

Sets and Name Duplication in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan

STEWART A. KINGSBURY

One of the essays written for the forthcoming anthology on place names *Place Names, USA* by Eric Hamp and Virginia McDavid, contains a basic “lesson” for the general theory of place-name study: the most valuable approach to the study of geographical names is the analysis based on “a set, a set defined by some orderly classifying criterion” such as the county structure of a state. I too am of this same persuasion. Though I have chosen a smaller geographical area for consideration, the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, (only 15 of the 83 Michigan counties) than did Hamp and McDavid, who discuss the names of county and county seats for the entire state of Illinois, my observations are gleaned from a slightly different approach, namely a “field” approach, which in essence considers multiple sets within a given area.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FIELD LEVEL

Data pertaining whole of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan are taken from the interim alphabetical listing of place names in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, held in the computerized data base for the Place Name Survey of the United States (PNSUS) at Northern Michigan University, Marquette, Michigan. These data allow an overview of the naming process in Upper Peninsula Michigan, which would not be readily distinguishable on the wave (or set) level or at least only after considering seventy or more place-name designation classifications one by one. Consequently, the field model allows one to reflect on internal place-name data as well as the external cognate historical evidence before starting the systematic examination of the sets with a given county or counties.

The first conclusions one can draw from considering the alphabetical list of over 6059 place names from U.P. Michigan pertain to the naming patterning which reflects the settlement history of the area and to the resultant naming

trend of renaming from ethnic Ojibway to French to English. Such a view from “top of a mountain” easily discerns naming trends as well as ghost names, which can be directly related to settlement history and the unfortunate “stripping” of the land of its natural resources.

CORRELATING THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE OF SETTLEMENT HISTORY WITH THE INTERNAL PLACE-NAME DATA

We are still perched on “the top of a mountain” looking at the whole of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, which in actuality comes only from viewing the alphabetical listing of names for the fifteen (15) counties in the Upper Peninsula. Certain groupings of place names can be noted as coinciding with the basic knowledge of the settlement history of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan:

1. The majority of the place names are English (at least in the English language); the next largest minority of names are French; and the next largest are American Indian (mainly Ojibway and Menominee, with a sizable remnant of Huron).
2. The remaining French and Indian place names tend to be on the littoral coast of the surrounding Great Lakes, Superior, Huron and Michigan; along the numerous rivers; on the inland lakes; or following the major Indian trails such as from Bay de Noc (Bay de Noque) near present Escanaba on Lake Michigan, to a favorite blueberry patch on the Dead River, near Marquette on the shore of Lake Superior (the Ojibway name for the Dead River was Neka-minog, “the blueberry patch of the Noquet or Menominee Indians”).
3. The area forming an “Iron triangle,” consisting of the three iron ranges (Marquette, Iron and Gogebic) clusters groups of place names including a wide variety of place-name designations (county, township, settlement, rivers and lakes) which reflect one theme—iron.
4. The area including mainly the counties of Houghton, Keweenaw and Ontonagon have place names reflecting its prominent industry, copper mining.
5. The “set” of geographic names resulting from name duplication from county, county seat and township-town (city).
6. The “set” resulting from surrounding habitat: birch, bass, beaver, bear, cedar, deer, goose, pine, wolf.
7. The set resulting from color such as black, green, silver and white.
8. The set resulting from terrain such as mud, sand, rock, cliff, etc.

9. The set resulting from the lumbering and railroads, such as camp, section, wood, shingle and bark.
10. The set resulting from ethnic settlement other than French and Indian, such as Celtic, Finnish, Scandinavian, German and Cornish.

The first conclusion that the U.P. Michigan names are predominately English is hardly surprising because of late there were no permanent settlements in the Upper Peninsula until the 1840's with the opening of the copper and iron mines, though there was an Indian trading post established near the mouth of the Escanaba River by an Indian trader named Louis A. Roberts. This settlement was called Flat Rock by Roberts and Escanaba by the Noquet (Menominee) Indians. One enthusiastic historian, a Mr. Andreas, said that the Upper Peninsula settlement was a tribute to the age of technology and good old Yankee ingenuity.

