

32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., 2.
34. For a broader context of the midwestern narrative see Andrew Cayton and Susan Gray, "The Story of the American Midwest, An Introduction," in Cayton and Gray, eds., *The Identity of the American Midwest: Essays on Regional History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007); and Jon Lauck, "The Prairie Historians and the Foundations of Midwestern History" in *The Lost Region: Toward a Revival of Midwestern History* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2013).
35. Caroline Dale Snedeker, *The Town of the Fearless* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1931), 271. Snedeker, great-granddaughter of Robert Owen, was born in New Harmony in 1871.
36. Ibid., 348–49.
37. Lockridge, *Old Fauntleroy Home*.
38. Lockridge, Jr., a novelist, was the author of *Raintree County*, published in 1948.
39. Lockridge, Jr., "Salutation," *Old Fauntleroy Home*, x.
40. Ibid., xi–xii.
41. Lockridge, *Old Fauntleroy Home*, 71.
42. Snedeker, *Town of the Fearless*, 271.
43. Born in Indianapolis in 1908, Young went on to become a well-known author, critic, and teacher. Her only novel, *Miss MacIntosh, My Darling* (1965), won critical acclaim.
44. Marguerite Young, *Angel in the Forest* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945), 2.
45. Ibid., 3.
46. Ibid., 6.
47. Ibid., 7.
48. See my "Erasing Radicalism in the Rural Midwest? Preservation and Authenticity in New Harmony, Indiana, 1937–1942," paper given at International Conference on Cultural Landscape and Heritage Values: Embracing Change in the Management of Place, U Mass., Amherst, 2015; and the Vreeland Collection, "A Sociological Study of New Harmony," notes for unpublished 1930s work on New Harmony, in the Working Men's Institute Museum and Library, New Harmony, IN.

For Allen Dyer Shaffmaster, a newspaper editor from Bronson, Michigan, the forests of Michigan's Upper Peninsula held particular importance each autumn from 1898 to 1904. Annual hunting trips to the eastern part of the peninsula gave Shaffmaster access to what he called "the Wild." Out there, amid the balsam, pine, cedar, and birch trees, he felt closer to the natural world. That feeling strengthened when he caught glimpses of the Tahquamenon River's rushing waters through the dense, mixed-coniferous forests. "The river always had a certain mystic charm," he wrote in his recollections. "I cannot look upon its swift rushing waters and darkly fringed forests' shores, without feeling a transcendent happiness, tinged with a sense of awe and supreme nature love for this famous river." He concluded, "There is no doubt in my mind but what Longfellow had the Tah-qua-me-non river in his mind when he drew this beautiful pen picture of the mystic Hiawatha." Everywhere he looked, Shaffmaster saw Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha*. He read Longfellow's words in the hills, forests, and waterways of the Michigan landscape. In Lake Superior, he saw the Gitche Gumee or the Big Sea Water. He was certain that he hunted in the same site where "little Hiawatha killed the red deer." Grafting literature onto nature, Shaffmaster prized the northern Michigan environment because it was "not a whit less wild and solitary than it was in the days of 'Hiawatha.'" Every autumn, Shaffmaster transformed the Upper Peninsula's landscape from a seemingly nameless and sprawling forest into a *place*—into his Land of Hiawatha.

Before Shaffmaster's Land of Hiawatha was a *place*, it was a forest. Whether he knew it, Shaffmaster was responding to a series of ecological events. Roughly 10,000 years before Shaffmaster's annual hunting trips, a glacier carved out what would become the entire Great Lakes watershed—including his beloved Tahquamenon River. The

sandy soils deposited by the glacier made for an ideal environment for spruce, tamarack, maple, hemlock, pine, and birch trees. Because of the region's general latitudinal orientation and short growing season, few types of vegetation could thrive in the environment. As a result, Native Americans in the region found little agricultural use for the land. To the unknowing eye, this landscape appeared wild—untouched. However, for Shaffmaster to attach meaning to this seemingly nameless forest he needed cultural prompting. Sorting through a series of values, beliefs, desires, and motivations, Shaffmaster fused literature and landscape to create his Land of Hiawatha. He created a *place*.²

Other outdoorsmen, too, saw the words of Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha* in the northern Michigan landscape. Like Shaffmaster, outdoorsmen made connections between the poem and landmarks of Michigan's Upper Peninsula environment. Throughout this essay I will argue that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, conservationists named forests, rivers, lakes, streams, and hunting clubs based on the names of the characters and places found in *The Song of Hiawatha*. The poem provided a language for hunters and outdoor enthusiasts to connect with the landscape on a deeper level. So when industrialization and deforestation threatened the region's forests, rivers, and lakes, outdoorsmen called upon the famous poem to safeguard their revered places. *The Song of Hiawatha* became the language of conservation.

