shown in Figure 2, manifests itself in newspapers of the era.

I now turn attention to how evidence may be gathered to examine the role of place imagery in mining speculation. Given the multidisciplinary undertaking of research on mining speculation, a variety of methods and archival sources have been used to provide evidence. Incorporation papers, company documents, journals, diaries, correspondences, mining-themed periodicals and newspapers are common documents used in this line of research. In some cases, the agents of mining speculation have left scant archival evidence for future generations to scrutinize. In his overview of mining fraud in nineteenth-century America, Dan Plazak writes, "Laws against fraud were of little use when the fast-moving cheats were nowhere around by the time their customers discovered the fraud."²⁷ Short-lived operations left a scant, if any, paper trail, though archived newspapers offer us a window into these speculative efforts. In the early 1900s, laws and their enforcement became more rigorous. Scams persisted, albeit to a lesser degree.²⁸

The mining era on the Gogebic has been the subject of a number of scholarly studies, mainly from a historical perspective.²⁹ Relatively little attention, however, has been paid to how media portrayals of the Gogebic shaped public images of the Range, as well as patterns of speculative investment in a network of locales across the western Great Lakes. This article, therefore, asks the question: How was the geography of the Gogebic Range represented during the area's boom years, and how did these representations influence perceptions of the Range? Most of the evidence I will examine is drawn from archival materials, including newspapers, advertisements, images, and company records. The role of out-of-town newspapers is especially crucial, for they played, as we shall see, strong roles in influencing perceptions of the Gogebic. Rather than initially consulting print media from off the Range, however, I decided to start with local newspapers. In the days before the Associated Press, newspapers would oftentimes copy each other's articles, mentioning the newspaper's name at either the top or bottom of the article. Regardless of whether the topic was positive or negative in tone, I found that the Gogebic papers would often quote other newspapers word for word, and

then add their editorial below. Whenever possible, I would seek the original article in the newspaper of origin. For example, if the *Gogebic Iron Tribune* ran a December 31 article in response to a *Milwaukee Sentinel* column with no date given, I would check the December 30 issue of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*; usually, one day's lag time was not enough, so I would continue through issues in reverse order. In most cases, this worked, though it is a time-consuming process.

A Region of Hope

To understand public perceptions of the Gogebic's mining boom, it is essential to account for the role of power in disseminating representations of the Gogebic. Most Gogebic boosterism originated locally, as one might anticipate. Commonly, frontier newspapers were biased in their coverage of local issues.³⁰ It was, after all, their job to promote local interests. But, quite surprisingly, consultation of newspapers over a wide area revealed that much of the Gogebic's promotional power came not from the Range itself, but rather from sources located across the Gogebic's investment hinterland.

The *Milwaukee Sentinel* and *Chicago Tribune*, for example, commanded a broader audience than a frontier newspaper like the *Gogebic Iron Tribune*. Ironwood or Wakefield newspapers could speak of their locational advantages all they wanted, but they might readily be dismissed by wary investors as just another mining locality proclaiming its greatness. Frontier newspapers usually exaggerated.³¹ Newspapers from elsewhere held more credibility because they could be expected to be more objective about a distant region's potential.³² Why, then, would newspapers from places such as Milwaukee or Chicago want to promote the Gogebic as strongly as they did?

Today, when buying stocks, we often are not inclined to think in geographic terms about where our investment is going. The twenty-first century has vast, global corporations, commonly with branch offices and interests in many different parts of the world. On the internet or by phoning a broker, we can purchase stock in companies without having a faintest clue as to where that company might operate. During the 1890s, the consolidation of mines and companies, led by people such as John Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, also made geography less visible: An investor need not consider a geographical location for mining stocks but rather focus on other aspects comprising the quality of a company. But in the unstructured Gogebic of the 1880s, this was not really the case: The speculative, more localized nature of mining speculation on the Gogebic demanded more overt geographical information. Due to demand for this knowledge, print media gave rich descriptions glorifying the Gogebic's landscapes.

Speculative geography of the Gogebic Range's quality

The Gogebic Range witnessed arguably the most intense period of speculation of any Lake Superior mining range.³³ Its development came at an optimal time. During the 1880s, demand for steel grew greatly, particularly for steel produced from high-quality Bessemer ores. In fact, newspapers from the southern Great Lakes compared the Gogebic to California's gold rush.³⁴ One newspaper even saw the Gogebic as a world class resource: "As the rank of nations in civilization is now measured by the amount of steel that they make and consume, it is not strange that the fame of this Range has quickly spread to every civilized land, for in these magnificent hills and silent valleys there have been reposing through the ages the largest and most valuable deposits of steel producing ores in the known world."³⁵

The print media frequently sought to compare Gogebic development to events elsewhere. A Milwaukee newspaper said: "Fabulous stories have been told....The stories about the mines of the Gogebic Range read like the stories descriptive of the diamond fields of Africa. Skeptics have read these stories and allowed for enthusiasm. They could believe that iron had been discovered, but they could not believe that such untold quantities exist there, as was claimed."³⁶ This article went on to explain that once prospective investors actually visited the range, they would be convinced. Visiting the range was something that the largest investors could do. Smaller investors usually could not. Smaller investors were dependent on the accounts communicated to them. The newspapers' geographical descriptions were oftentimes the sole basis for investors' imaginative geographies.

When newspaper reporters visited the range to gather information for their stories, they often passed this information on in the form of travel narratives. The fairly rugged topography was a factor. As the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* claimed:

It is a beautiful country, this Gogebic iron district....The timber is a heavy hardwood growth that covers the entire range and extends for miles each side. From the high table land on which the Aurora [mine] is located, one can see for nearly twenty miles in each direction, a magnificently timber country with its hills and valleys rolling away in uniform splendor, the center of the view being the range proper in which Dame Nature ages ago stowed away the ore to await the advent of Man.³⁷

Many accounts took note of the species of trees; in a short time, the lumber industry would reach the Gogebic. An investor from Jackson, Michigan described the Gogebic as a "region of pine and hardwood forests, over a succession of ranges and hills."³⁸ General Land Office (GLO) surveys reveal a presettlement landscape consisting largely of mixed conifer and hardwood

forests.³⁹ Curiously, unlike the GLO surveys, newspaper accounts were more likely to emphasize the presence of hemlock. This is perhaps because during the boom years, hemlock was commonly used to “timber,” or give support to, the mineshafts.⁴⁰

Almost all travel narratives mentioned eyewitness testimonials to the richness of the Gogebic’s ore deposits. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* observed that “As the Milwaukeeans walked through the narrow tunnels deep in the earth, they were more than ever convinced of the wonderful wealth of the Gogebic region.”⁴¹ Quite commonly, these accounts attested to the ease with which ore could be extracted.⁴² Readers of newspapers in the nation’s industrial core were treated to detailed accounts of how the spatial arrangement of the ore deposits more or less contributed to their ease of extraction.⁴³

