

Everyone's an Outsider:
Architecture, Landscape, and Class in Michigan's Copper Country

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation interrogates space, materiality, and mobility in domestic landscapes to explore complex social identities in America between 1870 and 1913. Engaging with interdisciplinary approaches in the spatial humanities, including cultural landscape, material culture, and vernacular architecture studies, this investigation focuses on Michigan's far northern Copper Country as a case study for using overlapping social landscapes as a framework for place-based examinations of class and gender identities.

Suburban models of domestic development, whose separate spheres came to define middle-class American values, co-existed with and eventually informed changing ideas of company paternalism and corporate welfare in Michigan's Copper Country. Beginning in the 1870s, mining companies disposed of unwanted land by selling single-family lots outside of town to successful merchants and white-collar professionals. Examination of the East Houghton house of James Pryor demonstrates ways that an individual family negotiated an elevated social identity by repeatedly overhauling their property to be both an industrial manager's house, looking down on workers from a fashionable hilltop residence, and a suburban country cottage. Fifteen years later, the Quincy Mining Company, one of the region's most powerful, established an exclusive neighborhood in which businessmen and eventually company managers used space and taste to differentiate themselves from places and people associated with labor. A few houses in this neighborhood of East Hancock allow us to compare the mobility of a live-in servant with that of her mistress, revealing different rhythms and opportunities in their performances of identity. A final chapter examines the sense of place constructed through taste in architecture and interior furnishings to interrogate the spatial and material nature of class formation at the end of the period.

Complicating existing histories of the Copper Country, this dissertation looks beyond company-built landscapes and inculcates the region's separate white-collar neighborhoods in the social rifts that culminated in the Miners' Strike of 1913–14. More broadly, this dissertation complicates the relationship between domesticity and working landscapes in ways that can have implications for studying industrial communities and suburbanization around the country.

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Introduction

On July 24, 1913, General Manager James MacNaughton reluctantly admitted in a letter to the president of the Calumet & Hecla Consolidated Mining Company that law enforcement officers could no longer control the crowds of striking workers. The previous day, hundreds of miners had left work and marched from head frame to head frame, forcibly shutting down the hoist engines, which for decades had been bringing up mineral-rich rock from thousands of feet below northern Michigan's "Copper Country" district (figs. 0.1 and 0.2). MacNaughton assured President Quincy Shaw back in Boston that "strikers are undoubtedly being led by professional gun men brought into this country for this purpose."¹ Unwilling to concede that his employees could turn on him of their own free will, MacNaughton blamed the Western Federation of Miners, a powerful labor union with roots in the mines of Montana, Colorado, and other Rocky Mountain states. To MacNaughton, the impetus for this strike came from "outside agitators."²

Little did MacNaughton know at that point, the men leading this strike in fact had acted on their own, without approval from the national office of the Western Federation of Miners (fig. 0.3). While the WFM quickly came to the aid of Michigan workers and invested heavily in the strike, the roots of this labor action were local rather than national, and the miners' discontent

¹ As quoted in Gary Kaunonen and Aaron Goings, *Community in Conflict: A Working-Class History of the 1913-14 Michigan Copper Strike and the Italian Hall Tragedy* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013), 103.

² In addition to Kaunonen and Goings above, histories of this strike can be found in Arthur W. Thurner, *Rebels on the Range: The Michigan Copper Miners' Strike of 1913-1914* (Lake Linden, MI: John H. Forster Press, 1984); Larry D. Lankton, *Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 219–243; Larry D. Lankton, *Hollowed Ground: Copper Mining and Community Building on Lake Superior, 1840s-1990s*, Great Lakes Books (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2010), 191–206; Alison K. Hoagland, *Mine Towns: Buildings for Workers in Michigan's Copper Country* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 55–89.

was specific to the social and environmental conditions of the remote Keweenaw Peninsula.³ Nevertheless, MacNaughton and his allies continued to slander the WFM as having “no place in this community.”⁴ The powerful Citizens’ Alliance group, created by prominent businessmen who claimed independence from the mining companies but who were in fact accepting funding from them, passed a resolution accusing the WFM of having “entered into our district” and upset “our mining community” (fig. 0.4). With this possessive language they laid claim to the Copper Country as their own territory and insisted that the WFM’s “alien officers, its paid organizers, and its hired agitators must go.”⁵

Interestingly, the WFM and strike supporters used similarly territorial vocabulary to criticize MacNaughton and leaders of the region’s other large mining companies (fig. 0.5). As it dragged on for nine months through the snowy winter of 1914, the strike brought prominent labor leaders as well as United States congressmen tasked with leading a grand jury investigation of the violence. In some of the Congressional reports and the labor-leaning press, people who sided with the workers often argued that the companies and their East Coast investors were “absentee exploiters” and “prosperous absentee stakeholders [who] drain so much money out of the community.”⁶ Since the 1840s, when the Keweenaw Peninsula produced its first profitable mine, 95% of the stock was owned outside of the region, and hundreds of millions of dollars had

³ Kaunonen and Goings, *Community in Conflict*, 103–104; Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 219.

⁴ United States Congress, House Committee on Mines and Mining, *Conditions in the Copper Mines of Michigan: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Mines and Mining, House of Representatives, Sixty-Third Congress, Second Session, Pursuant to H. Res. 387* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1914), 1540.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1539–1540; Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 201.

⁶ “To The Everlasting Shame of Houghton County,” *Miners’ Bulletin*, February 4, 1914; “The Citizens Alliance,” *Miners’ Bulletin*, March 18, 1914.

indeed flowed out of Michigan and into the bank accounts of wealthy investors in eastern cities, principally Boston and New York.⁷

Even though the companies' general managers like MacNaughton lived at the mines, wealthy businessmen and even some of the powerful mine captains and clerks had built up a lifestyle of private clubs and fashionable, enclosed neighborhoods that seemed to come from completely foreign places and time periods. They were "copper czars" running an "oligarchy," and a "feudal barony" whose "serfs" were often likened to African-American slaves before the Civil War.⁸ "Boston-owned Houghton County," as one commentator sneered, made the "copper barons" as detestable to miners as George the Third had been to the Revolutionary generation.⁹ Just as management saw the strikers as acting under outside influence, so did many workers see the company officials as carpetbaggers with strong ties to distant cities, even those who had been in the region for two or three generations. In short, during the strike, everyone was an outsider.

This tension about who belonged in Michigan's remote Copper Country pervaded the 1913–14 strike. Officially, the strikers were demanding better working conditions, an eight-hour day, and a system for airing grievances. While some concessions were made toward better hours and pay for some workers, the companies together refused to recognize the WFM as the negotiating body for their workers. As a result, the companies and the union never sat down to negotiate. The company coffers for hiring replacement workers outlasted the WFM's ability to

⁷ Thurner, *Rebels on the Range*, 17; William Bryam Gates, *Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars; an Economic History of the Michigan Copper Mining Industry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951); Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 14.

⁸ "To The Everlasting Shame of Houghton County"; "[no Title]," *Miners' Bulletin*, March 18, 1914; United States Congress, House Committee on Mines and Mining, *Conditions in the Copper Mines of Michigan*, 702.

⁹ "To The Everlasting Shame of Houghton County"; "Quincy A. Shaw and Rudolph Aggassiz [sic]," *Miners' Bulletin*, October 18, 1913.

support the striking miners' families, and the strike fizzled out in April leaving most workers with the same working conditions as before, and the mining companies with the upper hand.

In the interim, violence and antagonism erupted between workers and managers that clearly articulated divisions along class lines. A lawyer for the companies, Allen F. Rees, accused the WFM of "teaching class hatred and class warfare."¹⁰ In response, the WFM's *Miners' Bulletin* newspaper repeatedly turned the tables. Using popular Marxist rhetoric, articles incited strikers to blame the companies and their inequitable management for forcing workers to develop that class-consciousness.¹¹ They frequently lumped together with the company managers the Citizens' Alliance group of prominent businessmen and clergy, calling them all "the owning class."¹² The scars from these class divisions never healed. The area's population, which reached 100,000 at its height around 1910, began to fall after the strike, with many people leaving for Detroit and Henry Ford's five-dollar-a-day jobs.¹³ Then, demand for copper plummeted after World War I, and the Copper Country limped along for several decades until mining stopped completely by 1968.¹⁴

On the one hand, this strike played out on the national stage, dealing a significant blow to the WFM's socialist ideals, and buoying old-fashioned forms of company paternalism. It came just months before the violent strike in the Colorado coalfields, which further contributed to

¹⁰ United States Congress, House Committee on Mines and Mining, *Conditions in the Copper Mines of Michigan*, 1383.

¹¹ See for instance, "To The Everlasting Shame of Houghton County."

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Jane C. Busch, *Copper Country Survey: Final Report and Historic Preservation Plan*, Reconnaissance-level survey of above ground resources (Calumet, MI: Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission, August 2013), 55–56, <http://www.nps.gov/kewe/parkmgmt/upload/Final-Report-and-Preservation-Plan.pdf>.

¹⁴ General histories of the region that extend through the twentieth century include Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*; Arthur W. Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners: A History of Michigan's Keweenaw Peninsula*, Great Lakes Books (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994).

national class strife and also to the WFM's eventual collapse in 1916.¹⁵ On the other hand, the strike was also highly specific to this place. The rhetoric about *belonging*, the accusations of being *outsiders*, and the passionate pleas from both sides about the nature and true population of *our community*, suggest the importance of local identities and place-specific emotions in this conflict. It also begs a more nuanced understanding of the relationships between the Copper Country landscape, its people, and their perceptions of social power.

This dissertation uses the strike of 1913–14 as an entrée point for complicating our understanding of the Copper Country cultural landscape specifically in relation to class, social power, space, and taste. This region's past has been studied by historians, geographers, and archaeologists focusing on company histories, technological innovation, company-built housing, changing notions of corporate paternalism, and immigrant communities, especially the Finns.¹⁶

¹⁵ Thomas G. Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

¹⁶ In addition to the standard histories cited above, also see Alison K. Hoagland, "Introducing the Bathroom: Space and Change in Working-Class Houses," *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 18, no. 2 (2011): 15–42; Alison K. Hoagland, Erik C. Nordberg, and Terry S. Reynolds, eds., *New Perspectives on Michigan's Copper Country* (Hancock, MI: Quincy Mine Hoist Association, 2007); Alison K. Hoagland, "The Boardinghouse Murders: Housing and American Ideals in Michigan's Copper Country in 1913," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 11 (2004): 1–18; Arnold R. Alanen and Katie Franks, *Remnants of Corporate Paternalism: Company Housing and Landscapes at Calumet, Michigan* (Calumet, MI: Keweenaw National Historical Park, 1997); Arnold R. Alanen, "Back to the Land: Immigrants and Image-Makers in the Lake Superior Region, 1865-1930," in *Landscape in America*, ed. George F. Thompson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 111–40; Arnold R. Alanen, "Companies as Caretakers: Paternalism, Welfare Capitalism, and Immigrants in the Lake Superior Mining Region," in *Century of European Migrations, 1830-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 364–91; Arnold R. Alanen, "Finns and the Corporate Mining Environment of the Lake Superior Region," in *Finnish Diaspora II: The United States*, ed. Michael G. Karni (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981), 33–61; Arnold R. Alanen, *The Planning of Company Communities in the Lake Superior Mining Region* (Washington, D.C.: American Planning Association, 1979); Gary Kaunonen, *Challenge Accepted: A Finnish Immigrant Response to Industrial America in Michigan's Copper Country* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2010); Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*; David J. Krause, *The Making of a Mining District: Keweenaw Native Copper 1500-1870*

By contrast, this dissertation will consider middle-class neighborhoods and houses built by the rising class of professionals who began to segregate themselves from the mine locations and their workers, and live instead with people of similar wealth and social status. Starting in the 1870s and continuing into the twentieth century, Copper Country professionals who could afford it began to follow national trends in suburbanization and separated their homes from their workplaces. Store-owners moved out of the apartments above their shops and built single-family, detached houses in enclaves developed specifically to bolster middle-class ideals. As time progressed, mine managers and clerks chose to leave company-owned housing and live not with their workers but with their perceived social equals.

This realignment of domestic arrangements created by new exclusive suburban neighborhoods helped generate and maintain the complex and varied identities that surfaced during the strike. Everyone thought the antagonism that appeared in 1913–14 was coming from outside the district, but in reality, the local landscape harbored considerable blame. Our senses of self develop from our everyday experiences. Moving in and out of spaces that viscerally emphasize social status creates class identities in all of us from a very young age. Because the hierarchical and paternalistic mining companies had such a strong hand in building this district, social power had always been written strongly into the Copper Country landscape. As the population grew and became more diverse in terms of national origin, ethnic allegiances, professional training, and religious traditions, people developed complex identities in these spaces. The men and women who owned suburban-style houses felt very differently about

(Lansing, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1992); Angus Murdoch, *Boom Copper: The Story of the First U. S. Mining Boom*, vol. Copper Country (Calumet, MI: R. W. Drier and L. G. Koepel, 1964); Gates, *Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars; an Economic History of the Michigan Copper Mining Industry*. Many masters' theses produced by industrial archaeology students at Michigan Technological University also address Copper Country history and are listed at <http://www.mtu.edu/social-sciences/graduate/theses-dissertations/IAH-theses/>.

themselves walking through the neighborhoods than the men delivering coal and groceries. Likewise, the live-in servants acted one way while serving a formal dinner upstairs and another way when doing laundry in the basement out of the mistress's view. In other words, the landscape, architecture, and interior environments of these neighborhoods enacted the ideals of the powerful families and companies who built them in part by requiring everyone else to act in particular ways depending on their own social or professional status.

In this way, the strike can be seen as a transgressive event that exposed the normative geographies of the Copper Country. Geographer Tim Cresswell has argued that transgressions, which are disruptive events such as strikes or other social upheavals, can map the underlying ideologies in the places where they occur.¹⁷ They expose relationships and power dynamics that otherwise go unnoticed or are taken for granted, especially by those in power. In this case, the strike made evident the multiple attitudes and assumptions that were coexisting in the Copper Country among people in different social positions. Workers, management, and business-people had different ideas about who belonged where, despite all living in close proximity and moving between the same landmarks and buildings. As we will see, the high-end houses built in the decades leading up to the strike, including those in East Houghton, East Hancock, and around Calumet, masked class discord in the minds of their residents, but amplified it in the minds of workers.

How were these normative geographies created in the first place? This dissertation uses the idea of overlapping landscapes to examine the evolution of these multiple coexisting attitudes and the spatial and material nature of the social divisions underlying them. Scholars in multiple fields agree that landscapes are not innocent, but rather are active players in the construction of

¹⁷ Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression* (St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 8–9.

our identities. We produce landscapes socially by repeatedly making choices as we interact with each other and our environments. Relying on French social theorist Henri Lefebvre, I suggest that landscape combines the real, the imagined, and the embodied together into a triad of physical, conceptual, and experiential elements.¹⁸ Geographer Richard L. Schein aptly explains Lefebvre's idea of social space with the phrase "discourse materialized," in which landscape is a physical manifestation of ongoing interactions between people, their ideas, and their material and spatial worlds.¹⁹ Similarly, anthropologist Barbara Bender emphasizes the constantly changing character of landscape, which she calls "the *materiality* of social relationships."²⁰

Once understood as socially produced, landscape must also be seen as reflexive, that is, both a reflection and a producer of belief systems. As explained by Tim Cresswell, the idea that "society produces space and space reproduces society" offers a model for understanding the relationship between people, their environment, and their ideas.²¹ Reflexivity gives agency to the landscape, acknowledging its role both as the material object of human construction and also as an actor influencing our ideas and choices.²² In this way, landscapes are at once the physical or ontological things in the world, and epistemological ways of knowing.²³

¹⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford; Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991); For a useful discussion of Lefebvre's triad see Iain Borden, *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002), 2–24.

¹⁹ Richard H. Schein, "The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 4 (1997): 663.

²⁰ Barbara Bender, "Time and Landscape," *Current Anthropology* 43, no. S4 (August 2002): S104, doi:10.1086/339561.

²¹ Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*, 11.

²² For a useful discussion of reflexivity in the American house see John Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690-2000* (St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 5.

²³ Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004), 10–11.

Landscapes make fertile evidence for understanding the ways that humans construct identities. This dissertation relies on the theories of Erving Goffman, who suggested that identity is a series of ever-changing performances that communicate information both intended and unintended to the performer as well as his or her co-participants. Performances include a person's "appearances" or "manner," as well as the "setting," which often activates new performances.²⁴ In other words, people alter their senses of self and adjust their actions accordingly as they move through space, react to experiences, and encounter different people.²⁵ This set of dispositions, which sociologist Pierre Bourdieu called the *habitus*, changes over time as an individual's understanding of the world evolves.²⁶ Bourdieu thus established that identity performance is relational, that is, it depends on the presence and actions of other people in space. Its relational aspects are key to this dissertation, which focuses on middle-class neighborhoods but not solely on middle-class people. Rather I seek to understand how the changing settings of this region's new bourgeoisie, their elite neighborhoods and popular national tastes, altered identity performances not only for residents but also for all people who encountered them.

While landscape in common parlance denotes a wide view of a portion of the earth's surface, here it includes material productions at multiple scales – both the very large and the very small. The domestic landscapes considered in this dissertation begin with the Copper Country as

²⁴ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959), 22.

²⁵ Dianne Harris, "Social History: Identity, Performance, Politics, and Architectural Histories," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64, no. 4 (December 1, 2005): 421–23, doi:10.2307/25068193; Sarah Fayen Scarlett, "Crossing the Milwaukee River: A Case Study in Mapping Mobility and Class Geographies," in *Landscapes of Mobility: Culture, Politics, and Place-Making* (Surrey [England]; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub. Limited, 2013), 87–104.

²⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 101; The term *habitus* first appeared in Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); For an excellent discussion of *habitus* and identity formation in the context of American houses see Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 8–14.

a whole region, and then zero in closer to include neighborhoods, houses, and also the objects inside them. Scholars who focus on small-scale domestic objects such as furnishings and household tools theorize them as reflexive, in much the same way as scholars of cultural landscape. For instance, archaeologists believe that objects have social lives. They are created and used by individuals who are reacting to their physical surroundings as well as their social relationships.²⁷ In other words, objects – much like larger landscapes – are made by individuals and then become part of the material world that in turn influences those individuals' beliefs and emotions.

Despite general agreement that people and their physical world at all scales are mutually constituted, most scholarly studies of American domestic landscapes consider neighborhoods and houses separately from interior furnishings and household objects. In large part, this division mirrors traditional disciplinary boundaries between architecture schools, art history departments, geography and landscape architecture programs and others. Also the people who are able to develop the necessary expertise to interpret historical objects often lack the time and resources to develop similar familiarity with structures and landscapes, and vice versa. One exception is Bernard L. Herman, who weaves tea tables and captain's chests into his discussion of polite performance in middling eighteenth-century urban houses.²⁸ He has called specifically for consideration of the inside and outside of houses together.²⁹ Excellent examples of this include Amanda Vickery's *Behind Closed Doors*, and Maurie McInnis' *The Politics of Taste in*

²⁷ Ian Hodder and Scott Hutson, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1–19; Christopher Y. Tilley et al., eds., *Handbook of Material Culture* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006), 1–11.

²⁸ Bernard L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780-1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2005), 71–76, 151–154, 257–259.

²⁹ Bernard L. Herman, “The Embedded Landscapes of the Charleston Single House, 1780-1820,” *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 7 (January 1, 1997): 54.

Antebellum Charleston.³⁰ This dissertation contributes to the methodological conversation started by these authors. By considering the neighborhoods, houses, and objects of the Copper Country's dominant class as part of the same agenda to create and maintain social power, this project brings questions commonly asked by geographers and landscape historians to the study of everyday domestic material and vice versa.

If domestic landscapes do not just reflect but also create ideas, then they also must be seen as multiple. I use the term "overlapping landscapes" to capture the widespread notion that landscapes are not defined by physical boundaries but rather exist in our imaginations in countless variations. In the Copper Country, as we will see, upper-middle-class home owners relied on their houses to generate a degree of cultural authority while working-class laborers often developed alternate identities in their shared geography. In other words, their conceptions of landscape coexisted and overlapped in the same location.

To understand this overlap, it can be useful to think of these concurrent mental landscapes as senses of place. Place, according to geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, is the set of emotional and ideological ties ascribed to a specific space. Space, in other words, is generic while place has been given meaning by individuals or groups.³¹ While some theorists take somewhat different tacks, scholars in multiple fields have built on Tuan's premise to tease out the ways that people's interactions with each other and the environment around them generate and represent meaning.³²

³⁰ Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Maurie Dee McInnis, *The Politics of Taste in Antebellum Charleston* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

³¹ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979), 138–139.

³² Henri Lefebvre, for instance, uses "social space" rather than "place" to describe the mutually-constitutive creation of meaning in a shared locale. Anthropologist Edward Casey resists Tuan's notion and argues instead that our experience of place is a primary bodily fact while space is an abstraction that humans have had to invent. In this dissertation, I follow Tuan's usage. Henri

Anthropologists Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuñiga suggest that places are “inscribed spaces” in which people represent meaning through narrative, memory, building, and other means of “writing” their relationships into space.³³ As geographer Doreen Massey and others have suggested, those meanings change with every new physical and social interaction, making place into a network of socio-spatial relationships that constantly change for each individual.³⁴ Places, she has said, “are processes.”³⁵ Therefore Massey’s progressive sense of place is not shared within a defined community who occupy a bounded set of coordinates, but rather is an ever-changing and imminently personal representation of one’s conception of self among moving people, objects, and landscapes. Each person, in other words, is always in the process of constituting his or her own sense of place, or forming his or her own multiple identities.

In this dissertation, Massey’s complex conception of sense of place as a progressive socio-spatial web informs my use of the phrase “overlapping landscapes.” People in the Copper Country developed individual senses of place depending on their experiences before they arrived and once here. Those multiple and changing notions of self helped to create overlapping landscapes. Some scholars use other metaphors to evoke similar complexity. Herman has suggested coexisting mental landscapes be called “embedded” with the physical world.³⁶ Paul

Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Wiley, 1991), 1–9; Edward S. Casey, “How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena,” in *Senses of Place*, ed. Keith Basso and Steven Feld (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1996), 15–16.

³³ Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuñiga, eds., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2003), 12–18.

³⁴ Doreen B. Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 152–53; Archaeologist Karen Metheny draws on the work of Margaret Rodman to use the term “multilocality.” Karen Bescherer Metheny, *From the Miners’ Doublehouse: Archaeology and Landscape in a Pennsylvania Coal Company Town* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), xxiv–xxv.

³⁵ Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, 155.

³⁶ Herman, “The Embedded Landscapes of the Charleston Single House, 1780-1820.”

Groth and Chris Wilson proposed a “polyphony” whose sounds emanate from “intricate webs of mental, social, and ecological spaces.”³⁷ Dell Upton used the biological term “intercalated” to maximize our understanding of bodily experience, material reality, and ideologies as inextricable and interdependent.³⁸ During the Copper Country strike, the apparent polarization between two opposing overlapping landscapes, that of the companies and that of the workers, in fact belied a far more complex reality. Multiple senses of place had been building up prior to that wrenching year and contributed to the specific social fractures and class-consciousness that evolved in this place.

Landscapes in this dissertation are also processional. Dell Upton used this term to capture the important role of movement in understanding how people experience landscape, especially socially segregated landscapes like the Copper Country during the strike. In his article “Black and White Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia,” Upton used southern plantations to demonstrate that individuals with different social status react very differently to the same environments. He contrasted the paths taken by white visitors and black slaves through the highly articulated spaces of the Tayloe family’s Mount Airy plantation to demonstrate how differently the same landscape could be perceived and used depending on relative social power. These different perceptions created not only overlapping mental landscapes co-existing in the same place, but also derived in large part from the dramatic unfolding of space that we experience as we move through the world. As at Mount Airy, landscapes in the Copper Country depended on movement for much of their power.

³⁷ Chris Wilson and Paul Erling Groth, eds., *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies After J. B. Jackson* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 1.

³⁸ Dell Upton, *Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New American Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 12.

This emphasis on movement through space draws on the legacy of phenomenological philosophy, which has long understood the relationship between people and things as fundamentally physical.³⁹ This approach has not always had a comfortable place in scholarly writing because, as anthropologist Christopher Tilley has written, “words don’t bleed.”⁴⁰ Nevertheless, efforts in the seemingly sight-driven fields of art history and visual culture have begun to criticize ocularcentrism, encouraged by the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and others.⁴¹ The human experience relies on sight but also on all the other senses, and scholars now embrace more embodied interpretations.⁴² Mobility can be considered the study of spatial linkages and multi-directional flows of bodies and things across time and space. It offers a model of study that not only escapes simple subject/object binaries, but also captures the relational nature of identity that characterizes cultural landscapes.⁴³ In the Copper Country, by including mobility in our interpretations of exclusive neighborhoods, I generate deeper questions about the

³⁹ Christopher Y. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments* (London: Berg, 1994); Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000); Edward Twitchell Hall, *The Hidden Dimension* (New York: Anchor Books, 1992).

⁴⁰ Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape*, 8.

⁴¹ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Primacy of Perception: And Other Essays on Phenomenological Psychology, the Philosophy of Art, History and Politics*, ed. James M. Edie, trans. Carleton Dallery (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 159–190; Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles, “Landscape and Vision,” in *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, ed. Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 5–29; David Howes, *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader* (London: Berg, 2005).

⁴² See for instance Heidi J. Nast and Steve Pile, *Places through the Body* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 4.

⁴³ Arijit Sen and Jennifer Johung, eds., *Landscapes of Mobility: Culture, Politics, and Placemaking* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2013), 1–17; Catherine M. Howett, “Where the One-Eyed Man Is King: The Tyranny of Visual and Formalist Values in Evaluating Landscapes,” in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 85–98; Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (London: Routledge, 2012), 1–24.

multiple and fluid identities performed by servants and workers, as well as by mistresses, homeowners, and developers.

Mobility and landscape in many ways are a natural pair for scholars interested in social power. Geographer Tim Cresswell has suggested that mobility is socially constructed movement, in much the same way that place is socially constructed space.⁴⁴ Mobility and place, then, both harbor considerable cultural meaning. And like landscape, mobility is so ubiquitous that it can be easily overlooked and unexamined. Many scholars rely on Martin Heidegger's concept of being-in-the-world to assert that we as humans live in bodies that move in space. Both space and movement are unavoidable realities for us.⁴⁵ And yet, space and movement often seem so "natural" that they escape scrutiny. As geographer Don Mitchell has written: "Landscape is at once patently obvious and terrifically mystified."⁴⁶ In this dissertation, the socially constructed nature of both space and movement is interrogated through an emphasis on place and mobility.

Lastly, landscapes in this dissertation are also aesthetic. As Copper Country families in power changed the ways that they manipulated space to create and maintain their status, they also made important choices about the form and ornament of their neighborhoods, houses, and furnishings. A significant portion of the emotions generated by embodied encounters with East Houghton, East Hancock, and Laurium derived from the cultural references being made with fashionable details such as Italianate towers and window hoods, faux-rustic Queen Anne shingling, and overtly classical Corinthian capitals found on facades as well as in parlors and dining rooms. Taste – or "manifested preferences" as theorist Pierre Bourdieu has defined it –

⁴⁴ Cresswell, *On the Move*, 2–6.

⁴⁵ Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, 22; See for instance the introduction in Nast and Pile, *Places through the Body*, 1–14.

⁴⁶ Don Mitchell, *The Lie of the Land: Migrant Workers and the California Landscape* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 2; Also see Harris and Ruggles, "Landscape and Vision," 5–32.

has long been understood as a primary cultural tool for drawing distinctions in society and normalizing the predilections of those in power.⁴⁷ In this dissertation, I interrogate style in these neighborhoods to tease out the role of aesthetics in larger strategies of exclusion as well as identity formation for outsiders.

To interpret taste as integral with landscape and mobility, I rely on notions of mode as distinguished from style. Modal features do not just adhere to the expected fashions of the time period, but they also are designed deliberately to stand out and create divisions between people. Mode is the way in which people use the aesthetics of landscape to differentiate themselves, exclude others, and support their own status.⁴⁸ Much as James and Nancy Duncan have argued that an invented “rural” aesthetic has played a large part in creating and maintaining the exclusivity of New Bedford, New York, I suggest that the “suburban” aesthetic contributed significantly to social hierarchies in the Copper Country at its height.⁴⁹

Landscapes in all their multiple roles – as active, overlapping, embodied, and aesthetic – constitute the primary evidence in this dissertation. My driving interpretive questions derive directly from interaction with material and spatial records from the past. In this way, my work is object-driven.⁵⁰ I study material and spatial evidence, that is, anything made for human use,

⁴⁷ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 11–96.

⁴⁸ Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia*, paperback edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 101–102; Dell Upton, “Form and User: Style, Mode, Fashion, and the Artifact,” in *Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture*, ed. Gerald L. Pocius (St. John’s, NL: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991), 156–69; Meyer Schapiro, “Style,” in *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory*, ed. A. L. Kroeber (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1953), 287–312; Dick Hebdige, *Subculture, The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen, 1979).

⁴⁹ James S. Duncan and Nancy G. Duncan, *Landscapes of Privilege: The Politics of the Aesthetic in an American Suburb* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁵⁰ In *Town House*, Herman called this “a material culture approach to history.” Carson used the term “material life” studies. Bernard L. Herman, *The Stolen House* (Charlottesville: University

because it reveals attitudes that are not available in written records or other forms of expression. This conviction that humans reveal our tacit beliefs in the built environment in unique ways sustains both the fields of Material Culture and Cultural Landscape studies.⁵¹ Methodologically I draw from both fields, which I see as divided only by the scale of evidence that their adherents choose to study.

The large scope of landscape as defined in this dissertation, of course, poses research challenges. Evidence that can never be seen in one glance or touched all at once can be difficult to understand and interpret. To help analyze the landscape, I use a range of varied and textured historical sources to create visual representations. These representations help me examine the evidence, interpret the experiences of people moving through them, and communicate these interpretations. While most objects can be captured in photographs, buildings and landscapes require additional steps to represent them. For some of the houses studied here, blue prints or floor plans survive to illustrate divisions of space. For others, I undertook fieldwork to measure and redraw them. To see and analyze neighborhood development, I relied on historic plat maps, fire insurance maps, and birds' eye view prints in addition to surviving physical evidence. Resources that help simulate the experience of these places include historic photographs and period descriptions; evocative narrative resources like letters, newspaper accounts, memoirs, and

Press of Virginia, 1992), 11; Herman, *Town House*, 1; Cary Carson, "Material Culture History: The Scholarship Nobody Knows," in *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*, ed. J. Ritchie Garrison and Ann Smart Martin (Winterthur, DE: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997), 415; Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia*, Studies in Early American Economy and Society from the Library Company of Philadelphia (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 8–10; Margaretta M. Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America*, Early American Studies (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 10.

⁵¹ A good discussion of deriving questions from the landscape itself appears in Paul Erling Groth and Todd W. Bressi, eds., *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 15–18.

oral histories; as well as more quantitative resources like census and directory records, other demographic records, deeds, building and loan records, insurance records, and store records of inventory and sales.

The chapters that follow trace the shift in the Copper Country from a conventional mining landscape, dominated by company hierarchy and overt socio-spatial control, toward a modern industrial town, whose class-segregated neighborhoods and architecture contributed to the complex anxieties and conflicts that played out in the strike of 1913–14. Chapter 1 introduces the interrelated nature of the early Copper Country’s mining landscapes and commercial towns. While mining companies fortified the status of their managers by manipulating topography, architecture, and viewsheds to create an atmosphere of surveillance, independent merchants employed middle-class tastes to distinguish themselves. Chapter 2 examines one of the first challenges to this status quo, the elite independent neighborhood of East Houghton, where successful merchants and retired mine captains built large fashionable houses in the 1870s on lots developed and sold by a defunct mining company trying to recoup profits. I focus on Captain James Pryor, who repeatedly overhauled his house to maintain his identity both as an industrial manager and a suburban tastemaker. Chapter 3 introduces East Hancock, developed by an arm of the Quincy Mining Company in the 1890s very much in the suburban model. Space and taste were significant tools in articulating and maintaining the social status of its residents, which included successful businessmen as well as company employees choosing to move out of company-owned houses. As the Quincy reinvented its paternalistic approach to housing, East Hancock became a tool for establishing a new social order.

Whereas the first three chapters engage with issues of design, Chapters 4 and 5 ask questions about action, experience, and sense of place. Chapter 4 returns to East Hancock to

compare the mobility of servants and mistresses into the neighborhood and throughout its houses. I demonstrate the multiple and nuanced identities that workers performed as they moved in and out of the neighborhood and its highly prescribed interiors, to suggest spaces ripe for subversion of the stratified status quo. Chapter 5 considers dramatic changes in the sense of place among white-collar professionals as the twentieth century dawned. A group of wicker chairs purchased by successful mine company clerk J. T. Reeder suggests a common balance struck between national fashions and local identity. In contrast, several large mansions built in the town of Laurium with the financial windfall from an Arizona mine significantly challenged an already unstable middle-class landscape in 1907. Built by outside architects and professionally furnished with luxuries not only ostentatious but also carrying exotic and decidedly outsider associations, these houses ratcheted up class tensions in what became a primary site of social and spatial fracture during the strike.

This dissertation focuses on Copper Country housing conceived by and built for people choosing to separate themselves from workplaces and the workers themselves. For this reason, I do not include the town of Painesdale and other locations run by the Copper Range Consolidated Mining Company and its subsidiaries. These locations and the related commercial town of South Range were built after 1900 and for the most part the developers and companies, working in cahoots, designed exclusive neighborhoods for the managers from the get-go. So-called “Snob Hill” in Painesdale was created by the company to match places like East Hancock, but it falls outside the scope of this study because its inhabitants were not directly involved in designing their neighborhood.⁵² Likewise, I do not focus directly on the Calumet & Hecla Consolidated

⁵² Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 127–174; Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, 26; Shannon Bennett, “Where the Bosses Lived: Managerial Housing of Three Companies in Michigan’s Copper Country” (M.S. Thesis, Michigan Technological University, 2007), 125–179.

Mining Company despite its being the largest corporate entity and by far the employer of the wealthiest and most powerful men in the Copper Country. Even into the twentieth century, its managers mostly stayed “on campus” so to speak, in generous captain’s houses aligned with the underground lode in old-fashioned mining landscape patterns. While C&H land itself and even parts of nearby Red Jacket contributed to perceptions of class and social divisions, especially during the strike, Third Street in Laurium fits better within the parameters of this study because it was developed and inhabited by people who designed their houses based more on their class identities than their employment status with C&H.

The Copper Country offers significant advantages for using overlapping landscapes to study social power. First, class tensions thrived in this remote area. The financial high stakes inherent to mining and its inevitable boom and bust cycles amplified successes and failures. Workers depended on company leadership for their own livelihoods, an interdependence that was intensified by the Keweenaw’s remote location and the absence of other major industries to support a workforce. As a result, company leaders and commercial businessmen exerted unusually strong influence, which enhanced tensions with workers. I call these influential men and their families middle-class and white-collar professionals. I use upper-middle-class, elite, and bourgeoisie when referring to the region’s wealthiest people, acknowledging their relative inferiority to the mining company owners in Boston and New York.

Second, the Copper Country’s remote location and harsh winters elicited strong senses of place in visitors and inhabitants alike. Powerful ideas about boundaries, belonging, and ownership were almost inevitable. As a result, the consumption of domestic objects and spaces carried heightened meaning. Owning luxuries (or at the beginning of the period, mere staples)

and building houses in different aesthetic traditions connected consumers to cosmopolitan cities or other meaningful places elsewhere, like their East Coast origins or European homelands.

Third, because company-based social hierarchy in the Copper Country had always been overt and strongly spatial, the process of suburbanization operated differently here. The neighborhoods at the center of this study all developed with significant influence from a mining company. In the years leading up to the strike, these developments were strongly tied up in changing notions of corporate paternalism, making these suburbs part of ongoing strategies of social control. Also, unlike in many other cities and towns, these exclusive domestic developments were not positioned in empty land or agricultural areas, but rather were mapped onto former mining locations with all their pre-existing company-based hierarchical associations. As a result, these suburbs had highly complex underlying systems of social control already built in.

Lastly, historic domestic landscapes in the Copper Country survive more in tact than in many industrial areas in the country. Without another industry to replace copper mining after its demise in the mid twentieth century, few economic forces have altered the houses' relationships to roads, docks, rail lines, shopping areas, and places of worship. Likewise, many houses have been well preserved, some by neglect and some by the still strong the sense of place among many residents. In addition, the landscape features that have been lost can be represented with material in several excellent regional archives.

Overall, this dissertation contributes both to local conversations about Copper Country history and to wider discourse about suburbanization, industrial communities, and aesthetics in landscape studies. As the first interpretive scholarly study of non-company-built housing in the region, this work adds to the important efforts to document historic structures and landscapes.

Thematically, it offers new ways to consider social class in the Copper Country. While a recent history of the strike tells a specifically working-class version of the conflict, and uncovers significant details in the class warfare waged by the companies, this dissertation offers a wider view of the Copper Country's class relations.⁵³ By investigating the houses of wealthy families not built by the mining companies, this investigation helps paint a truer picture of the dominant class and how it wielded power in this place. This scholarship has considerable consequences for interpreting the role of the Citizens' Alliance during the strike, the majority of whose members resided in one of the neighborhoods investigated here.

On a national level, this dissertation complicates the relationship between domesticity and landscapes of work in ways that can have implications for studying industrial communities and suburbanization around the country. Suburban and industrial landscapes have generally been considered historically related but spatially distinct. Scholars understand the causal relationship between the perceived dirt, danger, and increasingly foreign populations associated with factories and docks downtown, and the removal of the middle class to the outskirts of town. But the historians studying the houses are rarely the same people who study the factories, a disconnect due in part to traditional academic divisions. Suburbs and industry, then, are too often seen not only as occupying different coordinates in the landscape, but also as springing from independent historical forces.

This dissertation offers examples of suburban and industrial forces and spaces being inextricably connected. The investigation of East Houghton in particular demonstrates that the industrial landscape and the suburban landscape could co-exist for long periods in the same location, a pattern that probably occurred in other communities but has been obscured by later

⁵³ Kaunonen and Goings, *Community in Conflict*.

demolition. Likewise, the separation of home from work that is so often understood as a central premise for suburban development is repeatedly complicated in the following chapters by the social ties with dominant companies, managers' family members, and also with the strong associations with work that had already been mapped onto these hillsides before the suburbs were ever created. While ties between the Copper Country's dominant industry and its domestic landscapes may have been especially strong, the social and spatial connections investigated here resonate with similar communities elsewhere.

Lastly, on a macro level, this dissertation is about divisions both spatial and social. Henry Glassie has argued, based on a lifetime of documenting houses around the world, that humans put up barriers when we feel threatened.⁵⁴ We invent property lines and mark them with fences. We conceal our interiors behind obfuscating façades. We build long pathways, vestibules, hallways, and doors to manage the flow of traffic closest to our most important ideals. Anxiety ran high in nineteenth-century America, as global migrations of unprecedented volume generated mistrust and misunderstanding. At the same time, our familiar ways of processing materials to make and buy things called into question our relationships with the world and each other. In response, Americans with financial and political resources withdrew their houses from cities and invented a new worldview that separated them from the physical discomforts of work and the psychological discomforts of social difference. They built new neighborhoods that fulfilled the social order they imagined for themselves and expressed values that normalized that order.

The people whose houses make up this dissertation helped work out the values that propelled suburban development and that continue to define middle-class domestic arrangements for many Americans today. Millions continue to live in and around houses like the ones studied

⁵⁴ Henry Glassie, "Vernacular Architecture," in *Material Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 227–353.

here, and we continue to build similar social divisions into our neighborhoods and cities. Like Glassie, I study the human tendency to specialize our domestic spaces and our historic reactions to them in the hopes of being more cognizant about the relationships we continue to build into our landscapes and our lives.

CHAPTER 1

Social Power in Early Copper Country Domestic Landscapes

This dissertation explores tensions and shifts over time between overlapping mining landscapes and suburban landscapes in Michigan's Copper Country. This first chapter introduces the region and its competing systems of expressing and maintaining social power in company mining sites versus independent commercial towns before 1875. These two types of places co-existed in proximate or sometimes identical locations. In both, company managers and middle-class businessmen helped to create and maintain social power by manipulating the location, scale, and taste of their houses. But as more and more white-collar professionals working for mining companies as well as independent businesses began to embrace the spatial and visual characteristics of suburban neighborhoods, the Copper Country's geography of social power began to change. To set the scene, Chapter 1 explores the landscapes in and around three mining companies – the Shelden-Columbian, the Quincy, and the Calumet & Hecla – all of which figure prominently throughout the dissertation.

Copper Country Mining Locations and Commercial Towns

Since the beginning of United States settlement in the Keweenaw Peninsula in the 1820s, mining sites and shipping ports developed together (see figure 0.1 in the Introduction). People needed technologies and infrastructure not only to get the copper out of the ground but also to transport it to market. Likewise, anyone running a business in this remote location depended on the population of mine workers. Sites of extraction and sites of commerce, in other words, grew hand-in-hand.

Europeans had known about the existence of copper along the banks of Lake Superior since the seventeenth century when the French encountered Native Americans who had been working and trading it for approximately 7000 years.¹ When these groups first encountered it, jagged pieces of so-called “mass” copper existed close to the surface of the land, having been dropped by retreating glaciers. These near-pure “native” deposits had very high copper content, having been formed originally underground in the interstices left by volcanic lava. When geologic plates tilted to form what are now Lake Superior, the Keweenaw Peninsula, and Isle Royale, these mass copper pieces were exposed and later picked up and transported by glaciers. Deposited on the surface, these pieces earned the name “float copper” among Europeans.²

Neither the French nor the British after them had the financial or political investment to successfully mine copper so far from their respective centers of settlement. The discovery of and tall tales woven about an enormous piece of “float” copper dubbed the Ontonagon Boulder, however, encouraged the new United States to send expeditions soon after solidifying claims to the region during the War of 1812. Starting in 1820, the U.S. and then Michigan sent groups to explore, acquired the mineral rich lands from the native Ojibwe people, and opened a land office at the tip of the Keweenaw Peninsula in 1843 at Copper Harbor.³

The Copper Country was the first mining region in the United States in which mineral land was sold outright rather than retained by the government and leased to miners. This new system came on the heels of severe discontent in the lead region of the Upper Mississippi River Valley, where miners petitioned the federal government to reform the leasing system and take

¹ Susan R. Martin, *Wonderful Power: The Story of Ancient Copper Working in the Lake Superior Basin* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 143–144; Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 9; Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 6.

² Martin, *Wonderful Power*, 26–30; Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 8–9; Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 5–7.

³ Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 6–8; Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 9–14.

back control from unscrupulous speculators who were violating the law by controlling both the mineral production and land sales.⁴ The government's new corporate model made it possible only for large entities with significant financial backing to prospect and begin production in the Copper Country.⁵ According to journalist Horace Greeley, who visited the region in the 1840s and invested in an ultimately unsuccessful mine, companies needed a minimum of \$50,000 to make a reasonable attempt.⁶ The army established Fort Wilkins adjacent to Copper Harbor ostensibly to keep order, and the outpost operated as a base camp for prospectors who took arduous steam ship rides across the Great Lakes, staked their claims in the land office, and set out from Copper Harbor into the buggy backwoods to write reports for their investors.⁷ In this way, the prospectors who worked to extract ore-rich rock and attempt profitability were not independent thrill-seekers but rather employees of heavily funded mining companies.

While float copper excited a lot of prospectors, most preferred to find copper underground because it could be broken down and transported more easily. Copper ore existed underground in two formations in the Keweenaw: amygdaloid, in which copper settled into

⁴ Patrick Allan Pospisek, "The Rise and Fall of Frontier Urbanization in the American Midwest: Galena, Illinois, 1820-1870" (dissertation, Purdue University, 2013), <http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/dissertations/AAI3592083>; Sarah Fayen Scarlett, "The Cultural Landscapes of Mining in Southwestern Wisconsin," in *From Mining to Farm Fields to Ethnic Communities: Buildings and Landscapes of Southwestern Wisconsin*, ed. Anna Vemer Andrzejewski, Arnold R. Alanen, and Sarah Fayen Scarlett, Vernacular Architecture Forum Annual Conference 2012 (Madison: Department of Art History and Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 2012), 8–33; Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, *A Gathering of Rivers Indians, Métis, and Mining in the Western Great Lakes, 1737-1832* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 101–172.

⁵ Patrick Allan Pospisek, "Federal Authority and the Development of Corporate Mining, 1807–1847" (presented at the Retrospection & Respect: The 1913–14 Mining/Labor Strike Symposium of 2014, Michigan Technological University, Houghton, Michigan, April 12, 2014), http://digitalcommons.mtu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1005&context=copperstrike_symposium; Pospisek, "The Rise and Fall of Frontier Urbanization in the American Midwest";

⁶ Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 8–9.

⁷ Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 14.

round or almond-shaped air bubbles left in the basalt, and conglomerate, in which copper became conglomerated under extreme pressure with other minerals and rocks. Both types needed to be crushed up to separate the copper from other rock. This concentrated the desired mineral and made it both more efficient to ship and prepared it to be further concentrated chemically using heat, a process called smelting. Companies in the Copper Country crushed the extracted rock at mills built as close as possible to the shafts, and then sent the copper to smelters first in Boston and Baltimore, then in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit. Eventually several smelters were built in the Copper Country.⁸

When a prospecting company found a lode and had proven that they could extract and mill it efficiently, they entered the production phase. At that point, they needed a well-located port from which to ship their copper and receive goods from the outside. The first profitable mines in the Keweenaw were south of Copper Harbor. The Cliff, Phoenix, and Minesota Mines all brought up mass copper, and milled it on site with Cornish stamp mill technology (see figure 0.1 in the Introduction). Several towns developed to ship this copper. Eagle River and Eagle Harbor both developed in the 1840s to get milled copper to smelters on the east coast. Another port town developed on the protected south side of the peninsula at Lac La Belle and another far south in Ontonagon.⁹ The populations of these mine sites and shipping towns were relatively homogenous, attracting mining experts from Cornwall and other regions of southwestern England, as well as people from Scotland, Ireland, and Germany. French Canadians arrived as well, many of them to operate logging businesses.¹⁰ Together, they developed mine locations and

⁸ Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 11–13; Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 17–28.

⁹ Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 29–40; Larry D. Lankton, *Beyond the Boundaries: Life and Landscape at the Lake Superior Copper Mines, 1840-1875* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 34; Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 9; Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, xv.

¹⁰ Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 60–61; Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, xi.

independent shipping towns to support the companies and their employees. Companies called their mining sites “locations” to differentiate them from incorporated commercial towns.

In addition to coastal shipping towns, inland commercial towns closer to the mine sites also developed. The people running the area’s pioneering mining companies decided early on that they did not want to operate commercial enterprises. The liability and expense, they thought, threatened their main objective to mine profitably. But workers and managers alike needed retail stores to support their lives, especially in a remote northern place where European-style agriculture yielded meager crops.¹¹ Since claims were at least a square mile, companies could sell the land they did not need for extraction and milling to people willing to run shops and build houses. In this way, Copper Country had “open” mining towns.¹² Rather than being “closed,” like the stereotypical company town, where workers relied on their employer not only for their paycheck but also for food, goods, and all commercial opportunities, Copper Country towns featured independent merchants who operated outside direct company oversight. However, the merchants were at the mercy of the companies to identify the locations for the stores and sell or lease the land. Likewise, company managers very often hand-picked merchants with whom to partner.¹³ Two commercial towns, Hancock and Red Jacket, provide useful examples of Copper Country towns because they grew into important sites for the following chapters.

The Quincy Mining Company staked claims in the far south of the Keweenaw Peninsula near the Portage Lake, which settlers recognized, like the Native Americans before them, as a useful transportation route (fig. 1.1). Quincy’s miners struggled for years but eventually located

¹¹ Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 42.

¹² Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman’s Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*, Haymarket Series (London; New York: Verso, 1995), 30–31; Alanen, “Companies as Caretakers: Paternalism, Welfare Capitalism, and Immigrants in the Lake Superior Mining Region.”

¹³ Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, xvi.

the rich amygdaloid lode, locally called the Pewabic lode, which sustained the company well into the twentieth century. In 1859, when its workforce grew dramatically, its managers platted a small town grid and sold lots to people willing to start stores and run warehouses. They named the town Hancock, in honor of the investors' Boston roots, and it grew steadily in close symbiosis with the company.¹⁴

About twelve miles north, another group of Boston investors were running adjacent companies, the Calumet and the Hecla, on what would turn out to be an incredibly rich conglomerate lode (fig. 1.2). Still struggling in 1867, however, they fired their superintendent, Edwin Hulbert, for lack of “capable management,” and installed investor Alexander Agassiz, who remained president of the company until his death in 1910.¹⁵ In 1868, Hulbert turned around and platted a commercial town to serve what he knew would be a burgeoning mining location. He named it Red Jacket, after the moniker given a mythologized Ojibwe chief, and he laid out the town according to the township and range grid. Once merged in 1871, the Caumet & Hecla Mining Company (C&H) supported Hulbert's independent town but garnered considerable control of it by buying lots, which they sold or gave to people, churches, and other institutions they favored.¹⁶

Framing Social Power

¹⁴ Larry D. Lankton and Charles K. Hyde, *Old Reliable: An Illustrated History of the Quincy Mining Company* (Hancock, MI: Quincy Mine Hoist Association, 1982); Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 42; Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, xvi; Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 76.

¹⁵ As quoted in Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 90.

¹⁶ Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 18–20; Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 74–79, 96–98; Lynn Bjorkman, *Calumet Village, Laurium Village, Calumet Township: Historic and Architectural Survey, Phase I* (Houghton, MI: Western Upper Peninsula Planning and Development Regional Commission, 1995), 17; Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 88–92.

Hancock, Red Jacket, and many other smaller commercial towns throughout the Copper Country, grew hand-in-hand with nearby mining locations. Social power, however, was created and maintained in towns and locations differently. Because social relationships between groups are my core inquiry, questions about the ways that social power functions in the landscape pervade the text and theoretical discussions in later chapters. To begin to address this question here, I rely on a useful discussion by historians Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles. They bring together theoretical ideas from visual culture and cultural landscape studies to demonstrate the interconnected nature of vision and landscape.¹⁷

In the introduction, I argued that landscape is both aesthetic – having a particular appearance – and also processional – being perceived not in one glance but rather by moving through it. Harris and Ruggles help argue that vision and movement operate together to generate meanings in daily life. The people who manipulate the ways that landscapes are seen and experienced wield enormous power in creating and communicating specific ideologies. This notion of framing has been central to reorienting the study of art history from considering representations as having “a fixed and neutral relationship among artist, audience, and work of art,” to seeing them as subjective expressions that reflect the ideals, experiences, and resources available to the person or persons who made them. Moreover, the intended meanings in those representations will be perceived differently by every viewer based on his or her ideals and experiences.¹⁸ For these reasons, the people whose capital, status, ethnicity, race, gender, and

¹⁷ Harris and Ruggles, “Landscape and Vision.”

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

political facility allow them to frame visions and experiences in the landscape can create and manipulate social power to a great degree.¹⁹

Scholars have demonstrated that the framed ideological visions that generally created social power in nineteenth-century American landscapes frequently relied on surveillance and control of the gaze. Michel Foucault launched these arguments with his proposal that modern western society relied on surveillance – that is, an omnipresent scrutiny with the threat of punishment – to maintain a particular social order.²⁰ Building on Foucault, scholars have taken Jacques Lacan’s psychoanalytic idea of “the gaze” to suggest that images, material objects, architecture, and landscapes in our everyday lives constantly remind us that we are not alone and are always being observed. The self-regulation imposed by the gaze helps constitute the process of identity formation among individuals at all ranks of society.²¹ As architectural historian Anna Vemer Andrzejewski has argued, the surveyor’s gaze often intended to alter behavior in ways other than enforcing obedience with the threat of punishment. Surveillance operated not only in the penal system and the workplace, but also in domestic and leisure spaces, often blurring the lines between surveyor and surveyed, subject and object, in ways that complicated human

¹⁹ Other useful discussions about the relationship between vision and landscape appear in Groth and Bressi, *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, especially the chapters by Paul Groth, Catherine M. Howett, and Dell Upton.

²⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

²¹ Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis* (Harmondsworth, Eng: Penguin Books, 1979), 67–90; Harris and Ruggles, “Landscape and Vision,” 18; See also John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corp. : Penguin Books, 1972); Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); Important understandings of the gendered implications of the gaze come from the classic article Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” *Screen* 16, no. 3 (September 1, 1975): 6–18, doi:10.1093/screen/16.3.6.

relationships and became a “defining feature of modern culture.”²² The role of surveillance and the gaze in the Copper Country, as we will see, shaped relationships using patterns borrowed from both traditional mining landscapes and suburban neighborhoods.

In addition to controlling the gaze, scholars have also argued that social power derives in part from controlling mobility and the circulation of bodies, both human and material.

Geographer Tim Cresswell suggests that a significant tension in the modern West exists between two competing notions of mobility.²³ On the one hand, people who move around have often appeared suspect because they seem unrooted, homeless, and placeless. Indeed, eighteenth and nineteenth-century systems of gentility and comportment developed in large part to classify strangers according to class.²⁴ On the other hand, modern sensibilities, especially in the United States, have embraced mobility as freedom, the luxury of controlling one’s own body, and having a degree of personal agency. Social power, then, has often derived from the ability to control the movements of others while also normalizing one’s own claims to territory. Mining companies and residents of new suburbs in the Copper Country employed this strategy.

Mobility, however, can rarely be fully controlled and it often becomes a potent source of empowerment for people without considerable political or social leverage. As theorized by Michel de Certeau, oppressed or overpowered people can develop tactics that involve bodily engagement and acting out-of-place to subvert dominant power structures.²⁵ Among workers in

²² Anna Vemer Andrzejewski, *Building Power: Architecture and Surveillance in Victorian America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2008), 6. For her discussion of broadening our consideration of the gaze and surveillance in American architecture see 4–6.

²³ Cresswell, *On the Move*, 1–22.

²⁴ Cary Carson, “The Consumer Revolution in Colonial British America: Why Demand?,” in *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1994), 483–697.

²⁵ Further discussion about the politics of resistance in terms of space and mobility appear in Chapter 4. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California

mining communities, Allyson Brooks has demonstrated that intent to stay or move elsewhere commonly influenced people's relationships and identities.²⁶ In other words, the ability to move around (or not) provided a degree of social power outside the structures set up by the companies. Likewise, as we will see in Chapter 4, Copper Country domestic servants developed multiple identities as they traveled to and moved through the houses of their employers. Mobility for them created opportunities to imagine alternate realities. Studying social power through vision and landscape together, then, leads not to an exposé of oppression but rather to inquiries about relational identity formation between groups.

Social Power in Early Mining Landscapes: Quincy and Calumet & Hecla

These visual and spatial aspects of social power – the control of framing, surveillance, and mobility – were employed differently in Copper Country mining landscapes versus commercial landscapes before 1875. At the early mining locations, social status derived directly from one's job and companies reinforced workplace hierarchy in the domestic landscape. This kind of clear hierarchical stratification characterized most mining landscapes, as cultural geographer Richard Francaviglia reminds us: “Power and impotence are everywhere juxtaposed, for mining district landscapes are, above all, landscapes of environmental and social control.”²⁷

Press, 2011); Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*; Metheny, *From the Miners' Doublehouse*, xxiv–xxv; Sarah E. Cowie, *The Plurality of Power: An Archaeology of Industrial Capitalism* (New York: Springer, 2011), 36–39.

²⁶ As cited in Donald L. Hardesty, “Power in the Industrial Mining Community in the American West,” in *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past: The Archaeology and Anthropology of Mining*, ed. Eugenia W. Herbert, A. Bernard Knapp, and Vincent C. Pigott (London: Routledge, 2002), 81–96.

²⁷ Richard V. Francaviglia, *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), 99.

Company managers used location, scale, and taste to design houses that differentiated the supervisors from the workers.

An early example of this stratification from the Copper Country is the manager's house at the Cliff Mine. As occurred often, officials located the agent's or manager's house on a hill. This not only used topographical elevation to communicate social elevation, but also employed surveillance. A photograph, taken by J. T. Reeder who we will encounter in Chapter 5, perfectly captured the feeling of being looked down upon and watched, even though the company had abandoned the site years before.²⁸ In addition to its use of surveillance, this upright-and-wing house contrasted in size with the small log and frame houses with two to four rooms in which the Cliff Mine workers lived. Lastly, it employed a degree of fashion by including Greek Revival style cornice returns, a classically-inspired fan light, and decorative posts and trim on the porch. This house employed middle-class tastes from more populated areas to create divisions according to cultural capital, in Pierre Bourdieu's terms.²⁹ As Francaviglia points out, however, taste tended to be restrained in mining landscapes since profit ruled the bottom line.³⁰ But given that these locations were hundreds of miles from cities, any nods to fashion seemed like a strong statement intended to differentiate.

As at the Cliff, the Quincy and C&H companies both used the location, scale, and taste of managers' housing to create hierarchy. The Quincy Mining Company accessed their lode underground through a series of shaft-rock houses that followed a fairly straight southwest-

²⁸ For this photograph see J.T. Reeder, "Agent's House at the Cliff," 1 September 1924, photograph, MS042-062-999-Z-453, http://digarch.lib.mtu.edu/showbib.aspx?bib_id=633344#. Sean M. Gohman, "'A More Favorable Combination of Circumstances Could Hardly Have Been Desired': A Bottom to Top Examination of the Pittsburgh and Boston Mining Company's Cliff Mine" (M.S. thesis, Michigan Technological University, 2010).

²⁹ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 53–55.

³⁰ Francaviglia, *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts*, 101–102.

northeast line (see fig. 1.1). Those shaft-rock houses ran along a ridge that came to be known as “Quincy Hill.”³¹ The company took advantage of this dramatic topography. They lined up their company office, superintendent’s house, and clerk’s house with their line of shaft-rock houses. As at Cliff, this bluff elevated the houses of the managers above the town (though not all of Quincy’s workers’ houses), and used surveillance to maintain authority. Francaviglia notes that hills reserved for managerial housing pervaded American mining landscapes and often gained the moniker “Quality Hill” or other more disparaging names.³² In addition to raising managers above their workers, Quincy’s arrangement also linked the managers with the very source of their power – the copper below ground. This rooted them, not by tree roots but instead by miles of underground shafts, to the labor and production that sustained their hierarchical positions, both in the workplace and, seemingly, in the domestic realm as well.

In contrast, Calumet & Hecla’s shafts occupied a flat stretch of land. But even without Quincy’s topographical advantages, C&H used their underground lode and proximity to link their managers’ houses with the power of its mining systems (fig. 1.3). And C&H’s mining systems were notorious for their immensity and capacity, with steam-powered and later electrical engines that surpassed the industrial operations of most other American companies.³³ At a time when steam engines generated popular fervor as well as literal force, C&H leveraged their symbolic power to maintain a desired sense of awe among workers and visitors alike. The shaft-rock houses and their attendant hoisting engines lined up over the company’s underground lode

³¹ Most copper mines employed separate structures to 1) raise rock from the shaft and to 2) sort the extracted rock. Due to the nature of the ore bodies in the Keweenaw, however, companies here combined their shaft and rock structures and called them shaft-rockhouses. See Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 51–53.