Outdoorsmen harnessed their shared language in the fight for conservation through a process scholars refer to as "literary sociability." One historian defines literary sociability as "the formation of relationships among individuals based on a shared encounter with fiction or poems."³ Books or poems that resemble an idea, place, or movement can be used as a shared language among different readers. Through literary sociability, readers create bonds among one another in a new community with a shared language. For conservationists in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, *The Song of Hiawatha* embodied the environments the conservationists hoped to protect while providing the language to articulate their ideas to a larger public. Conservationists used the epic poem to defend, and create, natural beauty in northern Michigan. *The Song of Hiawatha* became the language through which conservationists shielded Michigan's northern landscapes from deforestation and industrialization.

This language of conservation may have been cultivated in a myriad of ways. Countless Americans in the second half of the nineteenth century encountered Longfellow's epic poem. *The Song of Hiawatha* was one of the most printed poems of the nineteenth century. After its initial publication in 1855, the poem was reused and recycled in various settings. Poets celebrated its epic form and even replicated its structure. Playwrights adapted Longfellow's words for the stage. Educators used the poem to teach language and handwriting. Likewise, publishers made the poem more available to eager customers due to the growth of the printing industry in the years following the Civil War. By the end of the nineteenth century it was not uncommon for an American reader to encounter the work in newspapers, on the stage, or in the classroom.⁴

The prevalence of the poem grew alongside an increase of industrial activity in northern Michigan. Logging, mining, and settlement brought about profound transformations in the landscape. The rising logging industry caused rapid depletion of forests in a region blanketed in green. Logging companies extracted 16.9 billion board feet of lumber from Michigan's forests from 1869 to 1909—an unprecedented amount of production for the logging industry. Alongside lumber activity, mining operations increased drastically following the Civil War. Copper mines in the western portion of the Upper Peninsula and iron mines in the central portion of the peninsula increasingly strained the natural resources of northern Michigan. As mining companies dug, burned, and transported minerals to bustling cities, they scarred the landscape. Industrialization and deforestation put a strain on the ecosystem. Many animal populations, once abundant, decreased in large numbers. From this destruction, conservationists responded to a Michigan landscape that appeared to be consistently losing forests, wildlife, and natural beauty.⁵

The push for conservation began in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Michigan government recognized the need to protect the decreasing populations of fish and game as a result of shrinking forests and capitalistic industrialization. The depletion of forests placed a strain on certain species. As a result, outdoor enthusiasts who enjoyed fishing and hunting led the charge to manage the populations of desirable species. Conservationists fought to keep

the hunting of deer, turkey, quail and ruffed grouse to certain seasons with the passage of Michigan's first large-scale conservation law in 1881. By 1887, the Michigan government created the position of "game warden" to enforce laws, collect fines, and protect desirable animals identified in earlier legislation. The plea for conservation appears in the recollections of Shaffmaster's annual hunting trips. He saw his Land of Hiawatha in danger of complete destruction from overhunting. "The time is fast approaching when the sight of large game such as moose, elk, caribou, deer, bear, antelope and other big game will be a curiosity to the younger generations." He challenged all hunters to "exercise good principles when ... in the presence of game." Although they took to the woods with rifles and traps, hunters like Shaffmaster believed the creatures of the woods needed protection from over-killing. He believed the overhunt detracted from the "natural beauty" of Michigan's forests. Shaffmaster called for restraint. He called for conservation. And he did so to protect the essence of the landscape as it had been "in the days of 'Hiawatha.'"⁶