News articles frequently included testimonials from prominent visitors to the range. One note, signed by twenty visiting Cleveland businessmen, stated: “In respect to the continuity of the veins and the even quality of their ores, we consider the Range the most remarkable ever discovered.”⁴⁴ The print media also interviewed experts, such as professors, to lend credibility to their claims.⁴⁵ The opinions of politicians were also reported. Jeremiah Rusk was Wisconsin’s governor from 1882 through 1889. The newspapers reported on speeches he made about the Gogebic, in which he referred to it as the “New Wisconsin.”⁴⁶ While one governor was casting grand representations of the Gogebic, a future governor was also promoting the Gogebic. Walter Goodland, who later served as Wisconsin’s governor from 1943 until 1947, founded the *Wakefield Bulletin* in 1887 and the *Ironwood Times* in 1888. Other prominent politicians became investors in the Gogebic’s boom. Michigan’s Lieutenant Governor, James H. McDonald, and a former Governor of New York, Alonzo Cornell, were known to own portions of mines on the Range.⁴⁷

Newspapers sometimes employed the ruse of reporting tales of skeptics who later became convinced of the region’s potential. While being interviewed by a reporter from the *Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin*, a mining investor exclaimed, “When I first learned of this [region] and heard the wonderful stories, its enthusiastic owners and explorers told of its inexhaustible treasure of iron, I laughed at them.”⁴⁸ The investor then took a train ride up from Milwaukee to visit the range. It was reported that when he returned to Milwaukee, he invested on the range and was allegedly not interested in selling his stock. More frequently, newspapers told stories of small investors who became rich by investing in the mines of the Gogebic Range. A Milwaukee newspaper, for example, offered this tale of a preacher from that city:

Rev. A.A. Hoskins, who has been the pastor of a small south-side church at a salary of \$500 a year, is selling stock and property for mining companies, and in this way has made probably \$25,000 the past three months. He got his start by mortgaging his little house and lot, and investing his all in Gogebic. He resigned his pastorate

some months ago, and is now a regular boomer. Two young men named Hayes left Madison a few years ago to practice law at Ashland. They nearly starved to death until they became interested in Gogebic. Only last week they were offered a cool million dollars for their interests in a mine.⁴⁹

In this excerpt, the two references to the place name “Gogebic” do not mention a particular company, or a particular mine. There are no specifics of good or bad companies to invest in. In effect, the message is, *If a poor preacher can become rich by investing in this place, so can you.* As with many other articles, the aim was to foster the notion that a geographic region, the Gogebic, could make you very, very rich.

Many stories tried to combat skepticism. Indeed, most newspaper stories took pains to acknowledge why potential investors might want to be wary. The *Milwaukee Sunday Telegraph* observed that: “It is not surprising that a large class of people are skeptical when the question of mining interests is broached, [since] so many thousands have been swindled by the managers of bogus gold, silver, and iron mines.”⁵⁰ But ultimately, newspaper accounts got around to portraying the range as magical: As the *Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin* claimed, “Yes, certainly; everyone can make money that puts money into the Gogebic Iron Range. Every person who has invested money there has made money, and I defy you to find anyone that has not.”⁵¹ As potential investors read accounts such as these, they saw the region as a place of hope.

Newspapers generally represented a dynamic, progressive atmosphere on the Gogebic. In the words of one Cleveland reporter, “The activity on the Range has not diminished since the close of navigation [on frozen Lake Supe-

Figure 3. Headline from southeastern Wisconsin’s *Lake Geneva Herald*, April 23, 1886.

LAKE GENEVA, APRIL 23, 1886.

GOGEBIC.

ITS UNBOUNDED WEALTH.

A Description of the Most Remarkable Iron Discovery of Modern Times.

Sketches of John E. Burton and Capt. N. D. Moore.

THE interest that our people have had, during the past year, in the Gogebic iron mining country, has intensified with time, rather than de-

rior] and Hurley is the scene of greater interest than at any time since the range was discovered. The hotels are crowded to overflowing and moneyed men from every section of the country continue to visit the various mines."⁵² A powerful reputation had developed, a reputation of fantastic wealth. Wealth, hope and optimism defined the region.

By early 1887, two mining claims were incorporated per week on the Gogebic. By April, five new companies per week were looking for investors. During the rush, stock exchanges opened in Ashland, Wisconsin and Milwaukee, Wisconsin just to handle the burgeoning number of Gogebic stocks.⁵³ Midwestern newspapers routinely attested to the physical and economic geography of the Gogebic in falsely glowing terms, describing the Gogebic's "majestic hills of iron," and "bustling cities filled with millionaires." In many ways the image of the Gogebic was so exaggerated as to be fanciful: "The woods are full of prospectors and speculators. Shafts are being sunk on all sides, and there is no end to the possibilities of the country."⁵⁴ A map from 1887 boastfully depicts no fewer than 353 different mine sites stretching from Lake Gogebic on the east to Penokee Gap in Ashland County on the west. Unbeknownst to many investors, over half of these sites were far to the east and west of the best ore deposits.⁵⁵