³² Francaviglia, *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America’s Historic Mining Districts*, 87; See also Kingston Wm. Heath, *The Patina of Place: The Cultural Weathering of a New England Industrial Landscape* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 47–51.

³³ Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 91–95; Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 44–48.

in a long southwest-northeast line. Officials interspersed other important buildings, and by extension the people those buildings housed and represented, in line with that lode. Manager's houses were nestled along this line on Mine Street, between the company office, the railroad roundhouse, and later the armory and company library. By 1900, an additional long line of large captain's houses made Calumet Avenue a seat of power, which will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter 5.³⁴ All together, the company literally tied social power to its geologic source and the immense mechanical machinery developed to harness it. In contrast to the situation at Quincy, the gaze of surveillance from C&H managers' houses came not from above on a hill but rather from multiple domestic and workplace locations interspersed throughout the mine facilities. Pedestrian workers could scarcely avoid the houses of their shift captain, area captain, or a clerk.³⁵

Taste at C&H managers' houses remained noticeably subdued. Long-time company president Alexander Agassiz lived on site in the late 1860s and early 1870s, after which point he only made semi-annual visits to Calumet from Cambridge, Massachusetts. He taught and studied botany at Harvard, having become ensconced among the Boston elite as the son of famed naturalist Louis Agassiz.³⁶ His house at C&H, by contrast, was small in scale and plain in form, perhaps showing a New England-style brand of sober moderation or *noblesse oblige*. Originally a three-bay two-and-a-half-story house with center hall, the house featured cedar shakes and decorative fishscale shingles roughly in keeping with the Aesthetic Movement but lacking any of

³⁴ Bjorkman, *Calumet Village, Laurium Village, Calumet Township*.

³⁵ Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 96–97.

³⁶ Alvah L. Sawyer, *A History of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan and Its People* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1911), 1088–97, <http://archive.org/details/ahistorynorther02sawygoog>; Alexander Agassiz, *Letters and Recollections of Alexander Agassiz, with a Sketch of His Life and Work* (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913).

the whimsical towers or window projections that we will encounter in later chapters.³⁷ Even when a new superintendent started in 1901, C&H refashioned an older house rather than building a new one for him.³⁸ C&H's downplaying of fashion in its managerial housing would come to contrast dramatically with the ambitious architectural expressions of the region's independent merchants and successful investors toward the end of the period.

This seeming degree of restraint, however, belied the wealth and opulence these mines produced for their investors. The hierarchy on the ground in the Copper Country included the workers and managers but not the highest category of people in the overall mining landscape: the owners. Agassiz, who was both president and primary benefactor, did not need a grand house in Calumet because he maintained several others in much more prominent locations. Several years after becoming president of C&H, Agassiz commissioned a large Queen Anne-style mansion called "Castle Hill" on a rocky point in Newport's Narragansett Bay, where he spent his summers for the rest of his life.³⁹ He also kept a three-story house in Cambridge.⁴⁰ Agassiz was just one among a large network of wealthy, highly-connected investors – both old money and members of the new bourgeoisie – who extracted enormous wealth from this region of Michigan.

Historians have identified four groups of investors, each inter-connected as friends or family, who did virtually all of the investing and managing here, and consequently reaped the

³⁷ At some point before 1917, the one-story kitchen was expanded to include a library and more extensive service areas.

³⁸ Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, 20–24; Bennett, "Where the Bosses Lived: Managerial Housing of Three Companies in Michigan's Copper Country," 84–93.

³⁹ Janet W. Foster, *The Queen Anne House: America's Victorian Vernacular* (New York: Abrams, 2006), 66–73; Bennett, "Where the Bosses Lived: Managerial Housing of Three Companies in Michigan's Copper Country," 84; Agassiz, *Letters and Recollections of Alexander Agassiz, with a Sketch of His Life and Work*.

⁴⁰ Bennett, "Where the Bosses Lived: Managerial Housing of Three Companies in Michigan's Copper Country," 84; Agassiz, *Letters and Recollections of Alexander Agassiz, with a Sketch of His Life and Work*.

majority of the profits. Alexander Agassiz and his brother-in-law Quincy T. Shaw controlled C&H from 1871 to 1910. Their company produced 39% of all the Lake copper sent to market before 1904. Horatio and Albert S. Bigelow joined with other Bostonian friends to finance the Tamarack and Osceola mines, and others, yielding 18% of Lake copper production. Thomas F. Mason and T. Henry Perkins invested in many mines with the Quincy being by far the most profitable, leading them to produce 9% of all Lake copper. And starting in the late 1890s, William A. Paine and John Stanton expanded from some of their Keweenaw County mines to jump start what became the Copper Range Consolidated Mining company in the southern part of the district, accounting eventually for 30% of all Lake copper produced.⁴¹

In this way, the web of social and spatial connections that characterize this mining landscape extended far beyond the district itself. This mining region reached far into the neighborhoods and bank accounts of Boston, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and later New York. As one commentator wrote in 1928: “The four greatest words in the annals of New England are: Lexington and Concord, and Calumet and Hecla. The first two made New England history and the last two made New England fortunes.”⁴² So while hierarchy in the Copper Country could be seen easily in the domestic landscape, it obscured the full picture. The true operators who held the purse strings remained quite invisible to workers and visitors. As a result, the wealth, taste, and social power of local managers and merchants whose expression of status created the class-consciousness explored in this dissertation in fact paled in comparison to the very few distant men in control of the companies and the wealth, a dynamic revealed during the strike.

⁴¹ Gates, *Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars; an Economic History of the Michigan Copper Mining Industry*, 71–72; Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 22.

⁴² F. L. Collins, “Paine’s Career is a Triumph of Early American Virtues,” *American Magazine* (June 1928): 140, as cited in Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 15.

All of the companies in the Copper Country, like many nationwide at the time, created this social stratification as part of a larger system of paternalism. As landscape historian Arnold R. Alanen and others have demonstrated, mining companies around Lake Superior began providing most necessities and amenities for their workers out of necessity created by their remote location.⁴³ The companies assumed a “fatherly” role towards their workers, purporting to provide for both their physical and moral well-being. The smooth functioning of this system relied on clearly defined and maintained hierarchy. By 1900, however, paternalistic approaches began to give way to a more organized and less personal corporate welfare system.⁴⁴ Companies took “a more scientific approach to corporate benevolence,” using professional planners to create ordered “model towns.”⁴⁵ This created further physical and emotional space between management and workers, who were increasingly immigrants from eastern and southern Europe and regarded as lower class than earlier ethnic groups.

As part of paternalism and corporate welfare systems, all of these companies used housing as tools of social control. Companies built separate housing locations for different ethnic groups. They hoped this segregation would build community among workers and also limit their opportunities to organize. The location of these ethnically-based enclaves, as well as the relative placement of their corresponding churches, whose land was often determined by the company, indicated the esteem in which management held that particular group. While C&H’s “Swedetown” was severely isolated, for instance, Quincy’s “Limerick” enjoyed relative proximity to the workplaces. Interestingly, however, it seems that frequent turnover in housing

⁴³ Alanen, “Companies as Caretakers: Paternalism, Welfare Capitalism, and Immigrants in the Lake Superior Mining Region”; Alanen, *The Planning of Company Communities in the Lake Superior Mining Region*; Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, xviii–xxiv.

⁴⁴ Crawford, *Building the Workingman’s Paradise*, 46–60.

⁴⁵ Alanen, “Companies as Caretakers: Paternalism, Welfare Capitalism, and Immigrants in the Lake Superior Mining Region,” 367.

created ethnically diverse populations in most of these neighborhoods over time, despite retaining their original names.⁴⁶

As architectural historian Alison K. Hoagland has demonstrated, companies offered better dwellings to more favored employees and ethnic groups, using housing as a tool for inspiring loyalty and also indebting workers to their employers. During the strike, companies intended to evict striking workers, especially those from ethnic groups considered among the most active with the Union. As it played out, however, legal actions and the eventual end of the strike prevented most evictions.⁴⁷ Hoagland has also demonstrated that workers and their families used company houses in their own strategies to save money and move away by taking in boarders and operating in-home businesses.⁴⁸ In sum, housing played a major role in residents' negotiations of identity and social power within company locations.

Social Power in Early Commercial Towns: Houghton and the Shelden-Columbian

In the commercial towns, by contrast, social power did not directly mirror a clearly communicated company hierarchy, but rather derived from multiple and often mystified sources. As in other American towns, people gained influence through municipal position, military posts, economic success, control over local financing, religious position, and political ideologies. Copper Country commercial towns had judges, sheriffs, Christian ministers, occasional Jewish rabbis, bankers, and retailers offering credit, all of whom garnered different types of obligations

⁴⁶ Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, 51–54.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 72–77.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 90–127; Hoagland, “The Boardinghouse Murders: Housing and American Ideals in Michigan’s Copper Country in 1913.”

from their neighbors. Military position had less influence here than in some places, since Fort Wilkins only operated 1844–46 and again for a few years after the Civil War.⁴⁹

In this way, social structures in the Copper Country’s commercial towns were heterarchical rather than hierarchical. More like overlapping webs of influence than social ladders, heterarchies depend on multiple individual behaviors, whose intentions and outcomes are fluid and situational.⁵⁰ Not only did different people hold different types and degrees of social influence, but those influences weighed more heavily on some people than others. Likewise, individuals at all stages of life and degrees of social prominence negotiated between these networks differently throughout their lives. This kind of contingent and fluctuating power structure existed to some degree at mining locations too, but the commercial towns lacked even the pretense of autocratic hierarchy. These two types of places and their social structures did influence each other, however, as we will see.

To convey the socio-spatial factors that characterized heterarchical commercial towns in the Copper Country and their relationship with mining locations, the rest of this chapter explores the origins of the town of Houghton, its relationship with the Shelden-Columbian Mining Company, and the pastoral country residence of Judge Jay A. Hubbell. Called “The Highlands,” his estate introduced to the region ideals of suburban-style living, which went on to alter social geography over the next several decades. This narrative also serves as an introduction for places that reappear in Chapter 2.

The land on the south banks of Portage Lake, which eventually became Houghton, was purchased by early pioneer and entrepreneur Ransom B. Shelden in 1852. He arrived from a

⁴⁹ Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 31; Lankton, *Beyond the Boundaries*, 51–53; Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 42–45.

⁵⁰ Hardesty, “Power in the Industrial Mining Community in the American West,” 82.

farming family in New York State with his brother-in-law Christopher Columbus Douglass, who was a cousin of Douglass Houghton, Michigan's first state geologist whose report helped fuel the region's mineral boom. Shelden hunted and trapped, bought and sold, invested and schemed about his role in this burgeoning mining region. Having served as agent early on for the Quincy Mining Company across the Portage, Shelden platted the town of Houghton, opened a store near his dock, and built a large house up the hill.⁵¹ The town quickly filled in, growing with nearby mines, to become a primary commercial and shipping point for the region. Shelden profited considerably, owning \$175,000 in real estate and \$75,000 in personal estate by the 1860 census.⁵²

To the east of Houghton, several mineral companies formed in the 1850s. The two most successful, the Shelden Mining Company (financed in part by Ransom Shelden) and the Columbian Mining Company, merged in 1864 to overcome the labor shortage caused by the Civil War and to economize the operations of their mills and docks. The new Shelden-Columbian Mining Company built a large stamp mill with modern steam-powered Ball stamps in 1866. At its height the company operated seven shafts and employed 125 men. Its officers were primarily New Yorkers, and the company offices at 22 William Street were just blocks from Wall Street's Stock Exchange.⁵³

⁵¹ Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 75–78; Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 32; “Old Shelden Homestead Is Being Demolished,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, December 16, 1916.

⁵² Alvah L. Sawyer, *A History of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan and Its People; Its Mining, Lumber and Agricultural Industries* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1911), 1282–83; United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule* (Houghton County, Michigan, 1860).

⁵³ Terry S. Reynolds and Larry D. Lankton, *An Assessment of the Impact on Historical and Cultural Resources of the Options Proposed for Modification of U.S. Highway 41 in Houghton, Michigan (Vivian Street to Franklin Square): Final Report* (Houghton, MI, 1993), 18; Kathleen Abata, “The History of the Shelden Columbian Mining Company,” unpublished paper (Michigan Technological University, Houghton, MI, 1984), 1–17, Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections; Laurence Halberstadt, “The Copper Mines

These two entities – Shelden’s commercial town and the Shelden-Columbian mine complex – dominated Houghton as illustrated in an 1872 Bird’s Eye view (fig. 1.4). In this print, published by boosters with a companion print of Hancock to attract settlement to the region, Houghton’s four-by-seven block grid appears to subdue the steep rock-filled terrain more than it really did. The print highlights important retail firms, including Smith & Harris who took over Shelden’s store at the foot of Isle Royale Street, as well as robust shipping vessels powered by steam and sail.⁵⁴ To potential travelers, it boasts hotels. And to show the town’s commitment to law, order, and a permanent settlement, it locates three churches, several schools, and the Houghton County Courthouse, having been named the county seat in 1861. Joining these civic and commercial nodes of social power, of course, were two mining companies. At the top of the hill, the small Portage Mine appears. To the left or east, the far more developed Shelden-Columbian apparatus dominates.

By the late 1860s, the Shelden-Columbian company had constructed an active mining landscape. Shaft houses and hoisting mechanisms connected by a small gauge tram line delivered the mined rock down hill over a series of rocky outcroppings to the large mill building at the waterfront. The Stamp Mill was the company’s largest structure.⁵⁵ The mill took advantage of a steep bluff above the docks, using successive washing tables to crush the rock as it flowed downhill to the waterfront. Overall, this created a strong diagonal line of industrial action just

of East Houghton: An Industrial History of the Shelden-Columbian Mine and Its Predecessors,” unpublished paper (Michigan Technological University, Houghton, MI, 1990), MTU Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections.

⁵⁴ Sawyer, *A History of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan and Its People; Its Mining, Lumber and Agricultural Industries*, 1282.

⁵⁵ The mill occupies the site that is now 1020 College Avenue and the College Avenue Vision Clinic. Reynolds and Lankton, *An Assessment of the Impact on Historical and Cultural Resources of the Options Proposed for Modification of U.S. Highway 41 in Houghton, Michigan (Vivian Street to Franklin Square): Final Report*, 18. See the photograph in figure 1.5.

east of Houghton's more orderly town grid. As was typical, the shaft houses defied steep topography and surface features to best access the underground lode. In other words, they were arranged with regard for what was under the ground, not what was above it.

By contrast, the company arranged its housing, support facilities, and offices to manifest above ground the power hierarchy that dominated the workplace underground and in the mill. Several frame buildings line the road heading out of town and were described in legal documents as "Office Row."⁵⁶ The small "saltbox" frame house on the right with the flagpole was the home and office of Thomas Roberts, company manager.⁵⁷ Other buildings include the company blacksmith's shop and houses for captains and other employees, which will be detailed further in Chapter 2. Records also indicate the presence of an agent's house and club house each valued at \$800, which either stood just outside this frame, or were destroyed sometime after 1868, when they appeared in a photograph (fig. 1.5).⁵⁸ They featured Greek Revival cornice returns and overall forms similar to the agent's house at Cliff. By contrast, records indicate that workers lived in boardinghouses, free-standing log and frame houses, and "shantees" at the top of the hill near the shaft houses about a half-mile from "Office Row."⁵⁹

⁵⁶ The Land Contract with John Mathews, 29 September 1875, refers to his buying tracts in "Office Row." MS-528, Box 1, Folder 9, MTU.

⁵⁷ Land Contract with Thomas Roberts, who bought his house in the "Office Lot" after the company folded, 26 September 1876. MS-528, Box 1, Folder 9, MTU. Also see "List of Assets Belonging to Estate of Thomas Roberts, deceased," in which he describes his house "recently deeded to me by the Shelden and Columbian Copper Company." MS-528, Box 1, Folder 5, MTU.

⁵⁸ The Land Contract with Erastus S. Upham, 20 July 1874, mentioned both the "agent's house" and "club house." MS-528, Box 1, Folder 9, MTU. Legal inventories from 1864, when the Shelden and Columbian Mines merged, include two large frame dwellings valued at \$800 each which may have been the agent's and club houses. "Inventories of Properties," MS-528, Box 1, Folder 15, MTU.

⁵⁹ "Inventories of Properties," MS-528, Box 1, Folder 15, MTU.

While C&H and Quincy had lined up their offices and managers with the lode itself, the Shelden-Columbian officers built their office row almost perpendicular to their tram and the lode that ran down the hill. They did, however, take advantage of the bluff to elevate their managers above the mill workers and anyone arriving on the dock. More will be made of this relationship in Chapter 2. Overall, as at the Cliff, Quincy, and C&H, the Shelden-Columbian Company used location and elevation, scale, and taste to create and maintain hierarchy in the domestic landscape that reinforced desired workplace relationships.

Similarly, in town, Ransom Shelden built a house that used location, elevation, scale, and taste to reinforce his power over the commerce, financing, entertainment, and transportation in Houghton. The southeast corner of Isle Royale Street and his eponymous Shelden Avenue afforded him a view of his dock and store on the shore, and also a prominent place among stores and hotels. By the 1870s, his house boasted three stories on a raised foundation, several steep-pitched dormer windows in the Gothic Revival style, large hooded windows, a gracious porch, and fenced grounds (fig. 1.6).⁶⁰ An ell stretched to the west whose matching dormers extended the dramatic façade across a considerable portion of the sidewalk.

Visitors and residents to Houghton could read the interconnected heterarchical power structures between the commercial townscape and the Shelden-Columbian mining location. Together, the town and the mine celebrated the people and corporate entities that had been building Houghton's industry and commercial base. Shelden's name graced both the primary avenue in town and the masthead of the largest nearby mining company. His cousin and business partner was the namesake for the Douglass House, the town's large hotel with saloon and dining room. It also recalled their cousin Douglass Houghton whose accidental death while scouting

⁶⁰ "Old Shelden Homestead Is Being Demolished." The date of construction is unknown but the 1916 article suggests 1860, which is the year after Shelden platted town.

mineral deposits for the State martyred him to the whole region. The north-south street names celebrated regional mining companies: Huron, Portage, Isle Royale, Quincy, Pewabic, Dacotah, and Dodge. Shelden's store on the waterfront and his large dramatic house two blocks up the hill at Shelden Avenue put him in line with the Shelden-Columbian's "Office Row." All in all, the people whose investment of time, energy, and funding built this town commemorated and advertised themselves within it. Together, the interconnected commercial and mining landscapes celebrated the marketplace and production.

Social Power in the Suburbs: Jay Hubbell's Pastoral Estate

The significant event that disrupted this relationship between the people in power in mining locations versus commercial towns, indeed the disruption that this dissertation intends to chart, was the shift among the independent businessmen toward suburban-style living arrangements. This change occurred first among white-collar professionals in commercial towns, and later attracted mine company managers to such an extent that it helped alter policies of corporate welfare, and thereby the relationships between companies and workers. A look at Jay Hubbell's Houghton estate called The Highlands demonstrates not only the degree to which the popular taste for pastoral landscapes and middle-class leisure had come to the Copper Country by 1875, but also how quickly this region's dedication to harnessing the land's geology had been joined by an artifice version of nature that ignored mining altogether.

"The Highlands," built in 1875–76 by lawyer and judge Jay A. Hubbell, epitomizes what urban historians have called a "Borderlands" estate (figs. 1.7 and 1.8).⁶¹ It stood less than a mile

⁶¹ John R. Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 22–44.

from the eastern edge of Houghton on the far side of the Shelden-Columbian Mining Company lands.⁶² Hubbell had been operating a successful Houghton law firm since 1860, and served several years as prosecuting attorney for Houghton County. Records indicate that his clients included the Shelden-Columbian mining company.⁶³ Hubbell had also invested well in local mines and related businesses, so that by the 1870 census, his personal estate was worth \$69,000.⁶⁴ In 1872, he was elected to the United States Congress, where he represented the entire Upper Peninsula and served three terms with the Republican party. A few years later, he built his new house, which seemed commensurate with his newly elevated position in national politics.⁶⁵

Hubbell's estate—its location, scale, and expressions of taste—did not emphasize mining and trade like Houghton and Shelden's house within it had done before him. Rather, The Highlands located Hubbell in a privileged “borderland” between the work and laborers associated with downtown commerce and the perceived morality stemming from the Keweenaw's natural environment. He situated his large house and estate on the bluff overlooking Portage Lake, the primary waterway into and out of the ports of Houghton and Hancock. His home is no longer extant and its architect unknown, but several images show a two-and-a-half-story Italianate-style house with central square tower, multiple projections and porches, arched

⁶² Hubbell's estate appears in the 1877 Houghton County tax rolls listed under his wife's name, Mrs. F[lorence] E. Hubbell. The one acre property containing the house was valued at \$2000 and was surrounded by another 14 acres, all in Section 31. Houghton County Tax Rolls, RG77-105, vol. 104, 1877, page number ripped out, MTU.

⁶³ See 1864 Fire Insurance Policy for Shelden-Columbian Company from “Germania, Hanover, Niagara & Republic Co. of New York,” agents Jay Hubbell and Thomas Chadbourne, in MS-528, Box 1, Folder 2, MTU.

⁶⁴ United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule* (Houghton County, Michigan, 1870).

⁶⁵ Western Historical Company, *History of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan Containing a Full Account of Its Early Settlement; Its Growth, Development and Resources; an Extended Description of Its Iron and Copper Mines. Also Accurate Sketches of Its Counties, Cities, Towns and Villages ... Biographical Sketches, Portraits of Prominent Men and Early Settlers* (Chicago: The Western Historical Company, 1883), 67–71.

double windows and hoods, bracketed eaves, and cast-iron decoration on the ridgelines. An 1883 engraving shows the house surrounded by a fenced garden of pathways, fountains, and neo-classical planters (see fig. 1.7). Period photographs suggest that the engraving matched reality, right down to the picturesque arrangement of paths, the fence, and the cages around Main Street's trees.⁶⁶

This engraving and related photographs place The Highlands squarely in the fashion for picturesque country "cottages" being popularized by Alexander Jackson Downing and related tastemakers.⁶⁷ As advocated in these pattern books and domestic magazines, The Highlands created a decidedly domesticated version of nature imbued with the perceived morality of the countryside.⁶⁸ Here, the lawn is trimmed, pathways maintained, ornamental bushes and trees arranged to frame the house, and the whole yard is defined with a decorative fence and gates. In the foreground, Main Street's trees are encased in substantial wooden cages to protect their trunks from snow and other threats. The division between indoors and outdoors seems permeable, as several fashionable chairs and benches grace the garden, and the house boasts a

⁶⁶ See "House of Jay A. Hubbell," Keweenaw Digital Archives, MTU Neg 00365, MTU, http://digarch.lib.mtu.edu/showbib.aspx?bib_id=610332#; "Residence of Hon. Jay A. Hubbell, Houghton," Keweenaw Digital Archives, MTU Neg 02659, MTU, http://digarch.lib.mtu.edu/showbib.aspx?bib_id=640156#; [Jay Hubbell Residence], Keweenaw Digital Archives, Acc-99-106A-1991-010-011-11, MTU, http://digarch.lib.mtu.edu/showbib.aspx?bib_id=650089#.

⁶⁷ David Schuyler, *Apostle of Taste: Andrew Jackson Downing, 1815-1852*, Center for American Places (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); James L. Garvin, "Mail-Order House Plans and American Victorian Architecture," *Winterthur Portfolio* 16, no. 4 (December 1, 1981): 309–34; Dell Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860," *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, no. 2/3 (July 1, 1984): 107–50; Linda E. Smeins, *Building an American Identity: Pattern Book Homes and Communities, 1870-1900* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 1999).

⁶⁸ A useful discussion of the ways that Americans transferred the morality of the Jeffersonian agrarian ideal to suburban plots see Margaret Marsh, "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870-1915," *American Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (June 1, 1988): 508–509, doi:10.2307/2713066.

large glassed-in sunroom. For Hubbell and other wealthy Americans at the time, choosing to live outside of town meant demonstrating the ability to conquer the wilderness and connecting ones family with the perceived morality of that tamed nature.⁶⁹ This countryside morality was imagined in opposition to urban vices, a relationship explored more in Chapter 2. In this way, The Highlands introduced to the Copper Country a popular American tension between city and country, despite the region's vast distances from urban centers.⁷⁰

The Highlands also celebrated leisure and a degree of anti-modern nostalgia that contrasted with the labor-intensive highly technical work of copper mining. Italianate villas with square towers, rounded Romanesque arches and colonnades, and a permeable division between outside and inside harkened back to Roman villas, where ancient elites sought out the countryside as a restorative corrective to the bustling city.⁷¹ Likewise, the cast iron roof cresting, patterned masonry chimneys, and decorative truss decoration in the gables of this house embraced pre-modern traditions from northern Europe.⁷² In the engraving of The Highlands, a few people relax in the foreground while a sailboat, intended for pleasure rather than shipping, floated on the Portage Lake in the distance.

This engraving was created for an 1883 publication recounting the history of the Upper Peninsula. As a celebration of the region's success, it differed dramatically from the 1872 bird's eye created for the same purpose just eleven years earlier. Here, The Highlands celebrates not the

⁶⁹ Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 173–202; Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 21–44.

⁷⁰ For discussions regarding America's constructed relationship with nature see "In Search of Nature" and "The Trouble with Wilderness; or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature" in William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996).

⁷¹ Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 45–92; Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 94–97.

⁷² Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 45–92.

steamships carrying milled copper ore and importing manufactured goods, but rather a distant pleasure boat; not Houghton's ordered street grid but Hubbell's curving walking paths; not the town's amenities available to new-comers, but rather the fenced-in monument to one man's success. This house and its accompanying engraving signaled a change: the embrace of what historian Robert Fishman famously called "bourgeois utopias."⁷³

The Highlands' symbolic rejection of labor and production disconnected Hubbell from the sources of his wealth and status in ways not heretofore seen in the Keweenaw. Before Hubbell built The Highlands, the houses of managers and merchants at both the region's mining locations and its commercial towns tied social power to its sources both visually and physically. At C&H, the captains houses aligned with the shaft-rock houses. At Shelden's downtown properties, his house stood just up the hill from his store, which stood next to his dock. His buildings and landscapes expressed the direct relationship between his control of the flow of capital, materials, and bodies. The Highlands, however, removed Hubbell from that kind of geography. The notion of "separate spheres," which divided not only women from men but also the middle-class family from nineteenth-century cities, removed the businessmen away from their commercial centers of water-borne shipping and the burgeoning railroad system.⁷⁴ Here, it also took them away from the mining locations that had always been their customer base. In other words, Hubbell's source of power became mystified.

The early suburbanization in which Hubbell and his neighbors engaged has long been understood as a mechanism by which wealth became conceptually separated from its source, and

⁷³ Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias*.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 6–10, 73–102.

the social power it produced became normalized.⁷⁵ Normativity, as described by landscape historian Richard L. Schein, is the process by which a set of spatial relations are made to seem “natural.”⁷⁶ As discussed in the introduction, landscape and mobility together have powerful abilities to normalize relationships as set up in space because the landscape often appears to be irrefutable and mobility difficult to trace. Borderland houses like Hubbell’s mystified the source of their inhabitants’ social power by disconnecting them from the labor that produced their wealth. While Marx may have suggested that this placed workers in a state of ignorance, more recent theorists suggest that it created situations for individuals to make choices about whether and how to mount resistance against hegemonic power.⁷⁷ It made the status that Hubbell and his neighbors enjoyed appear natural, bolstered in no small part from the artficed version of nature created in their gardens.

While similar dislocations were occurring in industrial towns around the country, the influence of suburban-style living in the Copper Country became increasingly complex because it altered not only the commercial towns but also the mining locations. This alteration, which is interpreted in the following chapters, began just several years after Hubbell built The Highlands.

In 1880–82, the Quincy Mining Company incorporated very similar Italianate architectural fashions into its new superintendent’s house. While the first house for their on-site agent had featured a plain rectangular footprint, clapboards, and few decorative touches, the new

⁷⁵ Duncan and Duncan, *Landscapes of Privilege*; Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias*, 8–10, 73–102; Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Stephen Daniels, “Marxism and the Duplicity of Landscape,” in *New Models of Geography*, ed. Richard Peet and Nigel Thrift, vol. 2 (London: Routledge, 1989), 196–220.

⁷⁶ Richard H. Schein, “Normative Dimensions of Landscape,” in *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies After J.B. Jackson*, ed. Chris Wilson and Paul Erling Groth (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 201, 217.

⁷⁷ A useful discussion of domination/resistance theories in industrial societies appears in Cowie, *The Plurality of Power: An Archaeology of Industrial Capitalism*, 31–44.

one clearly mimicked The Highlands (fig. 1.9). This large three-bay double-pile side-gabled house features a square tower extending to a third floor. The tower featured arcade windows with matching hoods, and a shallow sloping hipped roof and tall decorative finial. Double brackets under the eaves of the tower, the roof, and the full-width front porch further nodded to the Italianate, as did hoods over the windows throughout the house. The company painted the house with dark colors popular for their naturalistic tones and surrounded the estate with a neat fence. The company spent a reported \$25,000 on this house, and some records suggest that President William Rogers Todd regretted the expense. He wrote to agent Samuel B. Harris, who will appear again in Chapters 3 and 4, as he was moving in to ask if he would share the “extravagantly large house” with another family.⁷⁸

Harris occupied the house, apparently with only his own family, for the next twenty years. He looked out over the Portage Lake valley generating a degree of social power both from his elevated location in line with the Quincy’s shaft-houses and from an architectural sensibility shared not only with Hubbell but with prominent white-collar professionals around the country. This early example of the interconnected influences between suburban development and mining locations sets up the heterarchical constellations of space and taste within which workers and white-collar professionals alike negotiated their identities in the Copper Country.

The following chapters chart the negotiations between suburban and mining landscapes and explore the tensions created as the heterarchical landscapes in the Copper Country became increasingly complex. As we will see in Chapters 2 and 3, the location, buildings, and residents of new neighborhoods were often influenced by the decisions and strategies of mining companies. Likewise, mining companies increasingly borrowed from the strategies and

⁷⁸ Bennett, “Where the Bosses Lived: Managerial Housing of Three Companies in Michigan’s Copper Country,” 31.

aesthetics of suburban developers and middle-class tastemakers in housing their managers. Margaret Crawford has demonstrated that Progressive Era reform movements complicated company towns with mainstream planning and design in the early twentieth century. This story in the Copper Country suggests that some Americans had been navigating between overlapping landscapes of company-run industry and middle-class suburban ideals since the 1870s.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise*, 7.

CHAPTER 2

From Mine Company Office to Suburban Cottage: East Houghton and the James Pryor House

In the years after Jay Hubbell's pastoral estate on the outskirts of Houghton disrupted earlier relationships between mining locations and commercial villages, other middle-class residents changed their habits and expectations in similar ways. Houghton's development after about 1875 reveals a complex, drawn out process of negotiation between its traditional mining landscape and new romantic notions of domesticity (fig. 2.1). This process is especially visible in the elite residential neighborhood of East Houghton, platted and sold by the Shelden-Columbian Mining Company on its former mine location just east of downtown Houghton, which was introduced in Chapter 1. Transformed into a tree-lined boulevard called Main Street (and later College Avenue), East Houghton became a primary site in which socially prominent residents worked out new ways of creating and maintaining social status in their changing town (fig. 2.2). The neighborhood became populated with storeowners, current and former mine captains, successful investors, and fashionable builders. In some ways, Main Street followed the lead of suburban developments in east coast cities, separating those who could afford it to live apart from areas of work and what they increasingly saw as threats to their taste, such as downtown boardinghouses, dirty smelly streets, and saloons.

In other ways, Main Street retained the hallmarks of a mining location. Not only did occasional extraction and ore processing continue, but the houses were built on a bluff overlooking Houghton's expanding waterfront, whose docks, warehouses, lumberyards, and railroads were largely owned or overseen by East Houghton's new residents. In this way, people

with social power took advantage of topography and the pre-existing associations with that bluff to build a neighborhood that operated in *both* a traditional mining mode – in which managers surveyed workers below – and in a new suburban mode – in which the elite clustered together in domestic enclaves away from the workplace. In other words, the industrial landscape and the suburban landscape overlapped in East Houghton.

The idea of overlapping landscapes is a useful conceptual model for studying East Houghton for several reasons. Scholars including architectural historian Dell Upton, urban historian Dolores Hayden, and geographer Doreen Massey have used the idea of overlapping landscapes to reveal multiple ways of knowing that co-exist in the same location.¹ Often, this model is used for revealing the ways that different ethnic, gender, or socio-economic groups imagine and experience the same place differently. Indeed, Chapter 4 will use the model in this way. In this chapter about East Houghton, however, the landscapes that overlap do not separate groups of people, but rather they express different ideas of how to use space to generate power.

This chapter will show that some residents generated social power in this new exclusive neighborhood by employing tactics common to both industrial and suburban landscapes. This complex relationship challenges the idea that suburbanization progressed uniformly across the country, and suggests the importance of considering place in the history of residential expansion. Toward that end, the first half of this chapter examines the process through which the Shelden-Columbian company officers decided to develop their mining claim for residential use, and the ways in which national trends in suburbanization were reconciled with the Copper Country's pre-existing mining landscape. The second half of this chapter uses one house to further examine

¹ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 22–29; Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, 146–156; Dell Upton, “White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia,” in *Material Life in America, 1600–1800*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 357–69.

that reconciliation. Mining captain-turned-businessman James Pryor negotiated a long-standing position of power between these two overlapping landscapes by repeatedly overhauling his house to engage both the waterfront industries and the suburban boulevard in different ways over time.

As we will see, Pryor made choices about his house based on his specific experiences and the physical and social features of the Copper Country. We fully understand the meanings in his architectural actions only when we consider them with respect to the region as a whole.

Architectural historian John Archer has argued that Americans operate within a relatively homogenous consumer culture, true even in the 1870s, and that rather than criticizing consumerism per se, historians should interpret individual tactics of self-individuation within our shared parameters.² The detailed examination of Pryor's house in this chapter suggests the advantages of studying it at multiple scales, from the region and town down to the house and its interiors. Overall, this history and interpretation of East Houghton suggests that even as social power began to fall into the hands of people not directly managing a mining location or dominant mining company, landscapes of work continued to influence the spatial nature of social power in the Copper Country – even in a suburban development focused on domesticity.

The Shelden-Columbian Company's New Suburb of East Houghton

The Shelden-Columbian Company gave up active mining by 1870, when conditions, both geological and economic, precluded profit (fig. 2.3). To recoup what was left of their investments they employed two tactics—one predictable, the other innovative. Their predictable action was to hire tributers, miners who specialized in salvaging as much ore as possible from

² Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 334–341.

shafts and previously mined rock. Tributers continued to work in this area for over a decade reclaiming profit for the company.³

Their second tactic, however, was unusual. They decided to turn their land along the bluff into large residential lots and create an upscale neighborhood. This plan took advantage of the company's proximity to the growing regional commercial center of Houghton and made sense only because of Houghton's growth. In 1874, the directors of the Shelden-Columbian Mining Company authorized their agent John H. Forster to "give general notice" in the newspaper to advertise the sale of large residential lots.⁴ Ads in the *Portage Lake Mining Gazette* noted "HOUSE LOTS FOR SALE... ON REASONABLE TERMS... on the Shelden and Columbian mine property, east of the Stamp Mill."⁵ Forster had come to the Copper Country as a very young man with an expedition that wintered over in 1846–47. With his gained knowledge, he secured positions as mining engineer and captain with several companies before becoming agent and significant investor in the S-C company's final years.⁶ Forster kept a map in his office that

³ Terry S. Reynolds and Larry D. Lankton, *An Assessment of the Impact on Historical and Cultural Resources of the Options Proposed for Modification of U.S. Highway 41 in Houghton, Michigan (Vivian Street to Franklin Square): Final Report* (Houghton, MI, 1993), 18; Kathleen Abata, "The History of the Shelden Columbian Mining Company," unpublished paper (Michigan Technological University, Houghton, MI, 1984), 1–17, MTU Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections (hereafter MTU); Laurence Halberstadt, "The Copper Mines of East Houghton: An Industrial History of the Shelden-Columbian Mine and Its Predecessors," unpublished paper (Michigan Technological University, Houghton, MI, 1990), MTU.

⁴ W. B. Harris to J. H. Forster, 8 May 1874, MS-528, Lawrence J. Remington Collection, Box 1, Folder 8, MTU.

⁵ *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*, 9 July 1874, 3. This is the earliest appearance of the company's advertisements, which ran with similar language for several years. Note that the *Portage Lake Mining Gazette* was renamed the *Daily Mining Gazette* in 1899.

⁶ Lankton and Hyde, *Old Reliable: An Illustrated History of the Quincy Mining Company*, 5, 16–17; Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 45–46, 66, 77, 83–84; Lankton, *Beyond the Boundaries*, 10, 184. Among Forster's early jobs was as agent for the Columbian Mining Co., during which time he probably oversaw James Pryor as mining captain. Halberstadt, "The Copper Mines of East Houghton."

specified the lots for sale. While the map does not survive, the lot numbers correspond to those still used today and probably looked a lot like the conjectural version in figure 2.4.⁷

The new neighborhood of East Houghton contained twelve blocks and close to 100 lots that extended along the ridge facing the Portage Lake, where boats arrived at Houghton and the town of Hancock on the opposite shore. Lots varied in size with large irregular shapes overlooking the waterfront and smaller more regular lots in neat blocks on the opposite side of the street. Forster also designated blocks 1, 2, and 3 along the waterfront for sale to commercial entities, but these sold quite quickly leaving the focus of sales on the residential lots.

Over the next thirty years, what had been the Shelden-Columbian mining landscape transformed into an elite residential neighborhood.⁸ In many ways, East Houghton became a suburban middle ground similar to those being built around the country. Historians have chronicled the moving of middle and upper class Americans from town centers toward the periphery to separate the home from the work place, and escape the perceived depravity of the city. Those who could afford it embraced the romantic ideals of the house as a reflection of its owner's character and an incubator for inculcating the next generations with the perceived morality of tamed nature.⁹ This suburban strategy created a "middle ground" of orderly houses

⁷ The map is mentioned in a number of the sales documents from 1874 and later. For instance, the land contract with William B. Hoar provides the legal description of his lot and then notes, "Said tract being the same as lots 16 and 15 in Block 7 on office map of J H Forster agent." Land Contract, William B. Hoar, 7 Oct 1874, MS-528, Box 1, Folder 9, MTU.

⁸ The sequence of development can be followed in the following plat maps: E. R. Bassett, "Supervisors [sic] Plat of Houghton," copy of original, n.d., Map, Drawer 5o-001, MTU; W. W. Stockley, "Highland Place, Jay A. Hubbell's and Florence E. Hubbell's Addition to the Village of Houghton," 1895, Map, Drawer 5n-003, MTU; James P. Edwards, "Shelden-Columbian Addition, Houghton, Mich.," 1899, Map, Drawer 5n-001, MTU; H. W. Fesing, "Supervisor's Play No. 1 of East Houghton," 1921, Map, Drawer 5n-002, MTU.

⁹ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*; David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press,

located between the town's street grid and the farmland's lanes and fences. East Houghton became one of these middle grounds, located between the eastern terminus of Sheldon Avenue and the borderland estates of the town's most prominent citizens, including Jay Hubbell's The Highlands, described in Chapter 1. It offered a fashionable alternative lifestyle for successful merchants and businessmen just as those who had arrived with the mineral boom in the 1850s and 1860s were beginning to reap the benefits of their investments.

While many suburbs were being designed whole-cloth from agricultural land at the perimeter of growing cities, East Houghton was laid on top of a former mining company. This pattern differs from most suburban developments because it created an unusual relationship between workplace and home. While many middle and upper class residents left downtown in order to separate their homes from places of work and industry, this neighborhood transformed a workplace *into* a neighborhood. It built houses *on top of* workplaces. It *subsumed* the workplace. Essentially, two landscapes – the industrial and the suburban – overlapped in this place for several decades. The suburban landscape eventually overtook the industrial landscape, but in the meantime, socially powerful residents who moved to East Houghton negotiated positions of dominance within both landscapes in the same location, thus combining rather than separating work and leisure, industry and domesticity, and city and country. As we will see, these binaries so often assumed to be at the heart of suburban development, were only part of the much more complex web of cultural, physical, and aesthetic forces acting and counteracting in East Houghton.

East Houghton shared many features with suburban developments being built around the country during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. From the beginning, the liquidation of

1988), 150–151; Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*; Hayden, *Building Suburbia*; Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias*.

the Company's land holdings was not merely a financial tactic but also one of social engineering. Company officials clearly intended East Houghton to house people at the top of Houghton's social ladder. In a letter to company treasurer John Bloodgood, Forster added a line that reveals more far-reaching intentions than simply recouping his stockholders' investments: "I sell only to the better class of residents so that East Houghton will have a good community and nice residents and grounds for this country."¹⁰ Forster and the company officers consciously excluded people who did not match their middle-class notions of "nice residents" or members of a "good community." At the time, the area's original settlers with English, Scottish, German, and New England backgrounds were being joined by Italians, Irish, and Scandinavians. "East Houghton" village was delineated separately in the tax rolls and its residents were differentiated in the city directories as living in "EH."¹¹

Indeed, by recognizing that Houghton's "better class" wanted to live together in a physically separate place, Forster and the Shelden-Columbian Mining Company officers began the process by which social structures built in to the landscape changed from being primarily mining company hierarchies to being class-based heterarchies. Urban decentralization was part of a larger cultural trend in which those in power realigned themselves primarily with other members of their class instead of their trade. On a mining location, everyone there had ties to the mining work. The social hierarchy *was* the workplace hierarchy. As locations became diversified towns and merchants and businessmen enjoyed increasing monetary success, they preferred to

¹⁰ J. H. Forster to John Bloodgood, 7 Oct 1874, MS-528, Box 1, Folder 8, MTU.

¹¹ Houghton County Tax Rolls, RG77-105, Vol. 104–106, 1875–77, MTU; Holland's Houghton Directory designated East Houghton residents and Polk Directories used "EH" in its earliest publication in 1895 and well into the twentieth century. A. H. Holland, *Hand-Book and Guide to Hancock, Mich.* (Marquette, MI: Mining Journal Book and Job Print, 1887); *Polk's Houghton County Directory, 1895–96* (Detroit: R. L. Polk & Co., 1895).

associate with compatriots of like status.¹² This realignment along class lines also began to trump ethnic ties. Scholars have argued that shared homeland became less important in terms of social ties especially among the wealthy, who sought instead friends with similar cultural capital.¹³

Where did Shelden-Columbian officers get this idea that their formerly valuable mining land could be transformed into valuable residential land? Plenty of Copper Country mines had gone defunct by this time but none had turned their sights to upscale residential land development.¹⁴ The Shelden-Columbian Company Officers, while little is known about them, were easterners living in and around New York. They were watching eastern cities transform and probably reading popular magazines like *Scribner's*, which celebrated these new ideas.¹⁵ Perhaps they were moving into suburban middle ground themselves. They may have brought the idea to agent John H. Forster and asked him to carry it out. In reporting the income from his first summer of sales, Forster wrote to Bloodgood: "This comes nearly to the figure I promised you last winter." Forster's promise may have been a persuasive feature for the board to see this scheme's potential profit. Forster also felt the need to buoy Bloodgood's opinion of the venture by "predict[ing] much better sales next season," and reiterating the inability to sell in the winter "on acct [sic] of deep snows and cold."¹⁶ He clearly needed to keep his promise.

¹² Holleran, 39–41.

¹³ Olivier Zunz, *The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigrants in Detroit, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 3.

¹⁴ Several companies did create neighborhoods in the next few years, including the Laurium Mining Co., which platted a few lots for residential use in 1877.

¹⁵ Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 1–102; Smeins, *Building an American Identity*, 59–95.

¹⁶ Forster to Bloodgood, 7 Oct 1874, MS-528, Box 1, Folder 8, MTU.

As sales progressed, the Sheldon-Columbian company's plan seems to have come to fruition. Forster sold a considerable number of lots in the first few months.¹⁷ By October, he reported to the company's treasurer back in New York that he had sold "about \$20,000 worth of lots this summer."¹⁸ Land contracts indicate that he sold lots at 7% interest with a schedule of payments laid out over two to three years. The cost per lot varied because sizes were inconsistent and some contained buildings already, but an average cost per lot was about \$350.¹⁹ He had attracted at least fourteen buyers, sold 42 of around 100 lots and a parcel on the waterfront, and he still foresaw more buyers.²⁰ "I shall do much better next year," he wrote, "as many have spoken to me about lots but will not purchase until next Spring, when they can build – cannot do it in Winter."²¹

As hoped, Forster's buyers included many of Houghton's successful merchants, some of whom were former mining captains-turned-business entrepreneurs. The company and its allies helped establish this elite neighborhood not only by platting the lots but also by building an image of the place in the public's imagination. In August 1875, a *Portage Lake Mining Gazette* article promoted the neighborhood in common boosterish fashion as transformational, stylish, and filled with prominent people:

¹⁷ While Forster had received a letter from company treasurer W. B. Harris in May 1874 asking him to advertise the land sales, Forster wrote back reminding the officers that he needed official approval from the stockholders. He did not receive this approval until their September meeting, but he made sales over the summer anyway. See W. B. Harris to J. H. Forster, 8 May 1874, and Forster to John Bloodgood, 18 June 1874, and proceedings of the stockholders' meeting, 23 Sept 1874, all in MS-528, Box 1, Folder 8, MTU.

¹⁸ J. H. Forster to W. B. Harris, 3 Oct 1874, MS-528, Box 1, Folder 8, MTU.

¹⁹ Land Contracts are in MS-528, Box 1, Folder 9, MTU.

²⁰ Tax rolls for 1875, the first year East Houghton was tabulated separately, indicate 14 buying families, and 42 sold lots. Houghton County Tax Rolls, RG77-105, Vol. 104–106, 1875–77, MTU.

²¹ J. H. Forster to W. B. Harris, 3 Oct 1874, MS-528, Box 1, Folder 8, MTU.

August 25, 1875

EAST HOUGHTON

This new town site situated on the beautiful plateau east of Houghton, presents quite a busy scene. There are several buildings in course of construction. Mr. William Hoar is erecting a neat cottage. Captain Merryman has a large building under roof. Mr. Lord got his tasty residence last fall. Mr. Siller is erecting a square house with hip roof and observatory, which he expects to occupy sometime in October, next to him Mr. Frank A. Douglass has a very neat structure nearly ready for occupancy. Mr. William Harris, Colonel Grant, John Hoar, Jr. and others have purchased lots with the intention of building handsome residences thereon. Beyond the Shelden-Columbian proper Mr. Graham Pope is found very comfortably situated in a large house with neat grounds. Farther on we find Mr. Chadbourne enjoying the pleasure of home in a beautiful and commodious residence. Mr. James Raymond and Mr. Van Orden have neat cottages nearly finished. The Hon. Jay A. Hubbell is also preparing the ground for a handsome and costly residence to be commenced soon.²²

This text, intended to attract buyers, recasts the former industrial area into a “new” and “busy” site of building activity “nearly ready for occupancy” by prominent businessmen. Most of the men named owned successful stores in Houghton. William and John Hoar worked in railroads and mining, and eventually opened a dry goods store. Edward Siller operated as an undertaker and furniture-maker, though it is important to note that his lot had been purchased from the Shelden-Columbian by William Newcombe, a prominent mining official, and was owned by Newcombe by 1876. This change in ownership suggests that Siller was either hired as the builder of the house or that he was building it speculatively and sold it to Newcombe. Frank A. Douglass ran Houghton’s major insurance agency and was related to the town’s founding family, C. C. Douglass and Douglass Houghton.²³

²² “East Houghton,” *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*, August 25, 1875.

²³ Holland, *Hand-Book and Guide to Hancock, Mich.*; United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1870; United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule* (Houghton County, Michigan, 1880). Houghton County Tax Rolls, RG77-105, vol. 104 (1876), MTU; S-C Company Land Contracts, MS-528, Box 1, Folder 9, MTU.

This 1875 article places these new East Houghton residents between town and Hubbell's borderland countryside in a classic suburban middle ground (fig. 2.5). "Beyond the Shelden-Columbian proper," the article reads, are situated several of the town's most wealthy men. Most prominent was Jay A. Hubbell, whose estate The Highlands was discussed in Chapter 1. Also living on the edge of town was Graham Pope, a successful merchant with a waterfront store downtown. He also served as Supervisor of the Common Council at various times. Thomas Chadbourne ran a law firm in Houghton and represented the Shelden-Columbian mining company. William Van Orden ran an insurance company and a lime kiln. Though Hubbell's "handsome and costly residence" was still being prepared when the 1875 article appeared, Chadbourne was already "enjoying the pleasure of home" and Pope was "very comfortably situated." This language identified these country homes as free from odious work and embracing new ideas about domesticity.²⁴

The new East Houghton residents, however, were not large landowners like Chadbourne, Pope, and Hubbell, whose wealth had given them the chance to buy more acreage. But their new lots in East Houghton brought them closer to these leading investors and landowners. East Houghton's lots offered the next best thing to those just emerging from the apartments above their shops – a freestanding house separate from the work place, near some of the area's most fashionable and powerful. The development of this middle ground created distinct zones that became increasingly elite the farther they lay from town, a relationship that can be seen in an 1881 bird's eye print (figs. 2.6 and 2.7). This pattern mimics the class-based bands radiating out

²⁴ None of these borderland houses survive and photo-documentation has not been found for any other than Hubbell's.

from American cities identified by historians. Just inside from the borderlands, East Houghton fits historian Dolores Hayden's category of the designed "Picturesque Enclave."²⁵

The newspaper article used potent adjectives suggesting that the houses were being designed specifically to separate the residences from the buildings and people downtown. The word "tasty," used to describe Carlisle Lord's house, suggested not only a visually delicious home but also that its owner chose "in good taste."²⁶ As theorist Pierre Bourdieu and many others have demonstrated, taste is a slippery and changeable set of preferences employed to distinguish groups of people from one another.²⁷ As was common in this period, the word tasty identified an elite group of people from those lacking the same knowledge and assets. Likewise, the word "neat" celebrated not only the orderly and planned character of the new lots (especially in contrast to the working minescape that preceded it), but also the choice to limit unnecessary embellishment. People with taste, the word neat suggests, had the education, experience, and restraint to choose matching decoration and create a cohesive whole rather than buildings constructed piecemeal as funds and materials became available. A taste for the neat, in other words, operated as a mode, setting apart those leaving downtown and their workplaces for purpose-built residences. While East Houghton's reality was more complex than this promoted ideal, as we will see with James Pryor's house, boosters envisioned the neighborhood as "neat and tasty."

East Houghton's new residents used architectural form and decoration to imitate the country estates farther out. A few ambitious houses approximated Hubbell's Italianate-style

²⁵ A helpful discussion of the radiating ring patterns first discussed by Sam Bass Warner, Jr. appears in Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 76.

²⁶ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "tasty," 2014, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/198070?redirectedFrom=tasty>.

²⁷ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 11–96.

house (fig. 2.8). William Newcombe’s “square house with hip roof and observatory” featured a tower with round arch colonnade that evoked villa traditions, as Hubbell’s did, and was probably inspired by patternbooks. Similar houses with towers and wide bracketed eaves appeared around the country.²⁸ Claudius B. Grant built a large house whose two halves each boasted a mansard roof and decorative chimney. This large two-and-a-half story house was significantly altered during the twentieth century, but several photographs reveal the flamboyant historicist style he brought to his suburban lot.²⁹ The original form and decoration of William Harris’s original house is obscured today but its footprint suggests a large scale and fashionable structure.³⁰

Several of the other early houses built in East Houghton were more modest versions of fashionable cottage architecture, made by adding decorative details to the conventional upright and wing form (fig. 2.9). Carlisle Lord, John Hoar, and possibly Frank Douglass built two-story houses with a front gable and set-back side ell, much like frame buildings being erected across

²⁸ For instance, Newcombe’s house may have resembled the Gundry House in Mineral Point, Wisconsin and the very similar Bonson House in Dubuque, Iowa. See Anna Vemer Andrzejewski, Arnold R. Alanen, and Sarah Fayen Scarlett, eds., *Vernacular Architecture Forum 2012: From Mining to Farm Fields to Ethnic Communities: Buildings and Landscapes of Southwestern Wisconsin* (Madison, WI: Dept. of Art History and Dept. of Landscape Architecture, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2012), 208–214. For a digital image of the Gundry House see Wisconsin Historical Society, “Residence of Joseph Gundry,” Image ID #37506, 1996–2014, <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=Ny:True,N:4294963828-4294955414&dsNavOnly=N:1159&dsRecordDetails=R:IM37506>.

²⁹ The roofline of Grant’s house can be seen in two photographs: “[View of what may be College Avenue],” Keweenaw Digital Archives, ACC-03-158D-6-1-04-01-02, MTU, http://digarch.lib.mtu.edu/showbib.aspx?bib_id=679661#; “Ripley from East Houghton Courthouse,” Keweenaw Digital Archives, No Neg 2008-03-28-06, MTU, http://digarch.lib.mtu.edu/showbib.aspx?bib_id=642602#.

³⁰ Very helpful for my research on College Avenue houses was a series of term papers on some College Avenue houses written as part of Prof. Kim Hoagland’s “American Architecture” class, SS3515, MTU, Spring 2003, available in MS-046, Historic Districts and Buildings of the Upper Peninsula Collection, MTU.

the middle west with dimensioned lumber.³¹ While the form would have seemed familiar to people traveling the region, the decoration on these houses was substantial. Hoar's house had bold double brackets under the gable-front roof, as well as matching Italianate-style window hoods. Lord's house relied more heavily on its impressive tall side-by-side sashed windows to communicate fashionability, and probably had a wide porch much like Hoar's.³² Douglass's house underwent twentieth-century changes in style (Tudor-revival-style half-timbering was added with stucco) and probably in form (a possibly raised hipped roof), but its footprint suggests that it may have also been an upright-and-wing.

In addition to using architectural style, East Houghton's new residents also altered the roads and sidewalks to set their neighborhood apart from the town proper, as recorded in an interchange in the *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*. The streets of Houghton (like many American towns at the time) were found to be too dirty for the sensibilities of those able to escape it. The "Local Jottings" section of the newspaper on 26 April 1877 included an impassioned plea for cleaner streets. "We shall now wait and see who of our village authorities has the grit to get right up in meeting and say to the common council, 'Senators, you must clean out the sewers in town!'" Another note complained that the unpleasant smell on Sheldon Avenue, the main business thoroughfare, made it unsuitable for evening strolls. "And when evening comes people don't seek the locality indicated [i.e. Sheldon Avenue] and sit down among the 'breathless heavens' and guess what star shall be their domicile when they step down and out."³³

³¹ Fred W. Peterson, *Homes in the Heartland: Balloon Frame Farmhouses of the Upper Midwest, 1850-1920* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992).

³² The Neoclassical entrance with fanlight and sidelights probably appeared in the early twentieth century. More research could confirm an original wide front porch.

³³ "[no Title]," *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*, April 26, 1877.

These pleas may have been coming directly from Forster, his employers, or his neighbors interested in continuing East Houghton's development as an elite residential area. In the same "Local Jottings" column were several calls for creating spaces in East Houghton that could support the very type of romantic star gazing for which Shelden Avenue was deemed unfit by the writers. "Immense crowds would visit East Houghton every Sunday if there was a good sidewalk down that way." And then: "Those who visit the cemetery would be pleased to have a good sidewalk out to East Houghton."³⁴ The paper's owner, J. R. Devereaux, was not an East Houghton resident himself, but may have had social ties with owners of new houses on Main Street. If these "jottings" were intended to generate public support for a tax-payer funded sidewalk, they failed. The Shelden-Columbian Company paid about \$100 for wooden sidewalks to be built through East Houghton by 1878.³⁵

Outing the common council seems to have succeeded in cleaning the streets. By May 10, the "Local Jottings" section praised the village's turn-around: "The streets of the village at this date are cleaner than they ever have been before. The council deserve all the credit for the blessing." Similarly, East Houghton's role as a boulevard for fashionable evening strolls was being advertised: "Why is the railing along the 'boulevard' in the eastern end of the village every evening like the Christian church? Because a great many people lean upon it for support."³⁶ Within just three years of the lots having been put up for sale, East Houghton had been suitably removed from the perceived dirt and impoliteness of downtown. Likewise, it was well on its way to being transformed from the heart of a working copper mine into a suburban boulevard.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ See pencil note on exterior of an 1864 bill from Shelden-Columbian Co. that reads "Smith & Harris receipt Bill for material for side walk in East Houghton / \$104.14," with corresponding exchanges for lumber and labor between January 1876 and May 1878. MS-528, Box 1, Folder 13, MTU.

³⁶ "Local Jottings," *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*, May 10, 1877.

While this transformation of East Houghton's middle ground followed patterns of suburbanization fairly common elsewhere, East Houghton also featured another zone quite particular to this location. Between the Shelden-Columbian lots and the start of Houghton's street grid lay the company's former office buildings and caretaker's houses known as "Office Row" (see fig. 2.5). Separating this row from the new East Houghton lots was the company's tramline and at least one adit shaft, all of which were being worked well into the 1880s by tributors. In 1879, *The Portage Lake Mining Gazette* reported that "The Shelden-Columbian tributors are unwatering the shaft near the stamp mills. They expect to begin mining shortly."³⁷ Shafts and adits, probably with hoist houses or equipment on top of them, remained on Main Street among the newly erected houses. This meant that the stamp mill probably continued rumbling and pounding, and the tramline probably still carried cars even as Newcombe, Hoar, and others built their fashionable houses. Likewise, Jay Hubbell and his carriage would have passed under the tram every time he rode into town to visit the bank, his law office, or the county courthouse.

The Office Row lots' proximity to this mining work and their pre-existing buildings made them unappealing for some buyers. But for others, they offered a less expensive way to buy in to East Houghton. On the 1876 and 1877 tax rolls, the Office Row properties were valued at \$200 or less each, while the new East Houghton properties of Newcombe, Hoar, Douglass and others ranged up to \$400.³⁸ Not surprisingly, Forster found buyers for the Office Row lots before the new more expensive lots, and some of the buyers had professional ties to the company (fig. 2.10). These savvy buyers bought the pre-existing buildings from the company despite, or in

³⁷ "Mining and Other Notes," *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*, January 1, 1879.

³⁸ Houghton County Tax Rolls, RG77-105, vol. 104 (1876), n.p.; vol. 105 (1877), 77, MTU.

some cases because of, their associations with the mining company, and adapted them to suit their evolving idea of suburban living (fig. 2.11).

This situation suggests that the Shelden-Columbian development had two zones within it: the area east of the mill where new houses were built (what I have been calling the middle ground), and the area west of the mill where offices were repurposed (former Office Row). We might call this lower status area a “zone of emergence.” Coined in the 1960s, the term can be used broadly to refer to areas on the outskirts of towns that attract people who have recently acquired enough wealth to move outward. Though frequently used to study low-income groups and disadvantaged ethnic communities, the term is useful here to distinguish Office Row from the new East Houghton plat.³⁹ The men who bought Office Row properties were not Houghton’s most successful but rather people tied to the company in various ways who could take advantage of that relationship to garner housing associated – however tenuously – with an elite new neighborhood. Studying the transformation of houses in Office Row, then, provides glimpses into individual negotiations of identity with respect to both industrial and suburban landscapes.