In any case the data of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, taken from the 6059 alphabetical place-name list of the Computer Data Center for PNSUS in the Upper Peninsula, Northern Michigan University, proves these conclusions seen from a field view.

The first set of data is derived from a statistical count of 6,059 geographic names in U.P. Michigan. The labeling as to American Indian and French is proximate at the best as anyone specializing in personal names is well aware especially if research has not been done on each name in such areas as this, where Italian, Scandinavian, Slavic and Cornish names all are subject to folk etymologies and pronunciations.

The results of this first examination show there are 403 American Indian names remaining, for a percentage of 6.65%. However, this figure is a gross figure, somewhat falsely inflated by commercial companies doing business in the area and bring in non-indigenous names such as Chicago, Milwaukee, and Duluth (stemming from railroad interests), Aztec, Manhattan, Mohawk, Monongahela, Montana, and Saginaw (stemming from the iron and copper mining interests and their usually accompanying ghost town).

Another false American Indian influence present in the above figure of 6.65% is the well-meaning historians, ethnographers and state officials who transplant a name from other American Indian tribes or nations or as in the case of Peter White, one of the founding fathers of Marquette, Michigan, created a fictional name for a city at the request of mining interests. Probably the most obvious example of an American Indian geographic name "transplant" is Hiawatha, who has been attributed to Longfellow's "poetic license," as admitted by the poet himself to Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, American Indian ethnographer and the first Indian agent in the state of Michigan. In their correspondence, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow admits his unfamiliar-

ity with the Ojibway mythology, whose diety, Hiawatha of Iroquois nation, he substituted for the Ojibway minor diety, Manobozho.

Similar false American Indian geographic names can be attributed to the white settlers who anglicized geographic names in a romantic or even pejorative sense, giving an additional increment of American Indian names, such as "indian" "moccasin," "papoose," "powpow," and "squaw." The total effect of such competing influences resulting in repetitive "sets" of geographic names is 96 citations, which reduces the effective percentage to 5.0%.

The next examination of the overall "field" view of the 6059 U.P. Michigan geographic names indicates that 486 names are of probable French origin, giving a percentage of 8.02%.

This brief view of the "field" of geographic names in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan makes obvious that further study of the other sets of geographic names must be made because they yield name duplication up to 53 names in the case of "mud lakes" (terrain); 32 for "Marquette" (county-county seat and township); 24 for "silver" and 18 for "black" (color); 27 for "pine," 16 for "birch," and 18 for "cedar" (habitat-trees); 14 for "bass," 27 for "bear," 26 for "beaver," 22 for "deer" (habitat); and 17 for "copper" and 23 for "iron" (mining industries).

I have listed two sets of geographic names—American Indian and French in Appendices 1 and 2. Note the number of abandoned mines and ghost towns with American Indian and French names. This, of course, further reduces the existing Indian and French names listed in the National Atlas, now being published by the U.S. Geological Survey. I have added another list of Indian and French names which have been cited by the Marquette County Historical Society (Appendix 3).

Two rather bleak final conclusions this short discourse of U.P. Michigan names: (1) the scant number of Indian and French names which remain give testimony to the changing ethnic migrations that have erased much of the Indian and French heritage; (2) the surprising number of ghost-towns testify to depleted natural resources, stemming from the "White Pine" era of the 1880's when no one would have ever believed the huge giants of the northwoods as well as much of the riches of copper and iron could ever be exhausted.