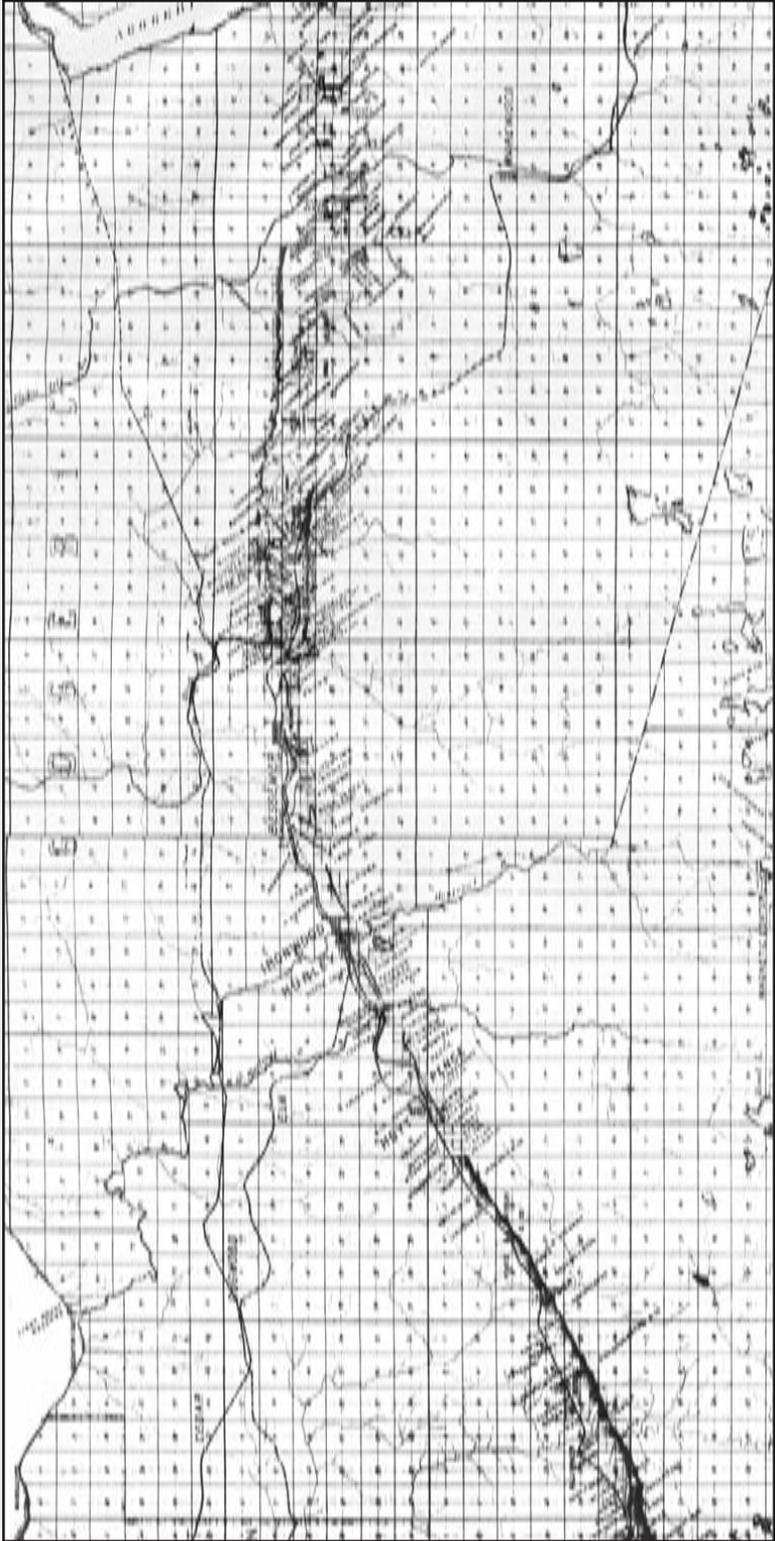
Speculative geography of the Gogebic Range's territory

During the boom years, there were many misconceptions as to the specific location of ore deposits. Surely, commercially viable ore bodies could be found beneath the central Gogebic. But where else? Some investors believed that the Gogebic Range extended as far eastward as Lake Gogebic, while others claimed that the Gogebic is a westward extension of the Menominee and Marquette Ranges.⁵⁶ In accordance with this theory, a company from Ohio undertook surveying for both copper and iron east of Lake Gogebic.⁵⁷

Thus, in addition to the main linear band of ore commonly known as the Gogebic Range, the boom years brought speculation to nearby lands. Without accurate geographical information, speculators hoped to become rich almost anywhere in the Gogebic area. Four main sites of rumor can be identified. In order of increasing media coverage, these were the South Range, the Trap Range, gold deposits east of Wakefield, and the western end of the Gogebic.

South of the Gogebic Range, milder degrees of speculation occurred during 1886 and 1887.⁵⁸ Samuel Fifield, Lieutenant Governor of Wisconsin, was actively promoting the region.⁵⁹ Newspaper accounts indicate that many mining investors believed this area to be a completely separate iron ore district, the South Range.⁶⁰ Little came of these speculations, although there were indeed intermittent patches of banded iron deposits north of the Niagara Fault, but nothing of commercial value.⁶¹

Figure 4. Made during the height of the Gogebic mining boom, this map displays 353 different mining claims of land. These territories generally follow the range's east-west linear band of iron-bearing rocks. A minority of the sites represented here became established mines.



The well-known ore deposits of the Gogebic lay inside worn-down hills, with many of the townsites located in a valley. But to the north lies the Keweenaw Trap Range, which stands in greater relief than the Gogebic itself.⁶² In vernacular language, the Trap Range is part of the Gogebic Range. But as mining claims filled up the length of the Gogebic, rumors spread claiming that ore deposits were to be found along the higher and steeper of the region's two ridges. Although the area had been surveyed and dismissed by geologists, rumor was stronger than fact. In addition to iron, rumors swirled around the possibility of rich deposits of gold, silver and copper.⁶³ The short-lived newspaper, *Gogebic Explorer*, touted gold deposits, none of which turned out to be commercially viable.⁶⁴ One would expect that a newspaper with the name of the *Gogebic Explorer* would be published in one of the Gogebic's towns; the *Gogebic Explorer*, however, was issued by the Bessemer Publishing Company, which despite being named after the town of Bessemer on the Gogebic, was actually published in downtown Milwaukee, over three hundred miles away.⁶⁵

Speculation also occurred as far west along the Gogebic Range as Mellen, Wisconsin, which is 27 miles from Hurley. Speculation in that direction was confirmed by the *Montreal River Miner*, which declared in the summer of 1886: "There is no longer any doubt as to the extent and richness of the range west of the Montreal River."⁶⁶ Oftentimes referred to by locals as the Penokee Range, the Gogebic's western end had iron, but its chemical composition rendered it economically worthless.⁶⁷ In the speculative atmosphere of the times, and with little scientific expertise, prospectors of the 1880s eagerly laid claim to the imagined potential of the Penokee.

Regional consciousness

The place name "Gogebic," so repeatedly invoked, soon became prominent throughout the Great Lakes region. Milwaukee newspapers' headlines proclaimed: "A Rich Iron Country: Wonderful Resources of the Gogebic Range,"⁶⁸ "Fortunes in Iron: Milwaukee Capital in the Gogebic Country"⁶⁹ and "Glorious Gogebic: The Richest Iron District on the Continent."⁷⁰ In Ohio, the *Cleveland Sun* asked rhetorically, "How many know that there is such a region as the Gogebic Range in American geography? I have never before seen anything that compared with the upsurging of the Gogebic Iron Range. It makes all the tales of Aladin's [sic] lamp and genii [sic] seem tame and commonplace."⁷¹ Newspapers from as far as 700 miles away in Cleveland, Ohio, were proclaiming the Gogebic's greatness. Even farther away, a New York-based newspaper remarked that "Gogebic has become a name of deep significance upon the maps of this country."⁷²

Evidence of the rising power of the Gogebic can be seen in the names of companies. Businesses prefer easily recognizable names to give them an advantage over their competition, and often attempt to achieve this goal by in-

corporating an easily recognizable place-name into their business name. In Chicago's Loop, for example, the "Gogebic Mining Exchange" soon opened for business.⁷⁴ Even in faraway Unionville, Connecticut, a "Gogebic Investment Company" was established in 1886.⁷⁵ One of John Burton's Milwaukee investors coined the term "Gogebic Luck" to describe positive events that had nothing to do with iron mining or the Gogebic, for that matter.⁷⁶ The Gogebic Range acquired strong name recognition during its boom years that secured its image in the minds of people all across the Midwest