Overlapping Landscapes at the James Pryor House

This negotiation process can be seen in the house of mining captain-turned-successful businessman James Pryor (figs. 2.12 and 2.13). By delving into the details of his property, we can reveal critical choices that are not otherwise apparent. He acquired part of Office Row and altered it almost continually over thirty years to engage with both the industrial landscape and

³⁹ Robert Archey Woods and Albert Joseph Kennedy, *The Zone of Emergence: Observations of the Lower Middle and Upper Working Class Communities of Boston, 1905-1914* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969); George Sternlieb and W. Patrick Beaton, *Studies in the Zone of Emergence: Plainfield, New Jersey* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Center for Urban Policy Research, 1971); Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 73.

the suburban landscape as they developed together. In other words, he negotiated between conventional expressions of status in mining landscapes and the burgeoning conventions of suburban development, using his house as his primary tool.

James Pryor had been born in Devonshire, England, in 1833. His father, Joseph Pryor, came to Eagle River in the 1850s to help operate the growing mines in Keweenaw County. As a teenager, James learned the business in the Copper Country and attained his first job as mining captain for the Columbian Mine in 1859 operating in the vicinity of his future home. He only held the position for one year, however, and went on to oversee other mines and mercantile businesses in Keweenaw County. In 1868 he returned to the Portage area as surface superintendent for the Franklin Mine and became clerk for the Portage Lake and Lake Superior Ship Canal Company. This company channelized the north end of Portage Lake, greatly improving the region's potential for commerce. Pryor remained part of this company until the U.S. Government purchased it in 1892. He continued on as a government contractor in dredging and invested in local businesses relating to shipping and building.⁴⁰

Pryor bought a building in "Office Row" – Lots 1 and 2 in Block A – from the Shelden and Columbian Mining Company a few years after settling in Houghton for good – sometime before October 1875, and possibly as early as July 1874. A receipt dated 8 October 1875 survives from the company's lawyers, Chandler and Grant, in downtown Houghton, "for drawing 3 deeds @ \$3.00 – 1 to Pryor, 1 to James, and 1 to Croze."⁴¹ Of the three deeds

⁴⁰ Robert Shields, *Memorial Record of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1895), 577–78; *Biographical Record: This Volume Contains Biographical Sketches of Leading Citizens of Houghton, Baraga and Marquette Counties, Michigan*, Atlantic States Series of Biographical Review, vol. XIV (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1903), 392.

⁴¹ Receipt from Chandler and Grant to Shelden-Columbian Copper Company, 8 Oct 1875, MS-528, Box 1, Folder 13, MTU. However, two weeks earlier on 20 September, the land contract

mentioned, a corresponding land contract only survives for Joseph Croze. He bought one of the waterfront lots on 24 July 1874. If deeds for Croze and Pryor were both written up at the same time, as implied by the attorney's receipt, then Pryor may have made his purchase at the same time as Croze in July 1874.⁴² The year-long delay between the time of sale and the lawyers drawing up the deeds may be due to the fact that the Company Stockholders had not yet officially authorized the land sales (see note 16). Further supporting the possibility that Pryor bought his house in summer 1874 appears in Forster's claim that he sold \$20,000 worth of property that summer. The five land contracts that survive from 1874, however, total only \$8050. Pryor's contract easily could have been lost with several others, which together would bolster the sales figure up to \$20,000.

Pryor may have already been occupying the house when he bought it. A 1923 oral history given by long-time resident Ed Baudin recalling East Houghton in the 1870s indicates that the Pryors lived next to the company's blacksmith shop.⁴³ While the 1870 census does not indicate the location of houses, James Pryor and his family appear listed next to Wm. Henry Knight, a blacksmith, and his teenage blacksmith son of the same name. This suggests that Pryor and his family may have already been occupying the Office Row house by 1870, which may have made sense given Pryor's career trajectory. He moved to the Portage area in 1868 as surface captain for the Franklin Mining Company, whose shafts and mill were on the north shore of the Portage

between the mining company and Pryor's future neighbor John Mathews describes Mathews' land as being "situated between the tracts sold to Pryor and James in Office Row." So Pryor seems to have bought his house before 20 September 1875.

⁴² As with Pryor, Rees James' land contract does not survive. Joseph Croze's contract, on the other hand, survives on the standard pre-printed form and records his purchase with several partners 24 July 1874 of \$1000 worth of waterfront property east of the S-C Rolling Mill site. This suggests a similar date of sale for Pryor and James. MS-528, Box 1, Folder 9, MTU.

⁴³ Ed A. Baudin, "What Is Now Houghton in the Early Seventies," Talk presented to the Keweenaw Historical Society (Houghton, MI, 1929), MTU.

near Hancock. By this time, Pryor had already been a successful mining captain and retail entrepreneur in Eagle River.⁴⁴ The Franklin Mining Company at this time was struggling after a management scandal and may have convinced Pryor to return to mining as a known entity to help save operations.⁴⁵ Such a struggling company may not have had a house for its surface captain commensurate with Pryor's stature and family size. Pryor was already 35 years old, married to his second wife, with five sons. The vacated Shelden-Columbian company structures may have been among the best available housing in the area for the Franklin's mining captain-turned-entrepreneur/investor. Plus, Pryor had worked for the Columbian company ten years earlier and may have been familiar with the building already.

The house that Pryor bought was among the largest available at the time. The 1872 bird's eye of Houghton shows the house on Pryor's future lots as a two-story three-bay center door house with side gables and a one-story wing on the west with a lean-to facing south (fig. 2.14). The two interior chimneys suggest a double-pile house perhaps with a central hall. We do not know how much he paid for the property, but when "East Houghton" finally appeared in the tax rolls in 1876, Pryor owed \$9.20 on two lots and a "building" worth \$175 total. This value was about 50% less than new houses being built in East Houghton, suggesting that Pryor retained the original Shelden-Columbian building rather than constructing a new one.⁴⁶

While the only part of the 1870s house that survives is a basement room, records suggest that its overall size and amenities were comparatively generous. Pryor's tax assessment of \$175 was approximately the same as that levied on the former company's agent's house. That house

⁴⁴ Shields, *Memorial Record of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan*, 577–78.

⁴⁵ Don H. Clarke, *Franklin Mining Company*, Copper Mines of Keweenaw, no. 13 (S.l.: D.H. Clarke, 1981), 10; Lankton and Hyde, *Old Reliable: An Illustrated History of the Quincy Mining Company*, 52–53.

⁴⁶ Houghton County Tax Assessments, RG77-105, vol. 104 (1876), n.p., MTU.

was purchased in 1874 by Erastus Upham in lots 1 and 2 in block 6 on Forster's map. According to Upham's surviving land contract, he paid \$3500 and was required to insure the premises for \$1500 until he paid it off.⁴⁷ Its similar assessed tax in the eyes of the county suggests that Pryor's house was alike in size and interior appointments as the agent's house.

After purchasing the property, Pryor spent the next twenty-five years adding on and altering the structure to engage with the overlapping industrial and suburban landscapes co-evolving in East Houghton. Over time, he improved the south face of the house by incrementally concealing the kitchen and service features, and then rebuilt the main house in Queen Anne and Arts and Crafts styles, so that by 1900, the house maintained Pryor's powerful presence both as a manager overlooking business operations on the Portage, and as a prominent social figure facing Houghton's elite picturesque boulevard. In essence, Pryor bought the house for its prominence in an industrial landscape, overlooking the waterfront workplace, and altered it as priorities changed to also face Main Street and engage with the suburban landscape as it developed.

In the first phase of Pryor's ownership, from when he bought it in 1874 (or 1875) to 1877, Pryor's house was oriented toward the Portage waterway on the north, positioning him in a place of power in keeping with industrial landscape traditions (see fig. 2.14). The house had been built up on the bluff as part of Office Row in order to manifest the workplace hierarchy among mine employees even above ground and in personal relationships. Pryor's ties to mining operations were severed by 1870, but he adapted these traditional spatial patterns of the mining location to his new commercial identity. Like slipping into someone else's shoes, he slipped into this house, positioning himself both literally and figuratively into an established position of

⁴⁷ Upham was also allowed to continue using the water supplied to the agent's house, presumably by a reservoir or cistern operated by the company. Upham Land Contract, 20 July 1874, MS-528, Box 1, Folder 9, MTU. Also see mention of Upham and the "agent's house" in the contract with William Harris, 22 Sept 1874, MS-528, Box 1, Folder 9, MTU.

power. This easy assumption of existing industrial power probably outweighed any desire to separate the home from the workplace. In other words, Pryor and his neighbors in Office Row probably bought their houses initially for their positions in the industrial landscape rather than their locations in a the burgeoning suburban landscape.

Pryor invested in the Portage Lake and its waterfront, making his house the perfect location from which to oversee shipping traffic and docks. Most of his income was coming from businesses either on the waterfront or connected to lake traffic. In 1870, he became chief bookkeeper for the Portage Lake and Lake Superior Ship Canal Company, a \$2.5 million venture funded by several mining companies to open the waterway to Lake Superior on the peninsula's northwestern side. When completed in 1873, this project dramatically increased traffic through the Portage, attracting ships traveling between Duluth to the west and copper smelters and markets to the east.⁴⁸ This made Houghton and Hancock primary commercial markets not only for outgoing copper but also for incoming goods. Pryor was made superintendent of the canal company and continued to oversee dredging and upkeep until the Federal Government bought the company in 1892, a transaction that probably increased Pryor's wealth dramatically.⁴⁹

The face Pryor presented to the waterway would be vital to his career for the rest of his life. While no historic images show the vantage point from the docks or from ships coming in to port at this time, the view looking up at the former Office Row certainly would have been impressive. To the west of the Shelden-Columbian mill, which continued to operate under tributors until the end of the 1870s, a line of neat clapboard houses with orderly façades skirting the edge of the bluff dominated. All but one house presented symmetrical front façades toward

⁴⁸ *Biographical Record*, 392; Gates, *Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars; an Economic History of the Michigan Copper Mining Industry*, 61–62; Lankton, *Beyond the Boundaries*, 34.

⁴⁹ Shields, *Memorial Record of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan*, 577–578.

the water, and Pryor's was by far the largest. In essence, Pryor took the familiar mining company office as a starting point and used it to build up his new stature as an entrepreneur serving the whole business community rather than just mining initiatives. It was clear that Houghton's future was in regional service rather than mining per se, and Pryor was positioning himself in a traditional way to oversee it.

The form and plan of Pryor's house further emphasized its orientation toward the water. A formal façade faced the Portage, while service areas and staircases were generally concealed toward the south side of the house. The 1872 Bird's Eye shows two doors facing the Portage, a central door in the main house and a side door in the wing. While we do not know the location of a rear door on the south side, the one story lean-to suggests a utilitarian character on that side of the house. Compounding this argument is the stairway to the basement, which probably led from the lean-to downstairs. A basement ghost mark indicates that another stairway existed in the southwest corner of the main house, a location that likewise suggests a northerly orientation for the house.

Large enough to accommodate Pryor's growing household, this structure provided space to separate family and servants from Pryor's business identity. When he moved into this house, Pryor was married to his second wife, Isabella Chappell, whom he had returned to England to marry after his first wife, Englishwoman Emily Warne, had died in 1863. The house would have held Pryor's first three sons as well as the four younger sons that Isabella would bear before her own death in 1875. According to the 1870 census, they had an Irish domestic servant named Annie Kelly who lived with them.⁵⁰ At this point, Annie and other servants could have slept in the window-less half-story room over the kitchen or in an attic over the main house. Overall, the

⁵⁰ United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1870.

areas and people associated with cooking and cleaning were relegated to the south side of the house and to the diminutive western wing.

When Pryor made his first changes to the house in 1877 (Phase II), he began to improve the south side that faced Main Street (fig. 2.15). Perhaps not incidentally, this change coincided with the conversation in the *Portage Lake Mining Gazette* about East Houghton's boulevard sidewalks becoming increasingly polite. Pryor tore down the kitchen and leanto, replacing them with a two-and-half story ell with front and rear gables. While this alteration kept the house facing the water, it also improved the appearance of work areas that faced Main Street neighbors. This new addition featured double-pile stacked rooms. One room on the first floor appears to have been built over the basement of the old kitchen, and probably was used as a dining room. The south room probably served as kitchen. And while a door from this kitchen faced Main Street, it also featured a covered porch, which presented a more orderly character than the leanto before it.⁵¹ Also, the kitchen had a second story bedroom and gable above it, making it part of a larger cohesive façade instead of being a protruding eyesore. Staircases to the working basement were kept away from visitors entering from the waterfront and were now concealed behind a more orderly façade facing Main Street.

Part of the instigation for the 1877 Phase II alteration may have been Pryor's third wife. Isabella died in 1875 leaving Pryor with seven sons. He returned to England to marry Mary Jane Gale, who bore him six more children, including three daughters, making thirteen in all. This alteration of the house may have been intended to appease this new wife who may have desired more spacious and up-to-date cooking areas as well as a space of her own. The second story of

⁵¹ The porch appears on the 1900 Sanborn and may have been present at this early date. The door to the outside appears to be from 1877 suggesting at least some sort of porch or protective cover. Sanborn-Perris Map Company, "Insurance Maps of Houghton and Hancock, Michigan" (New York: Sanborn-Perris Map Company, 1900).

the new ell featured a staircase from the dining room to an upstairs hallway and two bedrooms. These rooms would have helped house the family and servants, including a 17-year-old Canadian-born servant named Elizabeth Mitchell, whose name appeared in the 1880 census.⁵²

Pryor's Phase II alteration also could have been fueled by a desire to make his house look more like those of his new neighbors on Main Street, Pryor's first major move to engage with the increasingly fashionable boulevard. The new two-story ell transformed his house into an upright-and-wing configuration that appeared from the outside much like the fashionable houses being erected on Main Street by new East Houghton land buyers. In fact, this house now would have resembled Carlisle Lord's "tasty" residence, which was erected two years previously. Pryor's, however, would have been even larger with the main house being three bays wide. The 1881 Bird's Eye suggests that the house may have had a full-width covered porch of some sort, which also would have likened the house to the fashionable upright-and-wings. Pryor's house, however, still faced the water rather than the boulevard, like Lord's and Hoar's. Pryor also may have been trying to keep up with his immediate neighbor in Office Row, Rees James, a businessman who also had expanded his Office Row property into a two-and-a-half-story story house with complex projecting gables (see figs. 2.10 and 2.11).⁵³

In this phase, Pryor's house continued to take advantage of its ideal location situated between workplace and polite domestic neighborhood. He added a one-story room on the east side of the house, which he may have used as an office. This widened façade helped present an increasingly imposing figure to people arriving in steamships or working on the docks below. At some point in this period, Pryor purchased a dock on the waterfront just below his house where

⁵² United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1880.

⁵³ "[Rees James Obituary]," *Copper Country Evening News*, April 5, 1899.

he would begin building the large Pryor & Son Lumber company.⁵⁴ Now, as a company owner situated on a hill overlooking his own workers, Pryor used his house in the traditional industrial mode, whereby he presented an increasingly fashionable and imposing façade to workers on the docks and businesspeople arriving in the steamships, whose easy travel was made possible in part by Pryor's work with the canal companies. Likewise, the interior of his house still kept work areas out of view and someone entering the house from the Portage side, probably would have encountered polite rooms before workrooms.

Despite sitting atop the bluff, Pryor and his Office Row neighbors felt the need to further differentiate their houses from their surroundings. The 1881 bird's eye illustrates a large rail fence enclosing Pryor's house along with those of William Mathews, Rees James, and Thomas Roberts (fig. 2.11). The Office Row properties were on the proximate margin of East Houghton's middle ground and were barely separated from town. While they sat on Main Street set back from the Houghton street grid proper, the slight jog in the road barely demarcated a separate place. Without significant space acting as a buffer, the Office Row properties relied on a fence to visually and physically differentiate them from town. The fence did not define each property, but rather closed off all the repurposed office buildings together from their surroundings, which included not only the town but also a mill and foundry. Pryor, James, Mathews, and Roberts thought of themselves as a single unit defined against the industrial and commercial activity in their immediate vicinity. The fence was so important to James Pryor that it was the only detail about his house that he included in his last will and testament.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Sanborn-Perris Map Company, "Houghton and Hancock, Michigan 1900."

⁵⁵ The fence was almost the only detail about his house provided in James Pryor's will. "Last Will and Testament of James Pryor, 1903," Copper Country Biography File: James Pryor, MTU.

Pryor expanded his house again in 1888, by adding a two-story, double-pile addition to the west off the 1877 wing (Phase III) (fig. 2.16). *The Portage Lake Mining Gazette* announced on 15 November 1888:

A two-story addition to the west end of Mr. James Pryor's residence in East Houghton is being completed by Messrs Gibbs Brothers. Its width, height and finish are the same as those of the eastern end of the house. It is to be covered with slate by Mr. J. P. Roberts of Red Jacket.⁵⁶

The Gibbs brothers were Houghton carpenters who had started their business in the former Sheldon-Columbian Company carpenter shop.⁵⁷ Having been neighbors with Pryor all this time, perhaps they did earlier expansion work for him as well. For his roof slate, however, Pryor seems to have looked up the road to Red Jacket, where, by this time, a considerable building boom was occurring.

Filled with service rooms and bedrooms, this wing further separated work areas from polite rooms, expanded the exterior faces of the house even more, and strengthened Pryor's spatial communication with both the street and the water. The kitchen was probably moved into the south room of this new wing, utilizing a new stack. The former kitchen probably became a bedroom to accommodate Pryor's growing family. The still extant staircase to the basement was definitely present by this time, and access was made available from this new wing – a change that further turned the basement access to the west away from the main house. This wing had a one-story porch facing both the street and the water sides.⁵⁸ These probably were intended for

⁵⁶ “Two-Story Addition to Mr. James Pryor's Residence,” *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*, November 15, 1888, microfilm. The Houghton County Tax Assessments did not reflect this alteration until 1891, when the value jumped 166% from \$1500 to \$2500.

⁵⁷ Baudin, “What Is Now Houghton in the Early Seventies.”

⁵⁸ 1900 Sanborn shows a one-story porch on both sides. Note that the south side porch was expanded to include an enclosed exterior staircase and second-floor sleeping porch probably in the 1920s or 1930s.

service staff and deliveries. Perhaps domestic deliveries were made on the street side and dock-related business made on the water side.

The Main Street boulevard itself was losing its industrial features at this time too. In 1887 the old shafts and equipment from Shelden-Columbian tribute operations were finally all removed “preparatory to straightening and otherwise improving the boulevard,” as reported by the *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*.⁵⁹ Quickly the mill site was sold to R. M. Edwards, of a prominent Copper Country family, who built a large house, which eventually featured a garden with terraced beds built on the former mill steps.⁶⁰ The lots across the street from the former mill were platted into Block 13 by the city and sold starting in 1899, at which time several new houses finally connected East Houghton with Office Row, creating a contiguous boulevard of large homes.⁶¹

In these years, Pryor began helping his sons establish significant new businesses along Houghton’s waterfront. Sometime between 1888 and 1893, he established James Pryor & Son lumber mill with a warehouse and office downtown on the water at the foot of Pewabic Street.⁶² The son in the name started out as Charles H. Pryor, the second-oldest. In later years, sons John

⁵⁹ “A Gang of Men Is Now at Work...,” *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*, June 23, 1887, as cited in Reynolds and Lankton, *An Assessment of the Impact on Historical and Cultural Resources of the Options Proposed for Modification of U.S. Highway 41 in Houghton, Michigan (Vivian Street to Franklin Square): Final Report*, 29–30.

⁶⁰ Reynolds and Lankton, *An Assessment of the Impact on Historical and Cultural Resources of the Options Proposed for Modification of U.S. Highway 41 in Houghton, Michigan (Vivian Street to Franklin Square): Final Report*.

⁶¹ The Shelden-Columbian Addition to Houghton was platted 10 April 1899. It added residential lots not only to Block 13 along Main Street but also created Block 14 behind it, and Blocks 20–35 filling in the large neighborhood that exists today. See “Shelden-Columbian Addition, Houghton, Mich.,” drawer 5n-001, MTU. To see the location of block 13, see figure 2.5.

⁶² Sanborn-Perris Map Company, “Houghton and Hancock, Michigan” (New York: Sanborn-Perris Map Company, 1893), 13. The map called it “James Byron & Son” but no such company was listed in the Polk Directory and the location matches the description in the Polk Directory in 1895–96.

and James also had roles but the name never reflected multiple sons.⁶³ By 1895, the new company boasted a planing mill and a large capacity dry kiln. During this time, James Pryor still advertised himself as a dredging contractor but listed his East Houghton home as his office, suggesting that he operated as a figurehead for multiple companies.

In 1900, however, James Pryor & Son made a major move out of downtown to the waterfront land directly below Pryor's East Houghton home. He had bought a dock sometime before 1893, perhaps with windfall from the 1892 sale of the canal dredging companies to the U.S. Government, but little had been built there until that point.⁶⁴ What they constructed was a large modern lumberyard, whose new planing mill featured corrugated iron clad sides and clerestory windows for light. There was a carpentry office and warehouse surrounded by organized piles of lumber. The mill was described under construction: "complete set of blowers being put in; lights to be ARC and incandescent electric; no heat."⁶⁵ The Detroit, South Shore & Atlantic railroad had a spur to the company before it headed east out of town. Around the same time, Pryor also started another planing mill for another son on the north side of the Portage in Ripley. And he and several sons invested in the Houghton Lumber Company.⁶⁶ The Pryors were clearly thriving in the modern lumber business and the patriarch once again upgraded his house, which now sat squarely between his family's growing business and the town's most fashionable boulevard.

⁶³ *Polk's Houghton County Directory, 1905-06* (Houghton, MI: R. L. Polk & Co., 1905).

⁶⁴ From whom Pryor acquired this dock is unknown. His name appears on the Sanborn map in 1893 but not in 1888. Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, "Houghton and Hancock, Michigan" (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, 1888); Sanborn-Perris Map Company, "Houghton and Hancock, Michigan 1893."

⁶⁵ Sanborn-Perris Map Company, "Houghton and Hancock, Michigan 1900."

⁶⁶ Shields, *Memorial Record of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan, 577-578*; *Biographical Record*, 392.

Pryor's most dramatic addition to his house was started in the late 1890s with work completed around 1900 (fig. 2.17). These Phase IV alterations created the house largely as it stands today (figs. 2.18–21). He kept the 1877 and 1888 wings, but removed the original three-bay house from Sheldon-Columbian's Office Row, and replaced it with a Queen Anne-style 2.5-story structure with towers, window bays, porches, and an irregular hipped roofline. This alteration turned his house into a modern suburban home similar to those springing up around the country and, by this time, throughout the Copper Country. It further divided service spaces from family or public spaces, much like houses we will encounter in Chapters 3 and 4. It also had a decidedly gendered division of space. The somewhat unusual appearance of the house attempted to reconcile national fashions with local materials and this particular location.

Examining this final version of the house in terms of its siting, plans, and interior decoration, we begin to see that it embodies fundamental tensions of this time period. As a modern middle-class house, it embraced new utility systems and specialized spaces for work and leisure, but it also harbored a distinct nostalgia for old European styles. Likewise, it celebrated the industrial production of housewares and construction products as well as old-fashioned handcraft. It took advantage of growing commercial and shipping networks while also responding to the specifics of this local place. In this way, the Pryor House harbored complex tensions between middle-class domestic ideals and their relationship, both spatial and visual, to industry.

With this new house, James Pryor maintained a commanding presence over James Pryor & Son on the waterfront directly below the house (fig. 2.22). The company grew enormously in

the next decades, adding a series of company houses for employees, some of which still stand.⁶⁷ His professional role as figurehead and primary investor seemed appropriately expressed in his new house, which had two decorative porches facing the water but no direct access point for people walking up the hill. The first floor porch extended from his parlor and library, the second floor porch from his bedroom. In this way, his house flaunted his leisure time more than any direct power of oversight. It rose like a symbol of the company – both of its founder and its products. His house was a conglomeration of the most dramatic towers, projections, and millwork details a lumber dealer could muster, as well as a whole-hearted embrace of seemingly all the styles in fashion in the late 1890s. Speaking both to the tastes of Main Street and Pryor's company on the waterfront, this house boasted two sides of the same coin.

Rather than being two-faced, however, Pryor's house can be seen as being more honest than some suburban mansions of the period. While the wealthy in many cities fled downtown into separated enclaves, Pryor maintained his ties to his business – both in dredging and lumber. He did not turn his back on the industries that had built his fortune and were buoying up his many children. Pryor did not erase the spatial link between physical work – even if it wasn't *his* physical work – and affluence, as Hubbell and many industrialists did around the country. Even while his East Houghton neighbors built structures with unappealing service doors, outbuildings, uneven fenestration, and staircases facing the bluff, Pryor kept his water-side façade pleasing and fashionable. To some, he may have been considered old-fashioned. He was an elderly statesman of the early mining days, making it understandable that he held onto the vision of himself living in an agent's house up on the hill over the workers. His age also explains in part his somewhat

⁶⁷ Reynolds and Lankton, *An Assessment of the Impact on Historical and Cultural Resources of the Options Proposed for Modification of U.S. Highway 41 in Houghton, Michigan (Vivian Street to Franklin Square): Final Report*, 20.

behind-the-times architectural choices. In this way, Pryor continued to operate in both the industrial landscape and the suburban landscape, despite the fact that mining had stopped and all his neighbors had clearly adopted a more modern division between work and home. Pryor managed to maintain a presence in both landscapes (fig. 2.23).

The style of the architecture demonstrates Pryor's negotiation between national fashions and his personal history with the industries of the Keweenaw. Records do not indicate who designed or built Pryor's major addition, but circumstances suggest that his son, William T. Pryor, had a hand in the project. William was a son with Pryor's second wife, Isabella, and may have been born in the original Office Row house in 1869.⁶⁸ As a young man, he began to learn the architectural profession by working with J. B. Sweatt, a Chicago native with an office in Marquette, Michigan, who had designed the brick Second-Empire-Style Houghton County courthouse in 1888. In 1890, the *Portage Lake Mining Gazette* announced that the young Pryor left Houghton "to take a position in the office of W. D. Butterfield" in Port Huron, the growing down-state Michigan town on the St. Clair River border with Canada.⁶⁹ Butterfield was a Detroit architect being hired in the region to design public and educational buildings.⁷⁰ Pryor was back in Houghton by 1893, however, when the Grace United Methodist Church hired him to design and oversee construction of their new building. William's grandparents, James and Elizabeth Pryor, had been founding members of this church and his father, James, had been a generous patron

⁶⁸ Shields, *Memorial Record of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan*, 577–578.

⁶⁹ "William Pryor, Who Begun Several Years Ago..." *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*, May 22, 1890. For more on Sweatt see Kathryn Bishop Eckert, *The Sandstone Architecture of the Lake Superior Region*, Great Lakes Books (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000), 143.

⁷⁰ "Gassette Memorial Library," Albion College Interactive History, 1998–2011, http://www.placepromo.com/aih/buildings/ac_gassette.htm.

over the years. In all likelihood, William had attended this church as a boy, making this homecoming a chance to demonstrate his new profession to friends and family.⁷¹

Hiring his newly returned architect-son to build the ambitious new addition to his house made perfect sense for James Pryor. In the mid 1890s, William T. Pryor had set up an architectural practice in Houghton and boarded variously with his father and his older brother, Reginald.⁷² The lumber for the project probably came from his other sons, Charles and John, making the entire project an advertisement for the family businesses. Sadly, William T. Pryor died in April 1899 from cerebro-spinal meningitis at the age of twenty-nine just as his father's renovation was getting started.⁷³ The exact date of completion is unclear, and Houghton did not raise Pryor's tax assessment until 1901–02. But even if William never saw the finished project, he could have completed designs for his father before his death.

William and his family had clearly become versed in fashionable tastes for historicist architecture. His design for Grace Church translated the Richardsonian Romanesque style into the local vernacular by employing Portage entry red sandstone (fig. 2.24). In a compact rectangular footprint, the building featured a tall square tower and the heavy rusticated walls and bold stone arches associated with pre-Modern Europe. The only other building known to have been designed by Pryor, the Paul Roehm house in Laurium, also combines a tower with heavy

⁷¹ Terry S. Reynolds, *Grace of Houghton: A History of Grace United Methodist Church, Houghton, MI, 1854-2004*, 1st ed. (Houghton, MI: Grace United Methodist Church, 2004), 25; Hoagland, Nordberg, and Reynolds, *New Perspectives on Michigan's Copper Country*, 50.

⁷² *Polk's Houghton County Directory, 1895–96; Polk's Houghton County Directory, 1897–98* (Detroit: R. L. Polk & Co., 1897).

⁷³ A copy of William T. Pryor's death certificate exists in James Edward Mahoney, "Pryor Genealogy," 2011. This genealogy was compiled by a Pryor descendent and given to the MTU chapter of AST Sorority, which currently owns Pryor's house at 916 College Avenue. "Sad Death of Mr. Will Pryor at Houghton Yesterday," *Copper Country Evening News*, April 5, 1899.

massing and a romantic verandah, whose roughly shaped columns of Portage Entry sandstone might be the Copper Country's ultimate expression of national tastes in a local material.⁷⁴

In some ways, the design for James Pryor's new wing embraced the same modern translation of pre-Modern Europe as William Pryor's known buildings, but rendered it in wood instead of stone. In this way, the addition drew on new tastes for the Queen Anne and Stick Styles while advertising the wooden building materials that the Pryors relied on for business income. The house boasted irregular fenestration, several projections with first and second story porches, and most notably, two three-story towers at the east end. The south tower was cylindrical with a conical roof topped by a floral finial decoration. The north tower was octagonal with a pyramidal roof topped by a simple weather vane with an arrow. The roof over the new house featured a steep hip with several dormer windows. The roof of the 1877 wing was removed and rebuilt in a hipped configuration to join the new house, creating an irregular stepped appearance in keeping with Queen Anne-style fashions. While the original siding and some exterior details have been lost, mid twentieth-century photographs suggest that fishscale and other decorative shingling helped project a new taste for the picturesque common in new modern houses being erected around the country, which we will encounter in more detail in Chapter 3. In an additional nod to local materials, the Pryors drew together the old and new houses visually by facing the haphazard foundations in red Portage Entry sandstone, a prized architectural material from this region.

Much like the exterior architectural style and building materials, the plans for the house demonstrate a distinct negotiation between existing fabric and new suburban ideals. A

⁷⁴ Scott Hager, "William Pryor," Copper Country Architects, Department of Social Sciences, Michigan Technological University, 2007–2013, http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/pw_build.htm. For more on Portage entry sandstone see Eckert, *The Sandstone Architecture of the Lake Superior Region*.

remarkable glimpse into how the family imagined their newly altered house survives inside the fuse box door located in the new second floor stair hall (fig. 2.25). With the installation of electricity, someone penciled labels for all the fuses. They divided the house into “old house” and “new house.” Indeed, the two halves seemed to function like side-by-side columns with stairs communicating between the floors in each column, making each one rather self-contained (fig. 2.26). The doorway between old and new on the first floor was a wide opening from a polite parlor into the dining room, which now had a projecting window, plate rail, and built-in glass door cabinet to tie it stylistically with the new house. But on the second floor, a narrow door with two steps down created a strong division between new and old. The difference in levels probably accommodated taller ceilings below in the new stair hall, and created a clear hierarchy between the new bedrooms that opened off a bright stair hall and the lower dark hallway that led to the old bedrooms. The new addition created three fashionable stories with modern spaces specialized for entertaining and family activities, while the old house continued to provide service areas, now more separated from the polite zones.

Indeed, the new house offered highly fashionable spaces specialized and gendered according to modern tastes. The first floor featured four large contiguous rooms connected by wide pocket doors and French doors with glass transoms, offering multiple options for circulation between polite rooms intended for leisure and entertaining. The fuse box suggests that the rooms on the south or street side were finally considered the front of the house by this time. The spacious “Front Hall” with large staircase on the street side featured dark oak paneling, spiral turned banisters, and carved newel post that suggested an Arts-and-Crafts-inspired taste for the late Medieval or early Renaissance (fig. 2.27). A coat closet below the stairs was later made into a bathroom. From here, pocket doors led to what the family called the “parlor sitting room”

or possibly the “front” parlor, as the added “F” might indicate in the fuse box list. There, picture rails adorned the walls including around the circular south tower. A large golden oak fireplace surround with beveled mirror framed a fireplace with maroon and brown tiles, coal grate, and fashionable pressed-copper cover plate (fig. 2.28). The chimneybreast featured a mix of classical vocabulary, nature motifs, and Renaissance-style turnings whose lighter overall appearance suggest that this may have been considered a reception room for the ladies of the household, which in 1900, included Mrs. Pryor and four teenaged daughters all living at home.⁷⁵ A large window faced the street providing a view not only of the boulevard but also any approaching visitors coming to call.

While the front hall and front parlor on the south side allowed hostesses to welcome guests from the street, the two north rooms afforded the men direct views of their waterfront businesses (fig. 2.30). Through glass doors from the front entry hall lay a large room with projecting window and an exterior door leading to a porch with decorative posts and gallery. Sanborn maps do not indicate any kind of path from the house down the steep bluff to the lumberyards and dock, suggesting that this porch and door probably gave the Pryor men a chance to oversee and celebrate their successful business endeavors rather than welcome company associates or conduct any actual business through this door. James Pryor was, after all, nearly 70 years old when this addition was built and his sons had offices elsewhere from which to operate the companies. This room also featured built-in glass cabinets on either side of a large pocket door, perhaps making this Mr. Pryor’s library, which was mentioned in his obituary as a place where he spent “much time” as a “great student” of literature and history.⁷⁶

⁷⁵United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule* (Houghton County, Michigan, 1900).

⁷⁶ “His Life a Real Success,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, May 22, 1912.

Through the pocket doors, a second parlor, just called “parlor” in the fuse box, boasted an impressive mirrored fireplace surround in a similar position as in the south parlor (fig. 2.29). This one, however, featured a less historicist more modern feel with quarter-sawn oak, plain chamfered paneling, and carving whose stylized naturalism was somewhat akin to Art Nouveau decoration. Along with the library, this north room may have been Mr. Pryor’s realm as opposed to the feminized southern parlor. These gendered male spaces looked to the work area on the water just as the more feminine-styled room faced the social scene on the street.

The second floor chambers also appear to have been designated by gender. On the north side, one large bedroom featured the octagonal tower and accessed the second story porch. This room, with one closet, appears to have connected originally with an irregularly octagonal bedroom. This may have been a gendered master-suite with Mr. Pryor’s room featuring the tower and Mrs. Pryor’s room the faceted walls. She was much younger than he and bearing children, and they may have preferred private rooms, as was a common suggestion in domestic manuals of the time.⁷⁷

The “new” house also offered features considered healthy and hygienic in the period. The basement received a modern upgrade (fig. 2.31). The new house appears to have been built over the basement of the original main house, which connected under an enormous brick archway to the original cellar under the 1870s kitchen. With this addition, all stairs to the basement were removed except the original single staircase on the west side of the house. This original cellar had a storage room with shelves added, presumably for food storage, given its easy access from the kitchen. A coal bin may also have existed in this room at this point. From here, a few up-to-

⁷⁷ For a discussion of gender associations with the suburban ideal and the resulting separations of space see Margaret Marsh, “From Separation to Togetherness: The Social Construction of Domestic Space in American Suburbs, 1840-1915,” *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 2 (September 1, 1989): 516–520, doi:10.2307/1907988.

date modern service rooms were created. The basement floor level was raised up to conceal an enormous boulder in the middle of the basement. Many Copper Country basements feature unexcavatable boulders and the Pryors worked around theirs by building a poured concrete floor over top. They built a laundry room, toilet room, and a storage room with shelves in the north tower. These had plastered walls and concrete floors, favored in the early Progressive Era for their cleanliness. A $\frac{3}{4}$ -round turned wooden corner protected the plaster joints in the hallway, and a small casement window allowed light and air to circulate from the laundry room into the hallway. These spaces for the servants were differentiated from the less finished boiler room and storage areas whose floor level remained at the original lower grade and whose walls were planked rather than plastered.

While the new house and the updated basement offered modern improvements favored in suburban developments, the old house was retrofitted according to new needs. The old house became a rather unorganized column of service spaces, allowing servants and children to circulate without using the new house. The configuration in the 1877 and 1888 wings remained the same, but the new hipped roof on the 1877 addition created a large attic room that may have accommodated servants or a nanny, though any evidence of dividing walls has been removed. This room could be accessed from the bedrooms in the 1888 wing by a staircase in the closet, which was installed either in 1900 or before, and now provided access to the nursery and servants' area via the service wing instead of the main family staircase. This rather inelegant design solution suggests the lower value placed on the old house relative to the new one.

Finally, considering the interior architectural and decorative details in the new house reveals the degree to which industrial production and commerce were interwoven with domestic ideals, even as nostalgic tastes further distinguished residents from the realities of traditional

labor. The wooden detailing throughout appears to combine specialty-built and hand-carved elements with mass-produced millwork and stock plaster molding. The newel post, for instance, was built-up of three vertically laminated oak boards with stylized leaf ornament at the top designed to conceal the seams (fig. 2.32). This low-relief hand-carved ornament matches the work on the pilaster and column capitals throughout the room. The low-relief ground has noticeable chisel marks and punched texture, celebrating both a modern stylization of natural motifs and hand-carving in the Medieval tradition. At the same time, the spiral turned balusters in the staircase were probably ordered from a catalogue of stock architectural millwork. Similarly, the jig-sawn shallow-carved stair brackets also resemble details advertised by specialty woodwork companies in larger markets like Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit (fig. 2.33). Pryor & Son's advertisements touted the company as agents for "C. J. L. Meyer's Specialties, IXL Polished Flooring and Basswood Ceiling."⁷⁸ No records for Meyer's company have been found, but the listing suggests that the Pryors had a relationship with at least one traveling salesman, and probably knew the regional representatives for specialty companies supplying pre-made decorative details. Both fireplace surrounds, for instance, would have come from catalogues.⁷⁹

Some of the decorative woodwork incorporated both on-site specialty building and pre-manufactured elements. The library cabinets, for instance, were probably built on site by workmen using oak from the Pryors lumberyard to create the shoulder-high paneling around the entire room. But they incorporated glass doors, which would have been ordered from a specialty

⁷⁸ *Polk's Houghton County Directory, 1901-02* (Detroit: R. L. Polk & Co., 1901), 719. This relationship appears in earlier Polk directories as well.

⁷⁹ Foster, *The Queen Anne House*, 116; Daniel D. Reiff, *Houses from Books: Treatises, Pattern Books, and Catalogs in American Architecture, 1738-1950: A History and Guide* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 121.

company. They probably arrived already framed, requiring the carpenters to design the cabinets around them. Likewise, they also incorporated small egg-and-dart molding around the cornice of the cabinets and the room paneling that appears to have been made by a stamp machine in a large manufactory and shipped to Houghton.

A similar combination of disparate elements is visible in the north parlor (fig. 2.34). In several places, workmen combined straight-sawn and quarter-sawn oak pieces, creating a somewhat haphazard finish and suggesting the piecemeal and somewhat improvised nature of their work. Similarly, the cantilevering between the first and second floor of the two-run front staircase seems to have been badly designed or incorrectly constructed, as it has required significant bracing over the years. Hence the wooden details in the first floor public rooms boasted the products of the Pryors' business and also their buying power. They celebrated both the new national reverence for hand-crafted wooden features, which connected new American businessmen with the nobility of old Europe, and a celebration of the increasingly mechanized and national lumber industry that garnered the family's wealth.⁸⁰

In addition to the woodwork, both the south entry hall and north library feature hand-painted mural decoration that combines the national with the local. These were most likely completed by Associated Artists of Milwaukee, a group of German-immigrant architectural painters who we will encounter again Chapter 5. The front hall featured green walls and ceilings with leafy garlands framing the woodwork (see fig. 2.27). The largely symmetrical vines and flowers were painted to look embroidered, evoking the richness of Medieval textile wall-coverings and possibly making a nod to embroidery traditions in Pryor's native Scotland. This

⁸⁰ For a discussion of the cultural debates surrounding machine-made architectural features see Pamela H. Simpson, *Cheap, Quick, & Easy: Imitative Architectural Materials, 1870–1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 136–164.

European-inspired decoration contrasts with the local connotations of the painted walls in the adjacent library. Through the French glass doors to the north, the library boasts a much more expressive scene of local deciduous and evergreen forests (see fig. 2.30). While more research is needed to learn about the murals in Pryor's house, they suggest a negotiation between the anti-modern tastes among rising professionals for the legitimating history of European nobility and scenes of non-industrial "nature."

This examination of East Houghton and the Pryor House can have larger relevance in two ways. First, it underlines the importance of considering individual place in understanding suburbanization in this country. The process of town and city expansion often appears to be a homogenizing force that brought physically and socially similar neighborhoods to the outskirts of many American towns. While it is true that many developers used similar schemes to incorporate tamed nature and romantic home life with a convenient commute for shoppers and white-collar workers, the implementation and reaction to those schemes differed from place to place. In East Houghton, the suburbanizing impulse interacted with pre-existing hierarchical associations to create a unique place with its own combination of domestic and industrial relationships. The interplay in East Houghton between suburban development and industrial businesses, both pre-existing and new, may have characterized a lot of early residential neighborhoods throughout the country that have since lost much of their material fabric. Houghton, however, stopped expanding in the early twentieth century and was able to retain the Pryor House as evidence of one family's negotiation between changing ideals.

Second, Pryor's choices to position himself in relation to his industry and his suburban neighborhood need to be considered with respect to his individual experiences. The idea of

giving up the industrial landscape model in favor of a suburban landscape model that would separate him from his businesses would have seemed ludicrous to Pryor. In the 1870s, the idea and design of enclosed elite neighborhoods was new in Eastern cities, and entirely unfamiliar in the Copper Country. Pryor had lived his adult life in remote mining locations and in the port town of Eagle River, where social power and business power were spatially and architecturally linked. Over the years, he traveled to England several times to marry, and probably visited lumber suppliers in Chicago or at least heard about the city from his sons. But Pryor was habituated to the industrial landscape and abandoning its familiar patterns made no sense in his mind. Instead, he stayed in his house and made choices little by little over time and as money became available to align himself with other members of his class. But he never gave up his idea that the person at the top of a workplace hierarchy should also occupy the house at the top of the geographical hierarchy. So, his ca. 1900 house celebrated both the commercial and shipping networks that he helped build up over his career, and the skilled work of his local employees.

James Pryor's house, in all its iterations, communicated not just with its size, style, and location. But it also helped the people inside imagine their relationships to the world outside. By 1900, Pryor could sit in his library and parlor or enjoy the fresh air from his bedroom porch and remind himself of his dominant relationship to everything he saw below. His house was a tool of identity construction whose location as well as its rooms built up his sense of elevated status. He could rest easy knowing that his daughters were peering out the front parlor windows toward Main Street, politely entertaining guests and bolstering their social positions in part with the cultural currency of Medieval- and Renaissance-inspired architectural details. Their housework was being done relatively invisibly by their servants who could access the house from the service corridor to the west, thus creating an appearance of leisure for Pryor's family even while the

work supporting them was happening just a few rooms away and right down the hill. By taking an interdisciplinary approach, and moving from the town, neighborhood, lot, and exterior into Pryor's house itself, we see the full extent of Pryor's choices as he negotiated his position between the overlapping landscapes of industry and burgeoning suburbia.

Fifteen years after East Houghton was established, another elite suburb was platted by a mining company across Portage Lake in Hancock. Compared with East Houghton, the new Quincy Addition and East Hancock more closely followed the suburban model being developed elsewhere, but the reach of the mining companies and the legacy of the industrial landscape were by no means reduced. The following chapter will demonstrate that the Copper Country's successful white-collar professionals continued to use neighborhoods, architecture, and interiors to create and perpetuate their positions, and that companies incorporated suburban tastes into their schemes of social control.

CHAPTER 3

From Suburban Development to Managerial Neighborhood: East Hancock, the Quincy Mining Company, and Changing Notions of Paternalism

As James Pryor negotiated his place within Houghton's changing landscape, other Copper Country residents situated themselves wholly in the new suburban mode. Like East Houghton and the Main Street lots sold by the Shelden-Columbian Mining company in the 1870s, the neighborhood eventually known as East Hancock was also platted and sold by a mining company. The Quincy Mining Company was among the region's most successful and long-lived operations. As part of an infrastructure overhaul that began in the late 1880s, Quincy moved its mill to the east and found itself with open land just several hundred yards from downtown Hancock. In previous years when the Quincy unloaded its copper-poor land, it either built workers' housing, buildings for mining, or they sold it to merchants setting up or expanding the town of Hancock.¹ In 1891, however, they did something new. They planned a suburban housing development. Just as the Shelden-Columbian Mining Company had done fifteen years earlier, the Quincy officers platted residential lots and sold them through the company.

In some ways, the neighborhoods resembled each other. Like Main Street, East Hancock was conceived deliberately as an exclusive neighborhood near downtown but separate. It also attracted a similar combination of mine managers and local businessmen who built houses following national fashions. For them, the neighborhood offered a suburban respite from the perceived dirt and immorality of downtown. They hired builders and architects to erect stylish houses based on nationally available patternbooks. Their pastoral anti-work aesthetic emphasized

¹ For more on the history of Quincy Mining Company buildings see Lankton and Hyde, *Old Reliable: An Illustrated History of the Quincy Mining Company*; Hoagland, *Mine Towns*.

leisure and entertaining, and their service spaces and modern utilities emphatically separated residents from domestic workers. As a continuation of the trend that started in East Houghton years before, this desire among Hancock's white-collar professionals to relocate and build anew *en masse* followed a nation-wide socio-spatial realignment according to class rather than ethnicity and shared employment.

In other ways, however, East Hancock was very different from East Houghton. While the Sheldon-Columbian plat had been intended to liquidate a failing company, Quincy's neighborhood was an income-generator at the beginning of a major period of company growth.² Over the next two decades, the Quincy used East Hancock as a tool of social control as it reworked its policies of managerial housing and its public image in general. Around 1900, ten years after platting the neighborhood, the Quincy began encouraging its managers to live in their own private homes rather than company buildings. The company helped several of them relocate to East Hancock, where they built some of the neighborhood's largest most ostentatious houses. This literally and figuratively repositioned its leaders in the eyes of Quincy workers and the general public alike. What began essentially as a profitable side-arm for the Quincy Mining Company became a *de facto* managerial neighborhood, a shift bound up in larger changes in the Quincy's system of corporate paternalism. East Hancock grew in fits and starts, but by the time of the strike, the neighborhood had effectively consolidated all of Hancock's powerful players – with direct ties to the Quincy or not – into a single neighborhood whose streets and architecture were designed intentionally to make class distinctions.

² Lankton and Hyde, *Old Reliable: An Illustrated History of the Quincy Mining Company*, 52–54.

This chapter lays out the complex forces that contributed to East Hancock's design and its role in emphasizing class distinctions in the Copper Country. While it may have resembled an upscale suburb in other American cities, it was strongly shaped by the particularities of land use in a mining region, the policies of the Quincy Mining Company, the personalities of its leaders, and its changing relationships with its workers and the general public. All together, East Hancock harbored complex underlying tensions between home and workplace, employment status and social status, local politics and national taste, and company interests and personal identity. While Chapter 4 goes on to contrast the ways that East Hancock's design influenced mobility and identity performance for residents versus domestic workers, Chapter 3 presents complicated forces that characterized suburbanization in the Copper Country.

Designing East Hancock and the Quincy Addition

East Hancock began as two distinct places. The western half, closer to Hancock proper, had been owned for several decades by the Quincy Mining Company as part of Sections 26 and 35. It contained the rail tram that carried mine rock from the shaft houses at the top of the hill down to the stamp mill on the Portage waterway. An 1873 bird's eye print shows the mill's proximity to the commercial town and its dominance in terms of size along the Portage shoreline (fig. 3.1).³ The bluff that would eventually become East Hancock rises steeply behind the mill and is bounded by several deep ravines. By this time, it had been thoroughly deforested and contained a few houses and small mine company buildings. Its relatively sparse settlement,

³ A slightly later bird's eye view from 1881 emphasizes topography. See "Sketch of Hancock, 1881," Keweenaw Digital Archives, Acc-377-09-01-1988, MTU, online http://digarch.lib.mtu.edu/showbib.aspx?bib_id=602095#.

however, stood in stark contrast to the dense development that characterized Hancock's city blocks, which by this time boasted a population of over 2000 people.⁴

In the eastern part of what would eventually become East Hancock, a very different development was occurring. This land was part of Section 25 and had long been owned by the Pewabic Mining Company, another early company that was accessing the same lode underground as the Quincy. In April 1879, long-time Copper Country mining captain Johnson Vivian bought this land from the company.⁵ By 1883, he had cordoned it off as residential lots for sale. His "Plat of the Village of East Hancock" included 28 lots and was added to Franklin township by Vivian and his wife Elizabeth.⁶ This plat appears to have been a financial venture by Vivian, who soon left mining to pursue commercial endeavors including what became one of the region's most successful department stores in Laurium, which will appear again in Chapter 5.⁷

Vivian was following trends in speculative suburban development appearing around the United States and in the Copper Country. Much as East Houghton had done less than ten years previously, this original East Hancock plat offered residents large lots removed from the crowded town raised up on a bluff above the docks and mills. Vivian and his engineer arranged the lots to take advantage of the topography but also aligned them neatly with the section grid. An 1890 bird's eye shows East Hancock's lots delineated by fences and filled in with modest frame houses and outbuildings (figs. 3.2 and 3.3). The brick Italianate house, which stands out in

⁴ Terry Reynolds, Francis Rutz, and Jane Zutter, *Downtown Hancock Survey: Quincy Street Historic District* (Hancock, MI: Main Street Hancock, Inc.; Hitch, Incorporated, 1987), appendix B.

⁵ Eleanor A. Alexander, *East Hancock Revisited: History of a Neighborhood, circa 1880-1920* (Hancock, MI: E.A. Alexander, 1984), 33.

⁶ Johnson Vivian, Elizabeth Vivian, and L. J. Emerson, engineer, "The Plat of the Village of East Hancock," 21 July 1883, Drawer 27, Folder X, Map Collection, MTU.

⁷ *Biographical Record*, 21.

the northeastern-most lot, was built for Vivian himself but soon was occupied by other owners.⁸ Much as at Pryor's house, East Hancock situated Vivian and other mill managers above their workers in the ravine below, thus engaging both the conventional industrial landscape and the new suburban one. Overall, while these initial lots in East Hancock may have developed in similar ways as East Houghton, its population never included homeowners with the same level of wealth or social prominence.⁹

While Vivian's East Hancock addition was growing, the Quincy Mining Company began reconsidering its use of the land between Vivian's addition and Hancock proper, which sat above its mill and around its tram. By the mid 1880s, the stamp sands from its mill were beginning to fill the Portage and the government enacted new restrictions to maintain the waterway.¹⁰ The Quincy also felt pressure to update its severely outdated stamp technology. In 1888, the company created a new mill site to the east in Mason and replaced its so-called "Cornish" stamps, which used gravity, with steam powered hydraulic stamps.¹¹ With its old mill in Hancock off-line, the company found itself with already cleared land directly between the downtown commercial district and Vivian's residential development in East Hancock. Following the lead of the Shelden-Columbian company and Johnson Vivian himself, Quincy officers decided to plat

⁸ Tax records show the property owned by John Guneiss by 1889. Houghton County Tax Rolls, Franklin Township, RG77-105, vol. 117, MTU. Also see Alexander, *East Hancock Revisited: History of a Neighborhood, circa 1880-1920*, 40–41.

⁹ Holland's Hancock Directory published in 1888 indicates that East Hancock residents included successful businessmen, white-collar workers, and skilled mill workers but not lawyers and land developers like Houghton's Jay Hubbell, Graham Pope, or Thomas Chadbourne. See Holland, *Hand-Book and Guide to Hancock, Mich.*

¹⁰ Samuel B. Harris to William Rogers Todd, 10 May 1887, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 3, 282, MTU. I would like to thank Alison K. Hoagland for alerting me to the Quincy company correspondence related to East Hancock's construction.

¹¹ Lankton and Hyde, *Old Reliable: An Illustrated History of the Quincy Mining Company*, 77–78.

residential lots. Their new “Quincy Addition” eventually combined with Vivian’s East Hancock to create the majority of the plat that still exists today (fig. 3.4).

From the beginning, Quincy officials designed this new neighborhood to make profits for the company by following new trends in upscale real estate development occurring in eastern cities and Chicago.¹² Unfortunately, company correspondence reveals little about the officers’ decision to turn this recently-vacated industrial land into an active profit generator.¹³ However, they clearly intended to take advantage of a desire among the Copper Country’s growing population of white-collar professionals for fashionable housing away from commerce and industry. The company’s long-serving president, Thomas F. Mason, and powerful secretary-treasurer, William R. Todd, may have contributed to this new idea. Both men lived in New York, where new train and streetcar lines had been carrying the well-to-do into new housing developments for several decades.¹⁴ In fact, by 1882, Todd had moved his family to a new single-family home in Morristown, New Jersey, from which he and later his son would serve as Quincy Mining Company president into the 1970s.¹⁵

¹² The company’s platting of this neighborhood is dealt with briefly in Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, 93.

¹³ Official company correspondence about the decision to move the mill does not include discussion about creating a residential neighborhood afterwards. It is likely that superintendent Samuel B. Harris kept a separate letter book, now lost, related to business outside of the Quincy’s official mining activities. See Harris to Todd, 10 May 1887, and Harris to Mason, 19 May 1887, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 3, 282, 288, MTU.

¹⁴ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*; Hayden, *Building Suburbia*.

¹⁵ The Todds lived at 56 Hill Street, Morristown, New Jersey. William Parsons Todd, interview, October 1974, Finnish Folklore and Social Change In the Great Lakes Mining Region Oral History Project, Finnish-American Historical Archive and Museum, Finlandia University, Hancock, Michigan, 1827. Transcript available online, <http://www.finlandia.edu/finnamericanorahistories/tx/ffsc-261.pdf>. According to Google Street View, accessed 25 March 2014, the Todd’s house was a large Queen Anne style house with multiple gables, dormers, and a large decorative porch (probably altered later), in a neighborhood that appears to have contained other similar houses before more recent alterations.

While these eastern New York officials may have contributed to the idea, evidence suggests that the Quincy managers on the ground modeled their suburban development on precedents in Chicago. In April of 1891, shortly before they began selling lots, Harris told Mason that his plan to finance mortgages was “substantially the one adopted by a Chicago town site” company, suggesting that he had researched developments and financial arrangements in that city.¹⁶ The mortgage plan that Harris suggested was indeed modern, and it had required some convincing to get it approved. The company’s senior lawyer, Thomas B. Dunstan, had suggested that they try retaining ownership of the land and offer the lots at a 99-year lease. This old-fashioned long-term lease, which had been common in England since the eighteenth century, struck Harris as untenable. He suggested that they give it a try but just “give the deed if purchasers refuse the lease title.”¹⁷ Harris’ hunch proved correct and he suggested to President Todd that the company instead begin offering mortgages as a way to jump start sales.¹⁸

Records indicate, however, that Harris and other company intimates had been establishing the groundwork to profit from mortgage lending for two years already. In 1889, in preparation for laying out the plat, Dunstan’s younger partner, attorney Charles D. Hanchette, helped to found the Northern Michigan Building & Loan Association. Building and loan associations, which sold stocks to investors and made loans to new homebuyers, had begun to appear more frequently in the U.S. after the Civil War, but the NMB&L was the first in the state of Michigan.¹⁹ Histories of the NMB&L, which was renamed the Detroit & Northern Savings

¹⁶ Harris to Mason, 29 April 1891, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 2, 446, MTU.

¹⁷ Harris to Mason, 22 Oct 1890, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 2, 360, MTU.

¹⁸ Harris to Mason, 29 April 1891, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 2, 446, MTU.

¹⁹ State of Michigan, *Joint Documents of the State of Michigan for the Year ...* (Washington, D.C.: George W. Peck, printer to the States, 1898), 90–91, http://books.google.com/books?id=p_vIAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s; David P. Handlin, *The American Home: Architecture and Society, 1815-1915* (Boston: Little, Brown,

Bank in 1914, contend that Hanchette instigated the association's founding. This is possible, since the young lawyer had grown up in Chicago and would have witnessed the building and lending boom after the fire in 1871.²⁰ Records make it clear, however, that Quincy Mining Company officials and their associates directed Hanchette considerably. The NMB&L's first president was James R. Cooper, the region's most successful smelterer, who had recently moved to the Copper Country from Detroit to be superintendent at the Detroit & Lake Superior Smelter (later he would design a new smelter for the Quincy and build a large house in East Hancock, which will appear later in the chapter). First Vice President of the Association was Samuel B. Harris, Quincy's superintendent. Second Vice President was P. H. Paine, the general shipping clerk for the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company.²¹ In the coming years, Northern Michigan Building & Loan would welcome other Quincy higher-ups as board members, including August Mette who ran one of Quincy's general stores and occupied a large house in the Vivian addition.²²

Establishing the NMB&L not only facilitated Quincy's selling of the lots, but it also directly profited some of its officers, particularly Samuel B. Harris' family. Harris' daughter Nellie had married Charles B. Hanchette not long before the NMB&L was established. The young Hanchette couple had been living downtown with their baby daughter in the late 1880s.²³ In the same year that the B&L was established, the Hanchettes began building a large Queen

1979), 238–252; Sandra Seaton Michel, *From the Peninsula South: The Story of Detroit & Northern Savings* (Hancock, MI: D & N Press, 1980), 1–18. For more on the NMB&L's founding see "The Northern Michigan Building and Loan Association," *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*, October 10, 1889, sec. Local Jottings; Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, 103.

²⁰ Michel, *From the Peninsula South*, 1–18.

²¹ *Polk Directory, 1901–02*, 449; Michel, *From the Peninsula South*, 8.

²² Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 176; Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, 103.

²³ Holland, *Hand-Book and Guide to Hancock, Mich.*; "[Hanchette Birth Announcement]," *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*, November 15, 1888.

Anne-style home at the highest point of the bluff in what would soon become the Quincy Addition.²⁴ (fig. 3.5) The company had deeded the lot outright to the Hanchettes.²⁵ No financial transaction survives but the lot was later valued around \$3000, among the highest in the neighborhood.²⁶ This gift may have been Samuel B. Harris' way of setting up his son-in-law with a new arm of the family business, so to speak (fig. 3.6). By helping Hanchette establish the NMB&L and advertise his place at its helm, the Quincy Mining Company maintained control over surrounding land, created a new source of income for its officers who served on the B&L board, and set up the superintendent's son-in-law and daughter in a fashionable well-located residence with an enviable professional position.

The financial system set up to sell and finance Quincy Addition lots did not differ substantially from national precedent, but it significantly consolidated profit among the company's managers. As Harris suggested, they took 1/3 down payment and offered a mortgage at 6% for the rest payable semi-annually, though the contracts suggest once-a-year payments

²⁴ The brief note in Quincy company correspondence, "Hanchette commenced to build...", suggests that the company may have been paying for the construction of Hanchette's house as well. Harris to Mason, 13 August 1889, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 2, 167, MTU.

²⁵ In the 1892 tax rolls, Quincy Mining Company paid taxes on the following parcel in section 35, which acknowledges part of it having been given to Hanchette: "E fractional 1/2 of lot 3 lying E of the Vil of Hancock less tracts deeded to P. Ruppe, C D Hanchette, + Baptist Church + described and assessed elsewhere on this roll, with buildings and docks, 13 2/100 acres, \$20,000." Houghton County Township Tax Records for 1892, Hancock Township, RG77-105, vol. 120, MTU.