Sportsmen like Shaffmaster placed the protection of deer, elk, and other game as the primary concern of conservation efforts. As a result, the appointed game warden became an influential individual in shaping conservation practices and, in turn, Michigan's landscapes. No game warden proved as influential in shaping the Michigan landscape as Chase Osborn. Osborn was appointed game warden in 1895 shortly after relocating to Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, from Indiana. In Michigan, Osborn cultivated his passion for the outdoors. He regularly hunted in the nearby forest and fished the St. Mary's River. He took in the Michigan landscape through long hikes and camping along the shores of Lake Superior. As an avid outdoorsman, conservation was more than a job—it was necessary to maintain the natural world he had come to love. Osborn enforced the game laws with vigor. One 1895 report noted that Osborn and his staff successfully convicted forty-seven violators of the game laws. Osborn's successes led to new and expansive conservation laws. Michigan legislators soon introduced hunting licenses, new hunting fees, and limits on the deer allowed to be killed in one season.⁷

Osborn was also moved by Michigan's natural beauty: "The grandeurs of the Lake Superior region are unsurpassable. Its shores are

majestic in their contours and their colorings. Its water is as emerald and as pure earth water can be. The sunshine is golden and the air is fragrant with balsam and evergreens." And like Shaffmaster, Osborn used the language from *The Song of Hiawatha* to describe his cherished landscape. He often referred to the landscapes of the Lake Superior basin as "the Hiawatha Country." However, it was not just natural beauty that created his connection with this place. His attachments to "Hiawatha Country" strengthened when he concluded that Longfellow drew from Chippewa legends born in the region. "An actual Indian leader named Hiawatha is known to have lived in New York State and to have become the nucleus of some traditions," he conceded. "But the bulk of the supernatural and other legends that have been combined to create the character of Hiawatha as we know it, were born in and of the sublimity of the Lake Superior Country." For Osborn, the Lake Superior region was the physical embodiment of Longfellow's beloved words.⁸

Osborn's claims regarding the poem carried some truth. The name Hiawatha refers to Iroquois legend; however, many of the stories derived from Ojibwa Indian stories collected by Henry Schoolcraft nearly two decades before the publication of Longfellow's epic poem. Schoolcraft served as an Indian Agent in Sault Ste. Marie, where he began collecting oral stories of the local Ojibwa inhabitants. While many of the shared stories appear in Schoolcraft's massive *Algic Researches*, Schoolcraft invented others. Those used as the basis of *The Song of Hiawatha* followed a character referred to as Manabohzo, rather than Hiawatha. However, read together there is little dispute regarding the connection between Schoolcraft and Longfellow. Despite the discrepancies in nomenclature, many of the landmarks mentioned in Longfellow's poem are pulled from the geography of the Great Lakes region rather than places in New York State. Noting the connections between Tahquamenon Falls, Lake Superior, and Pictured Rocks in Longfellow's poem helped to cultivate a deep connection between outdoor enthusiasts, like Shaffmaster and Osborn, and the landscapes found in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Due to the prevalence of the poem and the regional significance drawn from its content, *The Song of Hiawatha* added significance to the beauty found in Michigan's natural world.⁹

When Shaffmaster or Osborn claimed to be in the Land of Hiawatha, they attached the Michigan landscape to a poem that

Longfellow intended to write for a mass audience. Longfellow lived in New England, not Michigan. He also based his poem on an amalgamation of other stories. Some were grounded in accurate Ojibwa folklore, and others were not. Schoolcraft believed he was doing serious ethnographic work—work not necessarily intended for public consumption. Those Native Americans who shared their stories with Schoolcraft never imagined that their legends would appear in print or on stage. At each stage of transmission, the stories warped to fit the needs of the author and the desires of the readers. The Ojibwa shared, Schoolcraft collected, Longfellow fictionalized, and conservationists romanticized. When conservationists used the Hiawatha name to describe natural places in northern Michigan they called upon the idea of “Indian-ness” rather than any specific group of Native Americans. As noted, Hiawatha was an Iroquois name, not Ojibwa. When Americans used “Hiawatha,” they did so to describe the idea of a primitive past rather than to honor or respect the original owners of the land. Although conservationists and outdoor enthusiasts harnessed Native American language, American conservationists disavowed many of the Native American environmental practices. Conservationists became the principal culprits in restricting the rights of Ojibwa fishing access in the late nineteenth century. Government bodies either overlooked or ignored treaty agreements, resulting in a Michigan environment primarily suited to the environmental concerns of Anglo-American conservationists. Using the language of the stoic Indian, conservationists legally restricted Native Americans’ access to the natural world in an effort to create their ideal image of untouched nature—a Land of Hiawatha.¹⁰