Hinterlands of Investment: Location of Mining Company Headquarters

Given the rampant speculation, it is interesting to think about where the seats of decision-making power were located. Who controlled the boom activities on the Range and fed the speculative frenzy? This is a difficult question to answer completely. Because many companies never filed official papers, there is no way of knowing just how many stock offerings existed at the peak of the mining boom during early 1887.⁷⁷ But the 1888 *Gogebic Range Business Directory*, even though it was published after the crash, gives insight into just how many companies existed.⁷⁸ Although most companies maintained an office at the mine to handle local on-site affairs, real power was located at corporate headquarters. As shown in Figure 5, only four of thirty-two mines had their main offices on the Gogebic, each located in Hurley. Nearby Ashland, the most common iron ore shipping port, also had an office, as did Chippewa Falls. But as the newspaper articles suggest, Milwaukee proved to be the real seat of power on the early Range, with no fewer than twenty-one mining offices. Outside of Wisconsin, Chicago had one and Cleveland was home to four headquarters. As the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* observed, "Milwaukee people are accustomed to look upon the Gogebic iron district as a kind of protege of theirs."⁷⁹ Just as newspapers from Milwaukee led the way in building an image of the Range as a region of hope, Milwaukee was also the most important source of mining capital.

To accommodate the public demand for Gogebic investment, stock markets opened at Ashland and Milwaukee for the specific purpose of handling transactions of Gogebic stock.⁸⁰ Figure 6 shows the location of both actual and explorative companies. This hinterland is larger than the area where the mining companies existed (Figure 5). It did not take much to start an exploring company and offer stock, but significantly much more capital was required to actually hire labor and operate a mine. Companies from Minneapolis to Cleveland, and as far south as St. Louis, claimed to explore the Gogebic's soils, at least in name if not in actuality. Figure 7 shows the distribution of the option and exploring companies which were each issuing at least one million dollars in stock. This is not to imply that a million dollars per

Figure 5. Gogebic Range Mining Operations, March 1888. The distribution of companies with the capital to engage in the actual operations of mines was highly concentrated.



Figure 6. Gogebic Range Options and Exploring Companies, 1888. The spatial pattern of options and exploring companies was more dispersed than the locations of companies operating the mines.



Figure 7. Companies Issuing \$1,000,000 or More in Stocks, March 1888. Forty-one legally incorporated companies tried to issue at least one million dollars in stock apiece during early 1888. Their spatial distribution reveals that some companies originated in smaller towns. A company did not have to be in a financial center to try to raise money, but as shown in Figure 5, there were a few concentrated locations with sufficient financial backing to actually operate Gogebic mines.



company were invested; just that these stocks were capitalized. Comparing Figures 5 and 7, it is evident that many more companies were trying to sell a minimum of one million dollars of stock than were actually mining. These maps are a snapshot of only one point in time, March 1888, which is after many companies went bankrupt. If data were available from mid-1887, the maps would likely show even more companies trying to sustain themselves by selling stock, not through operating mines.

Location of mining investors

All of the Lake Superior mining ranges relied on investors from the East Coast. This was also true of the Gogebic. But how many? We'll never know. Since many investors sank money into imaginary or poorly-run companies, much of the documentary evidence has been lost. Even in the absence of official records, it is still possible to get some idea of the range of investors attracted to the Gogebic from printed advertisements intended to reach investors. The *Miner and Manufacturer* was an important outlet for such advertisements. Advertisements in this publication were placed by stock

companies located as far west as Minneapolis and as far east as Boston, though most companies were in Milwaukee. As an 1886 edition of *Yenowine's News* expressed it, "Gogebic is the Mecca at present of most of the northwest mining speculators [and] Chicago, Milwaukee and Cleveland capitalists are said to be making fortunes out of comparatively small investments."⁸¹ Figure 8 shows the distribution of venture capitalists who founded mines in Gogebic County, Michigan, not including Ashland County, Wisconsin. The addresses of company founders ranged from New York to Saint Paul. Many investors came from smaller towns in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan. Milwaukee led the way with 114 occurrences of initial corporate founding; the high number is in part due to some investors operating multiple mines. Newspaper articles reveal that many corporate founders tried selling stocks to people in their locality. These are just the legitimate ventures. Many more were off the books.

A Region of Despair

As in many mining districts, speculation and rumor fostered investment at a frenetic pace. An atmosphere of hope, opportunity and deceit overshadowed reality. Bad stocks abounded, and as time went on, rumors began circulating about mining scams. This became noticeable during 1886 even as interest in the region was increasing.

Last week W.J. Anderson, the Milwaukee correspondent of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, made a trip to Hurley, Wis. Anderson, like myself, has been skeptical about the claims of the Gogebic boomers. He has been throwing water on the red-hot craze, so to speak. While lots of bogus and worthless stock is being palmed off on unsophisticated 'mining speculators,' Anderson says the possibilities of the region are simply immense. He says scores of the mines are proving regular bonanzas.⁸²

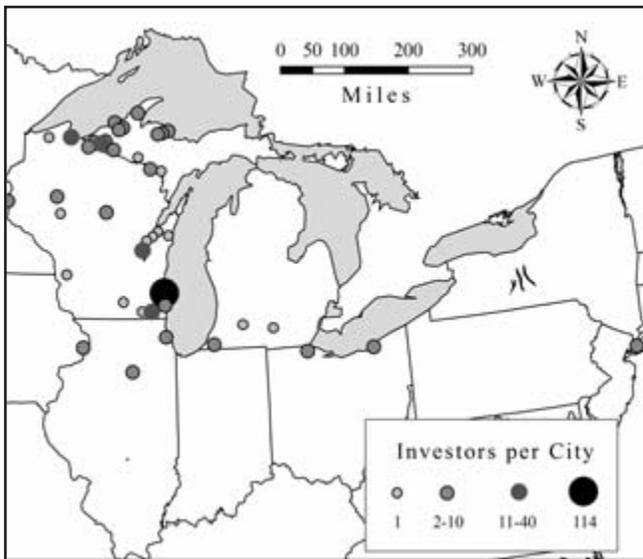
Despite the boom, not everything was wonderful on the range. In spring of 1887, the newly-formed Gogebic County found it wise to allocate approximately one-sixth of its total budget as a "poor fund."⁸³ Most companies' capitalized their stock at \$25 per share, and issued thousands of shares. But from reviewing copies of each company's Articles of Association, no company contributed the amount of money they claimed to have capitalized.⁸⁴ For example, the Warrior Iron Mining Company's founders contributed no money; their only asset was the value of their eighty acres of land. Yet their stocks were issued at a listed value of \$25 apiece. They had 40,000 shares on the market with a total value of \$1,000,000.⁸⁵ And this was a legitimate company that actually filled out the paperwork. The *Chicago Tribune* warned its readers of the risks of investing in a scam operation, of which there were many:

The mines are stocked all the way from \$500,000 to \$5,000,000. Of course, these values are largely fictitious. The stock in any new

mine begins selling for \$2 or \$3 a share, and the experience of the last six months has been that it advances steadily from week to week....In addition to the [stock] quoted, there are scores of embryo mining schemes, options, etc., and the country is fairly flooded with stock. Outsiders who do not know operators personally had better visit the range and see that there is really one as represented by the stock before purchasing. It is openly said that lots of stock has been privately issued and is being sold in the East and South by parties who do not own a foot of land on the Range and never expect to.⁸⁶

Since many parties selling Gogebic stocks had not filed incorporation papers, there are no archival sources that can confirm exactly how many companies existed in 1887, though Chicago and Milwaukee newspapers claimed that almost 200 stock offerings were made during early 1887, with \$200,000,000 in capital.⁸⁷ In *Michigan History Magazine*, Donna Bollinger has offered the highest estimate: “The total capitalization for the companies formed in the year 1886 reached a total of over one billion dollars.”⁸⁸ Regardless of which of these estimates are closest, most stocks were overvalued, and were therefore commonly bought and sold for less than their listed value. It was not unusual for the sale price of a stock to be 20 to 30 percent of listed value.⁸⁹ Prices fluctuated greatly. The April 2, 1887, edition of the *Miner and Manufacturer* asked: “Why is it that stock in a certain mine sells for \$8 per share when it has good ore nor favorable prospects?”⁹⁰ The *Chicago Daily Tribune* summarized the flow of money by stating: “Hundreds of thousands of dollars were invested by Milwaukee and Wisconsin people in stocks that are not worth

Figure 8. Location of Venture Capitalists for Iron Mining Companies Incorporated in Gogebic County, Michigan, through 1887. This map is based upon Gogebic County Articles of Association documents.



the paper on which they are printed.”⁹¹ Inevitably, disputes occurred over the nature and validity of mining claims, launching a boom in legal services. An 1887 advertisement for a Bessemer attorney proclaimed that he specialized in mining lawsuits.⁹²

The Gogebic’s largest booster, John Burton, was a lightning rod for criticism. Burton, replying to a critic, emphatically denied that a wild-cat mining scheme had ever been tried on the Gogebic.⁹³ A chief investor in at least eleven mines, Burton would end up losing his money. By the summer of 1887 the *Wakefield Bulletin* concluded soberly, “There is no disguising the fact that times are a little slow on the range just now, and that operations have been contracting somewhat along its entire length.”⁹⁴ Investor confidence plummeted, land prices dipped accordingly, and the boom was over.

Analyzing the crash

To his credit, Walter Goodland, editor of the *Wakefield Bulletin*, admitted: “Wakefield, like many new towns, is seriously afflicted with the presence of so-called businessmen, who have their own mercenary interests at heart in preference to all other considerations, even honor.”⁹⁵ Most scams were geared towards those who lacked business acumen and correct geographical knowledge. Visitors to the Range were less likely to make poor investments, although elaborate efforts might be made to fool those who came to check out operations personally. Michigan’s Gladstone mine is a case in point. The mine consisted of a small hole in the ground, which had not found ore. Knowing that potential investors were on their way to inspect the Gladstone, the mine’s owners bought five tons of ore from the nearby Anvil mine, and poured the loose ore down the Gladstone’s shaft. To the unsuspecting, the Gladstone shaft appeared to be full of ore. In this case, however, the scam failed. The problem was that the ore was loosely piled in the hole, rather than solidly forming along the shaft wall.⁹⁶ The visitors noticed, and reached the appropriate conclusions about the potential of the Gladstone site.

As conditions on the Gogebic Range deteriorated, the public image of the place began to shift from a region of hope and opportunity to a region riddled with corruption and false hopes: “The *Milwaukee Journal* now springs a new sensation. It claims that the woods are full of mines that have no prospects, and that the only object the owners had was to sell stock to the guileless businessmen of the larger cities.”⁹⁷ This is a far different story line than that which the *Milwaukee* newspapers had previously pursued with regard to the Gogebic. Why had lower Great Lakes newspapers been so wrong in their earlier portrayal of the region? There were three underlying factors. First, newspapers picked up stories from other newspapers, which meant that enthusiasm multiplied and spiraled upward by virtue of its constant reputation. Second, mining investors paid reporters to write glowing accounts of the region’s economic geography. “The *Chicago Times* it seems has had a reporter up

here writing up the range at \$1 per line from business men, and a big contribution from some of the mining men,"⁹⁸ noted the *Montreal River Miner* in the summer of 1886. Newspapers elsewhere were sometimes paid by the Gogebic's boosters to promote the region's economic image. Third, many newspaper editors had connections to mining investors, or even owned stock themselves. For example, the editor of southern Wisconsin's *Lake Geneva Herald*, responsible for the large headline "Gogebic: Its Unbounded Wealth" (depicted in Figure 3), was a business partner of John Burton.

Many claims of corruption were denied at first by those with Gogebic investments. John Burton, the Gogebic's most recognizable booster, said: "I understand that nearly every business man in Hurley has stopped [supporting] the *Sentinel* on account of its slanders, and I am glad of it, for the *Sentinel*, having the influence and the circulation it does, owes it to the interest of this state and to her own intelligence as a leading newspaper to deal fairly with the great iron interests of the Gogebic."⁹⁹ Conflict ensued between Gogebic area newspapers, each of which tried to defend the reputation of the Range, and the print media from the hinterland, which rushed to expose the economic weakness of the boom. This became a power struggle that ultimately the larger newspapers of the western Great Lakes were bound to win. Narratives of Gogebic corruption won out. By the winter of 1887, a Gogebic newspaper was forced to admit: "The whole country has been regaled for the last three months with long and various accounts of the misfortunes, mishaps, and failures of hundreds of fools who invest their money in the stock mining companies of the Gogebic."¹⁰⁰ In summing up the Gogebic's problems, the *Wakefield Bulletin* concluded, "Companies were not doing business upon business principles....Some of the companies involved in sudden ruin were mere stock-jobbing ventures, which from the first only made a show of prospecting for iron." The paper also blamed the naïve and inexperienced, or as they put it: "Enterprises conducted by men unacquainted with [the basics] of the mining business."¹⁰¹ The *Gogebic Iron Tribune* was forced to admit that many mines turned out to be situated on poor land claims: "There is no denying the fact that a panic prevails west of the Potato River on the range....This is the legitimate outgrowth of wild-cat speculation."¹⁰² The fact that mining often failed to commence; that scam artists took investors' money and fled, raised consternation. Newspapers in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Ohio, which had previously given glowing accounts of the Gogebic, now bashed it for being a place of corruption, a place that fosters crime and "wildcat schemes." The investors' lowered confidence depressed stock prices, bankrupting many legitimate mining companies. In order to survive, the best mines were consolidated within the largest and strongest companies.