²⁶ Hanchette's house was built in 1890 but did not appear on the tax rolls until 1894. In that year, its assessment at \$1200 seems far undervalued since the lot and house size were larger than its neighbors valued at \$3000-\$4000. By 1900, Hanchette's property carried an assessment of \$3000. Houghton County Township Tax Rolls for 1894, Hancock Township, RG77-105, vol. 122, MTU; Houghton County Tax Rolls for 1900, Village of Hancock, RG77-105, vol. 142, 18, MTU. In the 1890s, Hanchette's property was taxed in Hancock Township and other Quincy Addition residents were in Quincy Township. By 1902, however, taxes from all East Hancock and Quincy Addition residents went to the Village of Hancock rather than Quincy or Franklin Townships. Houghton Country Tax Rolls for 1902, Village of Hancock, RG77-105, vol. 144, 79, 82, and "Addendum" sheet, MTU.

became acceptable as well.²⁷ What made this system different from many other U.S. suburbs was the fact that the profiting parties were not businessmen working in real estate, but rather were the highest officers and family members of the dominant employer in a single-industry town. Sales in this suburb brought additional wealth to a very small number of men who already had significant control over the employment and therefore the lives of the majority of area workers. In this way, the Quincy Addition brought company and non-company families together into the same neighborhood and directed the profits from that *en masse* relocation toward propping up even more strongly the richest among them. The Quincy Addition, therefore, was both a spatial and financial maneuver that compounded the wealth and power of those already on top.

As platting and sales got under way in 1891, officials at the Quincy Mining Company and the NMB&L designed the Quincy Addition to exclude unwanted activities and people. As historian Robert Fishman has demonstrated, suburbia had always been based on policies of exclusion. Inspired by the modern idea of the nuclear family as an emotional rather than economic unit, the middle-class home was now imagined as a place removed from industrial and commercial workplaces, from the workers themselves (who were increasingly seen as foreign outsiders), and from the dirt and degradation that was coming to characterize factories, docks, and in this case, mines.²⁸ Quincy officials followed these national trends but the distinction between Quincy Addition residents and the working class proved more central to their design than simply insulating the homes from commerce and industry.

First, officials sited the Quincy Addition to be easily differentiated from Hancock proper. They took advantage of a large ravine that separated the bluff from Quincy Street, the town's

²⁷ Harris to Mason, 29 April 1891, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 2, 446, MTU. "Deeds of Sale, Quincy Addition to Hancock, 1891–1901," MS-001, Box 30, MTU; "Land Contract Agreements, Quincy Addition to Hancock, 1892–1901," MS-001, Box 31, MTU.

²⁸ Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias*, 4.

main commercial thoroughfare. However, one of the first buyers, Dr. William Burnham, very quickly forced the company to build a bridge across the ravine to extend Quincy Street toward the lots he hoped to buy. He made a down payment but amended the contract to specify that he would get it back if the bridge were not built. Harris tried to convince the town of Hancock to pay half but later complained to Mason that “I can’t do anything with those Hancock people regarding helping to build the proposed bridge; so we are now taking measurements and intend to order the timber for it right off.”²⁹

Along with the ravine, the Quincy officials also positioned the street grid to set off their development not only from town but also from Vivian’s East Hancock. A plat map was drawn up by the company’s chief draughtsman, Mr. Bailey, in the middle of 1890 and submitted to Houghton County in February of 1891.³⁰ It closely resembles a slightly later company map, which shows that the streets were not laid out to follow the section lines as they had been in East Hancock (fig. 3.7). Quincy officials tilted the grid slightly to be in line instead with Quincy Street, but then off-set the grid to disrupt a continuous flow of traffic from downtown. Travelers who came across Dr. Burnham’s bridge met a T-intersection and had to turn left or right to access either of the east-west streets.

While these design factors made it clear on a map that the Quincy Addition was a separate place from town, it was not as far away from Hancock’s commercial center as many suburban developments in larger cities. It sat only about 400 yards from the edge of downtown, and 50 feet above the industrial docks. In eastern cities and Chicago, new types of transportation

²⁹ Harris to Mason, 23 May 1892, MS-001, Folder 4, 23, MTU. Also see Harris to Mason, 15 February 1892, 22 April 1892, and 30 April 1892, MS-001, Folder 4, MTU.

³⁰ “Quincy Addition,” Charles E. Bailey, surveyor, 13 February 1891, Map Collection, Drawer 27, Folder X, MTU; Also see Harris to Mason, 18 November 1890, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 2, 371, MTU; Harris to Mason, 16 January 1891, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 2, 391, MTU.

instigated suburban developments. People could ride streetcars or small train lines farther and faster out of the cities. Relatively open former agricultural land, which was becoming available as farmers moved west, drew the developers to the outskirts of eastern towns. In Hancock, however, the trigger for this development was not new transportation but rather shifting needs in the mining industry. As a result, the neighborhood did not need to be separated by space – in fact, land was so controlled by the location of ore deposits and corresponding mining claims, that developers most likely could not have found space as far away as typical suburbs. So instead of space, the designers relied on topography and a differentiated street grid to distinguish their development.

The Quincy designers also made some nods to the pastoral ideal embraced by conventional suburban developments, but it was difficult in a mining region so denuded of trees. In the property deeds, Hanchette and Dunstan included legal restrictions, which had been common in middle-class suburban developments for decades, which required only one house on each lot, a fifteen foot set back from the street, no selling of liquor, and barns only at the back of the lot.³¹ People in this region often kept barns for a cow and chickens but in the Quincy Addition these agricultural buildings needed to be hidden, in order to emphasize the single-family house. While these restrictions ensured low-density settlement and some sort of green space around the house, the Quincy Addition had very few trees to create the park-like atmosphere advocated by Frederick Law Olmstead and other modern suburban developers, and which had been achieved by Hubbell at The Highlands.³² The entire hillside had been stripped of vegetation many years before to fuel the mine hoist engines, prop up the tunnels inside the

³¹ Regarding the banning of liquor sales see Harris to Mason, 22 October 1891, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 2, 360, MTU.

³² Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape*, 149–166.

mines, and make way for tramlines. The Hanchettes certainly did their best to evoke a bucolic natural setting by planting fruit trees in their large fenced-in lot, as seen in the 1890 bird's eye (see fig. 3.5). Despite these efforts, it would take many decades and the closing of the mines entirely before the Quincy Addition's streets would become lined with the majestic hardwoods visible today.

While officials used the ravine and plat to separate the Quincy Addition from downtown, they relied more heavily on legal restrictions to insulate the new neighborhood from industrial features. Additional restrictions in the deeds outlawed the operation of steam engines, tanneries, or the production of other "noxious fumes." While this sort of restriction was common in suburbs back east, the lawyers also included language that was common only in mining areas: that the Quincy retained the mineral rights below the surface of any purchased lots. But as with their efforts to separate the Quincy Addition from town, the designers' efforts to separate it from work succeeded only partially. Not only was the Quincy Addition barely removed from industrial spaces, but also its land had been part of the mining operations just a few years previously. In fact, the Quincy did not shut down and remove its old mill for several years after new residents moved in, and the mill superintendent's house still stood in the neighborhood for over a decade as the new neighborhood grew up around it, as we will see. While removal from workplaces and a connection to nature may have been part of the neighborhood's design, they were not the designers' primary concern. In this booming mining district, after all, work and industry were the *raison d'être* of the whole region and worth celebrating, even for those embracing new ideals of the American home.

The most important distinction for the Quincy Addition's designers was between the status of its new residents and the working-class immigrant population. Harris and Hanchette

organized the Quincy Addition to ensure an elevated class of neighbors. While no correspondence survives equivalent to John H. Forster's comment about selling only to Houghton's "better class of residents," Quincy's actions make clear the officers' similar intentions. The most important restriction on Quincy Addition deeds was a price minimum for all new houses. "House not to be less than \$2000" was marked on every contract in the company records.³³ This is the first known instance of outright monetary requirements being placed on residential building sites in the Copper Country, and it was among the first nation-wide.

Restrictive covenants of this sort were a new device in what historians of suburban development call the "quest for permanence."³⁴ Whereas Americans had tended to eschew easements or requirements placed on their land, which after all had always been seen as the basis of personal freedom in the United States, many were beginning to accept covenants as a way to maintain desired features of their suburbs. While picturesque neighborhoods of country cottages had been springing up on the outskirts of cities for several decades, many had been overrun within ten or fifteen years by commercial establishments and its accompanying working-class housing. Residents who could afford it felt forced to move farther out of town in order to maintain their bucolic surroundings. To avoid this leap-frogging pattern, elite buyers embraced covenants as a way to achieve permanence for the upper-middle class residential character they envisioned.³⁵ By the mid 1880s, restrictive covenants and price minimums specifically were

³³ "Deeds of Sale, Quincy Addition to Hancock, 1891–1901," MS-001, Box 30, MTU; "Land Contract Agreements, Quincy Addition to Hancock, 1892–1901," MS-001, Box 31, MTU.

³⁴ Michael Holleran, *Boston's "Changeful Times": Origins of Preservation & Planning in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 65–83; Robert M. Fogelson, *Bourgeois Nightmares: Suburbia, 1870-1930* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 26.

³⁵ Holleran, *Boston's "Changeful Times,"* 4; Fogelson, *Bourgeois Nightmares*; Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape*.

beginning to be embraced by developers and customers all over the country.³⁶ Hanchette may have learned about restrictive covenants in Chicago. Likewise, Mason and Todd may have seen them in action in New York and Morristown. \$2000 was slightly below the national average for a middle-class home, and well below the cost of a grand home in a large city, but it was sufficiently elevated in the Copper Country where mine workers earned just a few dollars a day.³⁷

In addition to price minimums for new houses, the Quincy officers set lot prices high to maintain the neighborhood's elite status and market desirability. On several occasions, Harris and Todd refused to lower the price of lots even when faced with slow sales. In March of 1892, someone offered to buy a double-lot in block 3 for \$1800 instead of \$1950 as listed. Harris responded that if the person wanted the lots that badly, he or she should pay the advertised amount.³⁸ The Quincy remained tightly wedded to keeping prices high even as late as 1910. Harris' successor as superintendent, General Manager Charles Lawton, responded to accusations as follows:

³⁶ Fogelson, *Bourgeois Nightmares*, 60; Holleran, *Boston's "Changeful Times,"* 80–81.

³⁷ Gwendolyn Wright gives the national average per housing unit in the U.S. in 1890 as \$2400. Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*, 238; In Detroit in this period, for instance, large mansions along the Woodward Avenue streetcar line cost between \$3700–\$7800. Zunz, *The Changing Face of Inequality*, 142.

³⁸ The buyer was probably Elizabeth Kirkpatrick, whose first contract to buy lot 12 on March 17 was voided, but who bought both lots 11 and 12 at full price in June. MS-001, Box 337, Folder 4, Harris to Dunstan & Hanchette, 12 March 1892, 142, MTU.

...I have been holding these lots very, very high – so high that they were out of reach of every one, and yet... even though we may sell less lots, we will take in as much money as we would were we selling them cheaper, and we will have more lots left to sell.³⁹

Quincy clearly saw these lots as long-term investments. The company could afford to hold them vacant rather than selling to people whose limited funds suggested lower social standing. Also, Lawton recognized the higher value of Quincy Addition lots as compared to working- and middle-class residential developments elsewhere around town.

The value of a lot is oftentimes what you can get for it, and what you can get for it is oftentimes fixed by the help you have in making a sale, and the *prestige* you have for certain platted sections in comparison with other sections. I have heretofore seen to it that we received an increased price for lots that would cover the commission many times – that is, the lots carrying commission have been sold at a higher value than those that have not carried a commission.⁴⁰ (emphasis added)

Lawton inflated the sale price of lots on which purchasers carried a mortgage and agents received commission in order to increase profits to Quincy. All together, these statements indicate that over time, Quincy had the financial strength to maintain elevated lot prices even at the expense of fewer sales. They did this not only to increase their income but also to create and maintain the neighborhood's "prestige." In the long run, the financial system set up in 1889 effectively propped up the company and the B&L's investors over thirty years, and ensured a certain status for its residents.⁴¹

³⁹ Charles Lawton to William Rogers Todd, 12 February 1910, MS-001, Box 342, Folder 6, MTU.

⁴⁰ Lawton to Todd, 17 July 1909, MS-001, Box 342, Folder 5, MTU.

⁴¹ Quincy Annual Reports suggest significant jumps in the company's real estate income in 1899, 1900, and 1901, which reflect the major building period in the Quincy Addition. Though the company also built the first Quincy Hillside Addition in 1900, which would have brought in some income. Reports of the Quincy Mining Company for Years 1899, 1900, 1901 (New York: Quincy Mining Company, John J. Bloomfield, Printer, 1900, 1901, 1902).

These legal and financial moves to ensure the Quincy Addition's suburban character and social prestige in perpetuity contrast dramatically with the profound physical change that had long characterized the Copper Country and this hillside in particular. Like all mining regions, this area had always celebrated its success by chronicling its rapid change and its harnessing of natural and geological resources.⁴² The building and rebuilding of its villages, always improving with the growth of its mining companies, had been the hallmark of Copper Country self-identity. East Hancock denied that forward propulsion of perceived progress. By creating a place whose infrastructure made it difficult for new residents to buy in, and prohibited the very kind of commercial business that had propelled so many of its residents to financial success, East Hancock's founding marked a sea-change in the life of this mining region. No longer a mining outpost, the Copper Country could now support and perpetuate an upper-middle-class neighborhood for future generations insulated from the constant change that characterized industrial places.

From the point that new building commenced, aesthetics played a major role in distinguishing Quincy Addition residents from mining company employees. Even before new houses appeared, the Quincy officials tried to manipulate appearances to transform this industrial hillside into something that would attract upscale buyers. Images from the period suggest that about seven properties with fences and outbuildings already existed on the bluff that became the Quincy Addition (see fig. 3.5). Residents probably were renting the properties from the company or were employees in company-built houses. Harris believed that the appearance of these old

⁴² Judith Alfrey, *The Industrial Heritage: Managing Resources and Uses* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), 3; Francaviglia, *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts*, 126–167.

houses detracted from his company's new development. He wrote on 22 October 1890 to company president Mason:

I think it advisable to compel purchasers of these lots on which the houses stand – perhaps Schuerman's [sic] excepted – to remove the old buildings and erect better ones as such old ramshackles would be eyesores and possibly keep off otherwise desirable purchasers...⁴³

From the start, Harris acknowledged a set of “desirable purchasers” who required an elevated level of aesthetic standards. He emphasized that the company take pains to attract these new buyers by ridding the landscape of “ramshackles.”

He may have been successful in tearing down some of them, but three existing houses remained for some time. One, as Harris noted, was occupied by Philip Scheuermann, the superintendent of the Quincy Mills, whose sons lived nearby in Vivian's addition.⁴⁴ This building is probably the large five-bay two-story house with orchard in the northeast corner of the addition (see fig. 3.5). An early photograph of the Portage Lake Bridge, which was built in 1875, features Scheuermann's large house in the background, suggesting that he may have lived there for some years before the Quincy Addition was created (fig. 3.8). When Scheuermann moved to Mason location with the mill, the company appraised his former house and considered selling it as part of the new neighborhood to a man who was “anxious to ‘fix up’ and garden.”⁴⁵ The appraisal came in at \$2200 for the whole property, apparently convincing Harris that it was

⁴³ Harris to Mason, 22 October 1890, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 2, 360, MTU.

⁴⁴ Harris felt that Scheuermann's “advanced years and increasing infirmities,” as well as his “personal business at the Portage,” which probably referred to his brewery business, made him unfit to continue as mill superintendent after the facility moved to Mason. Despite this dissent, Scheuermann worked as mill superintendent at Mason location until 1892. It is unclear who lived in his Quincy Addition house at that point. Harris to Todd, 7 December 1889, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 2, 234-35, MTU.

⁴⁵ Harris to Mason, 22 April 1891, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 2, 446, MTU.

worth keeping in the new neighborhood.⁴⁶ The house remained in place as the Quincy Addition grew up around it, appearing on Sanborn maps and in a ca. 1905 photograph of the neighborhood, before finally being replaced sometime after 1913.⁴⁷

Correspondence suggests that several of the residents of these “ramshackles” worked to buy their houses from the company when they went on sale. And indeed, the first sale appears to have been for a pre-existing house. Phillip Carroll, a foundry owner, bought his property for \$2200, which was far above the \$900-\$1200 charged for empty lots. In addition, “Bldg” is penciled next to his sale on a later list in the company records.⁴⁸ He occupied this standard upright-and-wing house, which appears in the 1890 bird’s eye print and the 1900 Sanborn map, until the early twentieth century when he replaced it with a large Classical-Revival red sandstone and brick house, which surely pleased the Quincy officials.⁴⁹

A third pre-existing house still survives at 210 Cooper Avenue and appears to be the upright-and-wing to the east of Carroll’s house in the 1890 birds eye (see fig. 3.5). It may have been occupied throughout the 1890s by John Funkey, who finally bought it from Quincy in April 1900. His sale also has “Bldg” penciled next to it and the \$1600 sale price reflects an average lot value of \$1000 plus \$600 for what would have been a fairly old house by that time. Today the

⁴⁶ Harris to Mason, 29 April 1891, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 2, 446, MTU.

⁴⁷ Alexander, *East Hancock Revisited: History of a Neighborhood, circa 1880-1920*, 25; Sanborn-Perris Map Company, “Insurance Maps of Houghton and Hancock, Michigan” (New York: Sanborn-Perris Map Company, 1900); Sanborn Map Company, “Insurance Maps of Hancock, Michigan” (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1907); Detroit Publishing Company, *Quincy Hill and Hancock Michigan*, Photograph, glass negative, ca. 1905, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/det1994007116/PP/>.

⁴⁸ “Quincy Addition” list, ca. 1901, MS-001, Box 340, Folder 1, MTU.

⁴⁹ Carroll’s second house still stands in lot 7 block 2 (202 Cooper Avenue). Neighborhood historian Eleanor Alexander concurs that an “older, smaller” house was removed from this property. Alexander, *East Hancock Revisited: History of a Neighborhood, circa 1880-1920*, 10; Sanborn-Perris Map Company, “Houghton and Hancock, Michigan 1900”; Edward Demar, “Hancock, Mich.,” Bird’s Eye View (Hancock, MI: B. H. Pierce & Co., 1890), MTU.

house has a large porch and garage that obstructs its original form, but its two-story gable-front matches the bird's eye and its interior trimmings suggest a pre-1880 construction date.⁵⁰

Despite the lingering presence of these pre-existing “eyesores,” new buyers established a completely new aesthetic in the Quincy Addition (fig. 3.9). Between 1891 and 1892, the company sold four lots to white-collar professionals who built nationally-popular Queen Anne style houses, whose form and decoration celebrated leisure and separated spaces for work and workers. The new owners were all professionals and business owners in Hancock.⁵¹ Two men were doctors. Dr. William A. Courtney was a dentist and Dr. William Burnham ran a general practice in the first floor of his new house. He had recently left Rockland in nearby Ontonagon County to set up a new practice in the Portage area, his wife's childhood home.⁵² Another buyer, Allen Kirkpatrick had come up to the Copper Country from Oshkosh, Wisconsin several years before and was working as a commission merchant, meaning that he made sales between wholesalers and retailers, making him a quintessential white-collar professional. All of these men built in blocks 2 and 3 closest to town where they could be seen from the end of Quincy Street. The fourth sale was made to Frederick Wagener, a clerk at S. D. North & Sons, a mercantile store serving Quincy Mine, who moved from Vivian's addition into a lot on the east side of block 7.

Along with Hanchette's already-standing flagship house (fig. 3.10), these five new Quincy Addition homes embraced modern tastes that conflated a creative combination of vaguely historical and rural architectural features with notions of democratic individualism and a moral imperative (figs. 3.11–14). As architectural historian John Archer has argued, this

⁵⁰ “Quincy Addition” list; Alexander, *East Hancock Revisited: History of a Neighborhood, circa 1880-1920*, 10–11.

⁵¹ Land Contract Agreements, Quincy Addition to Hancock, 1892–1901, MS-001, Box 31, MTU.

⁵² “Dr. W. A. Burnham,” *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*, May 1, 1890.

“republican pastoral” style had roots in eighteenth-century England but took flight in the nineteenth-century United States. Jeffersonian individualism met the capitalist self-made man, and these two quintessentially American ideals found expression together in the suburban single-family dream house.⁵³ The Quincy Addition’s “modern exterior style,” as one newspaper called it, featured large porches, elaborate rooflines, naturalistic colors, and whimsical towers and other projections.⁵⁴ Confusingly called Queen Anne style by historians today, this aesthetic did not revive a particular historical period. Rather these houses celebrated leisure time associated with the countryside and retreat from urban work, much like The Highlands’ Italianate style had done but on a smaller scale.⁵⁵ At the same time, they featured up-to-date utilities including electricity, plumbing, and heating, as well as specialized basement rooms and closets throughout to make housework as efficient and organized as a modern factory. Like houses being designed in suburbs around the country, the Quincy Addition’s new houses embodied the ultimate idea of the American middle-class home – a protected environment between the city and the countryside that brought order, both physical and social, to the domestic realm.⁵⁶

Dr. William A. Burnham’s house typifies this modern aesthetic on the exterior. A brief note in the *Michigan Copper Journal* announced that the building contract went to the local firm

⁵³ Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 173–202.

⁵⁴ “Beatrice Tonneson Scrapbook” (Oshkosh, WI, 2010), Oshkosh Public Museum and Archive, #2007.76, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/44006693/Beatrice-Tonneson-s-Scrapbook>.

⁵⁵ Foster, *The Queen Anne House*; Richard Guy Wilson, “American Arts and Crafts Architecture: Radical Though Dedicated to the Cause Conservative,” in *“The Art That Is Life”: The Arts & Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1987), 109–112.

⁵⁶ Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*, 1–102; Smeins, *Building an American Identity*, 133–148; For an interesting study of the relationship between class and taste in a c.1900 Indiana neighborhood see Robert W. Bastian, “Architecture and Class Segregation in Late Nineteenth-Century Terre Haute, Indiana,” *Geographical Review* 65, no. 2 (April 1, 1975): 166–79.

of Francis Brothers.⁵⁷ The similarities between this house and those built around the country at the same time, however, indicate that Burnham and his builders relied on a patternbook for their design. This house features a three-story octagonal tower with several porches, window projections, and decorative dormers.⁵⁸ A playful mix of historical and so-called “artistic” decorative features include Eastlake-style chamfering and shallow carving on pillars at the side entrance, varied surface textures created by shingles in diamond and shallow pyramid shapes, and Medieval-inspired lead-came windows with small square panes throughout the third floor. Situated on two lots with a barn and surrounded by a decorative iron fence, Burnham’s property conveyed a sense of leisure, a powerful but nebulously historical legacy rooted in the English country house tradition, and a celebration of the family’s financial ability to own a home away from industry and commerce.

Interestingly, Dr. Courtney’s house across the street, suggests that some Copper Country builders continued to build familiar forms but simply added new fashionable elements. No known evidence suggests the builders of this house. Its large front gable form with third-floor palladian window, however, closely resembles many of the managerial level houses being built by house carpenters for the Calumet & Hecla company’s mining locations, which will be discussed further in Chapter 5.⁵⁹ Those same builders re-used that form in houses visible around the region. Dr. Courtney’s builder took the familiar form and added a two-story bump out window projection on the front with an extra smaller gable. The house also featured varied shingles like Burnham’s. So even without access to a patternbook, or without bothering to buy

⁵⁷ *Michigan Copper Journal*, June 16, 1892, 1.

⁵⁸ The large wrap-around porch visible now does not appear on Sanborn maps until 1907. Sanborn Map Company, “Hancock, Michigan 1907.”

⁵⁹ Bennett, “Where the Bosses Lived: Managerial Housing of Three Companies in Michigan’s Copper Country,” 111.

the design from a national publisher, a local builder incorporated this republican pastoral aesthetic language into a local form.

The home of Allen and Mary Kirkpatrick received considerable press coverage, and helps to highlight the emphasis placed on the new modern ability to designate and separate spaces for entertaining from spaces for housework.⁶⁰ The three-story house resembled the Burnhams', with a tower facing the primary approach, a porch wrapping around two sides, decorative windows, and shingles.⁶¹ The architecture and its gracious porch emphasized hospitality and suggested that Kirkpatrick and his visitors could afford the free time to sit and enjoy the view. It also blatantly disregarded the realities of winter, which made a porch like this unusable for six months every year.

Toward the end of the house's construction, a local newspaper described its fashionable interior features. Mantel pieces, one described as "hand-carved" and others imported from

⁶⁰ Multiple newspaper clippings survive in a scrapbook kept by Mrs. Kirkpatrick's sister, Beatrice Tonneson of Oshkosh, Wisconsin and Chicago, Illinois. The scrapbook mostly contains coverage of Miss Tonneson's career as a photographer, but one page includes five clippings about her time visiting the Kirkpatricks' house in Hancock. Despite being undated and unidentified, the clippings can be dated to between 1892, when Quincy company records indicate the house was built, and 1899, by which time the Kirkpatricks had moved back to Oshkosh and the house was sold to Jacob Gartner. The clippings cannot be located in online newspaper databases that include Chicago and Oshkosh newspapers, which suggests that the clippings come from Copper Country papers. Beatrice Tonneson Scrapbook, Oshkosh Public Museum and Archives, 2010, Accession #2007.76, 48, 62. Alexander, *East Hancock Revisited: History of a Neighborhood, circa 1880-1920*, 26. I thank Eleanor Alexander and her correspondent Terry Emerson for bringing these clippings to my attention. Thanks also to Scott Cross, archivist at the Oshkosh Public Museum, for alerting me to the scrapbook's presence online, scanned and annotated by Sumner Nelson in 2010, at <http://www.scribd.com/doc/44006693/Beatrice-Tonneson-s-Scrapbook>.

⁶¹ According to Sanborn maps, this house originally had a two-sided porch on the southwest corner which was later closed in and reduced in size to just the south side. As seen in the ca. 1905 Detroit Publishing Company photograph, the tower on the southeast corner, which was later lowered, originally extended 2.5 or 3 stories. Sanborn-Perris Map Company, "Houghton and Hancock, Michigan 1900"; Sanborn Map Company, "Hancock, Michigan 1907"; Detroit Publishing Company, *Quincy Hill and Hancock Michigan*.

Buffalo, complemented the various luxurious woods including oak, cherry, and “oiled Norway pine.” The author called out the archways, decorative grills, and the staircase railing, which was “the offspring of a practical brain” and was credited along with all the interior wood finish to Bice & Sons factory in Marquette, Michigan.⁶² Much like Pryor’s house, Kirkpatrick’s conjured up the symbols and spaces of the English country house to emphasize a pastoral anti-work aesthetic.

Receiving as much emphasis as the luxurious ornament, however, were the modern utility systems and the orderliness of the service areas. The second paragraph described the specialized “compartments” in the basement, walled in brick, which held the Gurney hot water heater and connected to radiators around the house. Later the laundry, drying room, cold storage room, and wood and coal bins were spelled out, along with specialized laundry sinks and laundry stove. These all emphasized that housework had been given its own spaces away from the public and family areas of the house. As historian Gwendolyn Wright has argued, the modern suburban home was all about divisions – not only of the middle-class from everyone else, but also of certain activities and people within the house.⁶³ Emphasizing laundry rooms and other service areas, including the butler’s pantry, linen closet, and china closet, the article made clear that this house was bringing a modern spatial orderliness to household activities. Servants could do their work efficiently and hygienically in specialized spaces, while the mistress and family members could entertain in the parlors and dining rooms. And entertain they did. Several reports of parties at the Kirkpatricks’ Quincy Addition house celebrated their hospitality for the “society people”

⁶² “Beatrice Tonneson Scrapbook,” 48.

⁶³ Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*, 33.

of Hancock, Houghton, and Calumet. “Royalty could hardly have been more pleasantly entertained,” one article read.⁶⁴

After 1892, sales slowed considerably probably due to the bank panic of 1893 and related economic downturn. The few sales that did occur 1893–98 seem to have been speculative purchases that did not result in new construction.⁶⁵ When building started up again in 1899, new development essentially fulfilled the plans that Harris, Hanchette and others had laid out a decade before. Between 1899 and 1902, more than twenty new houses appeared in blocks 2 through 7 that resembled the first few (fig. 3.15). They brought in new residents of similarly elevated white-collar professional status, most of whom had built successful mercantile stores and were now becoming agents for insurance companies or taking other commission-based investment opportunities. Very few were Quincy Mining Company employees.

This second building phase brought into the Quincy Addition heads of household with fairly homogenous ethnic backgrounds. Homeowners had mostly been born in the U.S. and their parents came from England, Ireland, Germany, the northeastern United States and Canada, and by 1910, frequently from Michigan and Wisconsin. Essentially, the immigrant groups who had long been in power in the Copper Country were physically isolating themselves from newer immigrant groups. The new residents included a sizable community of Jewish merchants, who eventually built themselves a synagogue at the foot of the hill in 1912.⁶⁶ While some suburban developments around the country were beginning to restrict Jewish residents, the Quincy Addition absorbed them as long-standing members of the commercial elite along side the

⁶⁴ “Beatrice Tonneson Scrapbook,” 48.

⁶⁵ See for instance, the sales to Fred and George Nicholls, 1892–96. Land Contracts, MS-001, Box 31, MTU.

⁶⁶ See Morgan Davis, “Temple Jacob,” on Copper Country Architects, Department of Social Sciences, Michigan Technological University, 2007–2013, http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/ma_build.htm#tj.

Protestant and Catholic residents.⁶⁷ Overall, this demographic situation suggests that the social elite in Hancock were following patterns playing out around the country: namely a spatial realignment in cities along lines of class rather than ethnicity or religion. Those traditionally in power isolated themselves physically from newcomers and those of lower status.⁶⁸

Edwin P. Henwood and his wife Marie Light, who we will encounter again in Chapter 4, typified Quincy Addition residents and built a house that can serve as a useful example of this ca. 1900 building boom. While the local players involved in erecting the Henwoods' house remain in dispute, they clearly had access to a patternbook called *Artistic Dwellings* published by Grand Rapids architect Frank P. Allen (figs. 3.16 and 3.17).⁶⁹ Allen had enjoyed some success, building private houses and a few public buildings in Grand Rapids. He enjoyed national success, however, with his *Artistic Dwellings* series. Launched in 1891 and issued in several editions with very different content in each, his series sold detailed plans for about \$50 that could be erected by "any person of ordinary intelligence."⁷⁰ His patternbook joined hundreds published around the country in this period, which were giving local builders a chance to bring nationally popular

⁶⁷ Fogelson, *Bourgeois Nightmares*, 62.

⁶⁸ Zunz, *The Changing Face of Inequality*, 1–15.

⁶⁹ In 1986, a previous owner of this house, Ellen Croll, found blueprints in the attic with the name "Frank P. Allen," and tracked down the design in *Artistic Dwellings*, sixth edition, at the Grand Rapids Public Library. The blue prints are now lost. Other sources, including the online resource Copper Country Architects, suggest that Charles Archibald Pearce, a Canadian architect working in the Copper Country around 1900 may have been involved. Whether Pearce, a local builder, or Allen himself was in charge, the design clearly came from *Artistic Dwellings*. Personal Correspondence with Ellen Croll (3-8 August 2013), and Ruth Ann Smith (22 July and 10 August 2013), current owner of the house. Katie Torrey, "Charles Archibald Pearce," Copper Country Architects, Department of Social Sciences, Michigan Technological University, 2007–2013, http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/ma_build.htm#tj.

⁷⁰ Frank P. Allen, *Artistic Dwellings: Containing Views, Floor Plans and Estimates of Cost of Fifty-Six House and Cottage Designs, Ranging in Cost from \$650.00 Upwards*, Sixth Edition (Grand Rapids, MI: F.P. Allen, 1896), 2. Thank you to librarian Ruth Van Stee at the Grand Rapids Public Library for sending me images of portions of this book.

designs to people in the rapidly expanding American west and also in eastern suburbs.⁷¹ By choosing a design from a patternbook, the Henwoods allied themselves with national fashions among other people in the middle class, set themselves apart from workers' housing locations in the Copper Country, and embraced a lifestyle that separated family life from work, both in town and in the house.

The Henwoods chose plan #156, a large two-and-a-half-story four-bedroom house whose exterior aesthetic mixed leisure, vague historical references, and an artistic sensibility, much like the Burnhams' had eight years before. Essentially a four-square form with hipped roof, the house boasted a large projecting cross-gable in the front with diamond and saw-tooth shingles surrounding a line of three small arched windows. A triangular portico over the large front porch repeated the shape and proportions of the gable, and featured an unusual arched decorative element that echoed the row above. A wide octagonal tower graced the southwestern corner facing the street. Its overhanging eaves rose up to a point elongated by a metal finial extending the visual height of the house and echoed by others (no longer extant) on the house's four other roof peaks. Multiple-over-one windows throughout the second floor featured upper sash with large diamond pattern mullions whose vaguely pre-modern appearance added to the artistic associations of the shingles. The first floor windows boasted several decorative transoms, remarkable especially on the cylindrical projection on the north side of the house suspended over the driveway accommodating the interior staircase. The windows and storms around the tower were all curved glass, and the decorative cut-glass windows throughout were a luxury that had to be shipped by train or boat from Chicago or elsewhere.

⁷¹ Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism"; Garvin, "Mail-Order House Plans and American Victorian Architecture"; Reiff, *Houses from Books*.

While the house's exterior boasted a variety of materials creatively arranged to create visual texture, the interior plan emphasized a strong division between areas for work and areas for leisure (fig. 3.18). The description in Allen's patternbook, which presumably would have been the primary basis on which the Henwoods chose this design, stressed the functional service areas and the degree to which they were conveniently divided. The cellar was "divided by brick wall into furnace room, vegetable room, and laundry." The front and rear stairs were highlighted as well as a dumb-waiter from the basement into the kitchen, and a laundry chute reaching from the second floor to the cellar. The arrangement of the multiple public rooms, which included a reception room, parlor, sitting room, dining room, and library, is barely mentioned and even then at the end of the description. The modern furnace and plumbing systems and their well-planned organized arrangement clearly took primary place. Allen estimated the house would cost \$3800 to construct, nearly double the Quincy's minimum requirement.⁷²

Interestingly, the Henwoods or their builder eliminated the side door in the southeast corner of the house in favor of adding a butler's pantry between the dining room and the kitchen. While Allen's design featured a built-in sideboard with pass-through between the kitchen and the dining room, the Henwoods chose instead to create a butler's pantry, which acted as a buffer zone between the kitchen and the dining room. This alteration separated the smells and sounds of cooking much more thoroughly from the eating and entertaining areas. They sacrificed an outside door, suggesting that the Henwoods valued interior specialization more than having a servant's door visible from the outside – perhaps a wise choice for people who had braved the Copper Country winters for several years already. This telling alteration prioritized the division

⁷² Allen, *Artistic Dwellings*, 74.

of spaces designed for leisure and entertaining from spaces for housework, and as we will see in Chapter 4, emphasized everyone's expected role in each space.

Scant evidence survives to indicate how outsiders regarded the Quincy Addition's new houses. But a revealing newspaper clipping suggests that some Hancock residents found the appearance of this new neighborhood alienating even from the first years of its development. According to a ca. 1892 fragment saved in Mrs. Kirkpatrick's sister's scrapbook, some people chose a pejorative name for the Quincy Addition and joked about its level of ostentation.

The five handsome houses in midst of the Quincy Addition to Hancock are called 'Toney-Town.' Makes one have the peritonitis.⁷³

Peritonitis is an inflammation of the membranes in the abdomen and internal organs. This anonymous author humorously teased that the upscale or "toney" neighborhood made outsiders feel sick. Even more remarkable here is that the author specifically called out "five handsome houses," which referred to the five homes built during the first phase before 1893. This excluded the three pre-existing homes that had already been there. So it was less the existence of the neighborhood, *per se*, that earned the neighborhood the epithet "Toney-Town," but more the new modern domestic aesthetic specifically. While the Burnhams, Kirkpatricks, and soon after the Henwoods, may have embraced their new houses as celebrating their fashionable retreat well-earned after years of professional work, others found the exclusionary effect of their location and aesthetic stomach-turning.

Indeed, the Quincy Addition's visual and spatial emphasis on "toney" leisure must have carried especially powerful meanings in this working community. After ten years of residential

⁷³ This sentence appears to have been printed alone without any further context. "Beatrice Tonneson Scrapbook," 48.

development, this bluff had been transformed from a muddy tramline for mined copper rock to the exclusive home base for families separating themselves from work and working people. The Quincy Addition's legal restrictions, its location, plat layout, and overall aesthetic all alienated the growing population of immigrant workers arriving from Finland, Eastern Europe, and Italy. A starkly altered relationship to labor now characterized this bluff, which just ten years previously had been a vital thoroughfare for the fruits of the miners' hard work.

That hard work had been replaced by properties designed to disparage labor, both in their use of space and their ornament. These houses emphasized leisure not just by including verandahs, parlors, drawing rooms, dining rooms, and other areas for entertaining guests and family members. Their aesthetic also suggested time dedicated to artistic pursuits and individual fulfillment. Allen's patternbook title, *Artistic Dwellings*, played off popular notions that historians generally call the Aesthetic Movement. These attitudes encouraged Americans, women specifically, to express their family's individuality by artfully arranging items they found beautiful and meaningful.⁷⁴ In East Hancock, the variety and playful combination of forms and decoration all suggested a dedication to honing a personal aesthetic – something for which workers lacked the time. The variety of shingle shapes, for instance, suggested hand-cut cedar shakes applied with precision and care. The faux-Medieval lead came windows at the Burnhams' and the diamond upper sash at the Henwoods' evoked nostalgia for the perceived slowness of a pre-Modern age. Likewise, the towers and suspended staircase projection at the Henwoods' suggested castle architecture and romantic fairy-tales. These imaginative additions not only

⁷⁴ Clifford Edward Clark, *The American Family Home, 1800-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 103–130; Katherine C. Grier, *Culture & Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery, 1850-1930* (Rochester, NY: Strong Museum, 1988); Doreen Bolger, *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: Rizzoli, 1986).

indicated an ability to pay for their design and construction, but also the leisure time to indulge in fantasy, learn about history, and cultivate one's own imagination.

Of course, these seemingly artistic or hand-made features emphasizing leisure contrasted with the reality of their manufacture and sale. The designs were not dreamed up by the residents but rather purchased from patternbooks. Likewise, the decorative shingles and specialty millwork would have been imported from urban factories, rather than made on site by a local craftsman. As at James Pryor's renovated East Houghton house, the mantels, molding, and built-ins all came from specialty manufacturers not from local artisans. But making those choices, not to mention paying for them, required time and a certain cultural capital. It was their ability to dedicate energy and money to aesthetic details at all, and also those details' particular emphasis (however shallow) on a vague romanticism for a pre-industrial age, that seemed to negate the dignity of the work that built this mining region and had, until recently, characterized this very bluff. The Quincy Addition's quick shift from facilitating the miners' hard work to spatially and visually disdaining it struck a high-note of aristocratic overture that outsiders found not just "toney" but potentially sickening.

Regardless of outsiders' opinions, the neighborhood had grown into a single legal, spatial, and visual unit filled with a tightening web of inter-married families set apart from the rest of town (fig. 3.19). Around the turn of the twentieth century, the Quincy Addition and Vivian's original plat became part of the Village of Hancock and generally became conflated in the public imagination to be called "East Hancock."⁷⁵ With this legal conjoining came a physical connection as well. The Quincy hired the Dakota Heights Real Estate Company to fill in the

⁷⁵ Residents in both halves of the neighborhood began to be listed in the 1901–02 Polk Directory with "EH" after their addresses to indicate "East Hancock." *Polk Directory, 1901–02*. Houghton County Tax Rolls for 1902, Village of Hancock, RG77-105, vol. 144, 79–82, and Addendum page, MTU.

large ravine between East Hancock and the Quincy Addition. This finally made blocks 10, 11, and 12 available for construction.⁷⁶ Building on these blocks and others were people with strong family connections with existing residents. A number of families began to see their children marry and build homes in the nearby lots. The Henwoods' daughter Daisy, for instance, married the son of the Webbs across the street and by 1906 the young couple had inherited the Webbs' house at 212 Center Street.⁷⁷ In addition, Mrs. Henwood's brother and sister-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Light, hired local architect Archie Pearce to design an enormous flamboyant house on Second Avenue.⁷⁸ The Gartners, whose patriarch Jacob had bought the Kirkpatricks' house when they left for Oshkosh, ended up with two daughters building nearly identical homes on adjacent blocks.⁷⁹ Now, East Hancock was becoming a clearly-defined single entity, legally annexed to Hancock, held together by a tight web of familial interrelations, joined spatially and by a strong architectural homogeneity. East Hancock had a more cohesive and exclusive architecture and landscape than any other place in the Copper Country.

Indeed, the appearance of these new homes operated to distinguish their owners from everyone else nearby. In other words, they operated as a mode, standing out from the familiar styles of building in this region.⁸⁰ By 1900, fashions were beginning to change and some East Hancock houses began to embrace Colonial Revival details, bungalow and Prairie Style forms,

⁷⁶ Alexander, *East Hancock Revisited: History of a Neighborhood, circa 1880-1920*, 4.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 18–19.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 25. Also see Pearce's advertisement that includes an image of the Light house in *Our Boys in the Spanish-American War, a Souvenir Illustrated, Michigan National Guard* (Houghton, MI: Gazette Co., 1900), 87.

⁷⁹ Alexander, *East Hancock Revisited: History of a Neighborhood, circa 1880-1920*, 29.

⁸⁰ Dell Upton, "Form and User: Style, Mode, Fashion, and the Artifact," in *Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture*, ed. Gerald L. Pocius (St. John's, NL: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991), 156–69; Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia*, paperback edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 101–102.

and even Beaux-Arts Classicism. But they continued to be modish in their intention to use aesthetic tastes to differentiate these professional class families from workers and immigrants. While additional modern style houses began to appear throughout the Copper Country, especially in Laurium, which will be addressed in Chapter 5, East Hancock had a high concentration of new style houses in a tightly defined space. Its exclusivity was aesthetic as well as spatial.

Interestingly, however, East Hancock residents probably did not experience their aesthetic as modish but rather as stylish. In their minds, they were joining in with their perceived shared community of middle-class professionals around the country as they invented a fashion for their changing domestic ideals. Perhaps for the Burnhams and the Henwoods, this aesthetic allowed them to blend in nationally more than stand out locally. With the quantities of magazines and advice books multiplying in these years, and the political debates swirling about the cultural role of women and the American home, the national scene would have been known and meaningful among these fairly well-traveled professionals. Their aesthetic choices, then, played double duty, both distinguishing them from local workers and connecting them to a professional class of managers seeking to normalize their new positions. In this way, architectural fashions in East Hancock harbored a tension between local and national audience.⁸¹

East Hancock Becomes a Managerial Neighborhood for the Quincy Mining Company

The final shift that helped shape East Hancock in the years before the strike also highlights a tension between local and national trends: the nationwide domestic realignment

⁸¹ Dell Upton's work captures the multiple audiences and perceptions, both intended and unintended, in professional landscapes. See especially Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 101–102, 199–218.

along class lines became caught up in local Quincy company labor relations (fig. 3.20). Around 1900, the Quincy Mining Company's changing policies about housing its managers contributed to a sea-change in East Hancock's architecture and population. Until this point, only a small number of people working for the Quincy or the Northern Michigan Building & Loan Association had moved into the neighborhood. And with the exception of Hanchette, none of them appeared until the second building phase started in 1899. Even then, people linked to the NMB&L bought into the neighborhood earlier than Quincy employees. Thomas J. Prince, publisher of the *Portage Lake Herald*, was the first of the B&L's founding members after Hanchette to take the plunge. In December 1899 – eight years after the first lots were sold – he bought a lot on the west side near town at 202 Third Street (now Harris Avenue) and built a double-tower Queen Anne house with generous rooms, large windows, and a barn in the rear.⁸² The next year, an agent for the B&L named Charles Matthews built a house one block up at 302 Fourth Street (now Mason Avenue). His original land contract with the Quincy notes that the Company agreed to “spot cash \$200” to help him make the purchase.⁸³ A bookkeeper for the B&L also bought one of these less expensive lots up on Mason Avenue.⁸⁴ In 1900, a Quincy company carpenter named A. H. Trowbridge bought a lot but he sold it before he built anything, suggesting a speculative building project.⁸⁵ Not until 1916 did a Quincy white-collar worker – a

⁸² Alexander, *East Hancock Revisited: History of a Neighborhood, circa 1880-1920*, 27. “Land Contract Agreements, Quincy Addition to Hancock, 1892–1901,” MS-001, Box 31, MTU.

⁸³ “Land Contract Agreements, Quincy Addition to Hancock,” Charles Matthews, 28 July 1900, MS-001, Box 31, MTU; *Ibid.*, 29.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 28. Also see “Quincy Addition” list in MS-001, Box 340, Folder 1, MTU.

⁸⁵ Note on map in figure 8 reads: “A. H. Trowbridge sold the western part of Lot 10 Block 6 to A. D. Light.”

doctor named William VanSlyke – manage to build a modest home of his own accord without help from the company.⁸⁶

While these mid-level white-collar employees struggled to afford East Hancock properties, Quincy higher-ups began to build what became the neighborhood’s most ostentatious houses. The first conspicuous change came when the Quincy agreed to build a new house for James R. Cooper (see fig. 3.15). Cooper designed a new smelter facility for the company and was going to be its general manager. This facility would consolidate the final processing of copper within the company’s control thus capturing more profit and increasing output potential.⁸⁷ In the next several decades, this smelter would be among the major technological and financial maneuvers that propelled the Quincy toward enormous profit. Cooper and the company foresaw this.

In recognition of Cooper’s significant contribution to the company’s success and the important role he would play in running this new smelter, the company agreed to build him a house – the first major manager’s house the company had built in over a decade.⁸⁸ Most importantly, Cooper chose to locate it not on Quincy Hill in line with Superintendent Harris’ large Italianate house, the office building, and the clerk’s house. Instead he wanted it in a prominent spot on East Hancock’s bluff.⁸⁹ This choice was understandable as Cooper had been president of the NMB&L since its founding and clearly had a role in defining the Quincy

⁸⁶ VanSlyke built at 311 Center Street. Alexander, *East Hancock Revisited: History of a Neighborhood, circa 1880-1920*, 17.

⁸⁷ Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 123–124.

⁸⁸ Bennett, “Where the Bosses Lived: Managerial Housing of Three Companies in Michigan’s Copper Country,” 25–79.

⁸⁹ Cooper asked specifically for this lot. Harris to Todd, 11 January 1900, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 6, MTU.

Addition's spatial and aesthetic exclusivity. Finally, after ten years, he would take his place in Hancock's best neighborhood.

Following company tradition, the Quincy financed this new property for Cooper. An agreement drawn up in July 1900 indicates that if Cooper would pay to have lots 1, 2, and 3 in lot 9 graded (which were probably quite rocky and previously unbuildable), then the company would give him \$7000 to build a house.⁹⁰ At first, President Todd assumed that company carpenters could build this house according to Todd's own sketches, as had been common practice. He sent a sketch (now lost) to Harris back in February suggesting he get Cooper's input.⁹¹ Apparently, Cooper had grander visions. By July, Todd and Harris had agreed to build according to designs by Charlton, Gilbert & Demar, an architectural firm in Marquette that had been designing fashionable commercial and residential buildings for mining companies and wealthy individuals throughout the Copper Country for more than five years. While it is unclear whether Quincy or Cooper paid for the designs, the expensive construction of this house would be overseen by Cooper and paid for by the company.⁹²

While the house was lost in a fire in the mid twentieth century, Charlton, Gilbert & Demar's plans for the house suggest that Cooper struck a balance between positioning himself as a figurehead for the company within the community while also embracing new fashions for subdued progressive-era decoration (figs. 3.21a-d and 3.22a-d).⁹³ As with its predecessors, this house emphatically divided service spaces from family spaces and used modish aesthetics to set it apart. The façade faced the large bridge across the Portage Lake and would have been

⁹⁰ Memorandum of Agreement, 18 July 1900, MS-001, Box 338, Folder 18, MTU.

⁹¹ Todd to Harris, 26 February 1900, MS-001, Box 339, Folder 14, MTU.

⁹² Memorandum of Agreement, 18 July 1900.

⁹³ Drawings for a House for J. R. Cooper, Esq. of the Quincy Mining Company, Hancock, Michigan, Charleton, Gilbert & Demar, architects, Map Collection, Drawer 62H, MTU.

immediately in view for everyone on train, foot, or, after 1901, the streetcar. This three-story side-gabled form with rear ell featured a full-width porch with carved ionic columns and classical portico over a side entry. The bold cornice over the second story featured large dentil molding. Three third floor dormers boasted more ionic columns, small cornice returns, and a round window all in the Classical Revival style. A ca. 1905 photograph suggests a white or light color paint or stain on its narrow clapboard siding, a sharp contrast from the multiple colors inspired from nature common on earlier Queen Anne-style houses.⁹⁴ But like those earlier houses, even with this new emphasis on coherent classical details and professional attention to proportion and scale, this house's modish appearance spoke to a national upper-middle-class audience rather than to local people.

While eminently visible, this house was markedly inaccessible. Its front facade lacked a door. The entrance was under a small roof on the east side, which faced the Quincy Smelter about a half-mile away. A pedestrian, carriage, or car would have had to drive up the steep Center Street hill, make a quick right turn on A street, pass Cooper's house entirely, and turn into a driveway to reach its front door.⁹⁵ Visitors clearly required special knowledge to access this house. It was meant to be seen but not entered.

Likewise, its interior plan kept the kitchen and multiple highly organized service spaces divided from the parlor, library, entry hall, and dining room. In fact, to get from the front door to the kitchen, a person would have had to pass through three doorways and a butler's pantry buffer zone, much like at the Henwood's but on a larger scale. Likewise, the service stairs from the basement laundry and heating rooms up to the servants' bedrooms on the third floor, operated

⁹⁴ The house is only partially visible. Detroit Publishing Company, *Quincy Hill and Hancock Michigan*.

⁹⁵ The drive is visible in *ibid*.

like a parallel service column completely divided from the family areas of the house. Chapter 4 will explore this division further, but here it emphasizes the embrace by company officials of the class divisions built into suburban architecture. Cooper spent all of the Quincy's \$7000 gift and then some, agreeing to self-finance the expensive tile work and fireplace surrounds throughout the house. The contracting specifications clearly specify rich materials, often from specific catalogs for hardware, nails, and other manufactured elements. Cooper would have ordered tiles and carved surrounds from specialty manufacturers in Chicago or elsewhere, which would have been considerably expensive.⁹⁶

Cooper's house marked the last gasp in the Quincy Company's old-style of corporate paternalism with respect to managerial housing. In the early days, all of the Copper Country companies provided housing to their managers rent-free. This perk helped attract and retain good employees in an otherwise remote and sparsely settled area. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Quincy's agent's house, office, and clerk's house were lined up with the shaft-rock houses to extend the workplace hierarchy into the residential landscape, and tie company officers to the copper lode. In addition to housing, officers had free access to company horses, buggies, animal feed, carriage drivers, and house staff.⁹⁷

In April 1900, however, the Quincy Mining Company changed its policy and decided to charge its officers rent based on the market value of their occupied house. This was not a cost-cutting measure since the company raised officers' pay to cover the new rents, fuel, feed, and a

⁹⁶ Memorandum of Agreement, 18 July 1900.

⁹⁷ Bennett, "Where the Bosses Lived: Managerial Housing of Three Companies in Michigan's Copper Country," 67.

“man.”⁹⁸ Instead, it was a public relations move related to a nation-wide shift away from overt models of corporate paternalism. As Margaret Crawford and others have demonstrated, industrial companies at this time began to see themselves not as benevolent caretakers of their employees, but rather as professional managers overseeing a labor system.⁹⁹ This new form of welfare capitalism was generally intended to help stave off labor actions, and in the Copper Country, it took the form of new libraries, bathhouses, hospitals, and schools for employees.¹⁰⁰ Even though the Quincy had never run a closed company town, it began to realize that charging rent to its workers but not its managers, and giving them perks like the use of company carriages, was beginning to have what Todd later called a “demoralizing effect” on workers.¹⁰¹ On 1 July 1900, all Quincy captains and managers began paying rent. In a few cases, mid-level white-collar employees who struggled to pay their rents were accommodated by retrofitting large houses for two families.¹⁰² But with the exception of Superintendent Harris, who was exempted entirely, all managers, even Cooper, started paying rent.¹⁰³

An episode with the Quincy’s head mining captain further exposes changes in the way company officials thought about expressing and maintaining their status, and East Hancock’s

⁹⁸ For discussion of raises to cover rent and “perquisites” see J. L. Harris to Todd, 2 August 1902, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 17, 217–18, MTU; and also Todd to J. L. Harris, 17 July 1902, Box 342, Folder 14, MTU.

⁹⁹ Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman’s Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*, Haymarket Series (London ; New York: Verso, 1995); Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*, First MIT Press paperback (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983), 177–192.

¹⁰⁰ Alanen, “Companies as Caretakers: Paternalism, Welfare Capitalism, and Immigrants in the Lake Superior Mining Region,” 367, 377; Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, 162–216.

¹⁰¹ Todd to J. L. Harris, 10 July 1902, MS-001, Box 338, Folder 14, MTU.

¹⁰² J. L. Harris to Todd, 2 August 1902, MS-001, Box 337, Folder 7, 217–18, and 7 August 1902, 239, MTU.

¹⁰³ For Harris’ exemption see Todd to Chief Clerk Angus F. MacDonald, 3 August 1900, MS-001, Box 340, Folder 1, MTU.

new role in that strategy.¹⁰⁴ Captain Thomas Whittle had been Head Mining Captain for eleven years by 1900 when the new rent policy went into effect. He had been living in a house built specifically for him in 1889 when he became head captain.¹⁰⁵ His three-bay center-door Gothic-Revival style house occupied a prominent place in Quincy's row. Despite receiving an 11% raise to cover the newly-charged rent and expense for carriages and a "man," Whittle continued to use the company's horses, drivers, and household help for personal use.¹⁰⁶ By 1902, this activity began to appear inappropriate. President Todd wrote to the new superintendent, John. L. Harris, who had taken over from his father Samuel.

We would call your attention to Captain Whittle's turnout [a type of carriage]. On passing his residence last week, saw his horses, carriage and coachmen (a man working for the Company) standing in front. Such things we think, show bad taste, interferes with business and exercises a demoralizing effect on others, and should be discontinued. Knowingly permitting it, I think reflects unfavorably on the Superintendent and myself. Give this your attention and advise if either Kendall or Jacobs or any other assistant mining captain is competent or desirable to promote in case of a vacancy. If not, I think it important for our own protection to secure a first assistant that can be made chief captain in case Captain Whittle may want to leave.¹⁰⁷

Here, and in a reply from Harris, company officers acknowledged a changing paradigm in the way power was to be handled in the landscape. Whittle and others had been privy to company "turnouts," or equipped carriages, for many years as a sign of company success, and also a way of expressing the dominance of individuals high in the hierarchy. However, company strategies were changing. Financial support and perks from the company now needed to be hidden.

Whittle's error in this episode was not using the buggies *per se* but rather leaving them in front

¹⁰⁴ Discussion of this episode also appears in Bennett, "Where the Bosses Lived: Managerial Housing of Three Companies in Michigan's Copper Country," 77–79.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 37–44. For an image of this house see "Mining Captain Whittle's House," Keweenaw Digital Archives, MTU, MS015MI-2-231, http://digarch.lib.mtu.edu/showbib.aspx?bib_id=653165#.

¹⁰⁶ Todd to J. L. Harris, 17 July 1902, MS-001, Box 342, Folder 14, MTU.

¹⁰⁷ Todd to J. L. Harris, 10 July 1902, MS-001, Box 338, Folder 14, MTU.

of his house to be seen. As Harris replied to Todd, “any subordinate officer employed by any company should have tact enough to conduct himself as befitting his position.”¹⁰⁸ Whittle’s action was not a breach in policy but in “tact” or taste. Whereas management housing had been built in the 1880s specifically to be seen – like Quincy’s enormous Italianate Superintendent’s house, situated on the landscape to dominate viewsheds and create a belittling experience for passersby – they now seemed tasteless. Taste no longer included an outward flaunting of resources, but rather their inward private use. Ostentation now lacked taste and reflected badly on the company and its officers, so badly that Todd worried about his and Harris’ “own protection.”

After this episode, Whittle did not leave the company, as Todd and Harris seemed to expect. Instead he stayed on as head captain but built himself a Shingle-style house in East Hancock (fig. 3.23). The house featured large hooded gables covered in decorative shakes, uneven fenestration with stained glass, and lighting fixtures said to be from Tiffany & Co. in New York.¹⁰⁹ Whittle did not buy a lot from his employer in the Quincy Addition but chose instead to live in Vivian’s original East Hancock addition. He bought the lots that Vivian – now dead – had reserved for himself. He moved two older houses to make room for his new structure prominently situated on the corner of the bluff. His house was eminently visible from Houghton and the Portage, and in line with Cooper’s new house. But unlike Cooper, Whittle bought it himself. Being asked to tone down his ostentation because his workers resented it may have driven Whittle to create his own architectural realm apart from Company identity, located with his perceived social and professional equals.

¹⁰⁸ J. L. Harris to Todd, 12 July 1902, MS-001, Box 339, Folder 9, MTU.

¹⁰⁹ Alexander, *East Hancock Revisited: History of a Neighborhood, circa 1880-1920*, 35–36.

With Cooper and Whittle firmly ensconced in East Hancock, it began to look like a managerial neighborhood for the Quincy Mining Company. Not surprisingly, a lot of companies building new model towns were including separate fashionable neighborhoods for their managers.¹¹⁰ Indeed, nearby just south of Houghton, the Copper Range Consolidated Mining Company created a mini-suburb for its managers in the planned town of Painesdale. This group of eastern investors hired Milwaukee architect Alexander Eschweiler to create fashionable houses for the Copper Range general manager and captains on a small tree-covered hill somewhat removed from the mine shafts and hoist houses.¹¹¹ The street quickly became known as “Snob Hill.”¹¹²

Quincy’s shift toward new model towns differed somewhat. It included selling housing to employees, not just to managers. They developed two Quincy Hillside Additions in 1900 and 1903, through which they sold company-built houses to workers.¹¹³ But for its managers, the Quincy did not have to build a new neighborhood like the Copper Range but could instead encourage its managers to move into the suburban development it had already built years before. East Hancock turned out to be the perfect solution to changing notions of paternalism. Not only did the company not have to build a suburb-like retreat for all its managers, but it could profit from the sale of the lots. Whether the company foresaw this situation is unknown, but it worked out conveniently indeed.

But this change in managers’ housing from overt expressions of hierarchy on company land to a seemingly more private version begs the question, which did workers resent more?

¹¹⁰ Crawford, *Building the Workingman’s Paradise*, 101–105.

¹¹¹ Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, 26–28; Bennett, “Where the Bosses Lived: Managerial Housing of Three Companies in Michigan’s Copper Country,” 125–179.