Northern Michigan University

APPENDIX 1

Indian Names

Name	Category	County	PLNM ID Code
1. Abinodji Falls	Falls	Gogebic	127.053 310.001
2. Ameek	Mine	Keweenaw	127.083 226.001
3. Ameek	Town (inc)	Keweenaw	127.083 129.01
4. Algonquin	Ghost Town	Ontonagon	127.131 131.003
5. Algonquin	Ghost Town	Chippewa	127.033 131.003
6. Algonquin Falls	Falls	Gogebic	127.053 310.003
7. Aligan	Lake	Baraga	127.013 328.151
8. Aneebish	Ghost Town	Chippewa	127.033 131.143
9. Aztec	Abandoned Mine	Ontonagon	127.131 226.003
10. Aztec	Copper Mine	Ontonagon	127.131 220.001
11. Aztec	Ghost Town	Ontonagon	127.131 131.006
12. Bewabic	Park	Iron	127.071 232.001
13. Bewabik	Ghost Town	Baraga	127.013 131.040
14. Big Waiski	River	Chippewa	127.033 328.331
15. Bitta	Lake	Delta	127.041 328.478
16. Biwabik	Ghost Town	Baraga	127.013 131.041
17. Chaquamegon Bay	Bay	Gogebic	127.053 296.001
18. Charley Kawbawgam	Historical Marker	Marquette	127.103 202.009
19. Chicago	Abandoned Mine	Marquette	127.103 226.033
20. Chicago	Abandoned Mine	Keweenaw	127.083 226.014
21. Chicago & Northwestern	Railroad	Gogebic	127.053 256.003
22. Chicago & Northwestern	Railroad	Iron	127.071 256.001
23. Chicago & Northwestern	Railroad	Marquette	127.103 256.001
24. Chicago Lake	Lake	Delta	127.041 328.277
25. Chicago Mine	Ghost Town	Marquette	127.103 131.083
26. Chicago, Milwaukee	Railroad	Iron	127.071 256.001
27. Chicago, Milwaukee	Railroad	Houghton	127.061 256.003
28. Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul	Railroad	Marquette	127.103 256.003
29. Chicago, Minneapolis & St. Paul	Railroad	Baraga	127.013 256.003
30. Chicagoan Lake	Abandoned Mine	Iron	127.071 226.005
31. Chicagoan	Lake	Iron	127.071 328.137
32. Chicagoan	Slough	Iron	127.071 340.001
33. Chicagoan Slough #1	Lake	Iron	127.071 328.137
34. Chicagoan Slough #2	Lake	Iron	127.071 328.137
35. Chicagoan Slough #3	Lake	Iron	127.071 328.137
36. Chicagoan Slough #4	Lake	Iron	127.071 328.137
37. Chicagoan Slough #5	Lake	Iron	127.071 328.137
38. Chicagoan Slough #6	Lake	Iron	127.071 328.137
39. Chicagoan Slough #7	Lake	Iron	127.071 328.137
40. Chicagoan Slough #8	Lake	Iron	127.071 328.137
41. Chicagoan Slough #9	Lake	Iron	127.071 328.137
42. Chicagoan Slouth #10	Lake	Iron	127.071 328.137
43. Chipenny Creek	Creek	Delta	127.041 306.037

APPENDIX 1. *Continued*

Indian Names

Name	Category	County	PLNM ID Code	
44. Chippewa	Abandoned Mine	Ontonagon	127.131	226.009
45. Chippewa	Copper Mine	Ontonagon	127.131	220.003
46. Chippewa	Township	Chippewa	127.003.05	
47. Chippewa	County	Chippewa	127.003	
48. Chippewa	Burial Ground	Chippewa	127.033	156.01
49. Chippewa Falls	Falls	Gogebic	127.053	310.011
50. Chippewa Hill	Lookout Tower	Gogebic	127.053	338.003

¹All names contain an additional two sets of numbers in their PLNM ID Code, 125.1 126.26 which indicates "USA" and Michigan respectively.