The region was now thoroughly ridiculed, even suspected: "Now that the big mining deal on the Gogebic Range has gone up in the wind, we wonder what that isolated section of the country will do next to bring themselves before the public."¹⁰³ The region was isolated. The Two Harbors, Minnesota,

Iron Port bashed the Gogebic as a place corrupted by scandals: “The Gogebic Range has passed through her palmy days, and her reputation as an iron range nearly ruined by the many wild-cat, fraudulent mining companies, who so long in conjunction with the merciless mining sharks, have reigned supreme in that God-forsaken region.”¹⁰⁴ Public sentiment towards the Gogebic’s mining crash is captured in this quote from the economist H.R. Mussey: “The very name Gogebic became a hissing and a byword in the iron world.”¹⁰⁵ The reaction may be likened to the negative connotations given to Enron and Arthur Andersen in the early twenty-first century. As the Enron scandal became public knowledge, newspapers severely criticized the company. Icons of popular culture such as Jay Leno and David Letterman relentlessly made fun of Enron, and as a result, Enron developed a strongly negative reputation. The Gogebic’s negative reputation developed similarly, from repeated criticism in the public discourse. Unlike Enron, however, the term “Gogebic” is inherently more place-based, since it is, after all, a geographic region,¹⁰⁶ which means that its public damnation would have a lasting effect on the image of a part of the Western Great Lakes area, and iron mining ranges in general.

The Gogebic Grows Up

The initial Gogebic boom ultimately led to general disillusionment, followed by periods of cautious optimism. There was still ore to extract, but investors became wary of losing their money. Nonetheless, by 1892 the Gogebic Range would be the leading iron ore producing range on Lake Superior. Minnesota’s famed Mesabi Range was still in its infancy. The Gogebic Range’s geographical misrepresentations would keep investors cynical as attention now began to turn to the huge iron deposits of northern Minnesota.¹⁰⁷

During the Gogebic’s infancy, the American steel industry relied most heavily on Bessemer ores. Bessemer steel production had reached 4 million tons by 1890.¹⁰⁸ In 1892, eight years after its first shipment, the Gogebic produced one-third of Lake Superior iron ore. That would be the only year in which the Gogebic mines shipped more ore than any of the competing iron ore ranges in the Lake Superior District. As is often the case with the cyclical nature of a boom-and-bust economy, the prosperity of 1892 would be followed by a stock crash in 1893. To the west, Minnesota’s Mesabi would soon become the dominant range in the Lake Superior mining region. During its first ten years, however, the Gogebic had produced over one-fourth of the iron ore mined annually in the United States.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

Iron ore was the initial reason Euroamericans settled on the Gogebic Range. Although lumbering provided many jobs in the waning days of the

19th century, mining undoubtedly had a more lasting legacy on the Gogebic and its reputation. In effect, this is a study of a relationship between a fledgling mineral region and its powerful, albeit distant, nodes of investment in which newspapers gave sharply different portrayals of place during and after the boom. The mid-1880s mining boom fostered a sudden rise in name recognition. As mines opened and stock prices soared, the Gogebic Range was widely perceived as a place of prosperity and hope. Overspeculation was followed by a crash in investor confidence, as happens in the cyclical economic structure of mineral regions. Newspapers then fostered powerful yet harsh images of the Gogebic Range. Through the efforts of newspapers, the Gogebic also became known as a troubled region of corruption and empty promises.

Repeatedly invoked, representations of Gogebic mining fostered imagined geographies of Gogebic hope and despair. Previous research has shown that newspapers help promote place, and the Gogebic's boom years are a case study showing that these media sources also have the ability to give negative connotations to places. Newspapers played an integral role in creating this paradox of hope and despair, and the media's power to portray place can have severe consequences. Oftentimes, the same newspaper both glorified the region and later recast it as a corrupt, troubled space.

In connecting the historical events of the 1880s with social geographies of dormant mining regions today, the Gogebic mining boom brings up questions of print media's role in imaginative geography and social memory: How critically do current residents interpret their region's mining boom, their historical and economic geography, when the newspaper record evokes strongly different representations of place? Firsthand observation shows that local residents and grassroots organizations selectively prefer using glorifying articles from during the mining boom over articles from the mining bust in imagining their hometown in the past. Do these print media representations of place provoke current residents to react with nostalgia through a collective imagined historical geography, or an appreciation for their lives and place in the present? This question might be addressed by interviewing current residents through the lens of imagining one's hometown in the past. Nevertheless, the Gogebic's mining boom is a testament to the power of print media to shape the way social groups perceive places.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to acknowledge Bob Ostergren, Eric Olmanson, and support from the Michigan Technological University Copper Country Archives Travel Award program.

Notes

1. *Chicago Tribune*, "Wisconsin's Bonanza," September 16, 1886.
2. Donald W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: Transcontinental America 1859-1915*, Vol. 3 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
3. Alanen, Arnold R., "Companies as Caretakers: Paternalism, Welfare Capitalism, and Immigrants in the Lake Superior Mining Region," in Rudolph J. Vecoli and Suzanne M. Sinke, eds., *Century of European Migrations, 1830-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Richard Francaviglia, *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts* (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1991).
4. Anssi Paasi, "Place and Region: Regional Worlds and Words," *Progress in Human Geography* 26:6 (2002): 802-11.
5. Some geographers prefer the term subregion or mining district, though literature from the Gogebic's boom era refers to the Gogebic as a region. Utilizing methodology from Wilbur Zelinsky, "North American's Vernacular Regions," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70:1 (1980): 1-16, an examination of business names reveals that the Gogebic Range is referred to as a region in vernacular usage.
6. Harwood Hinton, "Frontier Speculation: A Study of the Walker Mining Districts," *Pacific Historical Review* 29:3 (1960): 245-55.
7. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920): 152.
8. During his productive career, Walter Havighurst wrote dozens of publications on what is now referred to as the Midwest. Walter Havighurst, *The Long Ships Passing: The Story of the Great Lakes* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).
9. Wisconsin Historical Society, "Mining in Northern Wisconsin," Wisconsin Historical Society, <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/tp-029/> (accessed May 13, 2006).
10. The following studies showcase the breadth of work on mining speculation by historians: Larry Lankton, *Beyond the Boundaries: Life and Landscape at the Lake Superior Copper Mines, 1840-1875* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); David J. Krause, *The Making of a Mining District: Keweenaw Native Copper 1500-1870* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992); Walter Havighurst, *Vein of Iron: The Pickands Mather Story* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1958); Roger Burt, "Segmented Capital Markets and Patterns of Investment in Late Victorian Britain: Evidence from the Non-Ferrous Mining Industry," *The Economic History Review* 51:4 (1998): 709-733; D. Cowman and T. A. Reilly, *The Abandoned Mines of West Carbery: Promoters, Adventurers and Miners* (Dublin: Geological Survey of Ireland, 1988).
11. Carolina Bancroft, "Folklore of the Central City District, Colorado," *California Folklore Quarterly* 4:4 (1945): 315-42; Richard M. Dorson, "Dialect Stories of the Upper Peninsula: A New Form of American Folklore," *The Journal of American Folklore* 61:240 (April-June 1948): 113-50.
12. Dan Plazak, *A Hole in the Ground with a Liar at the Top: Fraud and Deceit in the Golden Age of American Mining* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2006).
13. Edward W. Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981); Robert M. Van-