¹¹² Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, 28.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 36, 94–107.

Whittle's ability to use company buggies and livery for free while living in a company house? Or his independent financial ability to retreat into a totally inaccessible elite residential enclave and build a house far more fashionable and expensive than the company's designated captain's house? His move may have kept him from surveying workers as they moved in and out of the shaft houses on Quincy Hill, but was his exodus better than surveillance? Whittle had abandoned workers in their machine shops, shaft-rock houses, and in the mine shafts themselves, and secured himself a comfortable place in a pastoral wonderland of seemingly endless leisure. Cooper's situation may have been perceived with even more animosity, since the company had actually paid for his luxurious retreat. Company officials may have believed that charging rent across the board and moving its managers off company land would reduce class tensions, but the move of those managers into East Hancock may have generated as much if not more demoralization among workers.

The final straw, as it were, in East Hancock's consolidation into not only an elite suburb but also the *de facto* managerial neighborhood for the Quincy Mining Company came in 1910 when the two former superintendents most closely associated with the company's local power, Samuel B. Harris and John L. Harris, built themselves a house in the last remaining lot on the bluff (fig. 3.24). Perhaps not surprisingly, Samuel Harris had owned this lot for almost twenty years. Shortly after lots started selling in the fall of 1891, the Quincy sold the lot next to Hanchette's to Superintendent Harris for only \$1.¹¹⁴ While comparable lots were priced at over \$2000, Harris obtained this lot essentially for free. Harris' intention at the time and his reasons for waiting so long to build are unknown. One effect of this delay was that Harris protected that

¹¹⁴ No land contract survives for Harris but a c.1901 listing of lots sold thus far, Samuel B. Harris appears as the third lot sold: "25 April 1892, Saml. B. Harris, E ½ of Lot 1, \$1.00." "Quincy Addition" list, MS-001, Box 340, Folder 1, MTU.

prominent lot from being purchased by other potentially “undesirable” buyers. As it would always serve as a billboard of sorts for the neighborhood, Harris kept the space within company control. Perhaps the company saw the writing on the wall about shifting paternalistic practice quite early, but never made the final decision to move its superintendent into East Hancock. Indeed, even into the 1920s the Quincy General Manager Charles Lawton continued to live in the designated (and quite aged) Italianate-style house even as all the captains moved into private residences.

Whatever the Harrises’ exact motivations, their new house – which sat, perhaps not coincidentally, at the corner of Front and Center streets – embodied many of the tensions that had shaped East Hancock. When the Harrises finally built their large home in 1910–12, they had both been retired as superintendents of the Quincy and had become involved in other real estate and mining investments. Samuel B. Harris had been superintendent from 1880 until 1900. His son John L. Harris’ tenure as general manager had been fraught with interpersonal troubles and consequently quite short (1902-05). This father and son hired architect Henry L. Ottenheimer of Chicago to design what amounted to two side-by-side bachelor’s apartments with shared space for service and entertaining. Like its neighbors, this house featured designated service and entertaining spaces with all the highest quality plumbing, heating, and water utilities. Its exterior embraced the pared-down progressive style now favored by many upper-middle-class professionals throughout the country. Its dark brick and stucco exterior held up a shallow hipped roof with overhanging eaves. Like Cooper’s house built a decade earlier, it also downplayed the front door with a simple portico on the small eastern façade.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Architectural Drawings for the Residence of Mr. John L. Harris, Ottenheimer, Stern, and Reichert, architects, 29 June 1909, 11 pages, MS-041, Drawer 85H, MTU. To view these

While a common style in wealthy neighborhoods across the country, this subdued almost cerebral stylistic choice seems significant in the Copper Country. Ottenheimer had built several more ostentatious houses in previous years in the area, as had some East Hancock residents.¹¹⁶ In 1907, businessman Andrew Kauth had built a grand classical revival house with two-story columns rising in a temple-front far out-scaled for its location at 318 Second Street.¹¹⁷ And as we will see in Chapter 5, a group of investors in Laurium built classically-inspired temple-front houses on a grand scale with rich interior fittings in 1907 like nothing yet seen in the Copper Country. By choosing something very different from these, were the Harrises making a statement? Is it possible that Samuel Harris, who was over seventy years old by 1912, perhaps yearned for a scaled-down domestic space?

More likely, this subdued architectural statement, in terms of scale, ornament, and a lack of reference to historical legacy, suggests their level of confidence. Pierre Bourdieu argues that people make the strongest distinctions in taste when they think their class status is the most threatened.¹¹⁸ The Harrises, at this point in their lives, had built a strong professional and social legacy unparalleled in Hancock and among the most respected in the Copper Country. They did not need to use their house to demonstrate their social and financial influence. In fact, choosing understated domestic architecture, or using what Bourdieu would call “self-imposed austerity,”

drawings, see “Architectural Drawings for Residence of Mr. John L. Harris,” Keweenaw Digital Archives, MTU, MS041-85H-01-11, http://digarch.lib.mtu.edu/showbib.aspx?bib_id=676847#.

¹¹⁶ Jeremy Rickli, “Henry Leopold Ottenheimer,” on Copper Country Architects, Department of Social Sciences, Michigan Technological University, 2007–2013, <http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/oh.htm>.

¹¹⁷ Joe Lukaszewski, “Hans T. Liebert, Buildings,” on Copper Country Architects, Department of Social Sciences, Michigan Technological University, 2007–2013, http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/lh_build.htm#kh.

¹¹⁸ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 60.

communicated their supreme confidence and unthreatened posture.¹¹⁹ Their ability to *not* advertise their power made the strongest statement about that power itself. Also, by this time, cerebral architect-designed houses differentiated those comfortably established in the upper-middle-class from the nouveaux riches. Since the 1880s, ostentatious mansions and the flaunting of luxury had become suspect or distasteful among those who would prefer to see financial investments in charitable causes or community building.¹²⁰ The Harrises' house, then, was the ultimate expression of class security.

Also, in part, the location of their house took some of the pressure off the architecture to distinguish its owners (fig. 3.25). They had the most desirable and most visible lot in the most exclusive neighborhood in town, which they had helped build. Removed from the heterogeneity of the downtown streets, their property was differentiated already. The need for additional differentiation was lifted from the architecture itself. Additionally, a few years previously, the east-west streets in East Hancock had been renamed after Quincy Mining Company officials: Mason, Cooper, Dunstan, and Harris Avenues.¹²¹ Stylistic distinction at that point perhaps seemed gratuitous. As among the last houses built in the neighborhood before the strike, and certainly the most noticeable, the Harrises' house demonstrated East Hancock's success in creating a place for the area's wealthy to create, assert, and ultimately, rely on their social status.

The previous three chapters have studied the design of East Houghton, East Hancock, and the houses within them to examine the move among successful white-collar professionals to fully

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 176; See also Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*, 57–58.

¹²⁰ Jan Cohn, *The Palace or the Poorhouse: The American House as a Cultural Symbol* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1979), 116–142; Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*, 231–253.

¹²¹ *Polk's Houghton County Directory, 1907–08* (Detroit: R. L. Polk & Co., 1907).

embrace a suburban model, which differentiated them from workplaces and workers. By the time of the strike in 1913, everyone in power in Hancock lived together. This spatial realignment along class lines altered relationships not only between manager and worker, or the rich and the poor, but also along more nuanced axes. Personal identities in the Copper Country were complex and relational. The next two chapters shift from questions of design toward questions of experience, agency, and representation.

CHAPTER 4

Performing Out Of Place: Mobility, Servants, and Mistresses in East Hancock

The Quincy Mining Company's 1891 plans for East Hancock presented in the previous chapter largely came to fruition by the 1913–14 Miners' Strike. As an upscale residential neighborhood, home to independent business leaders as well as mining company officials, East Hancock came to define the people in charge of businesses across industries. People who lived there found a community of like-minded professionals who valued new notions about the cleanliness of the modern home, the importance of comfort and taste in raising a family, and the value of living away from one's workplace. East Hancock began to resemble suburban developments on the outskirts of other industrial cities. Business-people visiting the Copper Country from Cleveland, Milwaukee, Chicago, Pittsburgh as well as Boston and New York would have recognized East Hancock and its Queen Anne-style houses as the sign of a successful modern town (fig. 4.1). To them, East Hancock would have felt familiar and welcoming. To many Copper Country residents, however, it did not.

To working families, the residential development in East Hancock would have felt decidedly unfamiliar and unwelcoming. The combination of the topography, off-set street grid, modish architecture, and strong associations with Quincy Mining Company officials and downtown land-owners made East Hancock a markedly elite place. And unlike downtown stores or the mine pay office, non-residents had little reason to enter East Hancock regularly. The non-residents who did enter the neighborhood went there to deliver laundry, coal, and groceries. Even the domestic servants who "lived-in" had very different experiences than residents, as we will

see. Everything about the place reminded workers that they were in a different social category than the families they served.

This chapter investigates the movement of people in different class groups into and within East Hancock. While Chapter 3 demonstrated that the neighborhood was designed to keep people “in their places,” Chapter 4 delves into the psychological consequences of East Hancock’s spatial prescription. What were the feelings generated by walking down the streets and living in these houses? How did those feelings differ for residents versus servants? The physical and visual experiences of moving through spaces in which each individual was reminded of his or her status and required to perform in specific yet unspoken ways impacted the lives of real people – real people who several years afterwards disrupted the social order in a passionate and violent strike. In terms of local relevance, this chapter suggests that East Hancock’s location in this remote and hierarchical mining landscape intensified the class-consciousness that its architecture generated. In other words, the geographic and demographic realities of this place influenced the effect of East Hancock’s architecture on different social groups.

In terms of broader relevance – both historical and methodological – this chapter offers an interpretation of one location generating multiple overlapping landscapes for people in different class groups. Historians, of course, recognize the existence of social divisions in middle- and upper-middle-class housing.¹ But its spatial and visual nature, along with the effects of those articulated spaces on peoples’ everyday experiences, begs further investigation. This chapter is less interested in calling out the service zones or the surveillance that occurred within

¹ Classic examples of this are Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*, 96–113; Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias*, 4–6.

these Victorian and Progressive-era houses, as other scholars have done well.² Instead, it asks how those zones operated together with the larger spatial systems of class segregation in the neighborhood, town, and region. By mapping and comparing the movement of mistresses and their servants, we begin to see that East Hancock required different people to perform multiple identities as they moved through the neighborhood. Further, we investigate the psychological effects of having one's multiple identities spatially prescribed in a community already full of divisions along lines of class, industry, ethnicity, and taste.³

In order to examine physical experience, this chapter explores issues of identity performance and social space. As mentioned in the Introduction, I build on Erving Goffman's idea that an individual is always re-inventing his or her self in the context of changing social relationships, but also in specific locations.⁴ We perform different identities as we interact with other people in various spaces, making our senses of self fluid, relational, and embodied. Embodied performance, then, allows us to consider individuals as well as groups, specific locations as well as multiple senses of that place, and a single moment as well as the passage of time.⁵

Key to using the physical experience of space to examine identity performance is the idea of mobility. Bodies move through space. Geographer Tim Cresswell argues persuasively that we should use the term *mobility* to denote socially constructed movement, much like we use place to

² Andrzejewski, *Building Power*; Clark, *The American Family Home, 1800-1960*, 35–71; Wright, *Building the Dream*, First MIT Press paperback:76–80.

³ For a similar approach see Scarlett, "Crossing the Milwaukee River: A Case Study in Mapping Mobility and Class Geographies."

⁴ Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.*, 1–76.

⁵ Sen and Johung, *Landscapes of Mobility*, 2; Low and Lawrence-Zuñiga, *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 1–47; Bender, "Time and Landscape."

denote socially constructed space.⁶ While time geography of the 1970s and several historians and historical archaeologists in more recent decades have used the physical experience of moving through space to explore past lives, mobility continues to offer new promise for scholars today.⁷ As a shared feature of human life that is simultaneously universal and individual, landscapes of mobility open up critical multiple readings and relational interpretations.⁸

As discussed in the Introduction, Dell Upton has used the idea of processional landscapes to identify and compare the co-existing experiences of the same location among different social groups. He traced the pathways taken by white visitors to Virginia's Mount Airy and other antebellum plantations, and then compared them to the daily movements of black slaves, who went from being family-members in their quarters, to being housemaids in the Tayloe family's private chambers, to being ostentatious possessions subject to systems of genteel deportment in public spaces. Upton called the slaves' place-specific identity transformations events of *dissolution* and *reformulation*, which were triggered when they crossed certain boundaries between outdoor areas, buildings, and rooms.⁹ Upton's study demonstrated that triggering multiple events of identity dissolution and reformulation destabilized the power of the plantation master. The slaves' landscapes of mobility created an alternate landscape that co-existed with the

⁶ Cresswell, *On the Move*, 1–3.

⁷ See for instance, Allan Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74, no. 2 (June 1, 1984): 279–97; Anne E. Yentsch and Julie Hunter, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Leland G. Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, VA., by University of North Carolina Press, 1982).

⁸ Sen and Johung, *Landscapes of Mobility*; Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst, *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).

⁹ Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 364; also see Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 199–218.

dominant formal approach choreographed for white visitors.¹⁰ Recognizing the existence and power of these overlapping landscapes depends on the investigation of mobility.

In similar ways to Upton's article, this chapter maps the overlapping landscapes of mobility for East Hancock residents and the people who worked for them. It locates the boundaries that triggered their dissolution and reformulation of identity. This investigation focuses on the mistresses of the households and their live-in servants, whose names and presence are easier to obtain than the mostly anonymous servants who "lived out." The two sets of women were divided by class and often by cultural and language barriers. While less brutal than the racially-based chattel slavery discussed in Upton's article, these social divisions in East Hancock were not insignificant, and, as we will see, operated in space in similar ways.

As at Mount Airy, servants with little social power in East Hancock passed through multiple trigger points throughout the day that required them to shed their identities as family and community members and assume roles as cook, laundress, waitress, caregiver, gatekeeper and many others. By contrast, the mistress of the house generally had to maintain a consistent identity as progressive-era "modern" woman, managing her household and servants much like her husband managed his business. These various performances, as we will see, often depended on the absence or presence of other people, an element of mobility that caused significant anxiety for all parties. Both women harbored complex and layered identities, but the daily rhythms of their performances differed considerably.

While this fragmentation of self may have been exhausting and demoralizing for the servants, this study considers backdoors, basement rooms, and other in-between spaces to suggest that, when compared to the relatively uniform spaces available to the mistresses, the

¹⁰ See a related interpretation of overlapping racial landscapes in Herman, "The Embedded Landscapes of the Charleston Single House, 1780-1820."

landscapes of the live-in servants offered important spaces for subversion. When out of view, servants could relax to some degree and recall their personal lives outside of East Hancock. Also, the trigger points themselves became liminal spaces where normal expectations were denied and the servant's identity was called into question. On sidewalks and back porches in East Hancock, could servants perform instead as members of their own class and ethnic communities? In the places and moments when their identities became fluid, could they exchange knowing glances with other servants or deliverymen, whisper about an upcoming union parade, or exchange solidarity about their shared positions as workers? And to what degree did these exchanges help workers formulate their opinions about the Western Federation of Miners, corporate paternalism in the Copper Country, and the increasing threat of a strike? This chapter begins to suggest the role of this neighborhood and its houses in allowing women to imagine alternative selves in a time of social upheaval.

By identifying places for subverting East Hancock's dominant landscape, this chapter engages with scholarship in resistance studies. Like recent works that consider agency among oppressed groups, this chapter sees the relationship between the weak and the powerful as discursive rather than top-down or unidirectional. As archaeologist Karen Bescherer Metheny argues, workers in paternalistic company towns negotiated varied and multiple identities "as part of an ongoing dialogue" with the people, objects, and landscapes around them.¹¹ Similarly, archaeologist Sarah E. Cowie has suggested that power in industrial company towns existed in multiple forms and workers developed agency within this "plurality of power."¹² This chapter builds on these studies to consider the specific relationship of mistress and servant in an industrial community, thus answering the call of some historians to add consideration of

¹¹ Metheny, *From the Miners' Doublehouse*, xxvi.

¹² Cowie, *The Plurality of Power: An Archaeology of Industrial Capitalism*, 173–185.

embodied resistance to the vast library of scholarship on late nineteenth-century American houses. For instance, Anna Vemer Andrzejewski's book chapter examines the ideologies of surveillance in the middle-class house, but calls on future studies to consider actual acts of resistance.¹³ Toward that end, I rely on the suggestions of anthropologist Robert Fletcher. For him, the important questions about resistance circle around how an individual begins to recognize his or her situation as oppressive, and how that individual decides that open rebellion might be a viable option.¹⁴

To get at those questions, this chapter triangulates between historic documentation, physical buildings and landscapes, and the known and implied actions of workers. A model for this approach is Kingston Heath's *Patina of Place*. As part of his argument for studying the multiple meanings that a building accumulates over time, Heath demonstrates a "social reading" of a neighborhood from the perspective of different individuals.¹⁵ As in Heath's study, the landscape itself in this chapter takes center stage as primary evidence, supported by historic photos, ownership documents, interpretive drawings, and biographies of residents. Conjectural maps of the meaningful locations of identity performance and the accompanying historical narrative let us visualize and imagine the experience of servants and mistresses and the

¹³ Andrzejewski, *Building Power*, 91–134. She discusses prescription vs. practice on pages 96–97, and cites the importance of teasing out actions in addition to ideals on pages 168–169. Other calls for studying embodied experience in similar situations appear in George L. Henderson, "What (Else) We Talk about When We Talk about Landscape: For a Return to the Social Imagination," in *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J. B. Jackson*, ed. Paul Erling Groth and Chris Wilson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 195; William Littmann, "Designing Obedience: The Architecture and Landscape of Welfare Capitalism, 1880–1930," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 53 (1998): 88–89, doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0147547900013685>.

¹⁴ Robert Fletcher, "What Are We Fighting for? Rethinking Resistance in a Pewenche Community in Chile," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 28, no. 3 (2001): 60.

¹⁵ Heath, *The Patina of Place: The Cultural Weathering of a New England Industrial Landscape*, 6–23.

emotional rhythm of their days. This chapter takes advantage of some first-person accounts of servants in the Copper Country, though none have been found from East Hancock specifically. This lack of words, however, does not diminish the rich evidence available in the architectural record. There is so much that can in fact be read from the landscape.

Mistresses, Servants, and Landscapes of Mobility

East Hancock – the Quincy and Vivian Additions together – can be read as a place with overlapping social landscapes made up of the multiple performances of identity that people in different class groups felt compelled to perform as they moved into and throughout the neighborhood. The idea of overlapping landscapes was discussed in Chapter 2, where we observed landscapes of industry and suburban domesticity co-existing at James Pryor’s property. He kept one foot in the old fashioned paternalistic industrial landscape, and another foot in the new emerging suburban landscape by making and remaking a double-façade house.

In this chapter, however, the landscapes that co-existed in East Hancock were not different ways to spatially express and create power, as in East Houghton. Instead, these were different social landscapes. I use the term social landscape to denote the experience of individual people or groups of similar ethnic or class populations in a given location.¹⁶ In East Hancock, the dominant social landscape included the owners of the houses and their families. But multiple other social landscapes co-existed there, created by live-in servants as well as daily maids, people delivering groceries, ice, coal, laundry and other services. The social landscapes of the people who worked in East Hancock differed considerably from the dominant landscape and also

¹⁶ Metheny, *From the Miners’ Doublehouse*, xxv; Metheny in turn cites Margaret C. Rodman, “Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 94, no. 3 (September 1, 1992): 640–56.

from each other, as service workers came from many different countries and brought diverse ideas with them. Each social landscape developed as an individual performed multiple identities arising from his or her specific habitus.¹⁷

The dominant social landscape belonged to the homeowners, residents, and Quincy Mining Company officials. As we saw in Chapter 3, the neighborhood and its houses helped these people perform a modern suburban identity for the benefit of themselves, each other, and their visitors. By the 1890s, the detached single-family home set back from the street in an exclusively residential neighborhood had become a central feature of middle and upper-middle class white America.¹⁸ While James Pryor in Houghton had negotiated a stance with one foot still in the industrial paradigm, most of his neighbors on Main Street and new builders in East Hancock fully embraced the separate suburban house away from work as an essential ingredient in new modern American living for white-collar workers.

To imagine the issues of identity performance among East Hancock's new residents, we return to Edwin and Marie Henwood, whose patternbook house we encountered in Chapter 3 (fig. 4.2). At 209 Center Street, this couple used their new house to communicate and embrace new values and a lifestyle quite different from their childhood. They both came from Cornish families attracted to the United States by the mining boom in the Upper Mississippi River Valley and the Keweenaw Peninsula in the mid-nineteenth century (fig. 4.3).¹⁹ Born in England in 1845, Edwin came to the U.S. as a toddler with his parents William, a miner, and Ann. Passing first through Pennsylvania, the family came to Copper Harbor in 1852 and lived at the U.S. Army's

¹⁷ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 101; A useful discussion of habitus is in Low and Lawrence-Zuñiga, *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 3–4.

¹⁸ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*; Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*.

¹⁹ For more on cultural landscapes in the Lead Region see Andrzejewski, Alanen, and Scarlett, *Vernacular Architecture Forum* 2012.

Fort Wilkins while his father worked as agent-in-charge of the New York & Michigan Mine in Keweenaw County.²⁰ Beginning in 1858, they went south and spent a few years in the lead mining region of southwestern Wisconsin.²¹ Their town of Hazel Green had recently been renamed from its original title, Hardscrabble, a common Cornish moniker for fleeting “diggings” or mining areas.²² Probably among Hazel Green’s successful early residents, Edwin’s parents already owned \$150 worth of real estate in 1860 when Edwin, 14, was in school.²³

Despite his father’s modest success in mineral extraction, Edwin chose instead to pursue the retail business. The Henwoods returned to Michigan’s Copper Country shortly after 1860 and Edwin began working for mercantile stores at various mining locations throughout the region.²⁴ He left the Keweenaw temporarily to attend Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin, where he pursued “Academical and Clerical” training, according to the 1868 student directory.²⁵ By 1870 he had moved back up to Hancock, and was working as a clerk for the Portage Canal,

²⁰ “E. F. Henwood, Well Known Resident of District, Is Summoned,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, October 30, 1925, Ellen Croll History Research.

²¹ Western Historical Company, *History of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan*; United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1860.

²² Scarlett, “The Cultural Landscapes of Mining in Southwestern Wisconsin,” 10.

²³ United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule* (Hazel Green, Iowa County, Wisconsin, 1860).

²⁴ While several William Henwoods appear in the records, Edwin’s father may have been buying 40-acre parcels in Ashland, Wisconsin in the north as early as 1854. Similarly a William Henwood appears in Rockland, Ontonagon County, Michigan in the 1860 Census and died in 1891 in nearby Ironwood, Gogebic County, Michigan. United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule* (Ironwood, Gogebic County, Michigan, 1860). Lists of the stores for which Edwin worked appear in “E. F. Henwood, Well Known Resident of District, Is Summoned”; Western Historical Company, *History of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan*, 342.

²⁵ *Nineteenth Annual Catalogue of the Lawrence University of Wisconsin, 1868–69* (Appleton, WI: Lawrence University, 1868).

which meant that he probably worked for James Pryor. He had already amassed \$400 of personal property, making him a promising match for Marie Light, whom he married in the early 1870s.²⁶

Marie's family followed a similar trail. Her English (probably Cornish) parents John and Catherine Light were already in the mining communities of southwestern Wisconsin by 1850. Marie was born in 1855, and by 1860, the family had moved up to Rockland in nearby Ontonagon County, Michigan.²⁷ John Light moved his family again by 1870 to Franklin Township near Hancock, where Marie probably met Edwin Henwood. Marie was almost ten years younger than Edwin, but they were married in 1874 when Marie was just shy of twenty years old.²⁸ Their first child, Proctor, was born in September 1875, and by 1880, the young couple was living in Calumet township with two children and Edwin was a clerk in a general store.²⁹

The young Henwoods had grown up in mining, but as second-generation Cornish immigrants, they made the choice to professionalize in white-collar jobs and bank on commerce instead of mineral extraction. By 1899, when the couple bought East Hancock's lot 5 in block 7 from the Quincy Mining Company, Henwood listed his occupation as a Commission Agent, a

²⁶ United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1870. No marriage records have been located yet, but the Henwoods' son Proctor E. Henwood's death certificate, 1938, lists his mother's name as "Light."

²⁷ John Light, a miner, and his wife Catherine appear in Fayette, Lafayette County, Wisconsin in the 1850 federal census with three small sons. In 1860, they were in Rockland, Ontonagon County, Michigan with Marie, aged 5. Later records differ as to whether Marie was born in Wisconsin or Michigan. In 1870, John and Catherine lived in Franklin Township, Houghton County, Michigan with Marie, 16, and other siblings including brother Joseph. By 1880, after Marie and Edwin were married, John and Catherine were living in Schoolcraft, Houghton County, Michigan with several teenage children still at home. United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule* (Fayette, Lafayette County, Wisconsin, 1850); United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule* (Rockland, Ontonagon County, Michigan, 1860); United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1870; United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1880.

²⁸ "E. F. Henwood, Well Known Resident of District, Is Summoned."

²⁹ United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1880.

middle-man between large national companies and regional clients.³⁰ Having already separated themselves professionally from the physical labor of mining, the Henwoods then chose to separate themselves spatially from laboring people. This choice, of course, was at the root of suburbanization, and was expressed visually and spatially throughout the Henwoods' new East Hancock property.

Architectural historian John Archer has argued that this choice to specialize space – to compartmentalize home away from work, and divide the house into spaces according to activity – is a notion entwined not only with suburban identity but with American-ness as well. The idea to designate distinct spaces for discreet domestic tasks grew out of the Enlightenment and the desire for individuals to define their own lives. Highly associated with the selfhood of the democratic citizen, this drive for specialized spaces manifested itself in the shift from hierarchical enfilades to symmetrical center-hall plans, which allowed better circulation throughout the home.³¹ Edwin Henwood's decision to leave his family's mining legacy to instead keep track of retail goods, bank deposits, and investments is closely related to the couple's decision to rationalize their domestic space – and their modern American identities – in a modern house in East Hancock. Both professionally and domestically, they embraced the individual as rational being rather than a laboring body.

Indeed, with their new house, the Henwoods could manipulate their identity as leisured people interested in cultivating their own personalities and ability to create drama and beauty in their lives. Any visitor approaching and entering the house would have experienced the

³⁰ Henwood listed his occupation as “comm agt” in all of the Polk Directories from 1895 through 1916. Edwin J. Henwood bought lot 5 block 7 from the Quincy Mining Company on 5 August 1899 for \$900 to be paid over two years with 6% interest. Land Contracts, MS-001, Box 31, MTU. *Polk's Houghton County Directory, 1895–96*.

³¹ Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 93–170.

Henwoods as in control, engaging with national fashions, and occupying themselves with social encounters rather than the drudgery of everyday labor. Like the Burnhams' and the Kirkpatrick's, the Henwoods' house featured a front porch whose approach communicated leisure rather than efficiency and function (figs. 4.4). A pedimented porch roof, a large sitting area, and an off-center door not aligned with the tall porch steps all created a curving line of sight and a meandering approach, as well as space for a swing or settee, which mimicked the plantation approach Upton described at Mount Airy. As in plantations as well as English country houses, curving paths afforded visitors a dynamic and ever-changing view of the house ending with a gracious greeting at the door. In this suburban context, this porch and curved walkway communicated the Henwoods' embrace of middle-class hospitality, even though it functioned only in the six months out of the year when the verandah and walkway were not covered in snow.³²

In addition to this gracious front entry, the exterior of the Henwoods' house, as with many East Hancock houses, also featured multiple side and back entries (fig. 4.5). These doors and designated pathways leading into service areas of the house, as well as portals for coal and ice delivery, explicitly communicated to passersby not only the ability of the owners to separate housework from polite activities, but also their ability to hire all the requisite service staff. Without even coming inside, everyone knew that these homeowners had the ability to rationalize their space, and keep work away from family. Likewise, coal chutes communicated the presence of a modern boiler and utility systems. The visibility of these service features from the exterior of the house – along the side with a small porch or below-grade entrance – explicitly emphasized

³² The semi-circular bow on the north side of the porch that appears in Frank P. Allen's design for the house appears never to have been built. See the Sanborn-Perris Map Company, "Houghton and Hancock, Michigan 1900."

social hierarchy. Even if Mrs. Henwood sometimes used the back door, or allowed her maid to use the front door, the dominance of multiple doors maintained a strong sense of rank and an understood expectation about different movement for different people according to status. It bolstered the belief among white-collar residents that domestic leisure was the reward for hard work and economic success.

Once inside, a visitor understood the Henwoods' conspicuous commitment to social interaction and self-cultivation. The first thing visible upon entering the Henwoods' reception hall was a staircase flooded with sunlight from the semi-circular cantilevered projection with decorative cut-glass and curved windows (figs. 4.6 and 4.7). A dramatic stage for family members, this staircase introduced the performative possibilities of this space. Here, the Henwoods could choose to open or close either set of large decorative pocket doors or a single door that led to a parlor, sitting room with the octagonal tower, or dining room (figs. 4.8 and 4.9). With these doors, the Henwoods could control the sight-lines and movement of visitors depending on the event or the visitor's status and purpose. The Henwoods could either throw open a sunny space, or create a progressively unfolding experience for visitors moving from room to room. It also provided some fun for the children. The Henwoods' youngest child, Ruth, recalled throwing open all the doors and running in circles throughout all the rooms.³³

Nothing is known, unfortunately, about the furnishings in the first floor rooms during the Henwoods' residence, but surviving architectural details suggest the family's typical embrace of both new materials and rich traditional ornament. The reception hall still retains its original

³³ Anita Paulsrud Nelson, "Letter to Ellen Croll," April 1, 1990, 2, In possession of Stephen and Ruth Ann Smith, current owners of 209 Center Street.

Lincrusta-Walton wall covering in a naturalistic Art Nouveau-style pattern (fig. 4.10).³⁴ As historian Pamela Simpson has demonstrated, Lincrusta-Walton brought a double sense of modern ingenuity and high-class style into American homes at this time. Made from oxidized linseed oil mixed with gum, resin and various kinds of filler, long flexible sheets were mechanically embossed with fashionable patterns and adhered to the wall or ceiling. This material attracted the attention of high-end European designers and appeared in hotels and city halls on both sides of the Atlantic. But it was also a new material whose “cheap, quick, and easy” nature, as Simpson argued, made it appealing to the middle class both for its affordability and as a celebration of a new ostensibly hygienic modern material. The Henwoods’ Lincrusta could have been ordered from a paint store in Hancock or nearby, and may have been painted originally, as it is now. A quintessentially modern material, the Lincrusta contributed to the Henwoods’ identity as worldly and up-to-date.

Off the reception room was also a library. In patternbooks, designers added libraries to a first floor plan as the extra room after a double-parlor and dining room. For the Henwoods, the library was a luxury that communicated specific meaning. This space not only created an additional buffer between the kitchen and reception hall, but its presence also communicated a dedication to reading, knowledge, and an organization of one’s accounts and records. It advertised cultural capital and the Henwoods’ ability to cultivate their own ideas, taste, and knowledge. As rational citizens of the modern world, the Henwoods could control the circulation of information as well as people, all the while expressing their own personal choices.

³⁴ See letter to Ellen Croll from Bruce Bradbury at Bradbury & Bradbury Wallpapers, 1 June 1987, verifying the identity of the wall covering as Lincrusta-Walton. Ellen Croll, “Historical Research,” 1990s, In possession of Stephen and Ruth Ann Smith, current owners of 209 Center Street.

The library, their specialized parlor spaces, as well as the modern Lincrusta wallcovering in the reception room all contrasted dramatically with Edwin and Marie's early lives. While their fathers clearly had done well as pioneering miners, their families had moved frequently between rugged outposts, some of whose very names – “Hardscrabble” and “Rockland” – celebrated the labor of digging and surviving on mineral extraction. In their new identities, Edwin and Marie Henwood instead celebrated intellectual pursuits and social interactions among equals.

They probably understood their new home as democratic. Historians have demonstrated that using a patternbook instead of an architect was considered a populist choice. Likewise, Lincrusta-Walton wallcovering put the aristocratic look of tooled leather within reach of middle-class professionals. The Henwoods, like their neighbors, had wrenched responsibility for the aesthetics of their home from the hands of elite taste makers.³⁵ After all, Frank P. Allen, the author of the patternbook they used, lived and worked in Michigan rather than Boston, the city in which the fledgling movement to professionalize architects was underway. In the Henwoods' minds, their house emphasized one-to-one interaction, a sharing of ideas, and an embrace of American upward-mobility and self-fulfillment. Of course, outsiders saw it differently.

Among non-residents, East Hancock generated alternate social landscapes that co-existed with the Henwoods' dominant ideals. Domestic servants and deliverymen came to East Hancock to work for the Henwoods and their neighbors. The scale and size of the houses combined with the secondary routes in and out of the houses, which were so clearly prescribed in the architecture, required them to perform their specific identities as “servant” and/or “worker.” Tracing their routes into and throughout East Hancock – their landscapes of mobility – suggests the frequency with which they dissolved and reformulated multiple identities.

³⁵ Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*, 22, 69; Smeins, *Building an American Identity*, 134.

A woman living with and working as a servant for the Henwoods serves as a good example. Tillie Heikkilä lived with the Henwoods at 209 Center Street when the 1900 census was taken. She was 23 years old, single, and had only arrived in the United States from Finland four years previously in 1896. Her name, spelled “Haikkala” by the census enumerator, was probably a misspelling of Heikkilä, which is a fairly common Finnish name and which appears variously botched in other local records. A Michael Heikkala ran a farm in nearby Stanton Township in 1910, but no definitive link has been made between him and Tillie or any other local name that sounded like Heikkilä.³⁶ Similarly, “Tillie” was either a misspelling of Lillie, or short for Matilda, both of which would have been common Finnish names.³⁷ She was listed as “Servant” after the Henwoods’ four children, Proctor, Mame, Daisy E., and Ruth, who ranged in age from 23 to 8 years old.

Heikkilä was part of a large wave of Finnish immigrants who came to the Copper Country during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While some pioneering Finns arrived in the 1860s in the Lake Superior region, which included northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, their numbers soared in the 1890s. By 1910, more than 56,000 Finns populated the region, which constituted 43% of the total Finns in the United States. Turmoil in Finland, which was occupied by Tsarist Russia, drove many people out. Some were devout followers of the Finnish Lutheran church, especially the Laestadian group, a pietistic group that wished to practice their faith in America. Others simply sought a better economic climate.³⁸

The Copper Country appealed to both groups of Finns because it offered immediate employment in the copper mines as well as long-term opportunities for land ownership. Mines in

³⁶ United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule* (Houghton County, Michigan, 1910).

³⁷ Thanks to Arnold R. Alanen for assistance with Finnish naming conventions.

³⁸ Alanen, “Back to the Land: Immigrants and Image-Makers in the Lake Superior Region, 1865-1930,” 122.

the region expanded enormously in the 1890s and hired hundreds of Finnish immigrants, so that by 1910 Finns at the Quincy Mining Company outnumbered any other immigrant group three-to-one.³⁹ This allowed many to save money and buy farming land, which was being touted by U.S. authorities as well as Finnish land speculators as inexpensive and available now that the entire region had been exhaustively logged.⁴⁰ Those who were able to stop mining and buy land found the cold climate and rugged agriculture, which discouraged some farmers, familiar. Many succeeded in the following years, creating a vibrant Finnish community around Lake Superior and in the Copper Country in particular.

Like Heikkilä, many Finnish women took jobs as domestic servants in the United States. Oral histories taken in the 1970s with women who returned to the Helsinki area after working in American households suggest that these jobs offered relatively high pay and freedom from familiar constraints at home. Also women could get by with limited English and learn American social norms on the job. While they might not have considered working as a maid or “piika” in Finland, in the U.S. they enjoyed considerable status among the immigrant community, and many listed it as their profession upon immigration. Overall, from their perspective, working as a domestic servant included long hours, hard work, and a degree of embarrassment for some, but it also became a viable stepping-stone either towards financial betterment for their families or towards marriage.⁴¹

³⁹ Kaunonen, *Challenge Accepted*, 6–7.

⁴⁰ Alanen, “Back to the Land: Immigrants and Image-Makers in the Lake Superior Region, 1865–1930,” 119–126.

⁴¹ Carl Ross, “Servant Girls: Community Leaders: Finnish American Women in Transition,” in *Women Who Dared: The History of Finnish American Women*, ed. Carl Ross and K. Marianne Wargelin Brown (St. Paul: Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, 1986), 45–46; Marsha Pentti, “Piikajutu: Stories Finnish Maids Told,” in *Women Who Dared: The History of Finnish American Women*, ed. Carl Ross and K. Marianne Wargelin Brown (St.

In East Hancock, between 1900 and 1910, the number of live-in domestic servants rose and became increasingly Finnish. The 1900 Census indicated that 24% of East Hancock households had live-in servants (Table 4.1). Half of those servants were Finnish, with others claiming German, Irish, and Swedish backgrounds. Some of these women worked in homes that had been standing for some time, including the home of August Mette in the Vivian Addition, and several of the earliest in the Quincy Addition, including William Courtney's, William Burnham's, and Frederick Wagener's. The rest worked in new houses built in the 1898–1902 building phase, including at the Henwoods' on Center Street.⁴²

By the 1910 census, the percentage of households in East Hancock with live-in servants had risen to 41%. The percentage in the Quincy Addition alone was 50%, suggesting that the families with newer houses were more likely to hire servants than those in the Vivian addition, which by that time was 30 years old. This rise in the number of live-in servants differentiated East Hancock from national trends, where the number of domestics was falling.⁴³ Interestingly, the percentage of East Hancock servants who were Finnish had risen from 50% in 1900 to 71%. This rise partly reflects the great increase in immigrants from that country, but the numbers also suggest a significant ethnic factor in East Hancock that set it apart from similar suburbs elsewhere. Here the class divide, which was widening everywhere, also had a strong ethnic

Paul, MN: Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, 1986), 57; Arnold R. Alanen, *Finns in Minnesota* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2012), 26–27.

⁴² United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1900.

⁴³ Ruth Schwartz Cowan, “Coal Stoves and Clean Sinks: Housework between 1890–1930,” in *American Home Life, 1890–1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services*, ed. Thomas J. Schlereth and Jessica H. Foy (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 214–215; Faye E. Dudden, *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), 239–240; David M. Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 55–57; Daniel E. Sutherland, “Modernizing Domestic Service,” in *American Home Life, 1890–1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services*, ed. Thomas J. Schlereth and Jessica H. Foy (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 245.

component, a demographic fact that would have resonated as the strike approached. While mine workers who began to organize in challenge to the status quo boasted many European backgrounds, company management and the middle-class community in general perceived the “Red Finns” to be at the forefront of socialist movements in the Copper Country. In addition, the local press emphasized period beliefs about racial hierarchies, which ranked the Finnish people below Anglo-Saxon and Nordic groups.⁴⁴ During the first decade of the twentieth century, then, the class and ethnic divide between East Hancock residents and their servants widened considerably and perhaps more than in other suburbs nationally.

The mobility of Finnish servants within the town of Hancock and then into East Hancock to work suggests the multiple identity shifts that they performed on a regular basis. Because Tillie Heikkilä came to the U.S. at age 19, probably alone rather than with parents or family, it is not known where she lived before or after working for the Henwoods. Fortunately, so much is known about Finnish immigrant life in this area that it is possible to construct and trace Heikkilä’s experience moving through these landscapes.

In Hancock, Heikkilä performed the specific identity of a young woman in town (fig. 4.11). She found a strong Finnish community area in Hancock where her language, customs, values, and emotions would have been validated. Cooperative boardinghouses had been established in Hancock starting in the 1880s to provide places for new immigrants to transition. These would have offered not only places for new arrivals to stay for a while, which is probably what Heikkilä did, but also Finnish-language resources, friends, food, and news from back home (fig. 4.12). Growing out of temperance societies, women’s auxiliary groups, gymnastics and exercise centers, and multi-purpose music and theater venues, these cultural centers eventually

⁴⁴ Kaunonen and Goings, *Community in Conflict*, 47–51.

erected specially-designed buildings or “Finn Halls” throughout the region that would have been important sites of adaptation for Heikkilä and her peers.⁴⁵ By 1910, many Finn Halls in Hancock had consolidated into the Kansankoti Hall on Tezcuco Street, which became an active center for the Finnish community seeking aid, companionship, as well as solidarity as labor actions began in the first years of the twentieth century (fig. 4.27).⁴⁶ As historian Robert A. Slayton argued in his study of the large industrial Back of the Yards neighborhood in Chicago, cultural centers including churches, social clubs, taverns, and groceries all helped immigrants find their way in American towns and cities.⁴⁷

As part of her town identity, Tillie Heikkilä was not only an individual within a Finnish community but also a single woman in a small city. She probably walked Quincy Street, where she would have encountered shopkeepers and salespeople speaking multiple languages (fig. 4.13). She may have navigated commercial sales of food or other goods as a modern consumer, whether with familiar Finnish-speakers or with German or English establishments. The city had sidewalks, loud streets filled with carriages and pedestrians, and the cacophony of many languages. Heikkilä probably endured the indignity, or possibly the temptation, of walking past drunken men at doors of the many saloons in town.⁴⁸

The Finnish identity and personal independence that Heikkilä may have felt in town changed dramatically again as she crossed into East Hancock. Heading east on Quincy Street, she hit Reservation Street and everything changed. This was the end of the original town plat and

⁴⁵ Kaunonen, *Challenge Accepted*, 18–20; Kaunonen and Goings, *Community in Conflict*, 27.

⁴⁶ Kaunonen, *Challenge Accepted*, 13.

⁴⁷ Robert A. Slayton, *Back of the Yards: The Making of a Local Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 10.

⁴⁸ For a detailed account of downtown Hancock see Terry Reynolds, Francis Rutz, and Jane Zutter, *Downtown Hancock Survey: Quincy Street Historic District* (Hancock, MI: Main Street Hancock, Inc.; Hitch, Incorporated, 1987).

its orderly grid. Heikkilä saw the large ravine drop off before her as she crossed the wooden bridge that the Quincy Mining Company had built at the insistence of Dr. Burnham. She also saw the large home of merchant Peter Ruppe, an early 1880s attempt at building a borderland estate outside of Hancock, which was now getting subsumed by town. The contrast between Ruppe's orderly planting and the rugged ravine appears in a photo taken between 1902 and 1906 (fig. 4.14). For Heikkilä, this location was a trigger point at which she went from being a Finnish woman downtown to being a servant. This block marked the entrance to East Hancock and triggered non-residents to become "servant" and "worker."

Once over the bridge, Heikkilä met a "T" intersection. The grid did not continue, but instead required her to choose either an up or downhill walk to enter the neighborhood. In other words, there was no physical continuum between Hancock proper and East Hancock, but rather an abrupt change in surroundings, a physical hole in the ground, and precarious bridge between. Similarly, people walking towards East Hancock from the south would have encountered a steep hill and sidewalks that led them around instead of into the neighborhood (fig. 4.15). Once in the neighborhood, Heikkilä needed to represent her employer. Recognizable to the other homeowners, her identity reformulated into worker and servant whose conduct reflected on the Henwoods and therefore impinged on her employment. Once on West Street, she was on the job.

Inside East Hancock, she immediately took on her worker role. She walked down either Second or Third Street (not renamed Cooper and Harris Avenues until after 1906), and passed walls and fences that outlined the properties of other residents. She was not welcome anywhere but the sidewalk without a reason. And even then, if she passed residents, propriety probably compelled her to move to the side or step in the street, no small task when the sidewalks were covered in snow and the walkways narrowed. In front of the Henwoods' house, she used the side

staircase designated for workers and followed the narrow path to the back door (figs. 4.5 and 4.16). Up a set of stairs to a covered porch, she entered the kitchen and probably left her outdoor boots on the porch or just inside. From outdoors directly into her workplace, Heikkilä's transition probably spelled some relief from the surveillance of the street, and also from the cold. But once inside she felt the burden of work.

Was Heikkilä's transition really so different from a man's when he arrived to work in a mine? Heikkilä's male compatriots arrived at the dry house to change their clothes before climbing onto the "man car" to descend for ten to twelve hours in the darkness. The spatial triggers in their line of work also required quick and dramatic reformulation of identity as a worker. For women like Heikkilä, however, the lines were blurrier. She had arrived not only at work, but also at home – at least home-for-the-time-being. In some ways, this domestic environment may have seemed more pleasant than the dark mine, and indeed it was physically safer. However, the psychological complexity probably took its toll. East Hancock was created specifically to separate work from home. Its architecture and landscape explicitly flaunted leisure, nature, relaxation, and socialibility – at least for the residents. For Heikkilä, by contrast, it meant a lot of work. The juxtaposition of leisure for residents and work for servants strongly emphasized to the workers their lower status and the requirements of their jobs. When the men entered the mine, they at least had some solidarity. By contrast, Heikkilä would have felt like the sole worker in a curious place built not to celebrate work, as the mine was, but to hide work. And yet there she was, working hard. This spatially complex dynamic between labor and domesticity appears only when we consider mobility and aesthetics together.

In the Henwoods' house, Heikkilä encountered several trigger points that required her to change her identities throughout her workday (fig. 4.17). There were essentially two areas in the

house: the service column in which she was a servant in her workplace, and the more public family areas, where she was still a servant but under more surveillance. Much like the service column that James Pryor built into his house in 1900, the rear of the Henwoods' house allowed Heikkilä to operate and access all three floors of the house without entering the family area. She could enter the kitchen through the back door, use the rear stairs to access her bedroom, the bathroom, the linen closet, and laundry chute in the second floor hallway, as well as the basement laundry room and a basement toilet probably reserved for her (now removed). That laundry room even had a bulkhead door to access the backyard where, presumably, the clothesline would have been for summertime use. In addition to the laundry room, which was finished with plaster walls and corner protectors, the basement featured the unfinished furnace area, accessible only by Heikkilä's backstairs. The location of the Henwoods' original coal bin is unclear but she would have been responsible for distributing fuel throughout the house, to the various coal grates in the parlor and the Henwoods' bedroom on the second floor. From the second floor hallway she also could have accessed the attic, where seasonal linens or clothing would have been stored. In general, Heikkilä in the service column acted the part of "worker" doing her job and keeping the cooking, cleaning, and heating in order. She was "in place" in the service column, occupying the spaces designated for her by the architecture. The social prescription built into this house functioned well when she was working in those places.

When Heikkilä passed out of the service zone, however, she passed through trigger points that required a subtle but important identity shift. She went from being servant-doing-her-work to being servant-in-the-public-eye. Trigger points were most numerous on the first floor, between the dining room and the kitchen, and between the kitchen and the library. On the second floor just a single door separated the zones. When Heikkilä crossed these boundaries into the family

zone, she felt more scrutinized. While dusting or cleaning in the parlor or sitting room, for instance, Heikkilä needed to heed Mrs. Henwood's instructions, muddling through with unfamiliar English words and customs. She knew that the mistakes in these spaces carried higher consequences than in the kitchen. A broken trinket or stained sofa could mean rebuke, possibly a fine, or even her job. In other words, Heikkilä was somewhat out of place in the family area of the house. She needed to be there to do her job, but she felt more out of place than in the kitchen or the laundry room, or certainly than in her chamber upstairs.

Just as she performed a specific version of her role as "servant" in the parlor, she also acted differently when surrounded by paraphernalia related to dining. To get from the kitchen into the dining room, Heikkilä passed through a pantry (perhaps called a butler's pantry), where the Henwoods kept their dishes, glasses, silverware and other precious items – precious both personally and monetarily (fig. 4.18). Her handling of these items would have reminded Heikkilä of her status, having not grown up with so many specialized items, or with things as expensive. Likewise, passing into the dining room, Heikkilä entered the formal areas of the house. Even though she worked there everyday, setting the table and cleaning, Heikkilä in the dining room would have been under greater surveillance. She needed to be more on guard around the valuable and deeply symbolic items of middle-class American entertaining. Some may have been unfamiliar – both their highly specialized uses and also their names. Still struggling to learn English, Heikkilä's mastery of gravy boats, celery cups, soup tureens, butter knives, salad forks, water pitchers, creamers and other items would have been daunting.

A rare account survives from a Copper Country servant struggling to use the unfamiliar features of a middle-class dining room similar to the Henwoods'.⁴⁹ Mae Peterson worked for more than 40 years for the family of Dr. Simon Levin on Main Street in East Houghton (now 1209 College Avenue) starting around 1920.⁵⁰ While a little later than Heikkilä's experiences with the Henwoods, Peterson's first years with the Levins required her to develop a new identity as servant in a similarly unfamiliar domestic environment. Peterson described having to get used to the swinging door between the kitchen and dining room at the Levins. This would have been very similar to the one at the Henwoods' house. Peterson's first day on the job, she carried a dish of baked potatoes through the swinging door and one fell to the floor as she jerked to coordinate her body with the door's sprung hinge. She picked up the potato and returned it to the dish seeing no harm done since it still retained its protective peel.⁵¹

Peterson related another instance when the swinging door amplified the pressures she felt while "on stage," so to speak, in the dining room.

[I was still] not used to using that swinging door... [One night] I go through that swinging door with the finger bowl, and I looked at it, and there's no water in there, and I said I can't go back to the kitchen to get that water, and that's when I [inaudible] in front of that old grandmother, and I said I'm sure, even if she notices it, she's not going to say anything, and she didn't, and that was a Thanksgiving or a Friday night too – and all

⁴⁹ Mae Peterson Interview, Copper Country Women's Heritage Program, 13 December 1980 (cassette 2) and 4 March 1981 (cassette 1), MTU-044, Women's Heritage Collection, Box 3, MTU. Thanks to Alison K. Hoagland for bringing this interview to my attention.

⁵⁰ This property, in lots 14, 15, and 16 in Block 8, was originally purchased by Frank A. Douglass from the Shelden-Columbian Mining Company in 1875. The Levins acquired the property from Douglass descendants sometime around 1900 and either altered Douglass' house dramatically, or built a new one. Fieldwork at the property could better elucidate its history. See Shelden-Columbian Land Contracts MS-528, Box 1, Folder 9, MTU. Also see the research paper by Doug Prime for Prof. Alison K. Hoagland's History of American Architecture course, SS3515, Fall 2003, Michigan Technological University in the Historic Districts and Buildings of the Upper Peninsula Collection, MS-046, MTU.

⁵¹ "Mae Peterson interview," cassette 1 and cassette 2.

those finger bowls were pretty with flowers and little petals on top – and it was really fancy.⁵²

Here, Peterson’s language reveals her struggle to perform her role as “servant.” After forgetting to fill the finger bowl with warm water, she weighed her options and decided the swinging door posed too much of an obstacle to return to the kitchen unnoticed. Her choice to risk reprimand either from an elderly family member or from Mrs. Levin later suggests the metrics of her position. Even with high expectations on a holiday or a Friday night, Peterson’s role as servant required her to maintain the appearance of order even at the cost of protocol. Also, Peterson’s powerful recollection of the finger bowls’ specific appearance and her impression of evening dinners as “really fancy” further suggest that the equipment and formal spaces of middle-class life felt unfamiliar and distinctive to her. Similar battles with swinging doors seem to have been common among Finnish servants working in America, as suggested by a series of 1979 oral histories.⁵³

As Peterson’s oral history helps to reveal, servants like Tillie Heikkilä constantly traveled between being in-place and out-of-place, dissolving and reformulating themselves to match their location – locations built specifically to make them physically aware of their status as servant. Maliciousness may not have been an overt goal of these house designs, but creating a spatial organizational system for social class certainly was. These houses and their specialized spaces and equipment required Heikkilä and other servants to remake themselves in the highly prescribed image of “servant,” often having to endure linguistic and cultural misunderstandings. The zones, swinging doors, decorative finger bowls, and countless other reminders of her

⁵² “Mae Peterson interview,” cassette 2.

⁵³ Penti, “Piikajutu: Stories Finnish Maids Told,” 69.

difference, created feelings in Heikkilä about hierarchy and self-worth that were strong and visceral.

Tillie Heikkilä's constantly dissolving and reformulating identity stands in contrast to Marie Henwood's experience. Henwood also passed through several trigger points during the day and dissolved and reformulated herself to some degree. Her shifts, however, were less dramatic and the feelings associated with them less ominous. Almost everywhere she went, Henwood would have performed the role of a Progressive-era "modern woman" (fig. 4.19). Over the previous few decades, the ideal for American women had been redefined to emphasize her creation of a domestic environment that helped improve her family and her country. According to magazines and advice books, the hygienic and organized modern house, with specialized spaces for the public, the children, cleaning, reading, eating, and sorting housewares attractively, all helped create a healthier family and raise better citizens.⁵⁴

Outside of the home, Henwood would have volunteered at her church and helped at her childrens' school. The family probably attended Hancock's First Congregational Church, no longer extant, on the southwest corner of Hancock and Tezcuco Streets downtown. There she would have organized events with other East Hancock women including the wife of Angus MacDonald, former Quincy Mining Company captain turned YMCA president, and Mrs. Wright, whose husband clerked for the Northern Michigan Building & Loan Association.⁵⁵ Education also would have figured prominently in her role as a Progressive-era modern woman. The

⁵⁴ Wright, *Building the Dream*, 158–176; Clark, *The American Family Home, 1800-1960*, 131–170.

⁵⁵ *Polk Directory, 1901–02*, 447. This church would have been across the street and two doors east of the Henwoods' residence before moving into East Hancock. In 1921, this church built a new building (no longer extant) on Quincy Street immediately adjacent to East Hancock to more easily serve many of its parishioners. See *Polk's Houghton County Directory, 1895–96*. Also see "First Congregational Church of Hancock," Copper Country Vertical Files: First Congregational Church of Hancock, MTU.

Henwoods still had one school-aged child when they moved into East Hancock. Henwood may have been involved in her husband's ultimately failed campaign to require the Quincy Mining Company to open a school exclusively for the children of the Quincy Addition.⁵⁶ The only spaces where she may have allowed herself some respite from playing the role of modern woman may have been in her own chamber, at least when Mr. Henwood was gone. Compared to Heikkilä's day, then, Henwood's daily experience was marked by relative continuity in terms of her identity.

Henwood's most challenging negotiation of identity occurred when she entered the service area of her own house. Here, she still played the part of a progressive-era woman, but she fulfilled a very specific element of that identity – as modern household manager. Over the previous decades, middle-class women had increasingly considered themselves not workers but managers. Ideally, Henwood rarely would have engaged with the bowls, mixers, icebox, or stove directly. Rather she came into the space to engage with Heikkilä, to watch, check-up on, give instructions, and sometimes to correct. This identity required oversight rather than action. She offered decisions and directions rather than production and outcomes – much like her husband the commission agent, who directed money and goods, but rarely touched or saw them himself. She was a manager in other areas of the house as well, but in the service zone, it was her primary role.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Edwin Henwood and some neighbors petitioned Quincy Superintendent John L. Harris to fund a school specifically for East Hancock children. Ultimately, Henwood and the others “changed their minds,” in Harris’ words, and decided that sending their children to the larger Hancock Public Schools would provide better opportunities for their children. See J.L. Harris to Todd, 12 August 1902, MS-001, Box 339, Folder 7, 246; J.L. Harris to Todd, 21 August 1902, MS-001, Box 339, Folder 7, 270; J. L. Harris to Todd, 8 September 1902, Box 337, Folder 2, 314–15, MTU.

⁵⁷ Dudden, *Serving Women*, 5–7, 12–43.

Henwood's ideal role as manager, however, would have been increasingly difficult for her to maintain. As historian Ruth Schwartz Cowan has demonstrated, despite appearances, many middle-class women found themselves having to perform more and more housework as the twentieth century dawned. New appliances purported to reduce work time, but in reality they absorbed the funds that would have gone into paying a second maid. The mistress found herself either operating the new washing-machines, irons, and coffeepots herself or forcing her single maid to do more work for the same money.⁵⁸ At the same time, the women willing to work as domestics increasingly came from recently-arrived immigrant groups, like the Finns in East Hancock, whose cultural habits and languages frustrated suburban women from more assimilated ethnic groups. All of this added up to what mistresses in the period called "the servant problem."⁵⁹ We do not know exactly what appliances the Henwoods owned, except for a cook range that attached to the rear chimney and a modern boiler for heat. The Henwoods also had a laundry chute and dumb waiter, suggesting some value placed on mechanical gadgetry. For Henwood, all of this meant more to learn and teach Heikkilä, whose "kitchen English," as many a Finnish *piika* called it, may not have been up to the task.⁶⁰

Still, despite the squeeze of the "the servant problem," Henwood probably retained feelings of pride in hiring a live-in servant at all. Census records do not indicate that Henwood's mother had servants in their mining location houses. Henwood would have grown up on mining frontiers in Wisconsin and Michigan watching her mother maintain frame or stone dwellings not

⁵⁸ Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 69–101; Ellen Lupton and J. Abbott Miller, *The Bathroom, the Kitchen, and the Aesthetics of Waste* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 14–15.

⁵⁹ Sutherland, "Modernizing Domestic Service"; Lupton and Miller, *The Bathroom, the Kitchen, and the Aesthetics of Waste*, 14–15.

⁶⁰ Penti, "Piikajutu: Stories Finnish Maids Told," 56.

only for her family but probably for boarders too. Hiring Heikkilä helped Henwood transition into a suburban environment and mark her new-found middle-class status. There may have been “more work for mother,” to use Cowan’s famous phrase, but Henwood’s new role as manager marked a significant step up in her personal life trajectory. Being a household manager may not have been new for all middle-class American women, or even for all her East Hancock neighbors, some of whom had enjoyed elevated status as children. But for Henwood, the ability to hire a servant contributed significantly to her identity as middle-class.

This comparison of the trigger points for Marie Henwood and Tillie Heikkilä does not suggest that either woman had uniform unchanging identities nor that they experienced unusual anxiety. They negotiated roles in response to their own individual experiences and ideas about gender, ethnicity, and class. They struggled with multiple layers and the various expectations of different social factions during this time of considerable social growth and upheaval. But by comparing the experiences of Henwood and Heikkilä in this neighborhood and house, we can see differences in where and how frequently they dissolved one identity and performed another. While Henwood’s significant identity changes occurred over the course of her lifetime, Heikkilä’s were triggered daily. These very different rhythms in developing and performing the self distinguished Henwood’s overlapping social landscape from Heikkilä’s in East Hancock.

Performing Out of Place

For both Henwood and Heikkilä, then, the identity shifts required of both women had a lot to do with not only movement through space but also the presence of others in those spaces. Henwood’s role as manager in the kitchen and throughout the service zone had little to do with the architecture itself. The kitchen’s pine rather than oak trim signaled a less expensive finish,

but the wood and other details indicated the function of the room more than her identity within it. What made Henwood a manager in the kitchen most was Heikkilä's presence in it. The vegetables being chopped were part of Heikkilä's job. Prepping the bird for roasting was one of the tasks a modern woman like Henwood was supposed to be delegating. She was supposed to fill her time with more intellectual, civic, or self-improving pursuits, perhaps in the adjacent library. Even when Heikkilä was not in the kitchen or was doing laundry in the basement, the kitchen would have felt to Henwood like Heikkilä's space. Whether she enjoyed cooking or not, Henwood probably would not have felt at liberty to pick up and knead the dough that Heikkilä left rising, or wash the dishes by the sink. Not acting as a manager in the kitchen would have been denying her middle-class identity as non-worker. And that identity was defined specifically in opposition to Heikkilä.