John Munro Longyear, an industrialist and conservationist, embodies the desire to connect a conservation ethic to an idea of “Indian-ness.” As an industrialist, he hoped to encourage investors to develop mineral lands or purchase the seemingly unlimited supply of timber. But he also saw beauty in Michigan. While his promotional materials sought to encourage economic development, he also celebrated the pristine beauty of the region. One piece of promotional material titled *Forests, Streams, Lakes, and Resources of Northern Michigan* encouraged hunters and fishermen to visit the Upper Peninsula. The Michigan landscape was described as “rare beauty.” The environment boasted a “vast expanse

of forest, gemmed by countless lakes of incomparable beauty and laced and fringed with brooks and rivers.” Longyear appreciated and valued the beauty of the Michigan landscape and hoped to encourage others to visit.¹¹

Longyear connected the landscape with an ancestral past. In promotional materials, Longyear repeatedly drew connections between modern hunting and the practices of ancient Indians. In the same pamphlet, Longyear shared a story from an unnamed hunter that explored the beauty found near Lake Gogebic in Michigan’s western peninsula. While sitting atop a rocky bluff the hunter stated, “I climbed to a seat overlooking the deep pool at its base, and gave myself over to reveries and unalloyed joy.” Here, the hunter romanticized Michigan’s beauty. “How many deer have browsed around, or cooled their pliant limbs and parched throats in the crystal water!” For the hunter, Michigan’s beauty deepened when he connected his presence with the idea of a romantic and stoic Native American past: “The stealthy hunter has crept to its heights to mark his game, and the wily warrior built here his signal fire.” He continued, “This lake was a rallying point when the Ojibeways wrested the country from their hereditary enemies in the Sioux.” As the author absorbed the nature of Michigan’s Upper Peninsula, he felt compelled to comment on the region’s history. His visions of Ojibwa hunting practices only strengthened his reverence for the wooded environment. But regardless of history, the hunter believed this place of “unalloyed joy” was now intended for American use—not Indian: “These almost limitless forests yet hide in their fastnesses great wealth of fur and feather, and a still greater wealth of rare pleasure will sportsmen garner in days to come.” Underneath the author’s romance and reverence lay bias, concepts of manifest destiny, and the blind spots of nineteenth-century conservation. Conservationists wanted to “play Indian.” By harnessing Indian history, legends, and language, conservationists and outdoor enthusiasts found deeper meaning in Michigan’s natural world. Like Longyear’s unnamed hunter, conservationists used “Indian-ness” to define the landscape as untouched, pristine, native, and romantic.¹²

In 1889, Longyear served as a founding member of the Huron Mountain Shooting and Fishing Club. The original club rested upon a 6000-hectare district established to be a respite from the environmental

destruction that seemed to be ongoing in the region. Situated in the Huron Mountains, the property offered to its members vistas of Lake Superior and access to some of the last remaining old-growth forest in the state. The members were determined to preserve the natural world that so quickly seemed to vanish around them. The language of Longyear's promotional pamphlet and the incorporation of the few remaining tracts of old-growth forest into the club property indicate that the founders of the Huron Mountain Shooting and Fishing Club aimed to preserve of the environment and the idea of an unspoiled nature.¹³

Large-scale conservation efforts accompanied the game laws. Because of the massive deforestation associated with the lumber and mining industries, government officials looked to protect and restore desirable lands. Reforesting programs began to restore many of Michigan's barren northern landscapes following the economic depression of 1893. Lumber prices fell, the promise of agricultural production lagged, and government programs encouraged reforestation rather than outright abandonment. Conservationists hoping to restore environments received economic incentive to restore landscapes from cutover lands into replanted forests. This change in direction—from massive industrialization to careful management—represented a changing environmental philosophy. In turn, the very landscape's meaning began to transform. On a map, these places were the same. But in the hearts and minds of outdoors enthusiasts, they meant something more—something romantic.¹⁴

Conservation continued into the 1920s with the establishment of the Hiawatha Sportsman's Club. Carved out of 35,000 acres of cutover forest, a group of like-minded conservationists established the club in 1927. Members described the landscape as "exceptionally fine" and boasted that the property offered access to Lake Michigan. In the early years of the club, founders hoped to find additional investors to continue to promote their vision of beauty and access to the natural world. "Hiawatha's natural facilities are its greatest asset," one publication noted. "They are so complete and of such magnitude that man-made developments are relatively insignificant. This is a Hiawatha feature that assures members of a source of enjoyment for many years to come." The club promoted access to the beautiful world. It featured "lakes and streams" that "furnish good fishing, bathing, boating, canoeing and

other water sports." It was a "better place" to vacation "amidst ideal surroundings and conditions." Coming to the Hiawatha Sportsman's Club was an escape from the built environment and an opportunity to commune with nature.¹⁵