- derbeck, "Vermont and the Imaginative Geographies of American Whiteness," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96:3 (2006): 641-59; Jacob Bendix and Carol M. Liebler, "Place, Distance, and Environmental News: Geographic Variation in Newspaper Coverage of the Spotted Owl Conflict," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89:4 (1999): 658-76.
14. Eugenie Rovai and Christine M. Rodrigue, "The 'Northridge' and 'Ferndale' Earthquakes: Spatial Inequities in Media Attention and Recovery," *National Social Science Journal* 11:2 (1998): 109-20.
 15. Holly Myers-Jones and Susan R. Brooker-Gross, "Newspapers as Promotional Strategists for Regional Definition," in John R. Gold and Stephen V. Ward, eds., *Place Promotion: The Use of Publicity and Marketing to Sell Towns and Regions* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1994): 195-212; Linda Greenow, "When Growth was Good: Images of Prosperity in Mid-Twentieth Century America," *Middle States Geographer* 37 (2004): 53-61.
 16. Susan J. Smith, "News and the Dissemination of Fear," in Jacquelin Burgess and John R. Gold, eds., *Geography, the Media, and Popular Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985): 229-253.
 17. Robert Beauregard, *Voices of Decline: The Postwar Fate of U.S. Cities* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Olmanson, Eric, *The Future City on the Inland Sea: A History of Imaginative Geographies of Lake Superior* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2007).
 18. Susan R. Brooker-Gross, "The Changing Concept of Place in the News," in *Geography, the Media, and Popular Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985): 63-85.
 19. Jacob Bendix and Carol M. Liebler, "Place, Distance, and Environmental News: Geographic Variation in Newspaper Coverage of the Spotted Owl Conflict"; Susan R. Brooker-Gross, "Spatial Aspects of Newsworthiness," *Geografiska Annaler* 65B (1983): 1-9.
 20. Jacquelin Burgess, "News from Nowhere; The Press, the Riots, and the Myth of the Inner City," in Jacquelin Burgess and John R. Gold, eds., *Geography, the Media, and Popular Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985): 192-228.
 21. Edward S. Herman, and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988).
 22. Derek H. Alderman, "TV News Hyper-Coverage and the Representation of Place: Observations from the O.J. Simpson Case," *Geografiska Annaler* 79 B:2 (1997): 83-95.
 23. Noel Castree, "Commodity Fetishism, Geographical Imaginations and Imaginative Geographies," *Environment and Planning A* 33:9 (2001): 1519-25.
 24. Aurora Iron Mining Company, *An Investor's Mine: Description of the Property of the Aurora Iron Mining Company, Situated on the Gogebic Range in Wisconsin: Its Resources and Future Prospects* (Cleveland, Ohio: Hatch Print Company, 1886), Wisconsin Historical Society Pamphlet Collection: 57-2263.
 25. William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1991).
 26. Richard Francaviglia, *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin: A Cartographic History* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2005); Kit Goodwin, "All Aboard! Railroad Maps in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Compass Rose* 5:2 (1991).
 27. Dan Plazak, *A Hole in the Ground with a Liar at the Top: Fraud and Deceit in the Golden Age of American Mining*, 318.

28. *Ibid.*
29. Arnold Alanen, "Homes on the Range: Settling the Penokee-Gogebic Iron Ore District of Northern Wisconsin," in Robert C. Ostergren and Thomas Vale, eds., *Wisconsin Land and Life* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997): 241-62; Bruce Cox, *Headframes and Mine Shafts of the Gogebic Range, Volume 1: Ironwood* (Wakefield, Michigan: Agogeebic Press, 2000); Bruce Cox, *Headframes and Mine Shafts of the Gogebic Range, Volume 2: Bessemer-Ramsay-Wakefield* (Wakefield, Michigan: Agogeebic Press, 2000); Bruce Cox, *Headframes and Mine Shafts of the Gogebic Range, Volume 3: Iron County, Wisconsin* (Wakefield, Michigan: Agogeebic Press, 2000); Bruce Cox, *Iron Fever: How Two Irishmen and a Yankee Started the Gogebic Iron Range* (Wakefield, Michigan: Agogeebic Press 2005); Roy Eckrose, "The Gogebic Iron Range," (master's thesis, Western Illinois University, 1979); Rhinehart Lintonen, "Discovery, Speculation, and Development in the Gogebic Iron Mining Boom in Northern Michigan and Wisconsin, 1848 to 1897," (master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, 1988).
30. This is shown in the mission statement from the *Gogebic Iron Tribune* 1:1 (May 8, 1886), p. 1: "The Gogebic Iron Tribune presents itself to the world because it has a specific mission to fulfill. That mission is to aid in an honorable development of what we unconditionally believe to be the largest and richest discovery of high grade Bessemer ore ever discovered....We hope to have every mine owner and every man or woman interested in a mine on the whole Range feel that we faithfully represent their best hopes and that their success will be our triumph. We believe it is in the future probabilities of the Gogebic Range to very largely control the Bessemer ore market of the world." By their fourth issue, the *Gogebic Iron Tribune* claimed to have a weekly run of 7,000 copies.
31. William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*.
32. Eric Olmanson, *The Future City on the Inland Sea: A History of Imaginative Geographies of Lake Superior*.
33. Walter Havighurst, *The Long Ships Passing: The Story of the Great Lakes*.
34. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 18, 1886.
35. *Burlington (Wisconsin) Free Press*, May 11, 1886.
36. *Milwaukee Sunday Telegraph*, October 24, 1886.
37. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 18, 1886.
38. *Jackson (Michigan) Patriot*, December 31, 1886.
39. Board of Commissioners of Public Lands, Wisconsin Public Land Survey Records: Original Field Notes and Plat Maps, <http://digioll.library.wisc.edu/SurveyNotes/> (accessed 25 March 2005).
40. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 7, 1887.
41. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1886.
42. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1886.
43. *Milwaukee Sunday Telegraph*, May 16, 1886.
44. *Gogebic Iron Tribune*, June 26, 1886.
45. *Milwaukee Sunday Telegraph*, May 16, 1886.
46. *Ibid.*, October 24, 1886.
47. *The Sunday Telegraph*, November 14, 1886. Michigan's Lieutenant Governor, James H. McDonald, owned 1/6 of Bessemer's Colby mine. Alonzo Cornell, Governor of New York from 1880-1882, is mentioned in the *Montreal River Miner*, December 17, 1885.