These two women's identity performances also changed depending on the presence of other family members in various spaces. Marie Henwood might have felt especially self-conscious about her success as household manager when Mr. Henwood was home or in the kitchen (if he ever went there). She would have needed to demonstrate that she was keeping up with modern business, just as he was doing outside the home. While her bedroom chamber may have felt like a private escape during the day, in the evening she shared it with Mr. Henwood and may have felt pressure to be less of a strong manager and more of a womanly wife, a triggered shift with respect to sexual identity whose spatial aspects beg more scholarship. Likewise, Heikkilä also had to manage sexuality in her role as servant. She needed to appear an efficient worker and friendly to Mr. Henwood, but not so friendly as to encourage sexual advances or

their appearance, an anxiety that commonly appeared in popular imagery.⁶¹ The same danger existed with Daisy Henwood's husband, Charles Webb, when the new couple was living at 209 Center Street shortly after their marriage.⁶² The lines of middle-class sexual propriety would have been difficult to see for a recent immigrant with little English like Heikkilä.

Issues related to each other's presence or absence probably created significant anxiety for Henwood and Heikkilä both. Just as Heikkilä felt out-of-place in the dining room, Henwood could have felt out-of-place in her own kitchen – a situation that probably contributed to tensions and feelings of personal difference. As Erving Goffman demonstrated, everyday life often features a backstage and a corresponding front. Like actors, all people perform multiple roles depending on the perceived audience in different spaces.⁶³ In this case, Heikkilä and Henwood were both audience and director for each other within their shared house.

A Copper Country memoir from this period illustrates the mutually-dependent nature of the employer-servant relationship and also the anxiety caused by servant mobility. Julia Hubbard moved as a child to the Copper Country with her family from Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1891. Her father, Lucius Hubbard, taught mining engineering at the Michigan College of Mines in Houghton and served for a time with the Copper Range Consolidated Mining Company.⁶⁴ While the Hubbards had enjoyed elevated class status longer than the Henwoods, an episode from their early days at the "E" Location mine site in Painesdale reveals a common anxiety about

⁶¹ Elizabeth L. O'Leary, *At Beck and Call: The Representation of Domestic Servants in Nineteenth-Century American Painting* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 240–243.

⁶² *Polk's Houghton County Directory, 1903–04* (Detroit: R. L. Polk & Co., 1903).

⁶³ Erving Goffman, "Front and Back Regions of Everyday Life (1959)," in *The Everyday Life Reader*, ed. Ben Highmore (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 50–57.

⁶⁴ Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 73.

the presence of servants, and also some of the ethnic prejudices among the middle class against Nordic workers.

Julia recalled her family's reliance on their servant for food and security, and also their fear of life without her. The "E" Location in 1899 had just been built quite distant from the town of Houghton and remote from easy transportation.

Our kitchen was presided over by a round little woman with her hair in a pug and the possessor of a handful of English words— Yes, Tector Hubbard, Yes, Missi Hubbard, and, probably, NO, Yoolya! Her name was Lena and she did all our cooking, washing, ironing, cleaning, and floor scrubbing for twenty dollars a month. One day a week she trotted into the distance. We didn't know where she lived or where she went on that day, or if she had a family, and we used to wonder if some day Lena might not come back. But the next morning at six o'clock there was the sound of the kitchen stove being shaken down and we knew everything was safe for another week. My mother didn't know the first thing about cooking. I do not know what we would have done if Lena had not come back.⁶⁵

The Hubbards knew so little about the private life of a woman upon whom they relied so heavily. And Julia perceived that their knowledge of Lena ended at their property boundaries.

A similarly profound rift probably pervaded East Hancock. On the one hand, Julia Hubbard's fears of being abandoned on the mining frontier certainly surpassed Marie Henwood's in degree. Given Henwood's upbringing, she probably knew how to cook. But her dependence on Heikkilä may have felt equally intense because Heikkilä's presence helped define Henwood's class status. Henwood probably feared having to dissolve her newly-won identity as household manager and reformulate again as worker. Her role as a middle-class woman depended on creating distinct spaces for herself in contrast to Heikkilä, but at the same time, her status depended heavily on Heikkilä's presence. Throughout East Hancock, the potential absence of a

⁶⁵ Julia Hubbard Adams, *Memories of a Copper Country Childhood* (n.p.: privately printed, 1973).

servant, either live-in or as day work, produced significant class anxiety – probably more than the potential feeling of being out-of-place in one’s own kitchen.⁶⁶

In contrast to the relative monotony of Marie Henwood’s days in terms of identity performance, servants like Tillie Heikkilä had radically different roles to perform throughout the day. As she moved around, Heikkilä could be servant, sometimes under considerable surveillance, but she also could have been a single woman in town on her afternoon off, a Finnish singer or musician at the Kansakoti Hall, and a friend to newly arrived immigrants. Other servants also could have been a family member on a productive farm as Finnish agricultural communities grew after 1900. All of this dissolution and reformulation must have been exhausting, but also perhaps freeing. The ability to try on different senses of self was not only eminently modern but it also allowed Heikkilä and others like them the chance to formulate new ideas, try new activities, and become a whole person. Their multiple identities became a defining part of their lives.

These alternate selves also appeared in East Hancock. For all its prescription, East Hancock and its houses did offer places for subversion – there was space, literally – for servants to challenge the normative social order. There were places and times to perform these selves “out of place.” Again, physical evidence provides these clues. The basement laundry area at the Henwoods’ gave Heikkilä a place to perform less formally than upstairs. At the laundry sink, she could have gazed out the basement window enjoying a little afternoon sunlight or watching the

⁶⁶ The tendency to define the mistress in contrast to the servant was appearing in elite Boston paintings in the same period. O’Leary, *At Beck and Call*, 229–231. For a sociological study about the relational identities of domestics and their employers see Judith Rollins, *Between Women: Domestics and Their Employers* (Temple University Press, 1987).

snow fall (fig. 4.20).⁶⁷ While fetching laundry from the chute or adding canned food to the dumbwaiter, she could have recalled a recent afternoon off with friends, or conjured plans for future social events. Maybe she remembered washing with her mother in Finland. Out of Mrs. Henwood's gaze, Heikkilä could have regained, to some degree, her identity as a member of her own family and community.

While the basement might have provided a servant with some degree of relief from performing her identity as servant-in-the-public-eye, other spaces offered respite in the form of visits from other workers. All the houses in East Hancock had back service entrances with various combinations of covered porches, back entry rooms that fed into the kitchen, ice box hatches, coal chutes, and milk storage rooms or closets (fig. 4.21). Encounters at these locations triggered complex identity changes that punctuated the servant's day. Unfortunately, the location of the icebox and coal chute at the Henwoods' house are not clear, but a neighboring house of similar scale can help offer a more whole experience of these service spaces.⁶⁸ From the rear porch at Emma Jane Pearce's house at 312 Second Street (now Cooper Avenue), a deliveryman could have put ice directly into a rear-fed ice box (figs. 4.22–24).⁶⁹ The grocery man could have been welcomed into the rear entry, if not all the way into the kitchen.

⁶⁷ The Henwoods' original laundry sink has been removed but physical evidence suggests that it was located at the north window. See figure 18.

⁶⁸ Photocopies of two photographs feature the rear porch of the Henwood House. The caption from Anita Paulsrud Nelson who lived in the house as a child starting in 1928 notes that the ice box was located there but the image quality is too poor to see the evidence. Photocopies exist in Croll, "Historical Research."

⁶⁹ The Pearce house was designed by a Canadian architect working in Hancock named Charles Archibald Pearce for his own family. Unfortunately, his father died before they moved in, and the house was occupied for many years by his mother Emma Jane Pearce and his two unmarried sisters Amy and Rhoda. According to census records, the Pearce sisters never had servants but did host at least one boarder, probably for financial support since neither of them worked. United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1910 (name misspelled "Pierce"). Thanks to Samuel R. Sweitz and Anna Lee Presley for sharing this house with me and also Ethel Uitti Larson and

Coal delivery at this house suggests plenty of room for interaction. Standard coal deliveries probably happened at the side of the house. A carriage would have pulled up and a driver would have slid coal down a crude wooden slide into a basement window (fig. 4.25). The Pearces' had a large divided coal bin in the basement designated for "fuel" and "ashes." Instead of being delivered through a removed basement window sash, however, the Pearces' house boasted iron hatches (fig. 4.26). While this specialized equipment effectively insulated the people inside the house from the deliveryman, the Pearces' also had a "Kitchen Fuel" bin at their back door with a hatch or slide from the rear entry. Some kind of hatch probably also released coal into the "Laundry Fuel" bin below in the basement. To access that set of bins, the coal deliveryman had to come inside.

At these doorways, just for a few moments during the day or the week, young female servants could have greeted these deliverymen and transformed once again into the "town girl" or community member. Heikkilä could have spoken Finnish and heard news from the Finn Hall or talked about an upcoming social event. The back door was a trigger point once again enacted by the presence of specific people. Viewsheds played in as well. The window in the Pearces' pantry offered a direct view of the coal deliveryman's wagon at the side of the house. Similarly, the Henwoods' butler's pantry window looked out on the pathway to the backdoor where groceries would have been delivered. Thinking about the mobility of people within the landscape identifies these meaningful places. With smiles out the side windows and greetings at the back doors, servants had the opportunity to talk, maybe flirt, and create relationships that stretched beyond the boundaries of elite East Hancock. These portals to the outside let them circumvent

Stanley T. Uitti for talking with me about their childhood in this house after the Pearces died (personal interview 11 August 2011). See also Katie Torrey, "Charles Archibald Pearce," Copper Country Architects, Department of Social Sciences, Michigan Technological University, 2007–2013, <http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/pc.htm#bio>.

the controlled and surveyed environment inside and upstairs and let them try on other identities – even if just for a few minutes.

Rear entries also would have welcomed the “dailies” who may have come on laundry day or at other times to assist Heikkilä and other live-ins. In this case, the crank bell could have announced a friends’ arrival, or it could have triggered Heikkilä to become herself a manager. Depending on the personal dynamic between the two women, and between them and the mistress of the house, greetings at the backdoor when the “daily” arrived triggered another set of transformations and roles to play.

In this way, the windows, doorways, porches, and delivery hatches were liminal spaces (see fig. 4.24). As many theorists have argued in recent years, building on the anthropological ideas of Victor Turner, a physical state of liminality outside of secure social norms often allowed for changes in personal identity. In other words, leaving a place where one’s expected behavior was clearly dictated to a place that called in to question those expectations, encourages individuals to act differently. So if we think of a back porch as a place for meeting friends with similar status as “worker,” we can imagine how these spaces became liminal areas of uncertainty, and a bit of freedom.

Liminality can be both liberating and terrifying, but can inspire energized emotions nonetheless. At a back door, it may not have been entirely clear whether a servant and a coal delivery man were meant to interact as workers cooperating to maintain efficient household operations, or instead as members of the same ethnic community. Or, perhaps they were members of separate and possibly competing ethnic groups, as the Finnish and the Irish might have been in the Copper Country. This could have presented further language and cultural barriers different from the ones the servants negotiated with their employers. If two workers

could overcome any boundaries and develop relationships, however, could they meet at the back door and swap work stories? Finnish women who returned to Finland often laughed recalling stories about the times they made mistakes in their employers' houses, or when they were mistreated. Did exchanging these *piikajutu*, or “servant stories,” begin in the liminal spaces on back porches? Did the architecture provide the spaces for these cathartic collective narratives to foment?⁷⁰

In some ways, these women were performing identities in the “wrong” place. For a few moments, they became the “town girl” where they were supposed to be the “servant.” They became a young woman flirting when they were supposed to be serving their employers. They spoke Finnish and talked about farm work, where they were supposed to be in a modern suburb. In other words, they performed identities “out of place.” Geographer Timothy Cresswell has argued persuasively that identifying certain actions that are acceptable in one place and unacceptable in another illuminates a society’s normative expectations.⁷¹ It becomes clear that East Hancock and its designers expected that these highly prescribed houses would keep servants acting like servants. By instead acting like “town girls” or “farm girls,” even if just for a moment, these women challenged the expectations and the status quo. They were upsetting the normative order of suburban life.

These types of small, daily actions are what theorist Michel de Certeau would call tactics. Tactics are often unacknowledged or inadvertent but add up to meaningful expressions of power that can be generated even by those operating under considerable social restrictions. Servants who acted “out of place,” defying the social roles prescribed by the architecture and the neighborhood around them, challenged the more straight-forward and heavy-handed spatial

⁷⁰ Pentti, “Piikajutu: Stories Finnish Maids Told.”

⁷¹ Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*; Schein, “The Place of Landscape.”

strategies of East Hancock's designers – the Quincy managers, investors, architects, and builders. The architectural attempts to keep everyone “in place” left spaces for subversion right in their midst. Back doors and coal chutes, designed for convenience and efficiency, also created outlets for domestic workers to talk and be someone else, even if only for a few moments. They created trigger points for identity shifts, even as they were part of a larger strategy for keeping identities fixed and unquestioned.

These places that allowed identities to shift dramatically were available – for the most part – only for the servants. For instance, Mrs. Henwood could have been carrying on an affair or salacious relationship with a deliveryman, but the back door or the coal chute would not have provided quite as much cover for her as for Heikkilä, who was expected to be there already. The houses in East Hancock were quite close together and neighbors were home looking out their windows. Mrs. Henwood did not find the same opportunities to perform alternate identities here. The relative continuity experienced by the mistresses over the course of the day contrasted dramatically with the frequent change of identity and punctuated moments of liminality that characterized the servants' days.

Tim Cresswell's recent work, *On the Move*, argues that mobility – the ability to move through space and alter one's identity accordingly – has been both a valued and feared element in American identity. While Samuel B. Harris and Charles D. Hanchette brought a modern suburb to the Copper Country in part to express and stabilize social hierarchy between both the white-collar professionals and the workers, and between men and women in their own families and class, those relationships in fact destabilized just a few years later by 1913. The fixed landscape so longed for by the designers, required so much fluctuation on the part of the workers that it gave immigrant servants more freedom to imagine alternate identities than the middle-class

women. At least in terms of space, the opportunities for daily tactics of identity shifting appeared far more often for servants. As “outsiders” in East Hancock, they had more freedom than the female “insiders.”

As the 1900s progressed, most Copper Country workers still lived in company-built housing with outhouses and a pump sink rather than running water or coal delivery systems. The live-in servants, by many accounts, had comfortable jobs with perks, if long solitary hours. But when the strike did come, women and non-mine workers played a significant role in expressing outrage at the social stratification that characterized this region. As Heikkilä and other Finnish servants passed by Kansankoti Hall in Hancock and maybe read the *Työmies* (“The Worker”) newspaper, which helped spread news of an earlier 1907 strike and later played a large part in generating support for the 1913 strike among the Finnish Community, they increasingly may have taken the opportunity at back doors and cellar entrances to imagine a different role (fig. 4.27). They may have been more likely to formulate their role as towns person or farm worker – even for a few minutes – when the coal deliveryman arrived. And that brief but visceral alteration, that subversion of what was prescribed, disrupted the norm and may have empowered workers to embrace their role as servant a little less wholeheartedly.

As anthropologist Robert Fletcher has argued, acts of resistance in the face of power are inevitable and also highly variable. More than simply identifying acts of resistance, it makes sense for scholars to suggest how subordinates, in this case domestic servants, would have come to think of their situations as oppressive or not; and then how they might have made decisions to rebel or not. These feelings and opinions in the Copper Country are very difficult to find, not only because most of these women have since passed away, but also because even when alive,

such emotions about class divisions and identity rarely got put into words. The landscape, however, harbors clues.

This chapter about East Hancock interrogates the landscape to suggest the embodied experiences that may have begun to alter the way that domestic servants thought about work, ethnicity, hierarchy, and individual freedoms. Mistresses and the servants had entirely different experiences of their own identities in this neighborhood, which required the servants to shift identity frequently. Whether those shifts in identity on back porches and basements led to political rebellion a few years later differed for each individual, and requires more research into individual stories. But the spaces for new types of thinking existed, despite the desired intention of the neighborhood's designers and residents.

This chapter does not identify resistance, *per se*, but rather suggests that the class conflicts leading up to the strike have roots not only in the mines and the company-built neighborhoods, but also in neighboring places among private employers and independent workers. In other words, places that contributed to the formation of class identities in the Copper Country stretched far beyond mining company boundaries, and included, as we will see in Chapter 5, the formal entrance halls and fashionable parlors of the region's growing white-collar population.

CHAPTER 5

A Suburban Sense of Place: Wicker Chairs, Mansions, and Taste around Calumet

The final chapter in this story about architecture, landscape and class in the Copper Country takes us to towns that became contentious during the 1913–14 Miners’ Strike: Red Jacket and Laurium, which surrounded the sprawling Calumet & Hecla company. Here, space was so tight that white-collar professionals shoehorned high-end residential houses between mineshafts, surface operations, commercial areas, and railroad lines. At the same time, thousands of workers jockeyed for housing both on company land and in independent developments, often sharing flats and taking in boarders. As a result of this complexity, space figured less clearly in demarcating class lines than it had in East Houghton and East Hancock. Around Calumet, as we will see, sense of place and taste played a major role in formulating class identities and constructing multiple overlapping landscapes in the early years of the twentieth century.

Sense of place, as suggested in the introduction, is not defined narrowly as one’s feelings of belonging or love for one’s home. Rather, sense of place encompasses all of the subjective reactions and emotional responses we have to the people and material situations we encounter over time. Interactions with neighbors as well as strangers, all of which occur in materially-defined space, accumulate and shape the ways we think about ourselves. In turn, these notions of self inform our own manipulations of the material world.¹ As scholars have pointed out, however, dominant groups or classes have often normalized their senses of place by creating boundaries and standards that impose their conceptions of themselves as a group onto others

¹ Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, 1–14; Low and Lawrence-Zuñiga, *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 1–50.

trying (or being forced) to share the same locations.² In this way, as we will see, middle-class American values surrounding female domesticity, the aesthetics of leisure, and America's presumed inheritance of classical and historical legacies complicated the Copper Country landscape toward the end of the period. The middle and upper-middle-class people around Calumet used furnishings and taste to connect themselves to industrialists of high social standing throughout the country, and in so doing, made it easy to regard neighbors in different social groups as outsiders.

Sense of place in domestic landscapes relates to issues of taste, especially in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century America, when morality and aesthetics became so closely linked in the middle-class imagination. Taste, or a person's aesthetic choices, does not simply indicate a person's individual preferences. Those choices belie complex negotiations between one's personal experiences and the political, social, and cultural specifics of one's time and place. As Pierre Bourdieu has argued, taste is learned over time from family or acquaintances through exposure to a distinctive range of visual and material experiences. In general, the specifics of these experiences depend heavily on one's economic resources and class status.³ These learned tastes, then, form part of *class habitus*, a term derived from Heidegger and employed by Bourdieu to denote the preferences and actions that we internalize as a result of our daily lives.⁴ Class habitus directly informed the senses of place developed by the Copper Country's elite. During the period in question, however, negotiations about taste were often concealed by the predominant idea that aesthetic preferences resulted from free choice and

² Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, 117–124; Setha M. Low, “The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear,” in *Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, ed. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuñiga (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2003), 387–407; Schein, “Normative Dimensions of Landscape.”

³ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 170–173.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 101.

individuality. Taste was presented “in the guise of an innate disposition,” thus linking taste with morality and personal character in a circular argument that reinforced and normalized the tastes of the Copper Country’s most powerful.⁵

Scholars sometimes regard taste as irrelevant and even antithetical to the stories of ordinary people. I argue, however, that the power that elite people derive from their deft manipulation of aesthetics, especially in the consumer-conscious period addressed in this dissertation, makes taste vital to understanding the constructed identities not only of the elite but of everyone else as well. The people who have the cultural capital to manipulate the appearance of their surroundings make meaningful aesthetic decisions based on their reactions to the other people around them. As such, they constitute relational expressions of identity formed not only by the elite themselves but also by the presence and actions of other groups.⁶ Recall in Chapter 3 that the Quincy Mining Company’s President Todd and Superintendent Harris requested that their Head Captain Thomas Whittle adopt a particular notion of taste that reduced ostentation and concealed overt luxury from their workers. In that case, people with social power made aesthetic choices in direct relation to the working people around them. Anthropologists Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson call this type of interaction, intended to define oneself against others, a “difference-producing set of relations.”⁷

Previous chapters in this dissertation have investigated the “difference-producing” nature of overlapping landscapes on the scale of neighborhood development, architectural construction, and tactical embodied experience. This chapter concentrates more on aesthetics and small-scale

⁵ Ibid., 99.

⁶ For useful discussions of the relational nature of elite taste see Schein, “Normative Dimensions of Landscape,” 200–201; Grier, *Culture & Comfort*, 2; Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 170–171.

⁷ Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, “Beyond ‘Culture’: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference,” *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (February 1, 1992): 16.

interior domestic objects. To begin, this chapter introduces the tensions that were building up in the Calumet area as a result of tight space, mining company politics, and an increasingly stratified population. Next, the narrative offers a typical example of middle-class taste developed by a mine clerk named J. T. Reeder. A group of his wicker chairs documented in situ by Reeder's own photographs suggest his family's efforts to locate themselves between national fashions and local identity, balancing a casual worldliness with a fashionable degree of comfort whose suburban worldview contrasted with the experiences of most Keweenaw residents. Last, this chapter exposes a dramatic challenge to Reeder's status quo. Between 1906 and 1908, several businessmen built the Copper Country's most ostentatious mansions in the adjacent town of Laurium. Funded in large part by new mines in Arizona, these houses expressed a more formal urban sense of place that disrupted the delicate social balance in the Copper Country and contributed to class-consciousness in the years before the strike.

Ultimately, this final chapter culminates the arguments of earlier chapters to argue that space and taste helped to construct multiple overlapping social landscapes whose fracture helped bring class-consciousness front and center by 1913. It suggests that the middle and upper-middle-classes differentiated themselves not only by moving into spatially separated neighborhoods like East Hancock and East Houghton. They also used objects and images to build up narratives of self that excluded work and workers, connected them to national networks of social power, while simultaneously rooting them to a nostalgic version of the Keweenaw. This sense of place naturalized their dominance over this terrain and made others seem like outsiders.

Growing Tensions in Red Jacket and Laurium

As discussed in the Introduction, the area around the Calumet & Hecla mining company featured impressive surface machinery following the line of the underground conglomerate lode with the houses of company officials interspersed throughout, and the separate commercial town of Red Jacket to the northwest (fig. 5.1). C&H built large generally understated dwellings to house its officials, but from its beginning, several successful businessmen in Red Jacket followed national trends and built fashionable houses in the Queen Anne Style. Peter Ruppe, a Slovene immigrant, celebrated his expanding retail operations by building a large house with multiple projections and varied shingles among his other properties at 113 6th Street in Red Jacket.⁸ Charles Briggs, a retailer who went on to run a local bank and serve as president of the Calumet & Arizona Mining Company, lived in a Stick-Style upright and wing across the street from the C&H Superintendent's House.⁹

In the 1890s, Calumet-area mining companies were expanding very quickly and building hundreds of new houses to accommodate workers. C&H added housing areas adjacent to Red Jacket, which they cheekily called Blue Jacket and Yellow Jacket.¹⁰ On the northwest, the new Tamarack Mine began production, becoming a major competitor to C&H. Its success created a mining location adjacent to Red Jacket, crowding the town's possibilities for expansion. In addition, mining companies failed to house all of their workers and at the same time expanding railroad and streetcar companies as well as stores and service businesses all had employees in need of housing. Because the mining companies owned so much of the land, however, open

⁸ 1870 Census for Peter Sr. "The Slovenes," on "An Interior Ellis Island: Ethnic Diversity and the Peopling of Michigan's Copper Country," MTU Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections, J. R. Van Pelt Library, 2004–07, http://ethnicity.lib.mtu.edu/groups_Slovenes.html.

⁹ Briggs lived at 1035 Mine Street, catty corner from C&H's superintendent's house. *Polk's Houghton County Directory, 1895–96*; Thurner, *Strangers and Sojourners*, 125.

¹⁰ Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, 108, 172.

space for independent residential development was limited. As a result, a housing shortage of sorts ensued not only for workers but also for the burgeoning middle-class.

Despite the circumstances, middle-class people in Red Jacket developed several options to differentiate themselves using their housing. A few developers built upscale apartment buildings near the primary intersection of Oak and 6th Streets. The Nelson-Schroeder building, for instance, featured three stories, large apartments with separate kitchens and service stairs.¹¹ This building along with the Ryan Building and a few others offered urban style living options for Red Jacket's well-to-do.¹² Other people, however, tried to create a picturesque suburban enclave in the only contiguous blocks still available in the late 1890s. Two blocks on 7th and 8th streets south of Pine Street began to fill in with large single-family architect-designed or fashionable patternbook-type houses. One of Ruppe's son's moved there, as did Edward Ulseth, prominent area builder.¹³ The houses featured large porches, variegated shingle surfaces, and before too long, some of the understated progressive-era styles favored by Harris and Cooper in East Hancock. Given the space constraints, however, this area never achieved the same exclusivity as East Hancock.

¹¹ David Bandlow, "Carl E. Nystrom," Copper Country Architects, Department of Social Sciences, Michigan Technological University, 2007–2013, http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/nc_build.htm.

¹² Kiel Vanderhovel and Derek Dykens, "Charles K. Shand, et. al.," Copper Country Architects, Department of Social Sciences, MTU, 2007–2013, http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/sha_build.htm#erb.

¹³ For Ruppe's house see A. K. Hoagland, "Frank Hessenmueller," Copper Country Architects, Department of Social Sciences, MTU, 2007–2013, http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/hf_build.htm#rh; For the Ulseth House see Morgan Davis, "Charles W. Maass," Copper Country Architects, Department of Social Sciences, MTU, 2007–2013, http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/ma_build.htm#uh.

The other option – and the largest – for middle-class people seeking non-company housing around C&H was the independent village of Laurium.¹⁴ It had started off much like East Houghton, having been platted in 1878 by a mining company turning to real estate.¹⁵ Setting it apart, however, was the tremendous growth in the Calumet area as mining accelerated in the 1890s and significant residential expansion followed. Developers in Laurium answered the call for more housing. Between 1886 and 1899, they made eight additions to the original town grid and very quickly filled it with middle-class housing. A commercial center existed on Hecla Street, but the majority of the town consisted of single-family frame houses built by local contractors. The population grew by almost 400% in the 1890s, and by 1910, 8500 people lived in Laurium, making it the third largest town in the area behind Red Jacket and Hancock.¹⁶ Its ongoing building boom was consistently described as “hustling,” “phenomenal,” and “[predicting] a bright future.”¹⁷

As a result, Laurium *looked* like a standard middle-class community, but its population was in fact demonstrably mixed. In 1911, Alvah Sawyer suggested that Laurium “is an extension of the Calumet mining camp, although its wide, clean streets, neat houses and well-built stores

¹⁴ I wish to thank Dr. Fred Quivik and graduate students in his Documentation of Historic Structures class, Michigan Technological University, Fall 2010, for working with me to complete initial surveys of Laurium houses.

¹⁵ The village was originally called “Calumet” but was renamed “Laurium,” in 1895 when townspeople wanted their own post office. The name came from its founding mining company. Jane C. Busch, “Laurium Historic District” (National Register Nomination, 2004), 78–82, <http://www.laurium.info/Laurium/laurium-national-register-historic-places.pdf>; Bjorkman, *Calumet Village, Laurium Village, Calumet Township*, 58–59; Clarence J. Monette, *Laurium, Michigan’s Early Days*, vol. 27 (Lake Linden, MI: C.J. Monette, 1986).

¹⁶ Bjorkman, *Calumet Village, Laurium Village, Calumet Township*, 58–64; Busch, “Laurium Historic District,” 84; Monette, *Laurium, Michigan’s Early Days*.

¹⁷ “The Rapid Growth of the Hustling Village,” *Copper Country Evening News*, September 16, 1897.

give little evidence that most of its dwellers are mine workers.”¹⁸ Sawyer over-generalized a little since many residents worked for railroad and service companies in addition to the mining companies. His statement also glossed over the hierarchy among “mine workers,” which included not only underground trammers and miners, but also timbermen up through the above-ground shop workers. His point, however, that people not generally expected in a middle-class suburb were indeed living in Laurium suggests the peculiar mismatch between the architecture and its population, which varied by occupation as well as ethnicity. The period of growth in Laurium coincided with the immigration of thousands from eastern Europe, Italy, and Finland.¹⁹

This mix of people with different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds used Laurium’s standard suburban properties in varying strategies to get ahead. Single-family L- and T-plan houses were common, but most numerous were two-story front-gable houses much like those being built in streetcar suburbs around the country at the same time (fig. 5.2).²⁰ Some had Queen Anne-style projections and details, much like Dr. Courtney’s house in East Hancock, which added a few fashionable details to a commonly built form (see fig. 3.11). As time went on, some residents hired architects to design and erect houses following more elaborate patternbook types (fig. 5.3). A significant number of these single-family houses, however, contained boarders or extended family members. Some had been built by neighbors as investment properties to take advantage of the mobile working population. Other owners chose to build second houses at the back of their lots or refurbish outbuildings into dwellings to accommodate growing family or for

¹⁸ Sawyer, *A History of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan and Its People; Its Mining, Lumber and Agricultural Industries*, 488 as quoted in Busch, “Laurium Historic District,” 86.

¹⁹ Busch, *Copper Country Survey: Final Report and Historic Preservation Plan*, 55–56; Busch, “Laurium Historic District,” 88–89.

²⁰ Busch, “Laurium Historic District,” 88.

rental income.²¹ Indeed, architectural historian Jane Busch has pointed out that a primary differentiating factor in Laurium was whether a person owned or rented.²²

Into this unusually mixed population came the increasingly large houses of the Copper Country's new bourgeoisie. As in East Hancock, more white-collar professionals working in banks, retail stores, insurance agencies and the like began preferring single-family houses to crowded urban flats. Many with the funds and desire to differentiate themselves left Red Jacket for Laurium. These people, however, did not retreat into an elite enclave as had occurred in Hancock and Houghton. In part this was because Laurium in many ways was already seen as a village physically separated from C&H work and workers. More importantly, Laurium, like Red Jacket, was surrounded on all sides by mining claims and lacked the land for such an enclave. Instead, Laurium's earliest elite builders built architecture impressive in scale and taste on corner lots wherever they could acquire them. Paul Roehm, for instance, chose a lot on the edge of town (in an addition to Laurium that he co-financed) and advertised his own architectural stone business by building a large Queen Anne-style house entirely faced with Portage Entry sandstone in 1895–96.²³ He hired James Pryor's son William T. Pryor to design it.²⁴ Likewise, druggist Charles L. Fichtel chose a corner lot on Third Street for his grand Queen Anne-style house designed by architect Charles Maass, who will reappear later in this chapter (fig. 5.4).²⁵ Soon several others joined him on Third Street and effectively re-imagined it as a fashionable

²¹ For a sense of this variety and the proximity of multiple housing forms, see the 1908 Sanborn Map lot 23 in block 16, lots 19–21 in block 36, lots 7–8 in block 22, and lots 6–7 in block 20.

²² Busch, "Laurium Historic District," 83–88.

²³ Bjorkman, *Calumet Village, Laurium Village, Calumet Township*, 60; Busch, "Laurium Historic District," 84.

²⁴ Scott Hager, "William T. Pryor, Buildings," Copper Country Architects, Department of Social Sciences, Michigan Technological University, 2007–2013, http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/pw_build.htm.

²⁵ Morgan Davis, "Charles W. Maass," Copper Country Architects, Social Sciences Department, MTU, 2007–2013, http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/ma_build.htm#fh.

boulevard. These large houses set back from the street behind fences established Third Street as a gracious boulevard bisecting the town's quickly-filling street grid (fig. 5.5).

As a result, by the time of the strike, Laurium's simple street grid contained several commonly separated types of domestic landscapes all confined in a small space. It was a high-end boulevard and a middle-class streetcar suburb at the same time. Its standard patternbook-inspired houses hosted middle-class white-collar professionals but also working-class families and itinerant workers. Within class divisions were language barriers and ethnic allegiances that further differentiated people despite Laurium's rather uniform appearance. In other words, several different landscapes overlapped here at the same time. Just as James Pryor had been negotiating his identity between a traditional mining landscape and the burgeoning suburban version, so did people in Laurium imagine their surroundings according to several different ideals. These contrasting senses of place co-existed in a somewhat precarious balance.

Overall, the Calumet area featured in close proximity both mining locations and commercial towns, company-built and independent housing, successful merchants and struggling working families, long-time residents as well as newcomers, and large fashionable mansions very close to crowded flats. In these tight quarters, where class divisions could not be easily read in the physical landscape, furnishings played a heightened role in middle-class identity formation and class differentiation.

Middle-Class Taste around Calumet: J. T. Reeder's Wicker Chairs

In general, Copper Country white-collar professionals followed national trends in decorating their homes, which increasingly expressed a suburban sense of place insulated from the realities of industrial capitalism. A quintessential example of this can be seen in J. T. Reeder.

The son of English immigrants, Reeder had studied business in downstate Michigan and became a clerk for the Detroit and Lake Superior Copper Company, which smelted much of the Keweenaw's copper ore. When the company merged and moved to the Upper Peninsula in 1891, Reeder moved to the Copper Country and soon afterwards became a clerk for the new Tamarack mine outside of Red Jacket. He lived in a company-built Queen Anne-Style house until 1907 when a promotion encouraged him to move into his own suburban home in expanding East Houghton. He ended up retiring in 1919 as among the highest officials in the Calumet & Hecla Consolidated Mining Company.²⁶ A group of four wicker chairs that he owned over several decades suggests the types of choices that aspiring professionals made in furnishing their homes. In these chairs, we see a typical balance, however contradictory, between the perceived moral uplift of suburban family leisure and the national-scale consumerist systems that supported it. When considered in their Copper Country setting, the Reeder's wicker chairs suggest place-based tensions between the success of industrial capitalism, modern suburban lifestyles, and the romance of the American frontier.

Scholars recognize the contradictions in middle-class American taste in this period. Suburban homemakers sought to create refuges from industrial cities that provided physical and psychological comfort from the rapid changes of modernization. The furnishings and architectural elements with which they created these domestic retreats, however, tended to be mass-produced in urban factories reliant on precisely the abhorrent conditions and working-class people from which the middle-class were fleeing.²⁷ Just as the suburbs themselves created a

²⁶ Tom Rosemeyer and Stanley J. Dyl II, "John Thorley Reeder: Gentleman Collector of the Michigan Copper Country," *Matrix: A Journal of the History of Minerals* 8, no. 4, Winter 2000–01 (2000): 159–73.

²⁷ Grier, *Culture & Comfort*, 7; Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*, 98.

pastoral middle-ground between the discomforts of sparsely settled hinterlands and the vices of urban centers, the furnishings inside suburban houses struck a balance between individual expression in the leisured countryside and nationally-popular luxuries.

A group of four wicker chairs from the Reeder's house embodied that balance. Three of these chairs – a “Lady’s Rocking Chair,” “Lady’s Armchair,” and a “Large Armchair” – match items featured in the Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company’s 1898 catalogue of “reed and rattan furniture” (figs. 5.6–9).²⁸ The lady’s armchair survives along with a second large armchair almost identical to the one in the catalogue. Together these four chairs create the group in question. All of them appear in multiple photographs of the Reeder’s double-parlor at Tamarack and their later house in East Houghton (figs. 5.10–12). Reeder became an amateur photographer and documented his homes almost as profusely as the natural and industrial features of the Keweenaw, which became his passion later in life. His photographs that contain these chairs provide an invaluable glimpse into his family’s turn-of-the-century taste.²⁹

The Reeder's were able to choose and acquire these chairs thanks to vast networks of production, distribution, and marketing that had reached the Copper Country not long beforehand. The company who made the Reeder's wicker was Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company of Massachusetts (fig. 5.13). This company's presence was a direct product of corporate competition on a national scale. It started as two companies outside of Boston. Both the Heywood Brothers and the Wakefield Company began to make reed and rattan furniture after the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, where European examples had been extolled for

²⁸ Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company, *Reed and Rattan Furniture Catalogue for 1898–1899* (Gardner, MA: Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company, 1898).

²⁹ Thank you to Michael and Sylvia Cooper for access to the Reeder's surviving chairs and multiple related photographs, as well as for their kind hospitality. Thank you to Patrick E. Martin for introducing me to the Coopers.

their exotic and worldly associations.³⁰ The two companies competed fiercely for twenty years, keeping demand high and prices low. They joined in 1897, just a year before publishing the catalogue in which the Reeder's chairs appeared. By joining forces, Heywood and Wakefield created a competitive national presence with their two original factories in Massachusetts as well as one each in Chicago and San Francisco.³¹ They reached customers throughout the United States with warehouses in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, San Francisco, Portland (Oregon), and Los Angeles. A warehouse in London, England was beginning to reach European customers as well.³²

By the 1890s, Copper Country customers relied on the enormous web of railroads emanating from Chicago to acquire furnishings. The furniture industry, like many other manufacturers, had been moving west and by the 1890s was firmly ensconced in Chicago. New and expanding companies depended on the city's specialization of craftspeople, relatively cheap immigrant labor, more abundant materials available from the expanding western hinterlands, and, very importantly, the railroad networks that all converged in Chicago.³³ By 1895, the Chicago furniture industry surpassed New York's production by \$4 million and beat the output

³⁰ Jeremy Adamson, *American Wicker: Woven Furniture from 1850 to 1930* (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), 38–68; Katherine Boyd Menz, "Wicker in the American Home" (M.A. Thesis, University of Delaware, Winterthur Program in Early American Culture, 1976), 2.

³¹ The company made furniture in other materials in addition to reed and rattan. While it is unclear in which factory the Reeder's chairs were made, a centennial publication notes that in 1926 "reed and fibre furniture" was being made in Chicago, Gardner, Menominee, Portland, and Wakefield. Heywood-Wakefield Company, *A Completed Century, 1826-1926; the Story of Heywood-Wakefield Company* (Boston, 1926), 64, <http://archive.org/details/completedcentury00heyw>.

³² Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company, *Reed and Rattan Furniture Catalogue for 1898–1899*.

³³ Sharon S. Darling, *Chicago Furniture: Art, Craft & Industry, 1833-1983* (New York: Chicago Historical Society in association with W.W. Norton, 1984), 37–52; William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), 148–206, 310–340.

of previously-dominant Grand Rapids by a factor of two.³⁴ As a result, furnishings increasingly came to the Copper Country through Chicago rather than New York or Boston via the Great Lakes.

The Copper Country retailer who likely sold Heywood and Wakefield's wicker to the Reeders was Sivert Olson, an early Norwegian immigrant who had built "probably the largest furniture and undertaking business of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan."³⁵ The Reeder's Lady's Armchair that survives has a paper tag on the underside, but unfortunately, the name of the producer and any record of the retailer are hidden under several layers of later paint (see figure XX). Olson's two surviving ledgerbooks, one from 1897 and another from 1901, suggest his relationships with the manufacturer and the Reeders. In 1897, Olson had accounts with predecessors of the Heywood and Wakefield company, making it likely that he continued to carry their goods after the companies merged.³⁶ In 1901, Olson sold J. T. Reeder a chair and table.³⁷ Later in life, Reeder acquired several geological specimens from Olson and his brother, further suggesting that the two men had a relationship.³⁸ Like most large manufacturers, the Heywood-Wakefield company sent traveling salesmen called drummers into the hinterlands, including the quickly growing Keweenaw. The drummer who came to Olson's store probably

³⁴ Darling, *Chicago Furniture*, 45.

³⁵ *Biographical Record*, 199.

³⁶ Olson's Ledger for 1897 includes Heywood + Morrill Rattan Company and Wakefield Rattan Company, Sivert Olson Furniture Store Records, MS-622, 13, MTU.

³⁷ Olson, "Merchandise Ledger No. 1," 367, MS-622, MTU. The entry records selling Reeder "1 Rattan Tea Table" for \$6 and "1 Oak Hall Chair" for \$13.50. This tea table might be the circular table with four woven legs that survives with his descendants and matches item #9592 in the company's 1906 catalogue. Heywood-Wakefield Company, *Reed and Rattan Furniture*, (Boston, 1906), 38.

³⁸ Rosemeyer and Dyl, "John Thorley Reeder: Gentleman Collector of the Michigan Copper Country," 165–166.

brought the 1898 illustrated catalogue with price list and specifications from which the Reeders placed their order.³⁹

The Reeders probably chose these chairs to furnish the clerk's house at Tamarack location (fig. 5.14). Reeder and his wife Margaret Milligan Colville, both born in the United States to English parents, had been in the Copper Country since 1889. They came from Detroit where J. T. Reeder had attended business school.⁴⁰ One of many white-collar professionals infiltrating this and other modernizing mining regions, Reeder was given one of Tamarack's new Queen Anne-Style manager's houses in 1891. Like its neighbors, the house was raised on a slight hill overlooking the company-built workers' housing and the adjacent village of Red Jacket (fig. 5.15).⁴¹ Purchased sometime in the next few years, the Reeders' wicker chairs arrived from Chicago on the Mineral Range Railroad and were unloaded on company land with other freight.⁴² The train systems and Sivert Olson's relationship with Heywood-Wakefield allowed the Reeders to participate in popular consumer culture despite their seemingly remote location. This space-time compression, as scholars have termed it, characterized the modern industrial capitalist system.⁴³ At the same time, however, the chairs helped the Reeders surround themselves with

³⁹ Darling, *Chicago Furniture*, 58–59. It is also possible that Olson ordered the chairs and the Reeders chose them from Olson's retail floor.

⁴⁰ Rosemeyer and Dyl, "John Thorley Reeder: Gentleman Collector of the Michigan Copper Country," 155.

⁴¹ 1891 annual report of the Tamarack Mine. It is unclear exactly when the Tamarack built these houses. One oral history recalls that they were constructed by Bajari and Ulseth. Calumet Village Centennial Committee, *Village of Calumet, Michigan, 1875-1975: Souvenir Centennial Book* ([Calumet?], 1975), 48–49.

⁴² The Reeders could have bought the chairs any time between 1891 when they moved in and 1898. The chair designs may have been available in Heywood-Wakefield catalogues released earlier and later than 1898, though no precise matches were found. For more on the Mineral Range Railroad see Clarence J. Monette, *The Mineral Range Railroad*, vol. 43 (Lake Linden, MI: C.J. Monette, 1993), 15.

⁴³ Marx famously called the results of modern systems of production and distribution the "annihilation of space by time," which led to the common phrase "space-time compression." See

romantic notions of country leisure and worldly exoticism that obscured those systems of work, speed, and mass culture.

Looking at J. T. Reeder's photographs of his double-parlor at Tamarack – which feature these wicker chairs in context over about ten years – we see a typical late nineteenth-century balance between culture and comfort. As historian Katherine C. Grier has argued, 1890s Americans negotiated between these axis points with “culture” referring to a knowledge of history, worldliness, and high-brow taste, and “comfort” referring to a textile-rich environment that cushioned the body and protected the psyche.⁴⁴ All the Reeder's chairs feature arms, an age-old attribute that allowed the sitter's limbs to rest and also symbolically implied status and luxury. The Reeder's two large armchairs mimic easy chair forms, whose enveloping high backs, side head rests, and cushioned armrests had been used primarily for convalescence until only recently in the mid nineteenth century. More explicitly associated with leisure was the Reeder's large “Ladies' Rocker.” Rocking chairs themselves, in any material, had become staples of middle class homes that offered even a modicum of comfort. But this dramatic form, with its wide oval crest with contrasting colors, open back with bold reed volutes, and a broad full skirt, indicated considerable emphasis on imagination and leisure time.⁴⁵

The Reeder's chairs also expressed comfort through their material. Rattan plants grew in the tropics and their reeds had been imported for making furniture since the 1870s.⁴⁶ The woven reed products, known today generally as wicker, provided a flexible yet strong surface without

for instance Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, 146; Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, 92.

⁴⁴ Grier, *Culture & Comfort*; further discussion of this conception of “culture” is described in Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 142–143.

⁴⁵ Ellen Denker, *The Rocking Chair Book* (New York: Mayflower Books, 1979).

⁴⁶ Menz, “Wicker in the American Home,” 3; Adamson, *American Wicker*, 47.

the expense of upholstery. This made wicker appealing in the period when progressive-era reformers rallied against overstuffed spring-laden parlor furniture because it harbored dirt and insects.⁴⁷ Many people, including the Reederes, tacked padded textile covers to board seats or added separate cushions. Overall, this sense of comfort helped make the Reederes' home an ideal middle-class suburban refuge despite being on company land.

In addition to bodily comfort, the wicker chairs also embraced worldly and artistic elements valued as part of middle-class taste. Reed and rattan retained its exotic connotations, despite having been on the American market for 20 years. Many companies advertised large armchairs like the Reederes' as "Turkish."⁴⁸ The exotic connotations were a hold over from the overstuffed lounge chairs popular over the previous several decades whose Orientalist associations in the Victorian imagination stemmed from the luxurious bodily comfort associated with the rugs and cushions of Middle Eastern traditions.⁴⁹ The Reederes also owned a small wicker "Ottoman," and an octagonal tabouret table with Moorish-style arched skirt, which amplified this sense of worldly knowledge (fig. 5.16).⁵⁰

Mixed with these worldly associations was the fashion for "artistic" individual expression discussed in Chapter 3. Extolled in magazines and trade catalogs as lightweight and movable, reed and rattan furniture satisfied the fashion to show creative personality by rearranging one's interior furnishings. Manufacturers did offer matching sets of wicker furniture, but the Reederes, like many of their contemporaries, chose instead mismatched pieces with varying forms and finishes. The "Ladies Rocker" for instance was offered in a five-piece set with "Fancy Colored

⁴⁷ Menz, "Wicker in the American Home," 36; Adamson, *American Wicker*, 75–77.

⁴⁸ See for instance the "Turkish Arm Chair, 8768A" in Paine's Furniture Company, "Reed and Rattan Furniture," (Boston: Paine's Furniture, Co., 1891), 56.

⁴⁹ Grier, *Culture & Comfort*, 2–3, 164–65, 191–195; Menz, "Wicker in the American Home," 17.

⁵⁰ The ottoman appears as item 6358. Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company, *Reed and Rattan Furniture Catalogue for 1898–1899*, 183.

Reeds,” but the photographs suggest that the Reeders chose just one piece with a natural varnish. They also chose a clear varnish for Large Armchair #1, which retains traces of it under two layers of later green paint. By contrast, a dark shiny finish characterized Armchair #2 in photographs. This variation in finish and form allowed the Reeders to mix-and-match these chairs not only to accommodate card games and family portraits, but also to engage in the sort of demonstration of personal creativity that had become paramount to middle-class tastes.⁵¹

Indeed, photographs show the Reeders’ wicker being frequently rearranged with the family’s other more formal furnishings. In their Tamarack parlors, the walls and ceiling boasted bold rococo-revival floral-patterned wallpaper and the floors were covered with a patchwork of Oriental rugs. A square settee had spiral turned stiles and damask upholstery to evoke Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe, but it was always covered in a woven and tasseled Turkish Shawl, along with Turkish carpet throw pillows. Below it laid a bearskin rug, an evocative suggestion of the rugged masculinity gaining currency at the time.⁵² Similarly, at the arm of that settee, a ceramic bowl with contrasting colors featuring large Arabic script sat on top of a hexagonal woven rattan tabouret table. Mixing wicker with other historicist and exotic styles evoked polite pleasantries, as one 1880’s advice book writer suggested: “Gilt wicker, flaunting with bows like a bed of poppies, confronts the rigid dignity of a Tudor or Eastlake specimen in solid wood, while India teak and Wakefield rattan hob-nob most cordially.”⁵³

⁵¹ Martha Crabill McClaugherty, “Household Art: Creating the Artistic Home, 1868-1893,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 18, no. 1 (April 1, 1983): 1–26; Clark, *The American Family Home, 1800-1960*, 103–130; Grier, *Culture & Comfort*, 82–83.

⁵² T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 98–102; Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 140–142.

⁵³ Constance Cary Harrison, *Woman’s Handiwork in Modern Homes* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1881), 190,

<http://ncco.galegroup.com/gdc/ncco/MonographsDetailsPage/MonographsDetailsWindow?disabl>

begin to see their wicker chairs contributing to a sense of place constructed to make the Reeders feel at home in the Copper Country but also part of national fashions. Negotiations of taste in England and America, scholars agree, had long circled around moral skepticism of luxury and questions of fitness. As historian Amanda Vickery has argued, eighteenth-century middling sorts concerned themselves with choosing the patterns, materials, and styles most appropriate or fit for certain spaces, uses, and locations.⁵⁷ This approach to mitigating the perceived evils of luxury continued in the nineteenth-century United States. As literary theorist Bill Brown has argued, middle-class Americans harbored an ambivalence and anxiety about luxury. Owning too much risked losing oneself, and not owning the “right” things risked social failure. And yet Americans believed they could define themselves with the things they owned.⁵⁸ So the Reeders tried to choose the right things for their social role in this remote location.

Wicker’s balance between culture and comfort helped the Reeders assert their tastes for suburban class identity even while living at the mine location rather than in a separate elite enclave. A summertime family portrait on the porch of their Tamarack house features the large wicker Lady’s Rocker (fig. 5.17). Wicker had long been considered appropriate to use on porches.⁵⁹ The wicker’s natural material as well as its flexibility for outdoor use and the comfort of the rocking chair form made this exuberant chair appropriate for a front porch in a perceived pastoral middle ground. One commentator in the upscale *Decorator & Furnisher* magazine captured the fashionable leisure of scenes like this one. “Can anything be more artistic or delightful than those dainty creations in reed and rattan... There is the large comfortable rocker in which madame can lie back and loaf at her ease, and while away the fleeting hours with the

⁵⁷ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 18–22.

⁵⁸ Bill Brown, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 136–176.

⁵⁹ Adamson, *American Wicker*, 81.

last fashionable novel.”⁶⁰ Indeed, wicker furniture populated the romantic retreats and poetic country houses of popular novels written specifically for middle-class women.⁶¹ The Reeders had not yet managed to move off company land and build a suburban house of their own, as they would several years later. But they expressed their middle-class tastes for the ideal and feminized middle ground nevertheless, even when faced with less-than-pastoral surroundings. Sitting for this photograph, the party surely could have heard the steam engines at the Tamarack shafts just several hundred yards away hoisting skips of mined ore even in the dark of night pictured here.

This photograph also suggests the Reeders’ sense of the Copper Country as part of America’s conquered frontier. Clearly, the Reeders did not regard the Copper Country as the mining outpost frontier that settlers had encountered just forty years earlier. The discomforts of the pioneer days had been minimized by national networks of production and distribution. But if the Keweenaw was no longer a frontier, what was it exactly? Historian Richard Slotkin has argued that taming the frontier became a “primary organizing principle” in American culture in this period.⁶² From colonial days onward, the “new” continent had offered settlers the promise of a reclaimed Eden once they conquered both the native peoples and the wilderness. By 1893, the frontier had famously been deemed closed by Frederick Jackson Turner, launching widespread nostalgia for cowboy culture, rugged individualism, and traditional gender roles in the forging of an American national identity.⁶³ In response, Americans reimagined their frontier in the

⁶⁰ This description is accompanied by an illustration of a wide porch with several wicker chairs. Edward Hurst Brown, “Furnishing the Piazza,” *The Decorator and Furnisher* 24, no. 4 (July 1, 1894): 133, doi:10.2307/25582779.

⁶¹ Menz, “Wicker in the American Home,” 17–20.

⁶² Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (New York: Atheneum, 1985), 1–48, quote on 16.

⁶³ Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 11–17; Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 250–260.

burgeoning arenas of industrial production and distribution. Slotkin suggests that the myth of the frontier when applied as it was to late-nineteenth-century industrial expansion masked the reality that capitalist success depended on natural resources and human labor, both of which were finite.

The Reeder's porch scene, with its Native American rug and suburban-style leisure, captures the idea that modern industry had tamed the Keweenaw Peninsula and made way for middle-class lifestyles. The wicker rocker sits on a Navajo rug topped with throw pillows cut from oriental rugs. Native American artifacts had recently become collectors' items among America's white-collar class seeking indigenous expressions of creativity in North America to challenge European cultural dominance.⁶⁴ Also, symbols of white expansion and power in the far western frontier celebrated the masculine heroes of the country's trans-continental growth. Reeder is known to have collected multiple Navajo rugs, which he displayed later in life with significant numbers of artifacts in a fireproof vault at his East Houghton home (fig. 5.18). Several photographs show his rugs alongside lithographs of native faces and woven grass baskets, possibly from the Ojibwe or other peoples native to the Keweenaw and Lake Superior.⁶⁵ By fetishizing these cabinet-of-curiosities-style displays including geological specimens and artifacts of Michigan's early mining days, Reeder created a Copper Country sense of place in which the modern American middle-class lifestyle and the social stratification that inevitably accompanied it replaced earlier realities. While the details of Reeder's collecting deserve further research, Reeder's taste for Navajo rugs and wicker chairs together contributed to the family's

⁶⁴ Janet Catherine Berlo, ed., *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting* (Seattle; Vancouver: University of Washington Press; UBC Press, 1992), 7–9; David Cathers and Linda Parry, *Arts and Crafts Rugs for Craftsman Interiors: The Crab Tree Farm Collection* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010), 129–143.

⁶⁵ Martin, *Wonderful Power*, 257, 259.

sense of place in the Copper Country, which became a complex combination of tamed frontier, pastoral middle ground, and industrial powerhouse.

Further complicating the place-based meanings of the Reeders' wicker, and this porch photograph in particular, were its gender implications and the idea of "home" in the Copper Country. The Edenic reward for taming this northern frontier seemed to be a feminized retreat from work. As discussed in Chapter 3 with respect to Queen Anne-Style architecture, the focus in suburban taste on leisure contrasted dramatically with the realities of work-intensive copper mining. To have "lady's" armchairs and rockers emphasized the fact that Mrs. Reeder did not work, a reality flaunted in this photograph dominated by white-shirted women and children, some of whom appear to be pretending to sleep. By contrast, most working-class women nearby in Tamarack location labored not only to keep house but often to generate additional income either by taking in laundry or boarders. Houses for these women were by no means refuges from work but rather significant tools in their daily strategies for economic advancement.⁶⁶ Moreover, they could not rely on the permanence of their houses, which they generally rented from the Tamarack Mining Company, which could terminate leases if the male worker died or displeased the company. By contrast, the Reeders had the luxury of imagining their house as a secure place for rest, family refuge, and comfort.

Overall, suburban taste in the Copper Country helped middle-class families like the Reeders imagine themselves at home here. It allowed them to engage in familiar consumer culture, express a reasonable amount of individuality, and maintain or establish their class identity despite being unable to choose a separate suburban-style neighborhood because of mining company geography and politics. For most workers in the Copper Country, however, any

⁶⁶ Hoagland, "The Boardinghouse Murders: Housing and American Ideals in Michigan's Copper Country in 1913."

feelings of being at home had been disrupted by migration forced by economic necessity. The idea of “home” for many workers may have become conflicted, not feeling at all like a refuge either in reality or in their imaginations.⁶⁷ Some left regions with quickly changing national identities. Others may have lost family in war and felt rootless. Others may have been second or third-generation immigrants whose idea of home may have been different from their parents and continuing to change. For the Reederes and their friends, by contrast, choosing wicker chairs that expressed a suburban taste tailored for the Copper Country helped make them feel at home. The Copper Country was their place. They were insiders.

The Calumet & Arizona Mining Company Mansions and a Post-Keweenaw Sense of Place

While the Reederes’ sense of place rooted them as Copper Country insiders, the rest of this chapter, traces a major disruption to that common middle-class outlook. By 1907, the independent village of Laurium had grown very quickly to accommodate increased demand for suburban-style middle-class housing. Between 1906 and 1908, however, several men built enormous mansions with their payout from mining ventures in Arizona. The scale, mode, and location of these houses expressed an upper-middle-class sense of place that had not been seen here before. The men who built these mansions re-invented themselves as modern industrialists and re-imagined Laurium not as suburban real estate in a growing mining community, but rather as the fashionable urban center for a mining hinterland that stretched clear to Arizona. These families became New York-style bourgeois industrialists who saw themselves not in a distant but increasingly well-connected mining region, as Reeder did, but rather as players in widening international markets and corresponding social circles. They complicated the middle-class sense

⁶⁷ Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, 157–173; Barbara Bender and Margot Winer, *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 1–20.

of place that had long dominated the Copper Country, making it at once an urban center for a distant mining periphery, a suburban idyll, and an industrial mining core. This shift disrupted an already contentious status quo just several years before the big strike.

The men who built these mansions headed the Calumet & Arizona mining company, and they had deep ties to the Copper Country. In 1899, several prominent men in Calumet funded a prospecting venture in the Warren district of new copper mines in Arizona. A C&H captain, James Hoatson, who had been mining out west for some time, spearheaded the prospecting phase and attracted financial backing from successful Keweenaw retailers as well as C&H officers. These were primarily second-generation Calumet men, sons of mining captains or successful merchants and professionals. Hoatson himself had learned beside his father, long-time C&H Chief Captain, Thomas Hoatson, Sr. Calumet area bank owner Charles Briggs heavily backed the venture and served as president, as did attorney Gordon Campbell, who served as secretary. Norman MacDonald invested funds from his father's drug store in Red Jacket. Ernst Bollmann had been developing land in Laurium since its founding and took a chance on this new company as well. After a few rocky years, during which time a few investors pulled out and were replaced with friends in Pittsburgh and Duluth, the company finally began to succeed in 1901. They renamed it the Calumet & Arizona Mining Company, aptly reflecting its geographic foci, and by 1903, investors received their first dividend.⁶⁸ By 1908, C&A had paid out \$7.5 million.⁶⁹ And by the time of the strike in 1913, disbursements totaled more than \$22 million.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ *Report of the Calumet & Arizona Mining Company* (Calumet, MI, 1903).

⁶⁹ Busch, "Laurium Historic District," 83; Also see H. Mason Coggin, "Roots of the C & A," unpublished paper (Phoenix, AZ, 1993), MTU; Katherine Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 123.

⁷⁰ Dividends include those from the closely related Superior & Duluth Copper Company, which ran shafts in the Warren district of Arizona, and was incorporated by C&A officers and

With those funds, five of the C&A investors built mansions in Laurium that announced their financial superiority in no uncertain terms and re-imagined their sense of place in the Copper Country (fig. 5.19a and b). As seen in the map in figure 5.20, the investors favored lots around the intersection of Third and Tamarack Streets near the Vivian, Bollmann, and Daniell houses. As discussed, pre-existing density prevented them from grouping together in a separate enclave. More important than proximity to one another was the availability of contiguous lots large enough to accommodate the houses and matching carriage houses they all planned to erect. Indeed, Hoatson and MacDonald tore down pre-existing homes to make way for their houses, even though they were only a few years old.⁷¹ C&A investor and chief clerk John Lathrop bought seven lots to accommodate his architectural plan.⁷²

Focusing on two of the C&A mansions, those built by Norman MacDonald and Thomas Hoatson, Jr., the rest of this chapter explores the complex mix of players and influences, both national and local, who together flaunted worldliness and wealth, deflected issues of labor both in the Copper Country and in Arizona, and romanticized the nature and geology of the Keweenaw. By interrogating the architecture and interiors of these houses, we see that the C&A investors developed a taste that prioritized national tastes for luxurious entertaining and historical legacies more than any kind of perceived fitness for the Copper Country.