APPENDIX 2

Indian Names

Name	Category	County	PLNM ID Code	
1. Abbaye	Peninsula	Baraga	127.013	343.001
2. Abitosse	Ghost Town	Gogebic	127.053	131.001
3. Abitosse	Creek	Gogebic	127.053	306.001
4. Allouez	Town	Keweenaw	127.083	130.001
5. Allouez	Mine	Keweenaw	127.083	226.002
6. Allouez	Township	Keweenaw	127.083.01	
7. Amadon Pond	Lake	Mackinac	127.097	328.113
8. Antoine	Lake	Dickinson	127.043	328.095
9. Antoine	Ghost Town	Dickinson	127.043	131.003
10. Anton's	Lake	Menominee	127.109	328.18
11. Arsenault	Lake	Marquette	127.103	328.1403
12. Arvon	Ghost Town	Baraga	127.013	131.003
13. Arvon	Township	Baraga	127.013.01	
14. Arvon	Lookout Tower	Baraga	127.013	328.001
15. Au Train	Settlement w/p.o.	Alger	127.003	130.011
16. Au Train	Bay	Alger	127.003	296.001
17. Au Train	Lake	Alger	127.003	328.0361
18. Au Train	Lake	Alger	127.003	328.0453
19. Au Train	River	Alger	127.003	350.002
20. Au Train	Point	Alger	127.003	346.001
21. Au Train	Landing Field	Alger	127.003	133.001
22. Au Train	Gravel Pits	Alger	127.003	194.006
23. Au Train	Gravel Pits	Alger	127.003	194.004
24. Au Train	Gravel Pits	Alger	127.003	194.007

APPENDIX 2. *Continued*

Indian Names

Name	Category	County	PLNM ID Code
25. Au Train	Gravel Pits	Alger	127.003 194.005
26. Au Train	Sand Pits	Alger	127.003 194.001
27. Àu Train River Basin	Lake	Alger	127.003 328.0230
28. Au Train	Township	Alger	127.003.01
29. Au Train	Island	Alger	127.003 324.001
30. Au Train	Falls	Alger	127.003 310.002
31. Avaunt Pond	Lake	Ontonagon	127.131 328.136
32. Baie de Wassai	Bay	Chippewa	127.033 296.01
33. Ballentine	Ghost Town	Ontonagon	127.131 131.007
34. Banat	Ghost Town	Menominee	127.109 131.009
35. Barbeau	Ghost Town	Chippewa	127.033 131.013
36. Basnau	Creek	Chippewa	127.033 306.005
37. Bateau	Lake	Gogebic	127.053 328.0257
38. Bay de Noc	Township	Delta	127.041.05
39. Bay de Noc Elementary School	School	Delta	127.041 274.003
40. Bay de Noquet	Ghost Town	Delta	127.041 131.003
41. Beaufort	Lake	Baraga	127.013 328.194
42. Beaufort	Ghost Town	Baraga	127.013 131.006
43. Beaufort Mine	Abandoned Mine	Baraga	127.013 226.001
44. Beauyan	Lake	Marquette	127.103 328.183
45. Bellaire	Ghost Town	Baraga	127.013 131.007
46. Bendry	Point	Baraga	127.013 346.007
47. Bete Grise	Ghost Town	Keweenaw	127.083 131.019
48. Bete Grise	Bay	Keweenaw	127.083 296.002
49. Bois Blanc	Island	Mackinaw	127.097 324.001
50. Bois Blanc	Township	Mackinac	127.097.1
51. Boise	Creek	Marquette	127.103 306.029
52. Boney Falls #4	Lake	Delta	127.041 328.257
53. Boniface	Camp	Marquette	127.103 148.001
54. Bonifas	Ghost Town	Gogebic	127.053 131.015
55. Boufour	Lake	Delta	127.041 328.058