Members of the Hiawatha Sportsman's Club did more than vacation on the property. Members camped, hunted, and fished. In addition, their membership committed them to the ongoing improvement programs underway throughout the entire property. Massive deforestation caused the depletion of soils and the increase in erosion. As a result, streams and rivers experienced reduced populations of fish. The hunting club instilled a series of conservation and improvement efforts to preserve and protect the property. Members of the club supported water control dams and aqueous replanting as a means to maximize and control fish populations. The club's direction did not necessarily restore a "wild" nature. Instead they hoped to maximize the fishing and hunting opportunities for its members through efficient management. Members worked to create what they believed to be representative of a Land of Hiawatha.¹⁶

Alongside promotional materials encouraging readers to invest in the club, onlookers encountered the familiar words of Longfellow's poetry. While a reader learned about the ongoing conservation programs at Hiawatha Sportsman's Club, lines from the iconic poem connected literature to landscape:

Ye whose hearts are fresh and simple;
 Who have faith in God and Nature,
 Who believe, that in all ages
 Every human heart is human,
 That in even savage bosoms
 There are longings, yearnings, strivings
 For the good they comprehend not,
 That the feeble hands and helpless,
 Groping blindly in the darkness,
 Touch God's right hand in that darkness,
 And are lifted up and strengthened;—
 Listen to this simple story,
 To this Song of Hiawatha!¹⁷

The borrowed words may have been familiar to readers. After all, *The Song of Hiawatha* remained a popular poem in the early decades of the twentieth century. The club's pamphlets continued the tradition of attaching Longfellow's poetry with northern Michigan environments. Shortly after Longfellow's lines, the club shared their own take on the iconic poem:

Ye who love the haunts of nature,
 Love the sunshine of the meadow,
 Love the shadow of the forest,
 Love the wind among the branches
 Full of hope, and yet of heart-break,
 Full of all the tender pathos
 Of the Here and the Hereafter;—
 Come and see this Re-creation,
 Join this Club of Hiawatha!¹⁸

"Come and see this Re-creation," urged the club's leadership. The Hiawatha Sportsman's Club further cemented the perception that Michigan's Upper Peninsula was the Land of Hiawatha. Club leaders encouraged readers to both visit and invest in the efforts to protect and create their Land of Hiawatha.¹⁹

National conservation efforts continued through the Great Depression. After the purchase of abandoned, burned, and cleared forestland in the central portion of the Upper Peninsula, the federal government created a new National Forest. Harkening on the language of earlier conservationists, President Hoover declared the region the Hiawatha National Forest on January 16, 1931. Whereas previous conservation efforts that harnessed Longfellow's language started with sportsmen and outdoor enthusiasts, the creation of the National Forest meant that the federal government officially recognized this region as the "Land of Hiawatha." After the establishment of the National Forest, employees of the Civilization Conservation Corps transformed the used, abandoned, and ignored lands into a new, forested landscape. Rather than protecting forests from the harmful effects of industrialization as seen with previous conservationists, the young men that reforested Michigan's Upper Peninsula hoped to create

the image of Hiawatha's literary world out of the scraps of industrial deforestation.²⁰

Due to the work of private and public organizations, Michigan's Upper Peninsula quickly developed into a tourism destination centered on its natural beauty. Following the First World War, large swaths of the American public gained access to cars, held better jobs, and had the opportunity to access the landscapes that had commonly been associated with upper-class conservationists. The Land of Hiawatha soon turned into a tourist destination that could be accessed by steamer, car, and railroad. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mostly wealthy individuals saw Hiawatha's storied legends in Michigan's northern environments, but in the years after the First World War, middle-class Americans had access to the Land of Hiawatha.²¹