Among the first of the C&A mansions was Norman MacDonald's (1863–1949) house at 305 Tamarack Street built in 1906. MacDonald's family emigrated from Germany in 1869, but

consolidated with C&A in 1911. See *Reports of the Calumet & Arizona Mining Company* (Calumet, MI, 1901–1913).

⁷¹ Dave Sprenger, *History and Tour of the Laurium Manor Inn: Home of Cornelia & Thomas Hoatson, Jr.: National Register of Historical Places* (Laurium, MI: Laurium Manor Inn, 1998), 4.

⁷² "Two Fine Homes for Laurium," *Daily Mining Gazette*, December 23, 1906.

his parents were Scottish and Norwegian.⁷³ His father started a drug store in Red Jacket, which Norman took over as an adult. Some sources, however, suggest that both father and son also learned the mining business and accumulated much of their money in those pursuits.⁷⁴ The MacDonalds appear to have been financially comfortable quite early on, living with a servant as well as Mrs. MacDonald's sister as "assistant keeping house" in the 1880 census. However, in 1900, Norman still lived on Fifth Street, Red Jacket's main business thoroughfare, and had a mortgage on his house.⁷⁵ Investing in C&A may have been a significant risk for him. But having reaped the benefits, MacDonald sold his father's business and retired to Laurium in his early 40s.⁷⁶ By 1910, MacDonald and his wife Minnie lived in their new 34-room house with a servant, Norwegian-Finn Edina Toppila, and an English "choreman" Charles Adams who may have lived in the carriage house.⁷⁷

MacDonald hired architect Charles W. Maass, a man with local experience and national outlook. It is unclear exactly how MacDonald decided to hire Maass as architect. In fact, the attribution comes solely from an advertisement in *House & Garden* for asbestos "Century" shingles that featured the MacDonald house and notes Charles Maas [sic] as architect (fig. 5.21).⁷⁸ It is likely, however, that Maass attracted the attention of MacDonald and the other C&A investors after he successfully designed the commercial Jacka Block in Red Jacket where the

⁷³ Sawyer, *A History of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan and Its People; Its Mining, Lumber and Agricultural Industries*, 805–806; United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1880.

⁷⁴ Sawyer, *A History of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan and Its People; Its Mining, Lumber and Agricultural Industries*, 805–806.

⁷⁵ United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1900; *Polk's Houghton County Directory, 1899–1900* (Detroit: R. L. Polk & Co., 1899). MacDonald's residence was 100 5th Street through the 1905–06 Polk Directory. *Polk's Houghton County Directory, 1905–06*.

⁷⁶ Sprenger, *History and Tour of the Laurium Manor Inn*; Busch, "Laurium Historic District," 84.

⁷⁷ United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1910.

⁷⁸ "Asbestos 'Century' Shingles," *House & Garden*, 1906. Morgan Davis, "Maass Brothers," Copper Country Architects, Department of Social Sciences, MTU, 2007–13, http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/ma_build.htm.

Calumet & Arizona company located their local offices.⁷⁹ At least three and probably more of the C&A investors chose Maass to design their houses after MacDonald.

Charles W. Maass already had strong ties to the Calumet & Hecla company and yet also branched out on his own, catering to the growing independent white-collar class around Calumet. This made him a logical choice for C&A investors, who already occupied or wanted to enter the upper echelons of Calumet society. Born in Green Bay, Wisconsin, Maass opened an architectural firm in Menominee, Wisconsin but came to Red Jacket around 1895. He began working as a draftsman for C&H in 1898 but also maintained an architectural office with other professional partners.⁸⁰

Maass helped establish his career in the Copper Country by designing large two-and-a-half story frame buildings with Palladian windows high in the front-gable. He used this design at the Amberg, Wisconsin town hall in 1894 and soon afterwards it began appearing at C&H and among wealthy Copper Country clients.⁸¹ Maass may have been responsible for employing that design for six captains' houses on Calumet Avenue commissioned by C&H in 1901.⁸² Later, while working independently, he resurrected that basic design and used it to build a house for himself as well as two other large versions: one for Edward Ulseth, noted Calumet builder with

⁷⁹ Morgan Davis, "Maass Brothers."

⁸⁰ Morgan Davis, "Maass Brothers, biography," Copper Country Architects, Department of Social Sciences, MTU, 2007–13, <http://www.social.mtu.edu/CopperCountryArchitects/ma.htm#bio>.

⁸¹ Wisconsin Historical Society, Wisconsin History and Architecture Inventory, "Amberg Town Hall, Amberg, Marinette County, Wisconsin, 22677," <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=Ny:True,Ro:0,N:4294963828-4294963814&dsNavOnly=N:1176&dsRecordDetails=R:HI22677&dsDimensionSearch=D:charles+maass,Dxm:All,Dxp:3&dsCompoundDimensionSearch=D:charles+maass,Dxm:All,Dxp:3>.

⁸² The blueprints for these captain's houses were drawn in-house and lack a delineator's name, but Maass may have had an influence or done the drawings himself. See Bennett, "Where the Bosses Lived: Managerial Housing of Three Companies in Michigan's Copper Country," 109–121.

whom Maass worked frequently, and one for William Weir, a C&H captain choosing to build his own home in Laurium.⁸³ For quite some time, this house form with Palladian window, which also appeared around the country, appealed to Calumet's white-collar professionals and Maass helped popularize it.⁸⁴

For the C&A investors' houses, however, Maass employed a broader visual and spatial vocabulary adapted from popular patternbooks. The house he designed for Norman MacDonald was a large 7000-square-foot four-square house that combined local materials and late nineteenth-century taste for rich colors with newly fashionable Classical Revival forms and details (fig. 5.22). Situated on three lots with a spacious garden and a highly-visible two-story carriage house with an apartment for the driver or other "choremen." Both structures boasted buff brick with tinted mortar to match the local red portage entry sandstone used for lintels and quoins throughout. The curved and faceted projections featured copper sheathing, whose reddish color matched the red Century Asbestos shingles. These rich colors warmed the otherwise rectilinear form, whose symmetrical fenestration, wide porch with central pediment, and third-story oriel window projected a highly ordered overall character. This large square form with hipped roof, tall chimneys, and third-story dormer had been appearing in patternbooks for at least a decade though no exact match has been found for MacDonald's example.⁸⁵

Inside, the MacDonalds enjoyed the rich textures that captured the American ideal of "culture and comfort." It boasted a mixture of hand-carved detailing and stock wood molding, often paired with molded plaster ceiling decorations, much like in James Pryor's c. 1900 remodeled house (fig. 5.23). Art glass appeared in multiple windows, most notably in a tri-partite

⁸³ Morgan Davis, "Maass Brothers."

⁸⁴ Reiff, *Houses from Books*, 160.

⁸⁵ See for instance *ibid.*, 170 figure 268.

landscape image over the staircase. Formal doorways featured both pocket doors and portieres. As at the Kirkpatrick's in East Hancock, the house was also equipped with modern conveniences, such as several three-fixture bathrooms, a progressive kitchen covered in brown mottled ceramic tile, and a third floor suite for servants.

Along with its patternbook-inspired design and standard upscale interior fashions, the MacDonald house also boasted decorative interior painting whose celebration of pre-modern European traditions further distinguish the C&A houses from other middle-class homes in the Copper Country. While we do not know whether Maass or another entity oversaw the interior decoration of MacDonald's house, a rare clue reveals the identity of the men who created the interior decorative painting. Written in black wax pencil between two rafters in the MacDonalds' attic is the signature: "E. Bitter, for Asso. Artists, Milw. Wis., April 30, '06" (fig. 5.24).

Associated Artists was a group of architectural painters of German heritage who catered to Milwaukee's wealthy industrialists. Founded in 1895, the company grew out of the city's legacy of late nineteenth-century German panorama painters, who arrived in the 1880s and trained local German immigrants and their children in creating illusionistic large-scale and architectural paintings.⁸⁶ Associated Artists initially concentrated on church interiors but quickly expanded to municipal buildings, theaters, and *bier gartens* run by Milwaukee's growing brewing industry.⁸⁷ The company gained considerable recognition, bidding for jobs all over the upper middle west into the 1910s.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Peter C. Merrill, *German-American Artists in Early Milwaukee: A Biographical Dictionary* (Friends of the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 1998), xi–xii.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, xxiii.

⁸⁸ See for instance reports of Associated Artists painting the Delta Hotel in Escanaba, Michigan. "[no Title]," *Escanaba Daily Press*, January 21, 1914.

The man who left his signature in the MacDonalds' attic was probably among several Milwaukee artists who were brought to Laurium in 1906–08 to cater to the C&A investors.⁸⁹ “E. Bitter” was “Ernst V. Bitter, decorator,” as he was listed in *Wright's Directory of Milwaukee* for 1906.⁹⁰ He and his brothers had inherited their father's stair-building company and all worked as builders or painters in Milwaukee.⁹¹ Ernst or his Associated Artists co-workers may have been in the Copper Country before 1906 or returned afterwards, as the company can be linked to other murals in churches, saloons, and buildings nearby.⁹²

Three significant examples of work by Bitter and his fellow painters survive at the MacDonald House. Together they suggest a nostalgia for pre-industrial Europe more explicit and academic than seen in the Copper Country before. In an upstairs bedroom, nursery rhyme characters dance around the frieze above the picture rail (fig. 5.25). Ducklings, elves, and rabbits frolic among cabbages and wheel-barrows. The MacDonalds' only son died in childhood

⁸⁹ The company's other work around 1906, when the MacDonald House documents them being in the Copper Country, is unknown. Their original vice-president, Conrad Schmitt, left the company in 1909 to found his own firm, which still exists today as Conrad Schmitt Studios in Milwaukee. His long legacy overshadows most of the material available about Associated Artists, most of which relates to post-1913 periods. See Conrad Schmitt Studio Records, 1928–38, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, SC 2932; Merrill, *German-American Artists in Early Milwaukee*, xv.

⁹⁰ *Wright's Directory of Milwaukee 1906* (Milwaukee: Alfred G. Wright, 1906). Thanks to Steven A. Walton for assistance with this biographical research.

⁹¹ Ernst's father Rudolph Bitter had built a house as early as 1880 that the family eventually owned on 13th Street near Milwaukee's heavily industrial Menominee River valley. The family was in the same house in the 1900 Census, which indicated that Rudolph Bitter owned the house with a mortgage. United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule* (Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, 1880); United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule* (Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, 1900).

⁹² See for instance the mural of jovial German drinkers signed “Associated Artists, Milwaukee,” painted over the bar at the Michigan House restaurant, 300 6th Street, Calumet (Red Jacket), whose building was also designed by Charles Maass. Associated Artists also may have produced a similar mural at the Ambassador Restaurant and bar, 126 Sheldon Avenue, Houghton. A bill credits them with extensive interior painting at St. Anne's Church in Red Jacket in 1900. Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, 171.

sometime between 1900 and 1910, which casts an air of sadness over this intended nursery.⁹³

Two other examples romanticize pre-modern industry and production. A frieze in an upstairs bedroom features Dutch-style windmills, sailboats, and village scenes painted in blue on white (fig. 5.26). In the late nineteenth century, the Netherlands' historic tin-glazed earthenware industry, whose blue and white tiles and ceramic vessels had been shipped throughout the colonial world in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, became part of a widespread Northern European Romantic Nationalist movement.⁹⁴ In addition to these scenes of rural idyll, a downstairs room used as an office or guest room featured another frieze above heavily paneled oak wainscoting (fig. 5.27). Vines with colorful leaves cascade across a buff background. The leaves are rendered to resemble embroidery and look very similar to the leaves in the formal entry of James Pryor's renovated house on Main Street in East Houghton (see fig. 2.27).⁹⁵ These Dutch windmills, Teutonic folk tales, and faux-embroidered vines together with the molded plaster brackets in the library and Medieval-style iron strapwork around several fireplaces, all suggest nostalgia for a time of pre-industrial European life before labor strife and unsettled immigration. These paintings at the MacDonald House make more explicit the flaunting of leisure expressed by the Reeders' wicker or Queen Anne architecture in East Hancock. Here, leisure did not obscure labor. Labor no longer seemed to exist. No people appeared to run the windmills or stitch the embroidery. Labor in these paintings was faceless.

⁹³ These friezes have been significantly in-painted. Further research and conservation could help determine the paint history. Sawyer, *A History of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan and Its People; Its Mining, Lumber and Agricultural Industries*; United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1900; United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1910.

⁹⁴ Wendy Kaplan, ed., *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Europe & America: Design for the Modern World* (New York: Thames & Hudson, Limited, 2004), 17; Wendy Kaplan and Eileen Boris, *"The Art That Is Life": The Arts & Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1987), 80–100.

⁹⁵ The similarities suggest potentially the same painter's hand.

The year after MacDonald's house was completed, C&A Second Vice President Thomas Hoatson, Jr. (1861–1929) began to construct what would become the Copper Country's most elaborate expression of this new bourgeois identity. His ostentatious mansion across the street at 320 Tamarack Street assumed the mantle of both Classical and Colonial Revival design, venerated pre-industrial Europe, and brought the tastes of early twentieth-century industrialists to the Copper Country (fig. 5.28). Hoatson had deep ties to the Calumet area, having moved here in 1872 as a boy when his father, Thomas Hoatson, Sr., became Chief Captain for Calumet & Hecla. Hoatson grew up in the large Captain's House on Calumet Avenue, which by 1903 had been remodeled into the exclusive Miscowaubik club, possibly by Charles Maass.⁹⁶ Thomas himself had become a mine captain at C&H and lived in managers' housing with his wife and five children in 1900.⁹⁷ He had been an initial director of the C&A company and joining the officers in 1902 as second vice president.⁹⁸ His older brother James had been the chief mining expert in the prospecting and development phase. Despite this somewhat secondary role, Thomas made the most dramatic architectural pronouncement of any of his fellow C&A investors.

His 13,000-square-foot mansion combined Neoclassical and Colonial Revival styles with the enormous scale and up-to-date utilities favored by modern industrialists. It featured a two-story Corinthian-columned temple-front with dentiled portico and flanking verandahs. A large *porte-cochère* allowed for snow- and rain-free disembarking from the Hoatson's carriage, which then drove directly to the matching two-story carriage house, much like MacDonald's across the

⁹⁶ Maass was working for C&H in 1903 and may have been involved in this renovation, which included adding a Palladian window to the front gable. Sprenger, *History and Tour of the Laurium Manor Inn*, 1; Robert F. Carlton, *A Brief History of the Miscowaubik Club, Calumet, Michigan, 1903-1990* (Calumet, MI: Miscowaubik Club Board of Governors, 1990).

⁹⁷ United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1900.

⁹⁸ *Report of the Calumet & Arizona Mining Company* (Calumet, MI, 1902); Busch, "Laurium Historic District," 83.

street (fig. 5.29). Inside, the house boasted forty-five rooms including a full basement and a large ballroom on the third floor.⁹⁹ Formal parlors and dining room were spatially separated from the fully equipped kitchen and breakfast room. Electricity lit the house and each room featured a pneumatic thermostat for the hot-water radiator heating system.¹⁰⁰ Rear stairs led to several servants' rooms on the third floor. Thomas Hoatson and his wife Cornelia lived there with their three sons and two daughters aided by two Swedish servants according to the 1910 census.¹⁰¹

As with the MacDonald House, this design departed significantly from Maass' earlier work and relates directly to national design trends. Forms like this, somewhat jokingly called *Columnitus Giganticus* by architectural historian Richard Guy Wilson, began appearing in the 1890s.¹⁰² Hoatson's house included the primary features of this popular form: a large square footprint with two-story columned portico, hipped roof with balustrade, gracious full-width porch, flanking side wings and *porte cochères*, tall side chimneys, and assorted dormer windows. Neoclassical and Colonial Revival behemoths like this gained popularity after being used for both the Connecticut and Kentucky State Houses at the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition.¹⁰³ Indeed, Hoatson's house owed a debt to McKim, Mead & White's "White City" and that firm's brand of American Renaissance architecture, which assumed the mantle of Greco-Roman traditions for the maturing United States. But giant temple-front houses like Hoatson's essentially sheathed Gilded Age luxuries in decoration and rhetoric that conflated Beaux Arts

⁹⁹ Measured floor plans for the house do not survive and have not been made. A 1906 article mentions a billiard room in the attic while the following year an article calls it a ballroom. Plans may have changed or reporters made an error. "Two Fine Homes for Laurium"; "Three Beautiful Laurium Homes," *Daily Mining Gazette*, May 11, 1907.

¹⁰⁰ Sprenger, *History and Tour of the Laurium Manor Inn*.

¹⁰¹ United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, 1910.

¹⁰² Richard Guy Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 2004), 50.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 51.

proportion and classicism with symbols associated with early American history.¹⁰⁴ The form appeared in professional architectural magazines as well as popular patternbooks through the 1890s and into the twentieth century.¹⁰⁵ Maass would have been familiar with these resources as he prepared plans for Laurium.¹⁰⁶

The resource that may have directly influenced Maass is George F. Barber's *Modern Dwellings*. Hoatson's façade and floorplan resemble Design No. 1 in the third edition of Barber's book published in 1901 (figs. 5.30–31).¹⁰⁷ Both the design and house feature a hipped roof with two-story temple-front and flanking wings, with classical ornament throughout. The most dramatic difference visible from the street between Hoatson's house and Barber's design was the use of a triangular pediment rather than flat roof and a frieze festooned with classical swags. This alteration may have been made considering the danger of flat roofs in this snowy location, or borrowed from Barber's Design No. 5 in the same book, an even larger version of *Columnitus Giganticus*. Barber recommended a red slate roof on the whole building, but Hoatson chose a red synthetic material, perhaps the asbestos shingling similar to MacDonald's. Inside, Hoatson's floor plans differ somewhat from Barber's design but both include a central hallway flanked by the same basic elements: a sitting room, parlor, music room, and library, with a dramatic

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 50–63; Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*, 243–244.

¹⁰⁵ The form culminated as “The Magnolia,” available in Sears Roebuck mail-order catalogs from 1918–1921. Reiff, *Houses from Books*, 193–195.

¹⁰⁶ Newspaper accounts note that Hoatson's plans were “drawn up” by Charles Maass and that he was supervising all of the work, though no records suggest whether he bought plans from an outside source. The local carpenter was Edward Ulseth, son of Norwegian immigrants, who had been building for prominent clients for a decade or more and also may have been familiar with published professional resources. “Two Fine Homes for Laurium”; “Three Beautiful Laurium Homes.”

¹⁰⁷ See “Design No. 1” in Barber's *Modern Dwellings* (1901) reprinted as George F. Barber, *Barber's Turn-of-the-Century Houses, Elevations and Floor Plans* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2008), 6. *Modern Dwellings* appeared first in 1898 with a fifth edition appearing in 1905. Versions of this design appear in other editions as well.

staircase aligned with the *porte-cochère*. Both stairs lead to an airy second-floor hall with six bedrooms. The service areas as built do not match Barber's design but again Hoatson's house contains all the same elements: a kitchen equipped with elaborate ice-box with delivery hatch, breakfast room, hall, pantry, and backstairs to third floor service rooms. Whether Maass used Barber's book or not, he was undoubtedly influenced by his designs, which were appearing in professional publications and being built around the country, including in Illinois and Wisconsin, where Maass spent considerable time.¹⁰⁸

Both Barber's design and Hoatson's completed house emphasized high-end entertaining in a mix of historicist styles that adopted European legacies in the name of American progress. Barber called this design "A Most Beautiful Home of the Georgian Type (Classic Colonial)," a title that captured both the perceived morality of the American colonial era and the stateliness of the English Empire. However historically mismatched, these visual associations were not lost on the local community. One newspaper described the nearby house for Major J. H. Lathrop, which Maass and Ulseth also built and which looked very similar to Hoatson's, as being built "along the purely colonial style."¹⁰⁹ Oddly, Barber himself was partly responsible for linking large columned porticoes like this one to Southern Colonial architecture and its associations with gracious entertaining. As Wilson has argued, Barber popularized the idea that *Columnitus Giganticus* was appropriate for "entertaining large numbers of friends" and "was capable of the greatest variety of treatment."¹¹⁰

We do not know whether Hoatson and Lathrop intended to ally themselves with Southern values but their two-story columns and grand entries certainly contrasted not only with most

¹⁰⁸ For the Langellier House in Watseka, Illinois, for instance, see Reiff, *Houses from Books*, 195, fig. 319.

¹⁰⁹ "Two Fine Homes for Laurium."

¹¹⁰ As quoted in Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House*, 51.

architecture in the Keweenaw but even with other interpretations of the Colonial Revival just down the street. In 1906–07, Maass built a house for C&A investor John Weir Milligan at 94 Third Street (fig. 5.32). This structure more faithfully approximated an eighteenth-century Georgian house. Its flatter façade, symmetrical fenestration, engaged pilasters, and classical balustrade followed the lead of conservative Boston architects whose brand of Colonial Revival remained closer to New England precedent. Maass clearly knew about multiple ways to mobilize historical styles for modern tastes. Hoatson, however, chose specifically to emphasize entertainment on a grand scale using nationally popular forms and ornament built by German and Scandinavian men from the Midwest. In so doing, he renounced the Boston-influenced tastemakers who had long dominated the Copper Country. His house, which might have seemed run-of-the-mill for a new millionaire in other cities, resonated here with an added timbre of defiance.

On the inside, Hoatson's furnishings shed most Classical and American Colonial references in favor of heavy European historicism and modernist abstractions in a late English Arts and Crafts style. If the Hoatsons' exterior suggested grand entertaining, their interior followed through offering the family and their guests a refuge from the modern world more in conversation with national tastes than local realities. For help, Hoatson shunned Sivert Olson, the old-fashioned local furniture retailer, and turned instead to an interior decorating firm from Milwaukee. As a result, the interior décor of Hoatson's house was among the most elaborate and also the best documented in the Copper Country. An eleven-page bill dated 8 January 1908 from Maxwell, Forbes & Stillman, Decorators and Furnishers, in Milwaukee, charged Hoatson

\$33,278 for an incredibly rich array of plaster and wooden architectural details, textiles, wallpapers, rugs, furnishings, specialty painting, installation, and delivery.¹¹¹

The Hoatson House may have been among Maxwell, Forbes & Stillman's most elaborate jobs during the company's relatively short life.¹¹² The decorating firm in this configuration had recently been established, when John J. Forbes joined the existing firm of Maxwell and Stillman. Hugh G. Maxwell and Henry M. Stillman had incorporated to "conduct painting and decorating," but joined up with Forbes around 1906.¹¹³ Forbes brought the ambition to serve an elite clientele, which they did over the next several years, building what a later biography of Forbes called "the finest and most exclusive business of its kind in the Middle West."¹¹⁴ Their clients included Milwaukee's Schlitz Brewing Company and its wealthy owner Joseph Uihlein.¹¹⁵ Maxwell & Stillman created the grand illusionistic interior at the Schlitz Palm Garden, where they may have

¹¹¹ Thanks to Dave and Julie Sprenger, current owners of the Hoatson house, which they operate as the Laurium Manor Inn, for sharing this document with me.

¹¹² The three men ran their company in this configuration from 1901–1912, according to Milwaukee city directories. Prior to 1901, Maxwell and Stillman had a partnership. Afterward, Henry M. Stillman carried on the decorative plaster work, operating Stillman-Paine Plaster Company with George W. Paine, which eventually became Plastic Products Company. Forbes became a philanthropist in California. Hugh G. Maxwell continued to operate the Milwaukee decorating firm of Maxwell, Moore & MacDonald until about 1950. Thanks to Traci Schnell for her great assistance in researching this firm. See "Hugh G. Maxwell," obituary in *The Milwaukee Journal*, 3 November 1960, 2; For Stillman-Paine see *Wright's Directory of Milwaukee 1913* (Milwaukee, WI: Alfred G. Wright, 1913). *Wright's Directory of Milwaukee 1901* (Milwaukee, WI: Alfred G. Wright, 1901).

¹¹³ "Maxwell & Stillman," *Paint, Oil, and Drug Review*, May 4, 1904, <http://books.google.com/books?id=BuU1AQAAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=paint+oil+drug+volume+37+1904&hl=en&sa=X&ei=6tapU8W2K4KMyATO-IDYCQ&ved=0CCkQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=%22Maxwell%20%26%20Stillman%22&f=false>.

¹¹⁴ Frank P. Brackett, *History of Pomona Valley, California* (Los Angeles, CA: Historic Record Company, 1920), 551, http://books.google.com/books?id=3W4UAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA551&dq=%22john+j+forbes%22+decorator&hl=en&sa=X&ei=X9OpU_7CAAtGfyASFrYHwBw&ved=0CCcQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=%22john%20j%20forbes%22%20decorator&f=false.

¹¹⁵ Letter to W. W. Ray from Joseph E. Uihlein, 12 August 1909, MSS 903, Maxwell-Ray Manufacturing Company, Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Thanks to Traci Schnell for sending me this reference.

collaborated with Associated Artists.¹¹⁶ Maass probably connected with Maxwell, Forbes & Stillman on his 1907 trip to Milwaukee, which he advertised in the *Copper Country Evening News*.¹¹⁷

For the Hoatsons, Maxwell, Forbes & Stillman mixed rich historical references to pre-modern Europe with fashionable abstractions that transported visitors into an illusionistic world of luxury. Upon entering the house, visitors encountered a grand long hall or gallery filled with framed paintings hung cheek-by-jowl gallery style, dark painted walls, and a coved ceiling intricately painted and divided with molded plaster ribs (fig. 5.33). The room appeared twice its length due to an enormous mirror at the end. The mix of styles in this hall and its adjoining rooms characterized the whole house. The language in the bill records an academic attention to historical revivals, reading like a laundry list of period style names and references to European monarchs. The Living Room had “Louis XIII Damask Curtains,” recalling the seventeenth-century French king and describing a bold Baroque-style woven pattern. The parlor had mahogany furniture covered in “Hepplewhite Damask Velvet,” a reference to the eighteenth-century English design book publisher whose neoclassical fashions were cyclically revived and generally associated with early America. Other rooms featured items that recalled the achievements of the Italian Renaissance. Three pairs of “Italian Tap[estry] Portieres” for the “lower hall” would have stretched across the doorways into the downstairs rooms, essentially scaling down the narrative woven tapestries from the stone walls of European chateaux for a rich textural effect in this formal entryway. A few references also recalled American heritage. A

¹¹⁶ “Honored Decorator Stillman Dies at 91,” *Milwaukee Journal*, September 2, 1965. Their work at the Palm Garden is also featured in Maxwell, Forbes & Stillman Company, *Architectural Ornaments in Exterior and Interior: Composition, Wood, Cement, Etc* (Milwaukee, WI: Maxwell, Forbes & Stillman Company, 1909).

¹¹⁷ “Maas [sic] to Leave,” *Copper Country Evening News*, July 27, 1907.

“Brass Colonial Fireset and andirons” were purchased for the spare room whose fireplace featured “dull Hartford tile,” both direct references to New England’s Puritan past. Hoatson may have asserted his own heritage by requesting that thistles, the national flower of his parents’ native Scotland, be featured in the intricate tile mosaic fireplace surround in the den.

Along with these associations with European empire came, not surprisingly, a sustained interest in the exotic. Compared to the Reeders’ version, however, the Hoatsons’ seemed less about personal artistic expression and more about appropriating materials and traditions from around the world. While the Reeders had “Turkish” armchairs and an ottoman woven from wicker in Massachusetts, the Hoatsons imported thirty-six oriental rugs from the Middle East. Costing a total of \$7,975, these covered the floors of the most prominent spaces, the largest being a 17 x 11 foot “Serape” for the Dining Room. Each rug was specified with a named pattern and measurements with exact intended locations noted. The most exotic feature of the house, however, does not appear in the bill but survives in the dining room (fig. 5.34). Tooled and gilded leather wall covering, said to be elephant hide, captures an exaggerated notion of European imperialism from the period in which India and Africa seemed destined for long-term European control. The wall leather may have been part of the “decorative work in your residence as per contract,” now lost, listed on page 3 of the bill and valued at the enormous sum of \$8000.

In many ways, the Hoatsons’ interior decorations offered a refuge from the outside world, created in particular by hand-painted wall murals. In all likelihood, Maxwell, Forbes and Stillman subcontracted with Associated Artists or their employees to create intricate painted decoration that contributed to the Hoatsons’ constructed sense of place. While this relationship is as yet undocumented, the friezes in the Hoatsons’ bedrooms closely imitate those across the street in the MacDonalds’ house. In particular, the Hoatsons’ sons’ room features blue and white

windmill and maritime scenes with the same Dutch-style celebrations of village life already attributed to Bitter and Associated Artists. Their daughter Grace's room features multiple birds perched on branches as well as nursery rhyme animals nestled among cabbages much like at the MacDonalds' (fig. 5.35).

The Hoatson's also commissioned two murals that offered a bucolic version of nature no longer present within the heavily-industrialized confines of Laurium, Calumet, and Red Jacket. The bedroom of the Hoatson's oldest son had a forest scene with groups of peaceful white-tail deer rendered in shades of orange and burnt umber. In an era when young middle and upper-middle-class men were being criticized for going soft behind their desks, outdoor sports like deer hunting, which was especially popular in the Midwestern northwoods, gained considerable popularity.¹¹⁸ Similarly, the Den, where the men likely adjourned after dinner, featured a wide frieze depicting young trees framing a meandering river rendered in shades of green (fig. 5.36). Family lore suggests that this scene depicted the view around the Hoatson's vacation house on Bete Grise beach about 30 miles north where they spent the summers. Both of these murals allowed the Hoatson men to recall and celebrate the "strenuous life" being touted by President Theodore Roosevelt and others even while enjoying a winter-time digestive in their town house. Overall, this custom painting allowed the Hoatson's to locate themselves outside of modern industrialization both temporally and spatially. They recalled both pre-industrial village life and the natural world unsullied by human activity, both imagined places no longer extant in their modernizing Copper Country reality.

Even among these seemingly old-fashioned evocations of pre-modern Europe and an outdoor masculine ideal, much of the painted, carved, and plaster decoration in these rooms

¹¹⁸ Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 97–141.

embraced modern-style abstractions. Featured in the front hall's cove ceiling above a dark wooden cornice rose interlocking leaves and flower buds in a symmetrical and repeating pattern of gold, green, and red (fig. 5.37). Reminiscent of American architect Louis Sullivan's patterned abstractions, this border coordinated with molded plaster ceiling ribs that also featured sinuous interwoven vines in matching colors. These patterns continued in the second floor hall as well. The grand dining room featured the most emphatically modern decorations. Around the walls at the ceiling cascaded complex interlocking tendrils repeating in alternating patterns below a border of similarly abstracted vegetation. All of this was rendered in gold, blue, and red on tooled leather wall covering. Custom-designed wall sconces and central lighting fixture mimicked the gilded pattern.¹¹⁹ Echoing these modern versions of Medieval or Celtic ornament were large hammered copper hinges on the doors of the built-in sideboard, which also featured similar motifs both carved in oak and in its decorative glass doors.

These modern abstractions of nature were probably custom designed by Maxwell, Forbes & Stillman and required significant coordination between specialist fabricators and Hoatson as client. The bill specified "Designing and detailing woodwork... on main floor" as well as "Ornamental plaster work, wood carving on mantles, bookcases, sideboard, stair etc." It also specified designing the mantle in the "spare room," which boasted similarly abstracted interlocking vines. Customizing modern styles of this sort required input from Hoatson, as it departed significantly from the company's standard work. Maxwell, Forbes & Stillman published an extensive catalogue called *Architectural Ornament* to promote their ornamental

¹¹⁹ Most of the original lighting fixtures in the house were removed and sold in the 1980s. Maxwell, Forbes & Stillman's bill indicates that the company designed all the "electric fixtures on [the] main floor."

plaster work in 1909.¹²⁰ And while many of the plaster moldings throughout the Hoatson's house were stock items, the custom work combined Art Nouveau naturalism with an Arts and Crafts-Style reverence for the Medieval that did not appear extensively in their catalogue. Modern abstract design had been appearing in the United States for at least fifteen years by 1908, influenced by the British Arts and Crafts Movement and adapted by Louis Sullivan and his protégés Frank Lloyd Wright, George Grant Elmslie, and others. By Hoatson's time, modern decoration was being absorbed into the accepted stylistic vocabulary for high-end American houses.¹²¹ In some ways, however, abstraction offered yet another way to distance oneself from the modernizing world and create retreat into controlled nature, a new and sophisticated choice in the Copper Country.

Maxwell, Forbes and Stillman also included commercially available modern design. Mrs. Hoatson's bedroom boasted modern-looking textiles. "Shadow Print" fabric listed on the bill created an abstract pattern by offsetting colored threads within the weave to create visual echoes in contrasting colors. Purchased for curtains, valances, bedspread, bolster, and portieres, this fabric gave Mrs. Hoatson's room, and to a lesser degree her daughters' room where the same fabric appeared, connections to modern tastes. The breakfast room featured "Liberty Vel[vet]" valances and bands around the windows. Liberty & Company was William Morris's progressive design firm in London, which brought reverence for perceived Medieval simplicity into the modern marketplace. The textile may have matched the canvas wallcovering painted with peaches and peach trees still surviving in this room.

¹²⁰ Maxwell, Forbes & Stillman Company, *Architectural Ornaments in Exterior and Interior*.

¹²¹ Lisa Phillips and David A. Hanks, *High Styles: Twentieth-Century American Design* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art in association with Summit Books, 1985), 3–45.

Overall, the Hoatsons' conscious evocation of historical European design and simultaneous embrace of modernist abstraction linked them not only to European nobility but to America's burgeoning aristocracy as well. America's elite were filling their houses with similar conglomerations of European empire and American modernism, a not-so-veiled reference to this country's rising ambitions. Historian Sven Beckert has dealt ably with the seeming contradiction between this country's anti-aristocratic founding and the great social and financial power gained by what he calls New York's bourgeoisie.¹²² To workers here, as elsewhere, the conflation apparent in the Hoatsons' house and those of their compatriots between old-fashioned monarchical empires and the legacy of America's republican founding sentiments seemed absurd and nonsensical. But as Beckert suggests, the bourgeoisie designed their worlds to match the political and ideological turns that industrialists had taken since the Civil War. In their minds, modern corporations could no longer support a Jacksonian democracy that empowered individual workers. They required more autonomy. In response, industrialists donned the architectural clothing of more powerful rulers but flavored it with an American character forged in the outdoors.¹²³

Hoatson's assumption of the trappings of European nobility was not lost on people in the Copper Country. Just as many Americans referred to New York's elite during and after the Gilded Age as our "aristocracy," the *Miners' Bulletin* during the Copper Country strike called C&H President Quincy A. Shaw and Rudolphe Agassiz an aristocracy and pleaded with them to remember this nation's roots in the "thrill" of toppling a throne.¹²⁴ Likewise, the line of captain's

¹²² Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850-1896* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 237–272.

¹²³ Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 140–153.

¹²⁴ "Quincy A. Shaw and Rudolph Aggassiz [sic]."

houses on Calumet Avenue was referred to as “Aristocracy Street.”¹²⁵ The same newspaper also called the region’s managers and mine owners “little Vanderbilts,” referring to the country’s most prominent industrialist family.¹²⁶ With these houses, Hoatson and the C&A investors had successfully launched themselves into a nationally prominent class of industrialists, and their local communities certainly noticed.

By building mansions so completely foreign to Copper Country precedent, the Calumet & Arizona investors effectively thrust the issue of class identity onto the streets of Laurium. For people living in Laurium, Red Jacket, and nearby company locations, the Hoatson and MacDonald houses would have been significantly disruptive to their familiar experiences and would have called into question their own class identities. Some people might have felt pride in Laurium’s rapid growth and the success of its prominent residents, an attitude amply demonstrated in local newspaper coverage. But plenty of other residents were developing Marx-style class-consciousness even before the strike broke out. For them, walking past Hoatson’s house would have elicited feelings of inferiority, jealousy, frustration at such inequality, or encouragement to act. At the very least, it triggered specific identity performances. Much like the trigger points in East Hancock, the middle of the 300 block on Tamarack Street triggered a person to perform their perceived class-identity in the shadows of these mansions. A middle-class resident might stand up straighter or brush dust from her hat in order to appear as respectable as possible, in case she ever received an invitation to enter. A working-class person might do the same. But he might also feel frustrated, ashamed, prescribed, or pigeonholed. He might act out, drawing attention to his shabby clothes, foreign dialect, or dirty workman’s hands,

¹²⁵ “Seen by the Searchlight,” *Miners’ Bulletin*, November 18, 1913, as quoted in Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, 28.

¹²⁶ “Why Do They Do It?,” *Miners’ Bulletin*, September 16, 1913.

exaggerating the features about which the mansions made him feel self-conscious. Sociologist Dick Hebdige calls this behavior “the unnatural break,” taken often by subcultures that have been made to feel unnatural by a dominant culture that has naturalized their own values.¹²⁷ Laurium’s enormous houses brought to the forefront of the pedestrian’s mind his or her own sensations of inferiority.

The C&A investors understood this power of houses to trigger identity consciousness and define social relationships. In the same years that they were building mansions in Laurium, they were also using housing in Arizona to manipulate the C&A workforce. These men believed in the ability of housing to influence morality, a brand of environmental determinism that mixed Victorian domesticity with a new faith in professional planning.¹²⁸ The town of Bisbee had become overcrowded and had seen an influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, as well as from Mexico. As historian Elizabeth Benton-Cohen has recently argued, C&A company leaders, including both James and Thomas Hoatson and their brother-in-law Thomas H. Cole, tried to subdue racial strife and labor organization around their Arizona company by transforming the model town of Warren into a factory for loyal workers.¹²⁹ They had hired Boston landscape architect Warren Manning, who had done significant work for C&H in Michigan, to plan a suburban neighborhood for company clerks and engineers. But C&A officials decided that its neat modest bungalows, if sold to miners instead of managers, would tie the workforce to their mortgages and in so doing beholden them to the company as well. They

¹²⁷ Hebdige, *Subculture, The Meaning of Style*, 90–92.

¹²⁸ Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands*; Alanen, “Companies as Caretakers: Paternalism, Welfare Capitalism, and Immigrants in the Lake Superior Mining Region”; Alanen, *The Planning of Company Communities in the Lake Superior Mining Region*; Crawford, *Building the Workingman’s Paradise*.

¹²⁹ Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands*, 120–147.

sold bungalows to workers, but ultimately it did not stave off the class and ethnic strife that eventually led to the 1917 forced exodus known today as the “Bisbee Deportation,” in which deputies drove almost 2000 workers considered foreign troublemakers out of the U.S.¹³⁰

The relationship between the C&A officers and their workers in Arizona actually had an effect on their relationships with workers in Laurium. The officers’ choice to build mansions in Laurium rather than move to Warren (or New York or Boston for that matter), maintained their significant geographical distance from C&A workers in Arizona.¹³¹ Their choice matched national trends, in which financiers lived increasingly distant from the industries they funded.¹³² As a result, Hoatson, MacDonald and the others were freed from having to balance the location, scale, and opulence of their homes with company strategies of labor management, as their fathers had done in Calumet. Unlike Harris and Whittle at the Quincy, for instance, the C&A men worried little about “tact” because the labor unrest that most affected them was 2000 miles away. They continued investing in local banks, real estate, and other mining interests, but they had graduated, as it were, from positions as mine captains or business owners. Instead, their windfall made them industrialists – successful ones at that. They no longer directly oversaw workers. Their money, and now their houses, marked them in a higher category. They communicated now with a set of the nationalized bourgeoisie in the same class and wealth category as themselves. As a result, the most salient audience for their architectural expressions was national rather than local, at least that was their intention. They had in effect made themselves outsiders in their very own hometown.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 1–17.

¹³¹ James Hoatson did in fact build a large villa in Hollywood, California.

¹³² Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis*, 238.

This new dynamic not only remapped Laurium's geographic relationship with Arizona but also altered the relationships between its own residents. The C&A investors were not all successful professionals choosing a life of countryside leisure away from the city, like Jay Hubbell had done decades before. Nor were they white-collar managers moving out of company housing into private suburbs, as were Reeder in East Houghton or James Cooper in East Hancock. By making enormous capital investments in a far-off mining region and building domestic monuments to their financial success back at home, these men made Laurium into the urban center of the C&A company landscape. In other words, Laurium became to Bisbee, Arizona what Boston had always been to Calumet. Laurium had been transformed – at least for these lucky investors – from a peripheral mining region at the far outer consciousness of the elite Boston establishment into a central city supplying its own distant hinterlands with money, expertise, and company figureheads. In so doing, these mansions changed Laurium's relationship to the outside world and called into question the relationships between the majority of its residents and this new group of Arizona mining magnates.

On the one hand, the story of the Calumet & Arizona mansions may seem like little more than a classic American tale of *nouveau riche* ostentation. This seems especially true by comparison to the Copper Country's old Boston money, whose legacy of *noblesse oblige* translated here into corporate paternalism and subdued expressions of fashion, which the C&A mansions emphatically challenged. But when considered in terms of the embodied mobility of Laurium's unusually mixed population and the relational nature of identity formation, the fashions chosen by MacDonald and Hoatson acquire place-specific meanings. Here, their tastes for monumental classicism mixed with modern abstractions of specific periods from European and American history rooted their social power in normalized class legacy rather than copper

mining. It engaged them in a national conversation among a new bourgeoisie that excluded workers' voices while simultaneously exploiting their labor. Even though many workers never saw Hoatson's tooled and gilded elephant hide wall covering, his house created a sense of place in his mind that allowed him to think of himself and his family as different from others.

Most white-collar professionals continued to furnish homes on a less ostentatious scale, more like J. T. Reeder than Thomas Hoatson. The Reederes, in fact, kept their wicker chairs in their parlor through the 1920s, suggesting a frugality not shown by the C&A investors. The Reederes, MacDonalds, and Hoatsones alike, however, contributed to the white-collar sense of place. With businesses around 1900 expanding at such a rapid pace, and overnight trains to Chicago improving transportation, professionals here imagined themselves no longer isolated in a mining frontier. Rather, they defied geography and tied themselves to urban elites who were in turn rooting themselves in enduring aristocratic legacies. Bringing these nationally-popular bourgeois tastes to the Copper Country helped the upper-middle-class residents see themselves as belonging, and others as outsiders.

Conclusion

When the Copper Country strike broke out in the summer of 1913, mine company officials like James MacNaughton regarded the strikers as outside agitators because of their affiliation with the Western Federation of Miners. The union, in turn, encouraged workers to see managers and mine owners as interlopers whose upper-middle-class lifestyles shielded them from the realities of mine work. This dissertation began by suggesting that the place-specific rhetoric from both sides about who belonged in the Copper Country exposed overlapping social landscapes and class identities simmering barely below the surface of this conflict. The preceding chapters have complicated our understanding of those complex class identities and the role of middle and upper-middle-class domestic landscapes in creating them. After forty years during which time the people who ran both the mining companies and the commercial centers separated their houses into elite neighborhoods using space and taste to consolidate and normalize their power, it is no wonder that insider-outsider language resonated so strongly for all involved, despite the non-binary character of their complex relationships.

Starting on the first day of the strike, the domestic landscapes that have been the subject of this dissertation figured into the geography of this conflict. On July 23, at the conclusion of the first rally led by WFM union leaders, strikers specifically chose to lead their parade past the line of C&H captains' houses on Calumet Avenue. Known to workers as Millionaires' Row and Aristocracy Street, this boulevard provided the perfect stage on which to symbolically express their dissatisfaction with the inequality inherent in both paternalism and industrial capitalism. The parade proceeded solemnly, according to newspaper accounts, until they reached the end of company land, where violence erupted. Strikers raced from engine house to engine house

shutting down the lifts and shafts, threatening and beating area bosses, and succeeding in stopping work entirely for several weeks.¹

As time went on, strikers found considerable power by moving through public spaces and streets, and many of their parade routes took them past or near the neighborhoods interpreted in the previous chapters. As Alison K. Hoagland has argued, both strikers and the companies manipulated expectations about public space and private homes to gain advantage in the conflict.² The companies leaned on the high quality of their workers' housing to garner public opinion both locally and nationwide. The strikers leveraged public spaces not owned by the companies by parading through them in large numbers and establishing picket lines. As historians Gary Kaunonen and Aaron Goings have argued, the mobility of the strikers competed with the land ownership and spatial control exerted by the companies.³ Strike parades not only maintained solidarity but also used public space to raise community support by casting the union fight as an American struggle. Strikers put new words to well-known American anthems and carried the stars and stripes religiously to counteract the perception of being foreigners and outsiders.⁴

Thinking about parades on Third Street in Laurium suggests the influence of overlapping landscapes in non-company neighborhoods in solidifying class-consciousness during the strike. This boulevard became a primary thoroughfare and contentious route for strike parades (fig. 6.1).

¹ Kaunonen and Goings, *Community in Conflict*, 99–104; Lankton, *Cradle to Grave*, 223–224; Thurner, *Rebels on the Range*, 1–10.

² Hoagland, *Mine Towns*, 55–89.

³ Kaunonen and Goings, *Community in Conflict*, 26–27, 114–119.

⁴ Alice Margerum, “‘Beneath the Starry Flag’: The Flags and Songs of the 1913–14 Michigan Copper Strike as Image-Making in the American Labor Movement” (presented at the Retrospection & Respect: The 1913–14 Mining/Labor Strike Symposium of 2014, Michigan Technological University, Houghton, MI, April 12, 2014), <http://digitalcommons.mtu.edu/copperstrikesymposium/Schedule/Saturday/11>.

Weekend rallies occurred frequently in Laurium's Palestra hockey rink-auditorium. It was the only large venue in the Calumet area not on company land. Strikers and supporters traveled on foot from Tamarack, Raymbaultown, Centennial, and even farther out in Wolverine and Mohawk several miles away. The only way to get there from these company locations or from Red Jacket was to walk down Third Street past the homes of Daniell, Vivian, and Milligan, and within sight of Thomas Hoatson's, MacDonald's, and James Hoatson's large houses.

A panorama photograph taken a few years earlier in 1907 captured the view and ambiguous feelings that workers encountered as they walked together (fig. 6.2). Professional Red Jacket photographer John Stolt captured the bourgeois sense of place delineated in the last chapter in a wide-angled photograph labeled "Third Street, Laurium, Michigan."⁵ Featuring Johnson Vivian's gracious home and surrounding neighborhood, Stolt's photograph celebrated Laurium's suburban idyll. On first glance, it appears to capture the quintessential elite vision of suburban domestic order: fashionable houses, neatly arranged, served by electrical lines, and, most importantly, unpeopled. Idealized visions of suburbs in this period tended to include only out-scaled or prototypical figures who did not disrupt the tidy plans of the developers.⁶ The tiny people in Stolt's photo, like the distant horse buggy coming towards us and the pedestrian striding onto the sidewalk, seem to adhere to this model by offering innocuous anonymity.

Other figures in the photo, however, introduced subtle ambiguity and elicit more personal and nuanced responses (fig. 6.3). A young girl wearing a dark coat looks back at us over her shoulder as she walks in front of the Vivian house. Framed perfectly by a fence post and an iron

⁵ Stolt's Red Jacket studio advertised large format prints and he probably made these prints to sell in his shop. Robert D. Anthony, "Professional Photographers, Houghton County, Michigan, 1895–1917," unpublished paper (Houghton, MI: Michigan Technological University, December 2013), 14.

⁶ Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*, 74–75.

hitching post, she appears trapped and anxious, seeking our aid or attention. Perhaps she knows that she is out of place. We have caught her in the wrong landscape, and she fears reproachment. On the left, a faint blur barely captures the presence of a person stepping onto the sidewalk. Moving too fast at the edge of this panoramic frame to be captured in full, this man enters the scene only tentatively, as just a hint of himself. Likewise, Stolt's own shadow reminds viewers that we can enter this scene only as flat and vague versions of ourselves. His silhouette immediately calls our attention to the barrier between us and the houses, which is simultaneously the picture plane, the wide empty street, and our own feelings of not belonging. We are with him standing on the sidewalk, as outsiders looking in, unable to enter the scene as our full selves. Third Street requires particular performances from us. Our landscape overlaps with Vivian's but also alters it, infusing a disquieting tension.

By parading down Third Street during the strike, however, people asserted their identities as workers and disrupted the middle-class sense of place captured in Stolt's photo. A second photo of Third Street during the strike, when compared with Stolt's, vividly captures the stark social divides and related anxiety that came to define the Copper Country at this time. It depicts overlapping landscapes or co-existing senses of place, which are at the center of this dissertation.

The composition of this anonymous photograph expresses the social disruption of the strike as it would have been seen by the region's middle and upper-class residents (fig. 6.4). Taken in August 1913, a few weeks after the local chapters of the Western Federation of Miners called the general strike, people poured down Third Street to hear John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers union, speak at The Palestra. The venue's suspended sign is just visible

between distant electrical poles.⁷ With this parade and flood of people, Third Street became not Stolt's unpeopled vision of suburban orderliness but rather a place of embodied public protest. This photograph, whose author remains unknown but who was clearly not allied with the interest of the strikers, captures the spatial and social disruption. Split into thirds, the image features thronging bodies of the strike parade on the left, a pair of men in the middle walking towards us, and a polite middle-class group on the right. The striking men's backs fill the left of the frame all contained underneath the rooflines of the rough-clad storage buildings that lead toward the auditorium. These men with hats appear faceless and their throngs appear to stretch off into the distance.

In contrast, the right third contains a group of well-dressed women and girls who do not head toward The Palestra but who watch the striking men from an elevated concrete sidewalk. They observe from above the street, dramatically differentiated from the rest of the action by the sharp straight contrasting line created between the grass and the pavement. A utility pole stretches that divide far into the sky. Behind them is a wrought iron fence and tall leafy tree, probably part of the Calumet Public Hospital property, which frames this side of the image. A girl in the group looks directly at us, inviting us to identify with them as observers rather than participants in the strike parade. Behind the women on the sidewalk is a group of soldiers or officials, who stop our gaze from progressing toward The Palestra with the crowds. The contrast between this third of the photo and the left is so dramatic that one could imagine replacing the left with a bucolic boating scene or croquet game for the group of women and girls to watch.

⁷ The Palestra was a steel frame board-clad ice rink that opened in 1904. It was moved to Marquette, Michigan in 1921, and the building burned in 1954. Sanborn Map Company, "Insurance Maps of Houghton, Michigan" (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1908), 19; Sanborn Map Company, "Insurance Maps of Hancock, Michigan" (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1917), 28.

Their ambivalence toward the strikers appears remarkable. They may be watching with a mixture of fascination, support, or disgust, but certainly from a separate place.

The pair of men in the center of the photograph embody this middle-ground uncomfortably, creating the tension and uncertainty that defines this scene. They walk away from the labor rally. These men are neither in the street with the strike supporters, nor on the sidewalk with the ladies or guardsmen. They walk on the grassy berm between the two, taking an ambiguous in-between path. On the one hand, they maintain intimate proximity with the strikers. Despite the tall telephone pole that demarcates the central third of the frame for this pair, the man on the left is compositionally tied to the crowd. He almost appears to brush shoulders with the strikers. His head may bob above the sea of strikers' hats, but it remains covered by the ridgeline of the distant warehouses. On the other hand, the man on the right, higher on the berm and wearing a taller hat, rises above the crowd to occupy almost the center point of the photograph. Easy for a middle-class viewer to identify with, this man seems to separate himself from the parade and yet harbors ambiguity still. The sun's shadow bifurcates his body, making him a figure of light and dark, contrasts and contradiction. Is he conversing with a strike supporter? Is this a conversation that would have appealed to viewers, during a strike in which the companies refused to talk with the Union? Could a good old-fashioned conversation between neighbors soothe the situation? While we do not know who took this photograph or where it may have been viewed at the time, if anywhere, we can wonder if its author hoped for productive conversation on a metaphorical grassy berm. Overall, this photo is an image of factions and fracture that captures the bewilderment and ambiguity that many bystanders experienced during the strike.

Like workers, middle-class people faced difficult choices and struggled to reconcile their livelihoods with their political allegiances. By December, many of the people whose houses have

been the focus of this dissertation joined a group called the Citizens' Alliance. Founded to attract business-owners and loyal employees, the group took a pro-company stance. This organization criticized local law enforcement, pleaded with strikers to get back to business, and most emphatically demanded that the WFM's "outside agitators" leave. In fact, the language that most strongly cast the Copper Country as "home" for "good citizens," implicitly excluding newcomers and "undesirables," came from the Citizens' Alliance. While the group claimed impartiality, the Alliance officers held close family or business ties to company general managers. Their newspaper, *Truth*, was underwritten by MacNaughton and printed with C&H equipment.⁸ Then-private correspondence reveals collaboration between the group's leaders and company superintendents and owners, a tactic that industrial companies used in other parts of the country to quell union activity.⁹ The WFM considered Citizens' Alliance members to be company sympathizers and largely demonized them in the *Miners' Bulletin*.¹⁰

The Citizens' Alliance made obvious the already existing class ties between businessmen and mining company managers, which had been strengthened and made material by conjoining their domestic landscapes over the previous forty years. By 1913, as we have seen, class ties trumped workplace relationships for middle-class people choosing housing. Many successful captains and clerks employed by the mines had chosen to move away from work and workers

⁸ Days after the end of the strike, C&H general manager James MacNaughton requested from attorney Allan Rees more than \$3900 for "organizing the Citizen's Alliance and printing *Truth*." James MacNaughton to Rees, Robinson & Petermann, 28 April 1914, MS-002, Box 51, Folder 19, MTU. Also see Lankton, *Hollowed Ground*, 201.

⁹ Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands*, 128.

¹⁰ For instance, after the terribly tragedy at Italian Hall in which 79 people, many of them children, died in a stampede at a Christmas party for striking families, many residents believed that the person who wrongly called "Fire!" was wearing a Citizens' Alliance button. When the Alliance raised funds for the grieving families, the union turned it away. The *Miners' Bulletin* called it "blood money" and accused the Citizens' Alliance of "practicing mob violence." "Mine Owners Clutch for Profits Over the Coffins of the Babies," *Miners' Bulletin*, January 7, 1914.

and reimagined themselves as white-collar professionals in modern suburban neighborhoods. Not surprisingly, the thousands of Citizens' Alliance members included many players whose houses we have studied in this dissertation: Thomas Hoatson, Norman MacDonald, and John Weir Milligan, as well as Edward Ulseth who built their Laurium mansions and lived in a Charles Maass-designed home on Seventh Street in Red Jacket; Dr. William Courtney, one of East Hancock's first buyers, as well as August Mette of East Hancock's Vivian Addition; East Houghton residents in the Citizens' Alliance included James Pryor's son John C. Pryor, Ransom Sheldon's son of the same name, and two of C. C. Douglass' sons. In addition, the lawyers defending the companies in the public court hearings that occurred in February 1914 all lived in upscale independent neighborhoods. Quincy lawyer Charles D. Hanchette, who still lived in his original East Hancock home, now practiced with Swaby Lawton, whose brother Charles was Quincy's superintendent. Attorney J. P. Petermann represented C&H and had recently purchased Susan Daniell's mansion on Third Street in Laurium. Allen F. Rees, perhaps the most publicly visible of the company lawyers, had built himself a house next door to James Pryor in 1901.¹¹

Even though the Citizens' Alliance tried to maintain an independent identity, their ties to the companies were not only political and familial but also spatial. Strikers understood this relationship, and leveraged it by parading through Laurium on their way to The Palestra. East Hancock and East Houghton do not seem to have attracted as many parades, but their role in fostering a middle-class sense of place among their residents in this former mining outpost, and their manipulation of identity performances of domestic servants and other workers contributed

¹¹ The names of prominent Citizens' Alliance members appeared listed in the legal hearings in U.S. Congress, House Committee on Mines and Mining, *Conditions in the Copper Mines of Michigan: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Mines and Mining, House of Representatives, Sixty-Third Congress, Second Session, Pursuant to H. Res. 387* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1914), 1537–1538.

to the class-consciousness that fueled this strike. The 1913–14 miners' strike, like most, is often cast as a two-sided conflict pitting management against labor. Relationships in this place, of course, defied such neat polarity. The overlapping landscapes that had developed in upscale neighborhoods over forty years in the Copper Country played active parts in generating the ideas and actions that defined that difficult winter.

This dissertation has tracked the shift that occurred between 1870 and 1913 as the Copper Country's most powerful people moved their houses from mining locations and commercial centers to modern suburbs with fashionable architecture. Over this time, their relationships with workplaces and workers changed. At first, some residents, including James Pryor, used their houses to imagine themselves simultaneously part of a growing suburban middle class while also a company figurehead paternalistically looking down on employees from a prominent house. As time went on, we saw residents in East Hancock using space and taste more emphatically to differentiate themselves from workers. Even mine officials chose to move out of company managers' housing into private suburbs. The Henwoods and Kirkpatricks in East Hancock as well as the Reeders in their Tamarack location house established a taste that connected them more to middle-class suburban values around the country than to the daily concerns of their immediate community. Ultimately we saw a small group of extremely successful executives in Laurium employ the visual language of a new American bourgeoisie that prioritized national conversations about American industrial progress far more than local relationships.

In addition to tracking this shift, I have also interrogated the role of these domestic landscapes in creating multiple relational identities among different class groups. The comparison of Marie Henwood's and Tillie Heikkilä's daily routines highlighted the multiple

performances that the Henwoods' East Hancock house required of its female workers. These women's lives were punctuated by very different rhythms and their identities developed relationally, that is in response to each other's presences and absences. Similarly, in Laurium, the rapid construction of dramatically different new mansions not only thrust issues of class-consciousness onto the general population, but it also normalized a rooted sense of place for the wealthy owners that cast everyone else as outsiders. During the strike, paraders chose to march along Calumet Avenue and Third Street to challenge that constructed white-collar sense of place.

This study of middle and upper-middle-class housing in the Copper Country explores turn-of-the-century domestic landscapes both distinctive and common. As we have seen, the specific circumstances and personalities who built and populated these houses were beholden to mining industry issues rather than to agricultural patterns that more commonly defined suburbanization nationally. Also, the dynamic of its remote location, both then, in terms of northern frontier perceptions, and now, in terms of remarkable preservation-by-benign-neglect, makes the Copper Country a unique historical subject with strong place-based character.

And yet, the stories told here contribute to our understanding of the national values and negotiations that shaped America's suburban housing at the dawn of the twentieth century. The decisions made by white-collar homeowners and the developers catering to them about where and how to live – decisions both spatial and aesthetic – established the patterns that we continue to live with today. Of course, "The American Suburbs" have gone through considerable shifts since 1913, both real and perceived. The most important twentieth-century changes compared to the houses interpreted here include the open-plan architecture that emerged in the 1910s and 1920s when fewer families hired domestic servants, and the federal, state, and local economic incentives that continue to imbricate home sales with the health of the national economy.

Nevertheless, millions of Americans continue to live in one-hundred-and-twenty-year-old houses in developments very similar to East Hancock. And millions more fuel the construction of new neighborhoods that embrace similar values of class and aesthetic homogeneity, however normalized.¹² As James and Nancy Duncan have argued in their study of upscale domestic aesthetics in New Bedford, New York, a “seemingly innocent appreciation of landscapes and desire to protect local history and nature can act as subtle but highly effective mechanisms of exclusion and reaffirmation of class identity.”¹³ The creation of those spatial and aesthetic mechanisms has been the subject of this dissertation, whose narrative contributes relevant history to U.S. housing issues today.