48. *Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin*, April 6, 1886.
49. *Yenowine's News* (Milwaukee), June 27, 1886.
50. *Milwaukee Sunday Telegraph*, October 24, 1886.
51. *Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin*, April 6, 1886
52. *Gogebic News* (Milwaukee), October 1, 1886.
53. Rhinehart Lintonen, "Discovery, Speculation, and Development in the Gogebic Iron Mining Boom in Northern Michigan and Wisconsin, 1848 to 1897."
54. *Chicago Tribune*, September 15, 1886.
55. "The Gogebic Iron Range" (Milwaukee: Gage Tarbell and Company, 1887).
56. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, March 19, 1886.
57. *Wakefield Bulletin*, June 30, 1887.
58. *Glidden (Wisconsin) Pioneer*, as quoted in the *Wakefield Bulletin*, August 11, 1886.
59. *Montreal River Miner*, July 8, 1886: 5.
60. "South Range" and "Messembria Range" were used interchangeably when describing this area, though some believed that these banded iron formations were a southward extension of the Gogebic.
61. Robert H. Dott and John W. Attig, *Roadside Geology of Wisconsin* (Missoula, Montana: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 2004).
62. Henry R. Aldrich, *Geology of the Gogebic Iron Range of Wisconsin* (Madison: Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey, 1929); Margaret Sarah Chew, "The Geography of the Gogebic Range Area in Iron County, Wisconsin" (master's thesis, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1936); Robert H. Dott and John W. Attig, *Roadside Geology of Wisconsin*.
63. For rumors of silver, refer to the *Wakefield Bulletin*, October 3, 1887.
64. *Gogebic Explorer* (Milwaukee), June 18, 1885: 1.
65. *Ibid.*; note claim by the *Escanaba (Michigan) Iron Port*. The *Gogebic Explorer* ceased operations after less than half a year.
66. *Montreal River Miner*, June 17, 1886: 1.
67. Robert H. Dott and John W. Attig, *Roadside Geology of Wisconsin*.
68. *Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin*, April 6, 1886.
69. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, March 19, 1886.
70. *Milwaukee Sunday Telegraph*, May 16, 1886.
71. *Cleveland Sun*, May 23, 1886: 1.
72. *Illustrated Graphic News*, October 16, 1886. This paper was published simultaneously in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati and Detroit.
73. Wilbur Zelinsky, "North America's Vernacular Regions," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 1-14; A.B. Van Langevelde and Piet Pellenburg, "What's in a Frisian Business Name? Regional Identity in the Netherlands," *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 92:3 (2000): 309-23.
74. *The Northwest Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, 5:2 (1887).
75. *Gogebic News* (Milwaukee), January 1, 1887: 6.
76. *Milwaukee Sunday Telegraph*, November 14, 1886.
77. Arnold Alanen, "Homes on the Range: Settling the Penokee-Gogebic Iron Ore District of Northern Wisconsin," 241-62.
78. *Wakefield Bulletin*, August 11, 1887. Despite interurban tensions of relative rank on the regional hierarchy of cities, both the *Ironwood Mining Record* and the *Wakefield Bulletin* thought that the 1888 *Gogebic Range Business Directory* was accurate.
79. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, December 18, 1886.

80. *The Northwest Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 5:2; Arnold Alanen, "Homes on the Range: Settling the Penokee-Gogebic Iron Ore District of Northern Wisconsin," 241-62.
81. *Yenowine's News* (Milwaukee), June 27, 1886: 4.
82. *Ibid.*
83. Gogebic County Board of Supervisors, Department of State Bureau of History, State Archives of Michigan, RG 90-183, Box 1, Volume 54. The total Gogebic County budget for 1887 was \$42,818.87. Of this amount, \$7,000 was set aside for the poor.
84. Gogebic County Articles of Association, Department of State Bureau of History, State Archives of Michigan, RG 90-183, Box 1, Volume 53.
85. Gogebic County Articles of Association, RG 90-183, Box 1, Volume 53.
86. *Chicago Tribune*, September 15, 1886.
87. Arnold Alanen, "Homes on the Range: Settling the Penokee-Gogebic Iron Ore District of Northern Wisconsin," 241-62, capital from *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 22, 1887, page 13.
88. Donna Stiffler Bollinger, "The Iron Riches of Michigan's Upper Peninsula." *Michigan History Magazine*, November 1978: 9-13. With mining scandal, not every investment has an archived paper trail. Given incomplete transaction records, I do not necessarily endorse Bollinger's estimate, but I have included it so that readers have an idea of the range of estimates that have circulated in print media.
89. Rhinehart Lintonen, "Discovery, Speculation, and Development in the Gogebic Iron Mining Boom in Northern Michigan and Wisconsin, 1848 to 1897."
90. *The Miner and Manufacturer* (Milwaukee), April 2, 1887.
91. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 22, 1887: 13.
92. *The Miner and Manufacturer* (Milwaukee), April 2, 1887.
93. *Gogebic Iron Tribune*, May 8, 1886: 6.
94. *Wakefield Bulletin*, July 7, 1887.
95. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1887.
96. *Milwaukee Sunday Telegraph*, February 13, 1887.
97. *Montreal River Miner*, February 17, 1887: 1.
98. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1886: 5.
99. *Milwaukee Sunday Telegraph*, February 13, 1887.
100. *Wakefield Bulletin*, December 23 1887: 1.
101. *Ibid.*, October 27, 1887.
102. *Gogebic Iron Tribune*, July 23, 1887: 1.
103. *Labor's Voice*, as quoted in the *Wakefield Bulletin*, September 15, 1887.
104. Delacy Wood editorial in the *Iron Port* (Two Harbors, Minnesota), as quoted in the *Wakefield Bulletin*, September 15, 1887.
105. H. R. Mussey, "Combination in the Mining Industry, A Study of Concentration in Lake Superior Iron Ore Production," *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* 23:3, (Columbia University Press, Macmillan, New York, 1905): 86.
106. Of course, Enron's offices occupy a geographical place, but the term "Enron" commonly connotes a company, not a geographical region.
107. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 18, 1887: 1. This article compares Minnesota's Vermilion Range to the Gogebic.
108. Rhinehart Lintonen, "Discovery, Speculation, and Development in the Gogebic Iron Mining Boom in Northern Michigan and Wisconsin, 1848 to 1897."
109. *Ibid.*