The democratization of access to the Land of Hiawatha can be seen in the promotional materials surrounding the Hiawatha National Forest. The federal government encouraged all Americans to camp, hike, fish, and enjoy the great outdoors. Promotional materials painted the Hiawatha National Forest more as a recreation site than as an active conservation effort. And they did so by connecting the landscapes to its literary roots. The U.S. Forest Service noted how many "picturesque areas" remained in their natural state despite the previous deforestation: "The famed 'Pictured Rocks' are high bluffs of rain-colored sandstone molded since the recession of the ice cap." Advertisers attached the perception of an untouched and untrammelled environment with a forest that "commemorates the hero of Longfellow's best known poem." Similar to previous conservationists, the federal government used Longfellow's poem to redefine the forest as romantic rather than industrial. However, there is a distinct difference between the conservation efforts of the late nineteenth century and those of the 1920s and 1930s. Whereas conservationists of previous decades had exclusive access to this Land of Hiawatha, large swaths of the American public now had the ability to revel in the beauty of Michigan's natural landscape.²²

The conservationists' efforts to create a modern Land of Hiawatha soon made their way into tourist booklets. The American Automobile Association championed the conservationist's language in their printed materials. One booklet read, "The Land of Hiawatha! A vast expanse of country so beautiful you find yourself wondering if

it can be real." The pamphlet appealed to nature lovers. The Land of Hiawatha was an ideal destination to hunt, hike, and swim. However, one could also connect to the ancient days "when the red man's chant rose in the morning air." The brochure seamlessly blended the idea of pristine nature with Native American imagery. After visiting Crystal Falls, the AAA encouraged travelers to visit a nearby Indian cemetery that "echoes" of "days when red man ruled Michigan's great forests." At the western end of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, near the L'Anse Indian Reservation, tourists could observe a "modern Minnehaha" and "a touch of romance as she weaves baskets in perfection of bygone years." Championing the language of Longfellow's fictional characters, the AAA appropriated Indian-ness to appeal to white Americans. Historical accuracy did not matter. This was about making the Land of Hiawatha, "a perfect playplace," appeal to Americans looking to commune with the natural world they associated with Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha*.²³

The AAA's efforts to commodify the Land of Hiawatha paid off. Tourism boomed in northern Michigan as the twentieth century progressed. Walter Linn and his family embodied this wave of travelers interested in visiting the landscapes they had read about in school, AAA pamphlets, and other advertisements. In a small book of reminiscences titled *Visiting the Land of Hiawatha*, Linn described the family's trip as they left Chicago, traveled up the western shore of Michigan's Lower Peninsula, and ultimately entered the Land of Hiawatha. Linn knew he arrived when he traveled "westward on Route 28, which was the wildest stretch of country on the whole trip." There the family fished for pike and perch, picked berries, and enjoyed boating in the pristine lakes. As they drove through the Hiawatha National Forest, Linn noted "the beautiful winding road through dense woods and over rustic bridges." They felt closer to nature and enjoyed taking in the sights that had been associated with Longfellow's poem. His recollection outlines a family enamored with the forested landscape. Nearly every day of the trip was filled with outdoor activity. Whether fishing, camping, or hiking, the Linn family engrossed themselves with the natural world of Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Linn appreciated the work of past conservationists when he noted the "miles of virgin timber preserved for posterity by the state of Michigan." Linn's Land of Hiawatha was one where natural splendor

juxtaposed the industrial cityscape. Past conservationists' work to preserve and restore the natural world became a destination for others.²⁴

Today, one can find record of those conservationists' effort while traveling through Michigan. There are three different Hiawatha Streams in Michigan. One can visit the Hiawatha Falls, Hiawatha Village, and Hiawatha Township. Character names from the poem fill out the Michigan map: Manabezho Falls, Winona Village, Winona Lake, Minnehaha Creek, Nokomis Falls, Iagoo Falls, Keewaydin Lake, Nawadaha Falls, Onaway State Park, and Peboan Creek. There are more. As a result of conservationists' efforts *The Song of Hiawatha* grew to be synonymous with Michigan's natural environments. Additionally, Longfellow's epic poem grew to be a language to describe a broad region of the Michigan landscape. Because tourism encouraged more visitors to visit the northern reaches of Michigan, organizations such as the AAA helped to solidify Longfellow's lexicon as a placeholder for an entire region of the state.²⁵

Through a process of literary sociability, outdoor enthusiasts shaped many of Michigan's natural environments. *The Song of Hiawatha* served as a shared language that enabled similarly minded individuals to imagine, shape, and use Michigan's forests to fit their literary imaginations over several generations. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, hunters, hikers, fishermen, and tourists harnessed Longfellow's language to protect and create certain landscapes they believed represented a romantic natural world. In turn, the poem's language invoked an environmental expectation among those seeking out the Land of Hiawatha. For the twentieth-century tourist, a trip to the Land of Hiawatha meant grand scenes of rushing waters moving through dense green forests teeming with wildlife. What once were Michigan's nameless or sprawling landscapes soon became romantic destinations that cultivated a sense of place for visitors.