APPENDIX 3

Renaming From Chippewa to French to English¹

Present Name	Designation	County	American Indian
1. Green Bay	Bay	Delta/Menominee	French, Baie Verte
2. Lake Superior	Lake	Alger, Baraga, Chippewa, Keweenaw, Luce, Marquette, Ontonagon	Kichi-Gami or Gitche Gumee (Big Lake); French, Lac Superior de Tracey.
3. Keweenaw	Peninsula/ County	Keweenaw	Kakiweonaning, “at the point where they cross a point by water.”
4. DeTour	Settlement		Giwedaonaning, “a turning point in the St. Mary’s River.”
5. Drummond Island Island		Chippewa	Pontaganipy, “a view of beautiful islands.”
6. Iroquois Point	Point	Chippewa	Nadowawiganing, “place of the Iroquois bones”; Nadoway, “snake,” a settlement in Mackinac County, Chippewa name for their enemies, the Iroquois.
7. Paradise	Settlement	Chippewa	Tahquamenaw, “black or golden waters” (mentioned in Longfellow’s narrative poem <i>Hiawatha</i>). ²
8. Grand Island	Island	Alger	Kechi Menesing, “island of the lake”; French, Grande Isle.
9. Pictured Rocks	Rocks	Alger	Gaiashkabikong, “sea-gull rocks”; Henry Rowe Schoolcraft refers to the Pictured Rocks as Ishpabeca, “huge cliffs”.
10. L’Anse Bay	Bay	Baraga	Chiwekwadon, “bay or creek”; French, L’Anse, “bay.”
11. Bark River	Settlement	Delta	Wigwass sibi, “birchbark river”

APPENDIX 3. *Continued*Renaming From Chippewa to French to English¹

Present Name	Designation	County	American Indian
12. Presque Isle	Island	Marquette	Kakabikamichibizhieu, "high cliff of the great white cougar or tiger."
13. Battle Island	Island	Houghton	Chibai Miniss, "the island of the dead," site of the last battle between the Chippewa and the Iroquois.
14. AuTrain	Settlement	Alger	Madabaning, "many portages." Early French explorers and fur traders changed the name to Audabaning.
15. Lake Bacon	Lake	Marquette	Bouchepee Lake or Bochepee Lake.
16. Isle Royale	Island	Keweenaw	Minong, "reserve blueberry patch or place of the berry."
17. Huron Islands	Islands	Marquette	Mana-Konaning, "the place where we go for moss." Pierre Esprit Radisson gave the islands the name "Holy Trinity."
18. Lake Independence	Lake	Marquette	Sosowagami, (<i>sosowa</i> , "deep, strong color, dark yellow"), <i>gami</i> , "water, or water with deep yellow color." In 1846 the first survey party named the lake for the little steamer <i>Independence</i> .
19. Granite Island	Island	Marquette	Nabequon, "canoe with hump in the middle," because the island looks like a sailboat from the shore.

APPENDIX 3. *Continued*Renaming From Chippewa to French to English¹

Present Name	Designation	County	American Indian
20. Laughing Whitefish Point	Point	Alger	Atikamegbapit, “the Whitefish laughs,” because the white sand dunes cause a mirage of a laughing whitefish.
21. Dead River	River	Marquette	Neka-minong, “the blueberry patch of the Noquet Indians (Menominee Indians)”; French, <i>Revière des Morts</i> .

¹All American Indian names are Chippewa (Ojibway) unless otherwise designated.

²Kenyon Boyer of the Marquette County Historical Society has this to say about this rather troublesome name in his “Notes on Place Names,” in his 28th radio broadcast in the series *Historical Highlights*: “Another name over which there has been a great deal of controversy is that of the river Tahquamenon, which you will remember is spoken of by Hiawatha as *Tah-qua-nenaw*. About 40 years ago a learned priest, Father Gagneur, . . . dismissed the name Tahquamenon as being a made-up word that had no true Indian significance. However, upon looking at Fr. Marquette’s map (c. 1672), we find he had written down the words *Outa-Kua-Minong*, which may be translated as “the reserve blueberry fields of the Ottawa tribe.”