Places and place-names matter. They are historical records of cultural concerns and movements. Often forgotten, and too easily taken for granted, the landscape is a marker of the human experience. Whether named to describe a geographical feature, ownership, association, or commemoration, a place-name shares something to those who encounter that location. When individuals or groups name a river, forest, or settlement, they are sharing their aspirations and assumptions.

Place-names mark origins, embody ideas, and offer insights into the history of Michigan's residents. This is certainly true of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century conservationists. In an effort to create meaning out of the environment, conservationists, armed with Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha*, took to the woods. From a shared encounter with that poem, conservationists attempted to recreate their imagined Land of Hiawatha on the Michigan landscape. Their labors eventually grew to embody an entire region. Today's maps reflect their labors, and the state's forests embody their vision.

Notes

1. Allen Dyer Shaffmaster, *Hunting in the Land of Hiawatha* (Chicago: M.A. Donohue & Company, 1904), 5, 153–54, 159.
2. For an ecological overview of the region under discussion, see Quanfa Zhang, Kurt S. Pregitzer, and David D. Reed, "Historical Changes in the Forests of the Luce District of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan," *The American Midland Naturalist* 143, no. 1 (2000): 94–98. Landscape scholar John Brinkerhoff Jackson defines a sense of place as a site where an individual or group of persons maintain a "lively awareness of the familiar environment, a ritual repetition," and "a sense of fellowship based on shared experience." Campgrounds, seasonal hunting grounds, and tourism destinations all contribute to a sense of place based on these three elements. See John Brinkerhoff Jackson, "A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time," in *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 148–63.
3. Joan Shelley Rubin, "Ideology and Practice in the Career of Robert Shaw," in *Cultural Considerations* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 109. For other references on literary sociability, see Robert Dixon and Peter Kirkpatrick, eds., *Republics of Letters* (Sydney: University of Sydney Press, 2012).
4. For a history of the poem as it appeared on stage, see Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880–1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 51–97. For an example of how the poem was used as an education tool, see Angela Sorby, *Schoolroom Poets: Childhood, Performance, and the Place of American Poetry, 1865–1917* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005), 1–34. For examples of the poem being used in newspapers, see Joan Shelley Rubin, *Songs of Ourselves: The Uses of Poetry in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 336–42.
5. Michael Williams, *Americans and Their Forests: A Historical Geography* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 222–30. For a history of Michigan's copper industry, see Larry Lankton, *Hollowed Ground: Copper Mining and Community Building on Lake Superior, 1840s–1990s* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010). For a history of Michigan's

- iron industry, see Terry S. Reynolds and Virginia P. Dawson, *Iron Will: Cleveland-Cliffs and the Mining of Iron Ore, 1847–2006* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2011).
6. Dave Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery: Michigan's Rise as a Conservation Leader* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 40–41; Shaffmaster, *Hunting in the Land of Hiawatha*, 181–82, 153–54.
 7. Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery*, 45.
 8. Chase S. Osborn and Stellanova Osborn, *Schoolcraft, Longfellow, Hiawatha* (Lancaster, PA: Jaques Cattell Press, 1942), 41–42.
 9. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1839). This is further supported by the fact that Henry Schoolcraft tried to republish the collected stories shortly after the release of Longfellow's poem. In the republished version he noted the change in name from Manabohzo to Hiawatha. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *The Myth of Hiawatha, and Other Oral Legends, Mythologic and Allegoric, of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1856).
 10. Jared Farmer, *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 241–81. For a history of the cultural appropriation of Native American culture, see Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). For a history of Native American fishing claims on the Great Lakes, see Michael J. Chiarappa and Kristin M. Szylyan, *Fish for All: An Oral History of Multiple Claims and Divided Sentiment on Lake Michigan* (Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2003), 2–11.
 11. J.M. Longyear and J.M. Case, *Forests, Streams, Lakes, and Resources of Northern Michigan* (Marquette, MI: J.M. Longyear and J.M. Case, 1884), 5.
 12. *Ibid.*, 11–13; "Playing Indian" refers to the appropriation of Native American culture to fit Anglo-American needs, see Deloria, *Playing Indian*.
 13. David Flaspohler and Curt Meine, "Planning for Wilderness: Aldo Leopold's Report on Huron Mountain Club," *Journal of Forestry* 104, no. 1 (2006): 32–33.
 14. For a history of the economic incentive of conservation in the Great Lakes cutover region, see James Kates, *Planning a Wilderness: Regenerating the Great Lakes Cutover Region* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 15–31.
 15. Hiawatha Sportsman's Club, *A Vacation Paradise, Hiawatha's Sportsman's Club* (Lansing, Michigan: The Club, 1943), 7, 9, 32.
 16. *Ibid.*, 25.
 17. *Ibid.*, 31.
 18. *Ibid.*
 19. Rubin, *Songs of Ourselves*, 126, 373.
 20. "Our Story: Hiawatha National Forest," *United States Department of Agriculture: Forest Service*, accessed August 11, 2016, http://www.fs.usda.gov/detail/hiawatha/learning/history-culture/?cid=FSEM_033514.

21. For a history of Michigan's growing tourist industry, see Camden Burd, "Imagining a Pure Michigan Landscape: Advertisers, Tourists, and the Making of Michigan's Northern Vacationlands," *Michigan Historical Review* 42, no. 2 (2016): 31–51.
22. *The Upper Michigan National Forest: Jobs, Water, Lumber, Wildlife, Recreation, Pulp & Paper* (Escanaba, Michigan: Forest Supervisor, 1954), 7, 3. For a history of Michigan's expanding tourist industry and the state's role in cultivating the tourism industry, see Aaron Shapiro, *The Lure of the North Woods: Cultivating Tourism in the Upper Midwest* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 43–72.
23. *Upper Peninsula of Michigan as Told by the Old AAA Traveler* (Detroit, Michigan: Automobile Club of Michigan, ca. 1940), 8, 21, 32.
24. By the 1940s some educators considered *The Song of Hiawatha* to be a valuable history of the state of Michigan. See Charles F. Hamilton, *Our Hiawatha Land: By the Boys and Girls of the Upper Peninsula, Dedicated to the Pioneers Who Gave Their Lives to the Development of This Great North Country* (Chicago: Lyons & Carnahan Publishers, 1940). Many other organizations used the poem to encourage tourism. See Henry A. Perry, *Cloverland Tourists' Guide* (Menominee, Michigan: Herald-Leader Co., 1932), 2; Walter Linn, *Visiting the Land of Hiawatha* (Chicago: Walter Linn, 1932), 6, 13.
25. For these and more, see Virgil J. Vogel, *Indian Names in Michigan* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1986), 67–69.

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The Midwest Below Me

James Hearst's
Poetry and Prose

By 1981, when poet James Hearst (1900–1983) published his essay collection *Time Like a Furrow*, he proudly asserted his identity as a Midwesterner, writing, "I am glad to have been raised on a farm in the Midwest. To me, the Midwest is a land in its working clothes."¹ However, early in his writing career, Hearst was more ambivalent about his midwestern identity. In the 1924 poem "Voices" he wrote,

The midland has its voices, but they call to me in vain.
I care not for the whispering road nor drumming city street.
My heartbeats do not quicken to the thrush's joyous strain,
Nor to the sighing music of the wind upon the wheat.
The bees drone their contented song—but what is this to me?
For I was born far inland and long to hear the sea.²

In "Voices," Hearst celebrates the call of the coast, suggesting that he was better suited to the grandeur of the oceans than to the more mundane pleasures of his birthplace. While Hearst would become known as a farmer-poet, laboring for many years on his family's farm in Cedar Falls, Iowa, and publishing over 600 poems during a prolific writing career, his path to that identity was not straightforward. Counterintuitively, Hearst's development as a midwestern writer went hand in hand with an intellectual struggle with the concept of regionalism. In saying Hearst struggled with regionalism, we are arguing that Hearst's work did *not* suggest that midwestern experience was distinctly different from human experience elsewhere. In his poetry, Hearst crafted a humanistic vision in which the land was a place where meaning was made—meaning that was no less important than that produced by his coastal contemporaries—but meaning that captured something of our shared human experience rather than a distinctly midwestern understanding. Nevertheless, Hearst