¹² A useful discussion of these values appears in Low and Lawrence-Zuñiga, *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 387–407.

¹³ Duncan and Duncan, *Landscapes of Privilege*, 4.

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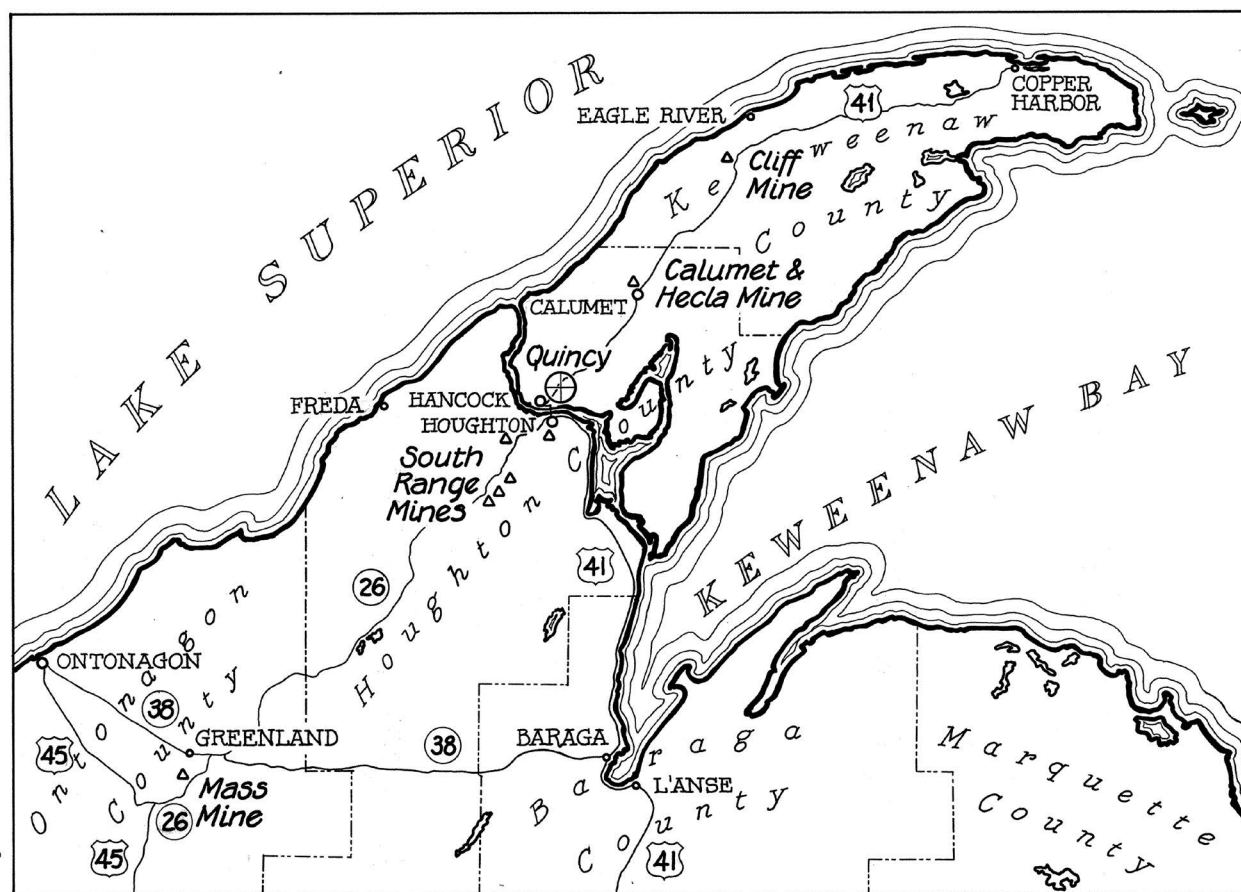
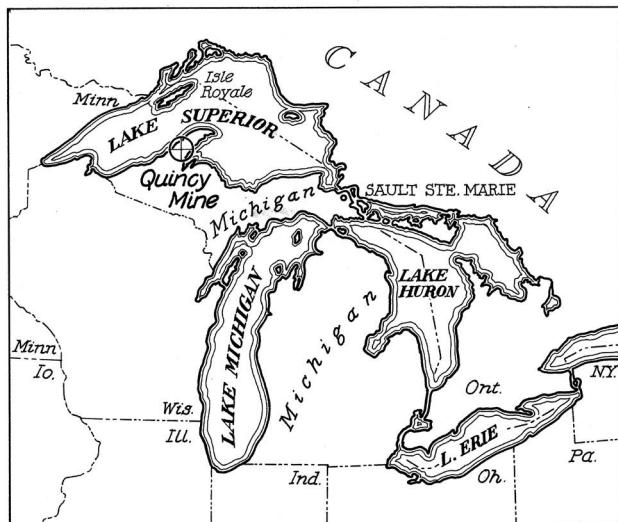


Fig. 0.1. Keweenaw Peninsula showing sites relevant to copper mining. Details from drawings by Dianne M. Pohlsander and Richard K. Anderson, Jr., 1978. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, HABS/HAER, Quincy Mining Company (HAER MICH, 31-HANC, 1-2). <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mi0086.sheet.00002a/>.



Fig. 0.2. Calumet & Hecla Consolidated Mining Company, Calumet, Michigan, ca. 1913. Neg 00653, Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections (hereafter MTU).

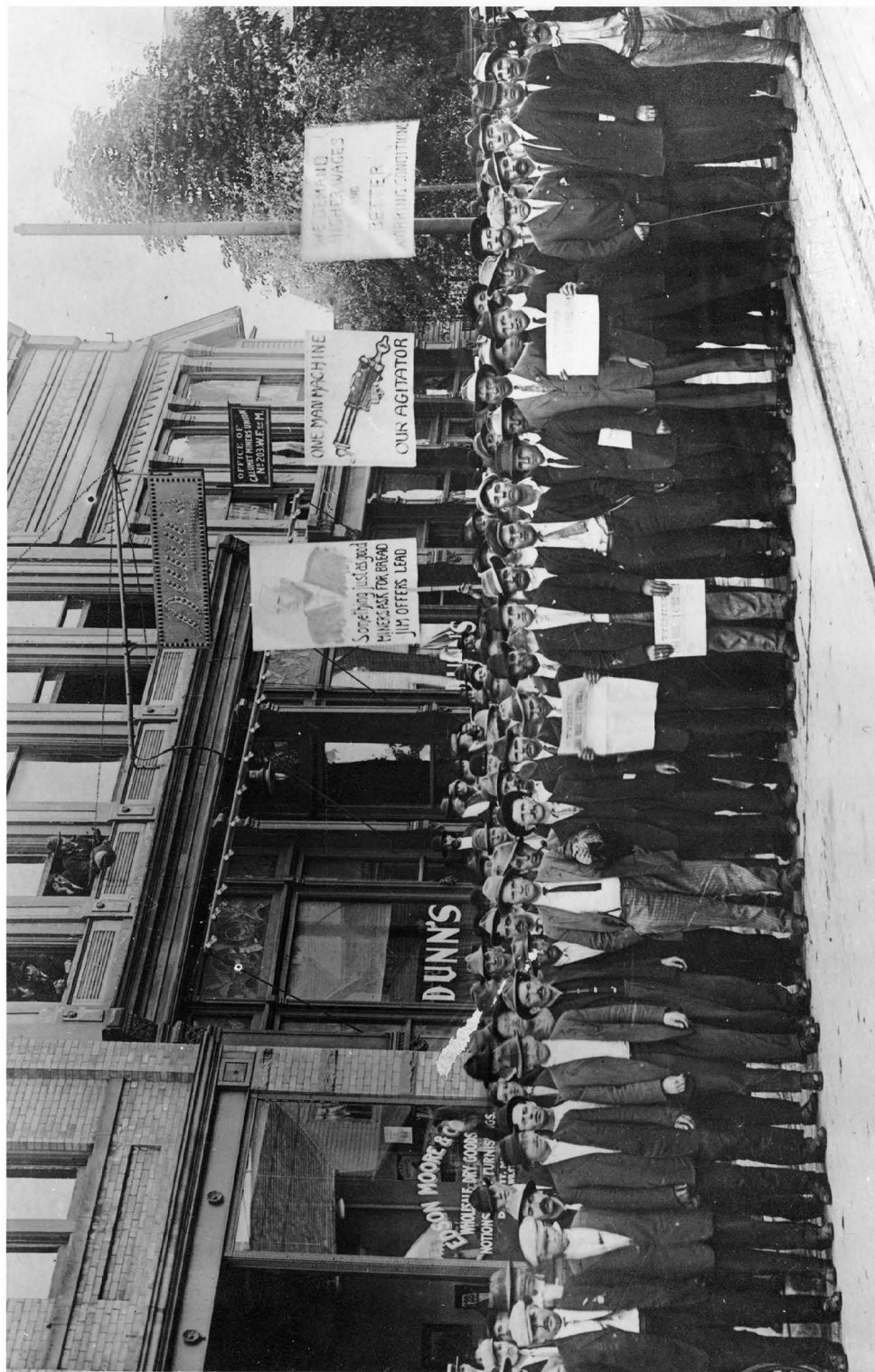


Fig. 0.3. Strikers outside Western Federation of Miners' Headquarters on Fifth Street in Calumet, Michigan. One sign protests against the use of the one-man drill. Photograph, 1913, MTU Neg 00835b, MTU.



Fig. 0.4. The Citizens' Alliance, a group of businessmen numbering in the thousands, formed in December 1913. Like the companies, they also regarded the Western Federation of Miners as outsiders and appealed to the strikers to return to work. They published a newspaper called *Truth*, which was secretly being funded by the mining companies. "Citizens Alliance, Parade," Sheldon Avenue, Houghton, 10 December 1913. Acc-400-12-13-1988-01-08-05, MTU.

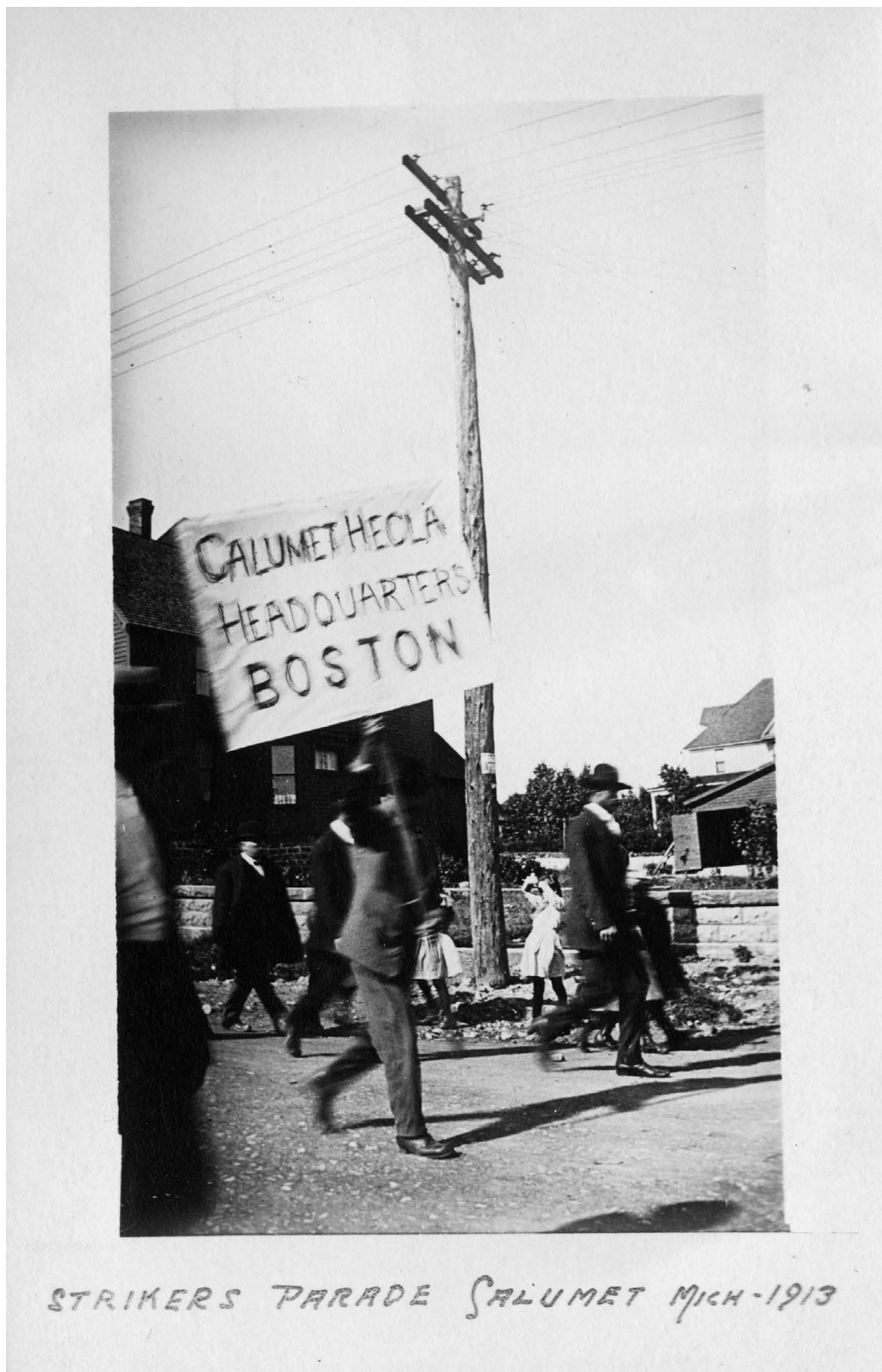


Fig. 0.5. Strikers resented the distance between their work in Michigan's copper mines and the ultimate location of the profits in eastern cities. "Calumet & Hecla Headquarters, Boston," 1913. NoNeg 2012-07-24-003, MTU.



Fig. 1.3. This map of the Calumet area shows the diagonal southwest-northeast line of the Calumet & Hecla mining operations, which followed the underground copper lode. The company interspersed managers' housing within the industrial core, spatially and symbolically connecting the people in charge to the power of the steam engines and the copper itself. Detail with annotation of "Calumet and Vicinity," 1915. Courtesy of the Keweenaw National Historical Park.

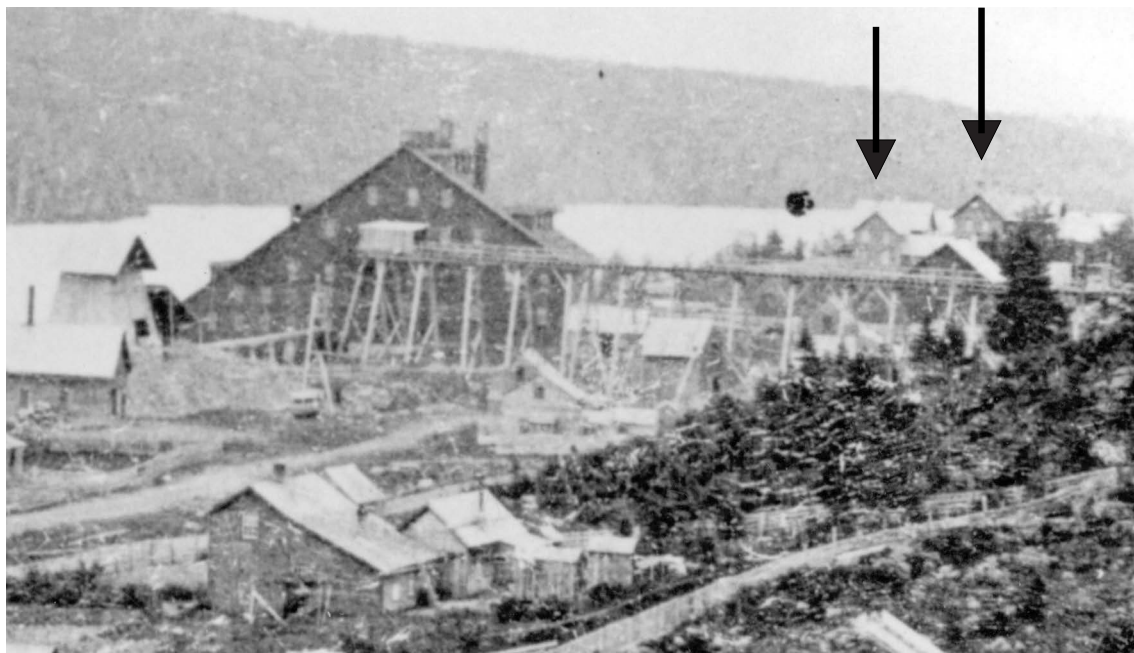


Fig. 1.5. Shelden-Columbian location looking east indicating structures that may be the agent's house and club house mentioned in documents. The large structure on the left is the mill. Detail of photograph, "View of the Columbian and Shelden Mill," ca. 1868. Book LD3328H3-xxi-1, MTU. The whole photograph appears in figure 2.3.



Fig. 1.6. Ransom Shelden's house on the southeast corner of Shelden Avenue and Isle Royale Street in Houghton. Shelden probably built a house here as early as the 1850s but the original construction date of this version is unknown. He died in 1878. By the 1900 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps the ell visible on the right had been removed and the main house was being used as a boardinghouse. It was razed in 1916, according to a *Daily Mining Gazette* article, 16 December 1916. H.T. Reeder, "Shelden Residence," 1900. MS042-039-999-T-4, MTU.

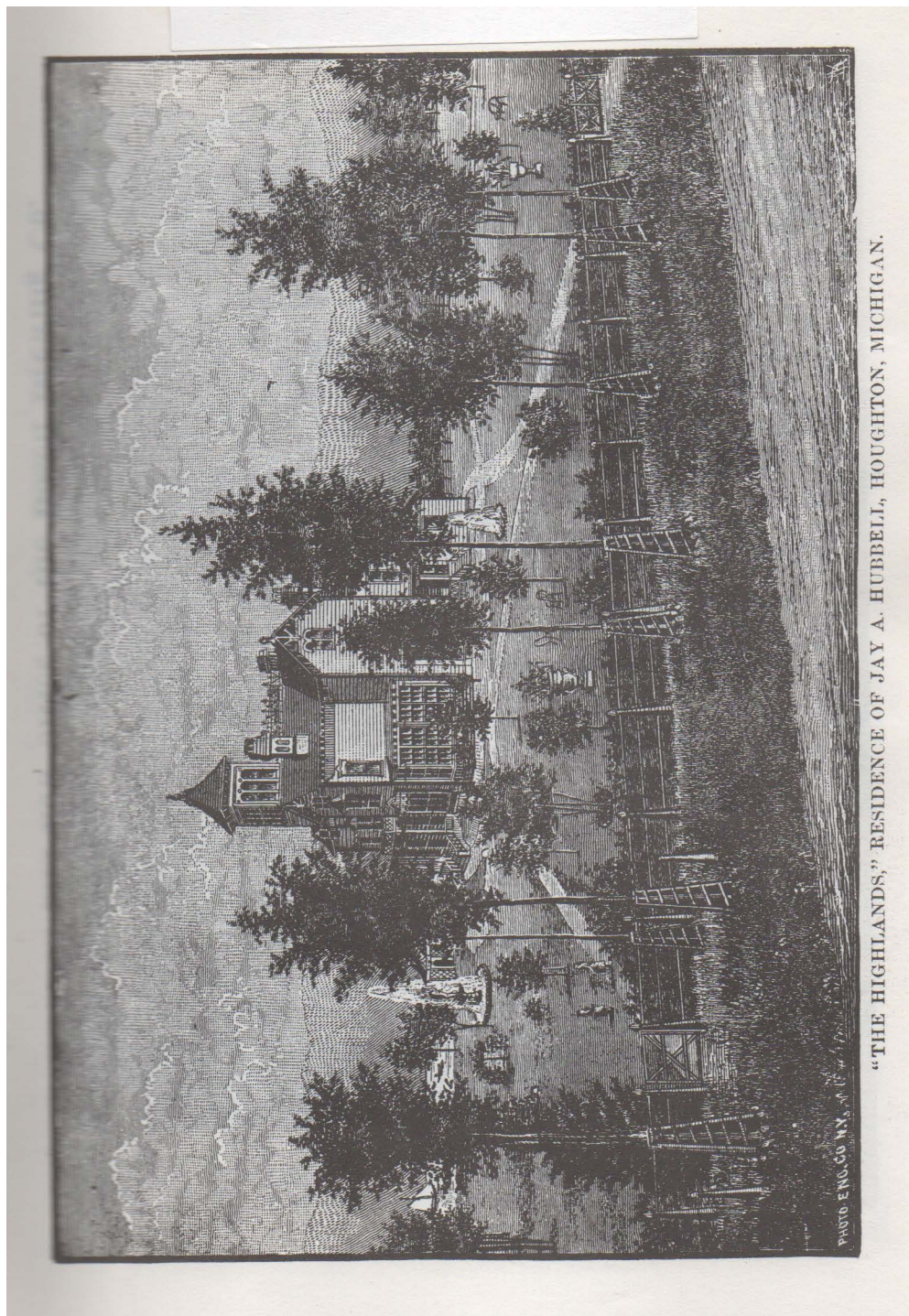


Fig. 1.7. "The Highlands," Residence of Jay A. Hubbell, Houghton, Michigan," from *History of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan* (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1883), 268.

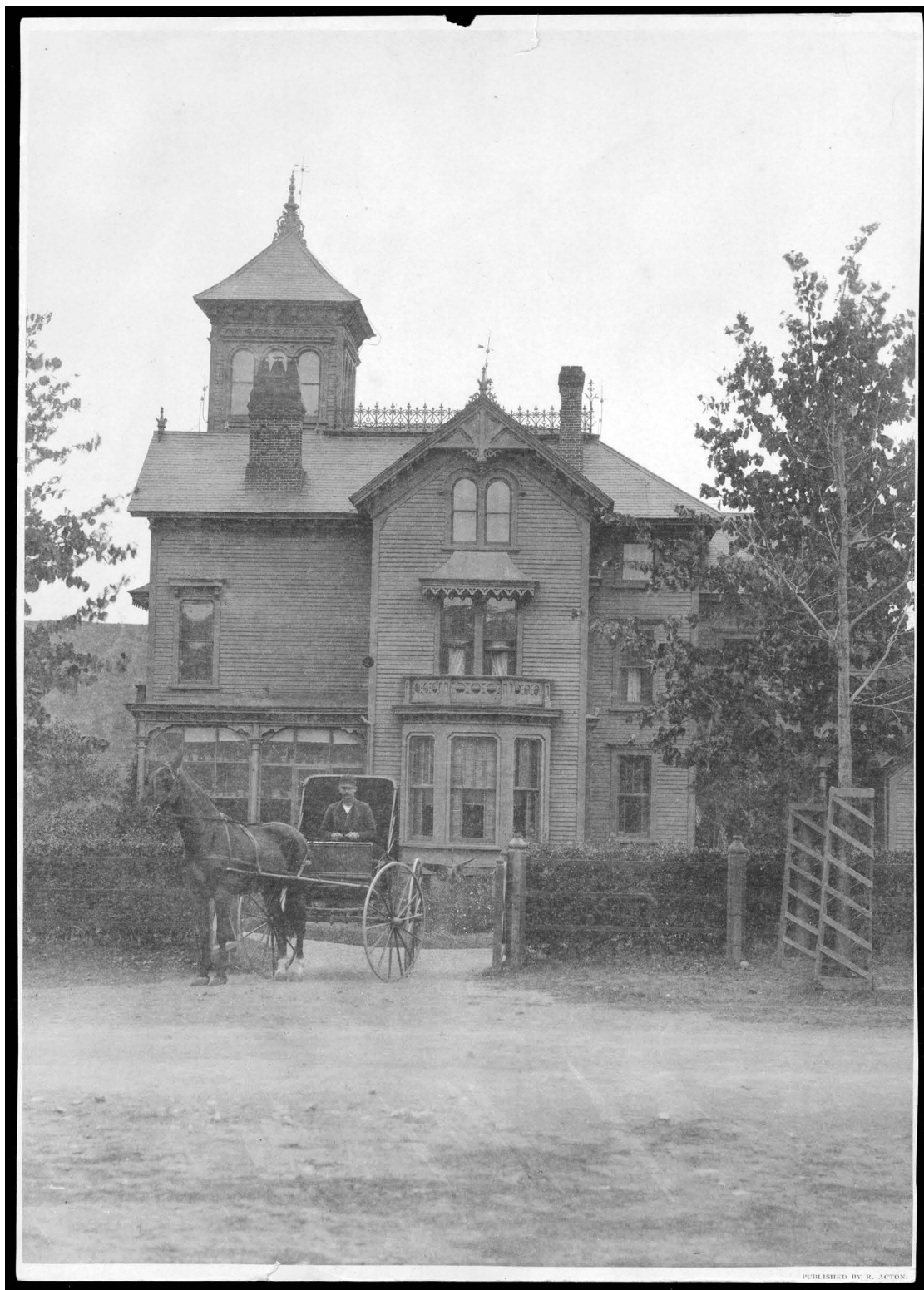


Fig. 1.8. Jay A. Hubbell's house with cart in front. Photograph, 1875–1900. Neg 02659, MTU.



Fig. 1.9. The Quincy Mining Company built an Italianate-style house for its agent in 1881, several years after Hubbell built The Highlands across the Portage Lake in Houghton. Photograph, ca.1890. HAER MICH,31-HANC,1--225. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mi0086.photos.089034p/resource/>.

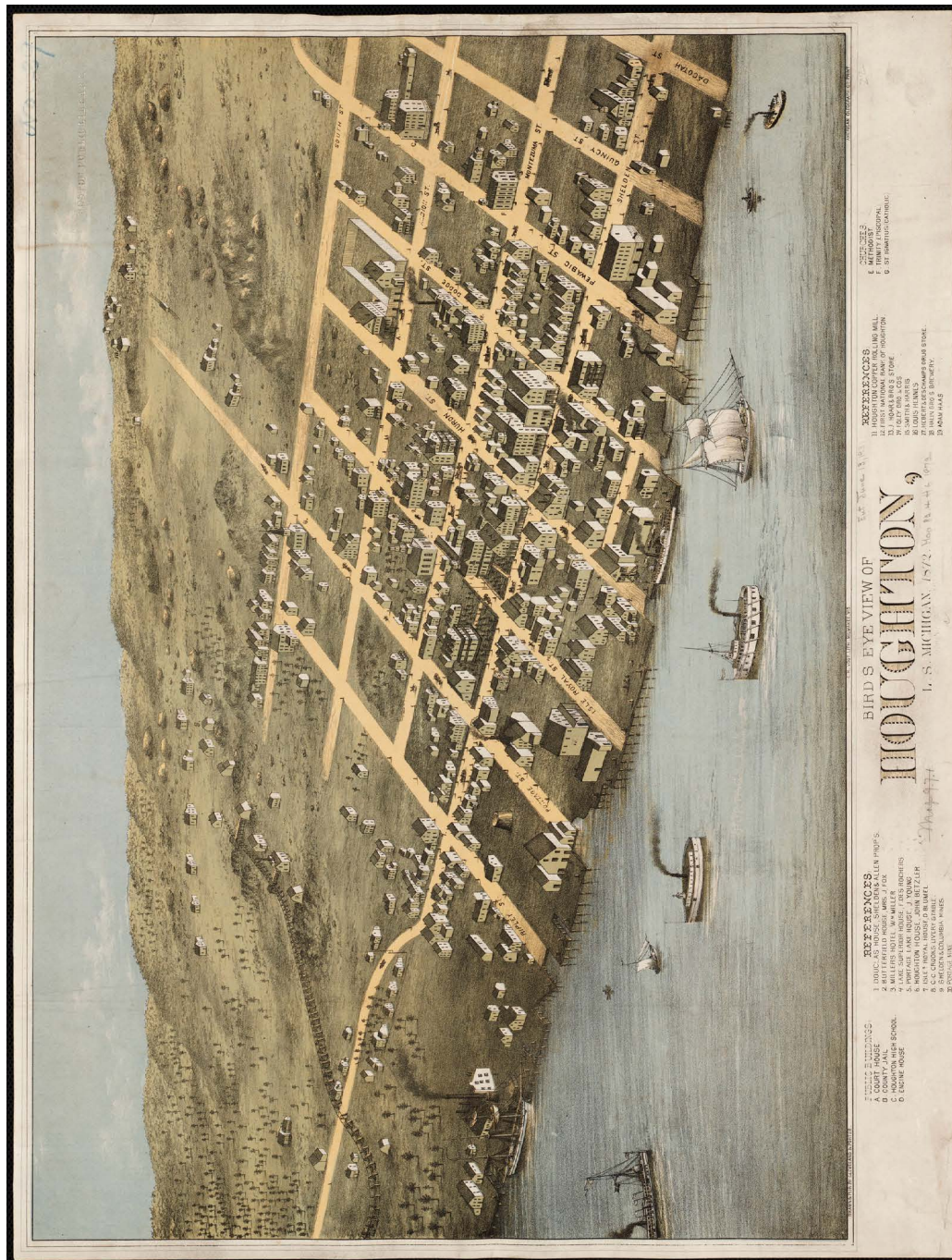


Fig. 2.1. This print of Houghton portrays the view looking south. The headframe and tram to the east (left) belonged to the Shelden-Columbian Mining Company, which transformed that land into Main Street and platted “East Houghton” to sell as upscale residential lots. Cleveland & Porter, “Bird’s Eye View of Houghton, L.S., Michigan.” Chromolithograph. Houghton, Michigan, 1872. The Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library, G4114.H77A3 1872 .C5. http://bpl.bibliocommons.com/item/show/2767641075_birds_eye_view_of_houghton_ls_michigan_1872



Fig. 2.2. While Pryor's house overlooked his lumberyard and the Portage Lake in the traditional mining landscape mode, it also turned toward this fashionable boulevard, originally called Main Street. "College Avenue, Looking West," postcard, ca. 1900. 8.6 x 13.9 cm. Postcard Collection, No Neg 2010-11-08-11, MTU.

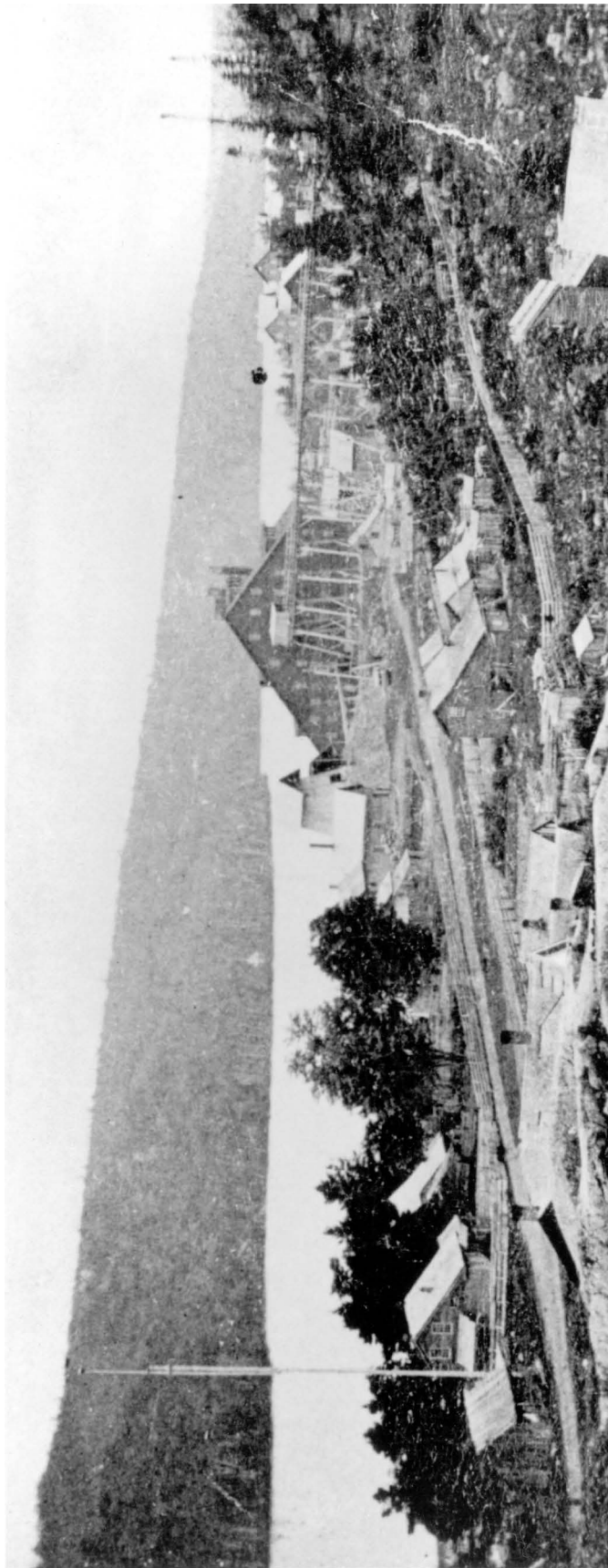


Fig. 2.3 Shelden-Columbian location looking east. The mill is the large building in the center right, and Office Row stretches to the left (west). Detail of "Shelden-Columbian Mill looking East," ca.1868. Book LD3328H3-xxi-1, MTU.



Fig. 2.4. Map of East Houghton showing the lots that agent John H. Forster sold starting in 1874. Forster's map may have looked much like this. "Office Row" contained pre-standing company buildings, including the house that James Pryor bought. Based on Sanborn and Plat Maps. All drawings by the author unless otherwise noted.



Fig. 2.5. The Shelden-Columbian Company's "East Houghton" development included all the numbered and lettered lots, which included a "middle ground" and a "zone of emergence" containing the company's former "Office Row" properties. The "borderlands" were not sold through the company. Lot 13 was added by the Village of Houghton in 1899 when the tram and stamp mill had been removed. Based on Sanborn and Plat maps.



Fig. 2.6. J. Warner[?], "Houghton, Michigan, 1881." Lithograph. Madison, Wisc.: J. J. Stoner, publisher, 1881. Neg 02605, MTU.



Fig. 2.7. Details from 1881 bird's eye print of "Houghton, Michigan" in figure 2.6. Top: East Houghton with The Highlands and other borderlands estate in the distance. Bottom: Office Row.

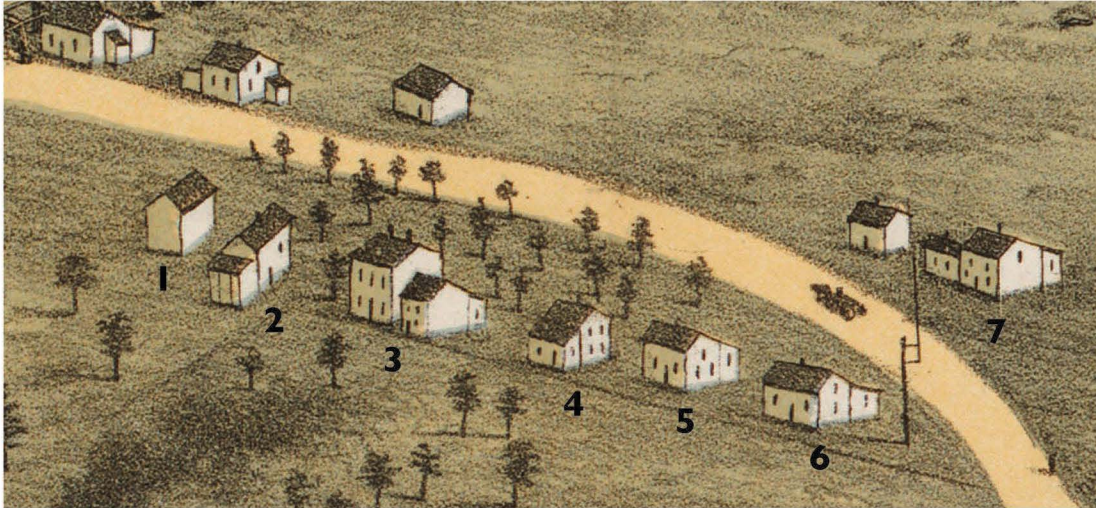
		<p>1203–05 College Avenue Lots 12–13, Block 8</p> <p>“Mr. Siller is erecting a square house with hip roof and observatory.”^e</p> <p>Edward Siller, carpenter William Newcombe, mine manager, bought these lots 1875–77 and appears in later records as owner^b</p> <p>The square Italianate observatory tower resembled fashionable houses appearing in other cities. There may be original fabric in the building on the site today.^d</p>
	<p>1210 College Avenue Lots 1, 2, and 3, Block 5</p> <p>“Mr. William Harris... and others have purchased lots with the intention of building handsome residences thereon.”^e</p> <p>William Harris, Houghton merchant, bought these lots on 22 September 1874^b</p> <p>The Neoclassical style of the current structure was probably added at a later time. There may be original fabric in the current structure.^d</p>	
	<p>1300–02 College Avenue Lots 6–7, Block 4</p> <p>“...Colonel Grant... and others have purchased lots with the intention of building handsome residences thereon.”^e</p> <p>Col. Claudius B. Grant, judge, bought these lots on 22 June 1875.^b Its original mansard roof was removed around 1939 and the building changed into Colonial Revival-style apartments. Some original fabric remains in the current structure.^d</p>	
	<p>SOURCES: a) 1881 Houghton bird’s eye print in figure 6, b) Sheldon-Columbian Land Contracts, MS-528, Box 1, Folder 9, MTU, c) detail of c.1900 photograph, Keweenaw Digital Archives, ACC-03-158D-6-1-04-01-02, MTU, d) unpublished research papers, MS-046, MTU, e) <i>Portage Lake Mining Gazette</i>, 25 August 1875.</p>	

Fig. 2.8. East Houghton properties, ambitious in scale and fashion, mentioned in the 1875 *Portage Lake Mining Gazette* article. Also see figure 2.9.

	<p>1109 College Avenue Lots 13–14, Block 7</p> <p>“John Hoar, Jr. and others have purchased lots with the intention of building handsome residences thereon.”^e</p> <p>John Hoar Jr. and his wife Janephur bought these lots on 4 August 1875.^b This standard upright-and-wing form features Italianate brackets and window hoods.</p>
<p>“Mr. William Hoar is erecting a neat cottage.”^e</p>	<p>1111 College Avenue Lots 15–16, Block 7</p> <p>William B. Hoar, Houghton merchant, bought these lots on 7 October 1874.^b House was removed in 1942.^d</p>
<p>“Captain Merryman has a large building under roof.”^e</p>	<p>1115 College Avenue Lots 17–18, Block 7</p> <p>Captain Merryman bought these lots from the Shelden-Columbian company but sold or lost them by 1876.^b Current house on the lot was built around 1900.^d</p>
	<p>1201 College Avenue Lots 10–11, Block 8</p> <p>“Mr. Lord got in his tasty residence last fall.”^e</p> <p>Carlisle Lord bought these lots on 4 August 1874.^b The Neoclassical fanlight and entry probably replaced an original front porch similar to the one at 1109.</p>
	<p>1209 College Avenue Lots 14, 15, and 16, Block 8</p> <p>“Mr. Frank A. Douglass has a very neat structure nearly ready for occupancy.”^e</p> <p>Frank A. Douglass bought these lots on 1 June 1875.^b The original house may have been an upright-and-wing form that was significantly altered or possibly replaced entirely.</p>

SOURCES: a) 1881 Houghton bird’s eye print in figure 6, b) Shelden-Columbian Land Contracts, MS-528, Box 1, Folder 9, MTU, c) detail of c.1900 photograph, Keweenaw Digital Archives, ACC-03-158D-6-1-04-01-02, MTU, d) unpublished paper, MS-046, MTU, e) *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*, 25 August 1875.

Fig. 2.9. More East Houghton properties mentioned in the 1875 *Portage Lake Mining Gazette*. These feature the upright-and-wing form with fashionable ornament. Also see figure 2.8.



Detail, Cleveland & Porter, "Bird's Eye View of Houghton, L.S., Michigan," Houghton: Michigan, 1872. Chromolithograph. 30 x 56 cms. Courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library, G41 I4.H77A3 1872 .C5.

1 and 2. Shelden-Columbian Company Blacksmith's shop and possible candle factory. In Ed Baudin's 1929 address to the Keweenaw Historical Society, he placed the blacksmith shop just east of the tram and noted a nearby candle factory owned by William Lapp of Hancock. The 1870 U. S. Federal Census records James Pryor next door to blacksmith William Henry Knight. These houses appear in the 1881 Bird's Eye but were replaced by 1900 with the home of Allen F. Rees currently at 918 College Avenue.

3. James Pryor House. Part of Shelden-Columbian Mining Company's "Office Row." James Pryor bought the building in 1874 or 1875 and may have been living in it as early as 1868.

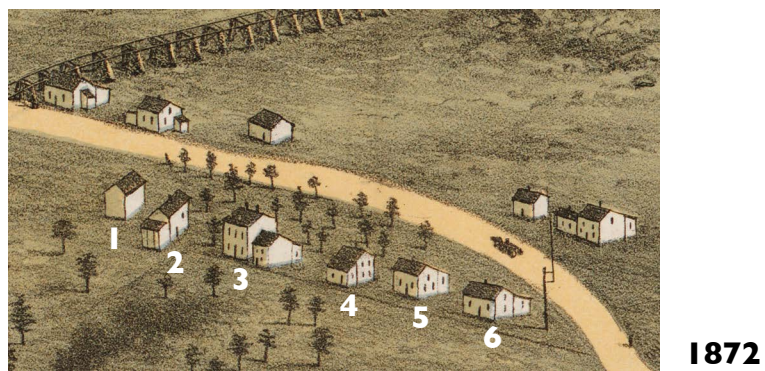
4. John Mathews House. Mathews purchased lots 3 and 4 from the Shelden-Columbian mining company 29 Sept 1875. The street side either had at this time or acquired soon afterwards a Gothic Revival-style front dormer and porch. The frame cottage at 914 College Avenue remained in the hands of descendants until 2010.

5. Rees James House. James purchased this lot from the Shelden-Columbian company in 1874 or 1875. It was rebuilt or greatly expanded by the 1881 Bird's Eye. Some portion of the post-1881 house remain today in much altered condition at 912 College Avenue.

6. Thomas Roberts' house. This was known as the Shelden-Columbian "Office Lot." Ed Baudin described Roberts as the company's "caretaker," a bachelor with "an office in his home." When Roberts bought the house in 1876, the land contract stipulated that the "safes, furniture, instruments, and books" on the premises still belonged to the company. Baudin remembered the flag pole in the yard as seen in an 1868 photograph and this 1872 print. This house is not extant.

7. Possibly the John H. Forster House. The 1865 Supplementary Report for the Shelden-Columbian company includes a number of improvements including a frame dwelling that agent Forster built for himself "of two sections, 36 x 24 and 24 x 14 feet." Ed Baudin remembers Forster having the first house on this side of the street. This house is not extant.

Fig. 2.10. Explanation of Office Row properties. Detail of 1872 bird's eye in figure 2.1.



1872



1881



2012

Fig. 2.11. Office Row through time: 1872, 1881, and 2012. The Pryor (3), Mathews (4), and James (5) houses remain. Details from figures 2.1, 2.4, and DigitalGlobe, Landsat, USDA Farm Service Agency, 2012, SL-0593.



Fig. 2.12. James Pryor House, South (Main Street) Elevation, 916 College Avenue, Houghton, Michigan. Built before 1874, altered in 1877, 1888, 1900, 1920s, with vinyl siding added in the 1990s. Michigan Technological University's chapter of AST sorority have owned the house since 1985. Photo 2012.



Fig. 2.13. James Pryor House, North (Portage Lake) Elevation. Photo 2013.

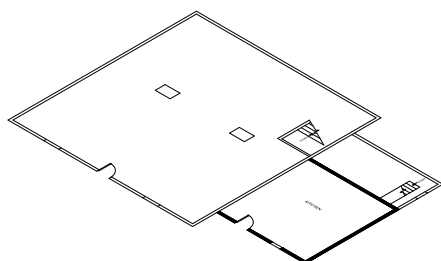


Fig. 2.14. Pryor House, Phase I, ca. 1874, when Pryor bought it. Detail of 1872 bird's eye with conjectural first floor plan. The location of the kitchen is known, as indicated in black. The basement under the kitchen is the only part of this early house that survives today. The location of the stair from the leanto into the basement indicated here is conjectural based on the location of the current staircase into the basement.

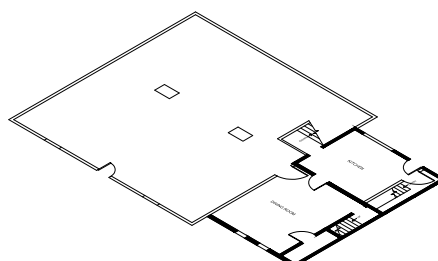


Fig. 2.15. Pryor House, Phase II, ca. 1877, after first alteration. Detail of 1881 bird's eye with conjectural first floor plan. This addition removed the former kitchen and leanto. A doorway between the dining room and the main house may have been through what is now a glass-faced china cabinet, whose surrounding trim matches other doors in the room. Access to the storage and work areas in the basement would have been much as they were in 1874: either via the still extant staircase in the south west corner, which now would have been accessible through the new kitchen; or via the staircase in the southwest corner of the main house possibly now accessed through the new kitchen.

NO IMAGE KNOWN

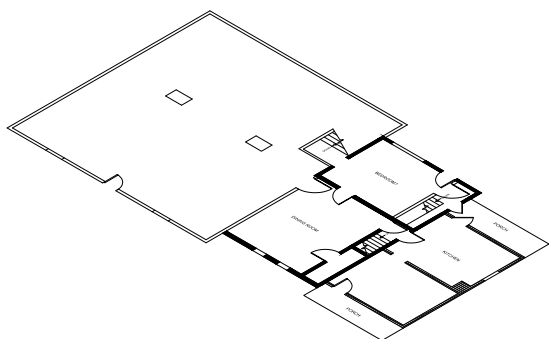


Fig. 2.16. Pryor House, Phase III, ca. 1888, after second alteration. Conjectural first floor plan. The new wing has no excavated basement below it. It is unclear where the coal bin existed in the basement at this time, but a chute may have been on the water side. The second floor of this new wing provided more bedrooms and possibly a washroom. Access to the second floor continued to be the stairs in the 1877 addition. Doors to the two new bedrooms were cut through former windows on the west side. The north room may have been a washroom, as it remains today. Or it may have been another bedroom

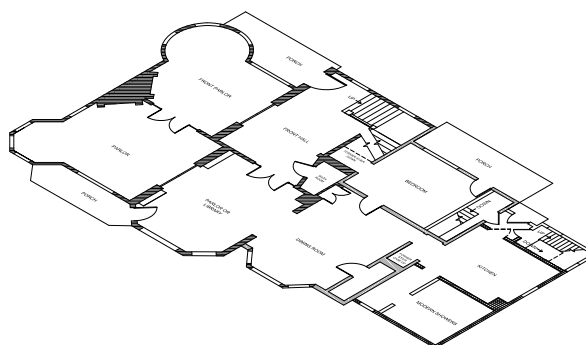


Fig. 2.17. Pryor House, Phase IV, ca. 1900, after final major alteration. The original eastern house was removed entirely and a new one added as it is today. This may have been when the bay window was added to the dining room. It is unknown when the staircase from the dining room to the second floor hallway was removed. Likewise, it is unknown when the staircase from the 1877 kitchen to the basement was removed. The staircase currently leading from the enclosed porch on the southwest corner to the second floor was probably added as a sleeping porch in the 1920s.

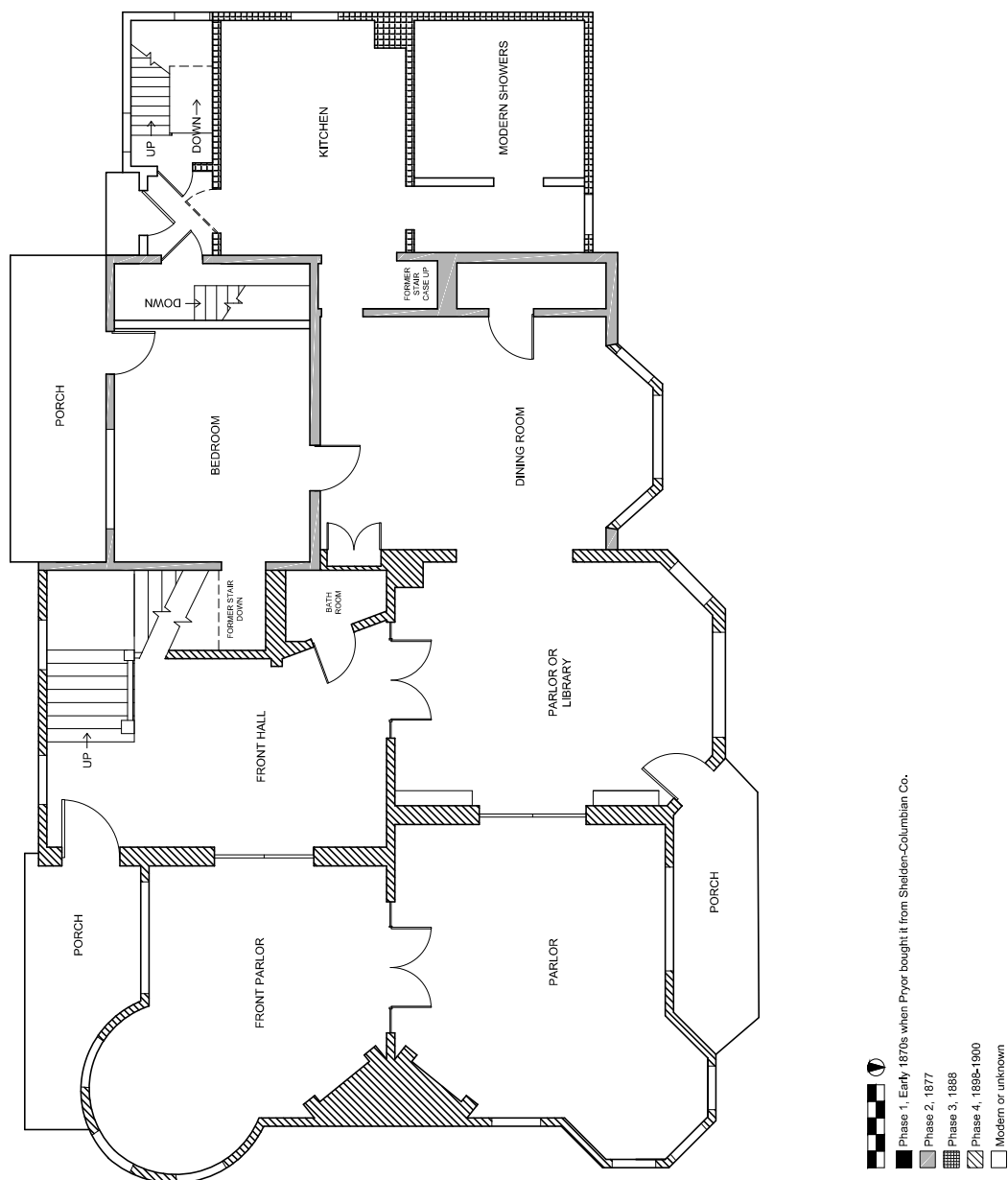


Fig. 2.18. James Pryor House, First Floor, 916 College Avenue, Houghton, Michigan, ca. 1900, Phase IV. Drawn as it is today. Figures 2.18–21: Fieldwork by Sarah Fayen Scarlett, Mark Dice, Alison K. Hoagland, Anna Lee Presley, Timothy Scarlett, and James Scarlett, summer 2013. Drawn by author.

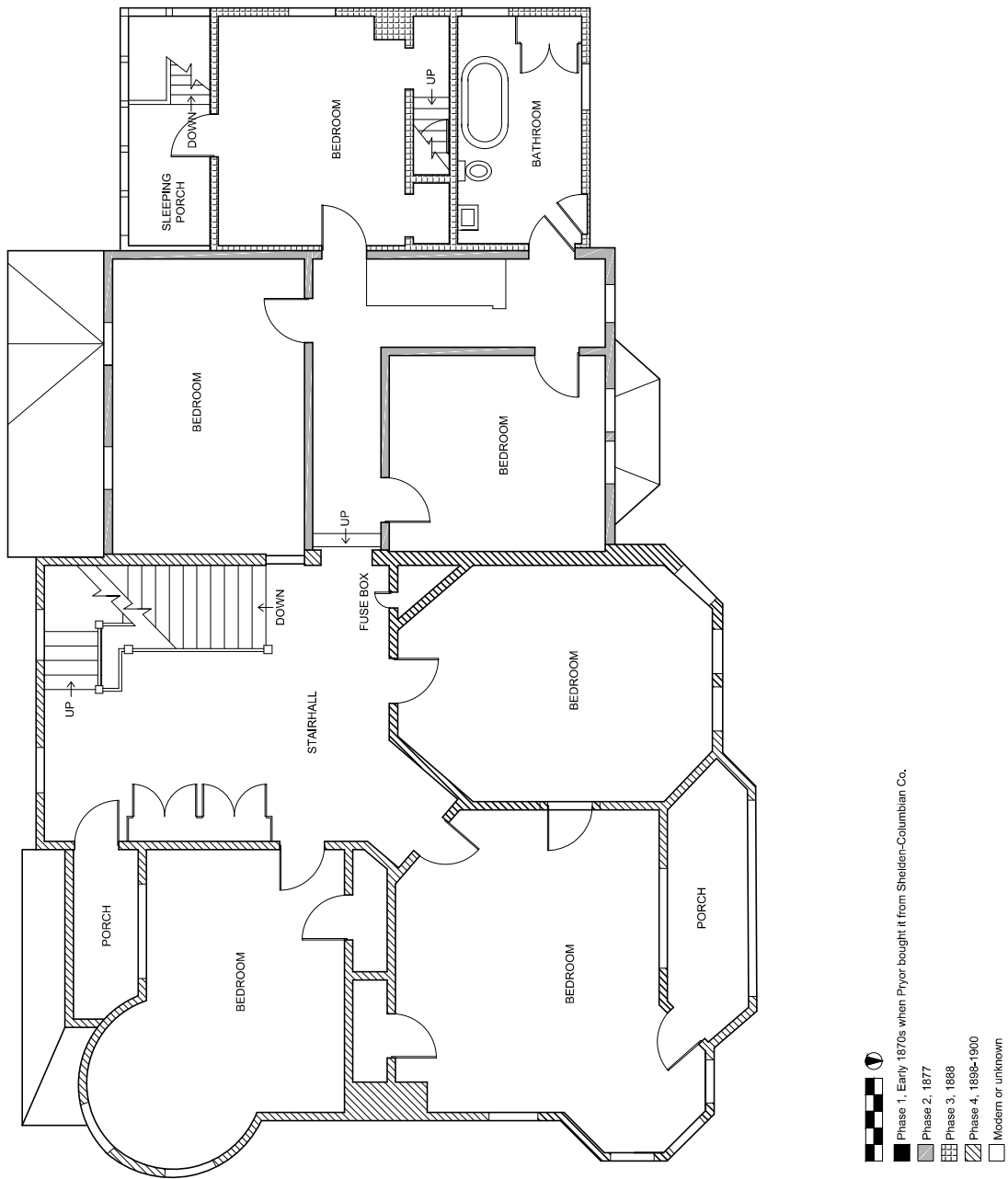


Fig. 2.19. James Pryor House, Second Floor.

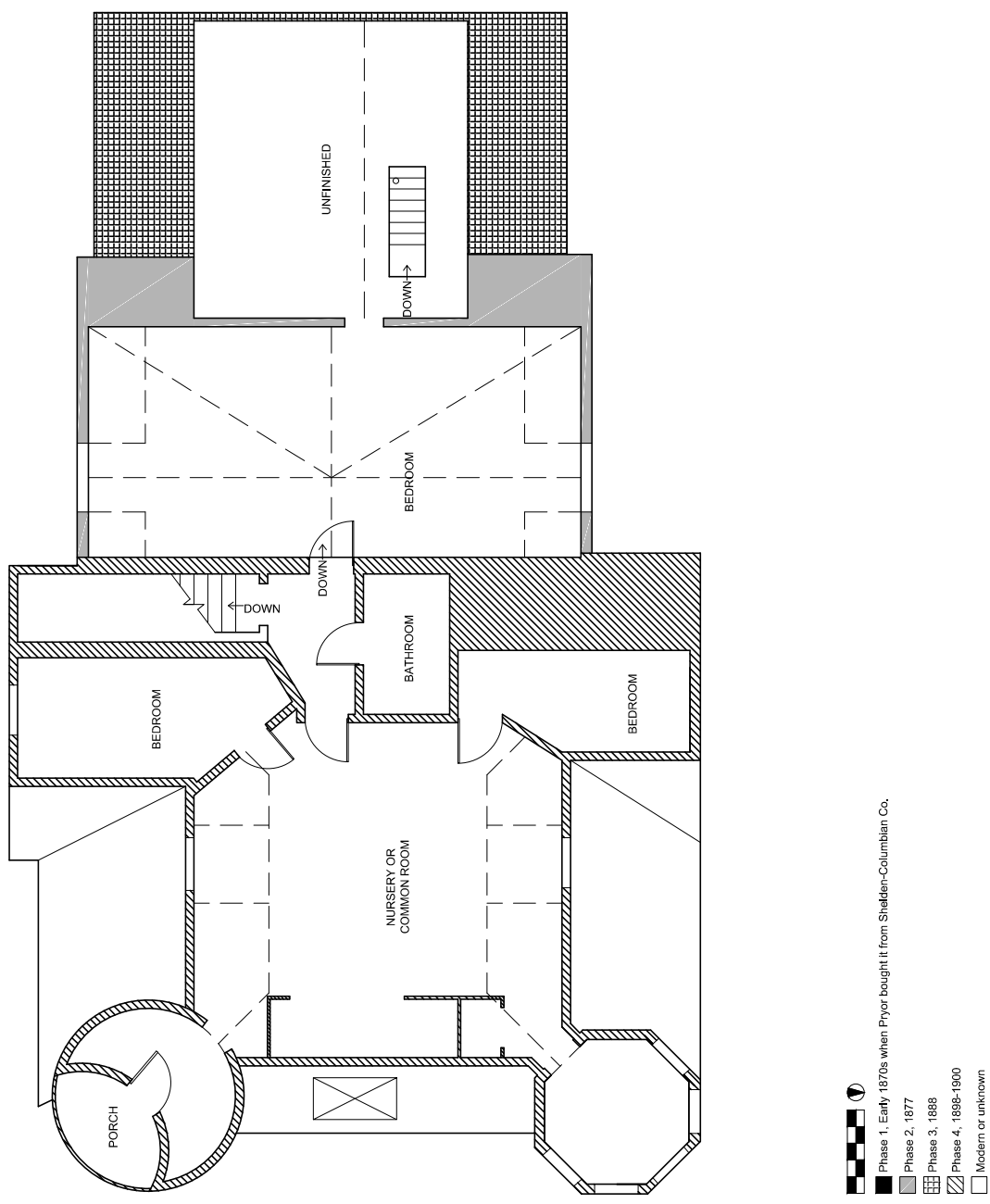


Fig. 2.20. James Pryor House, Third Floor.

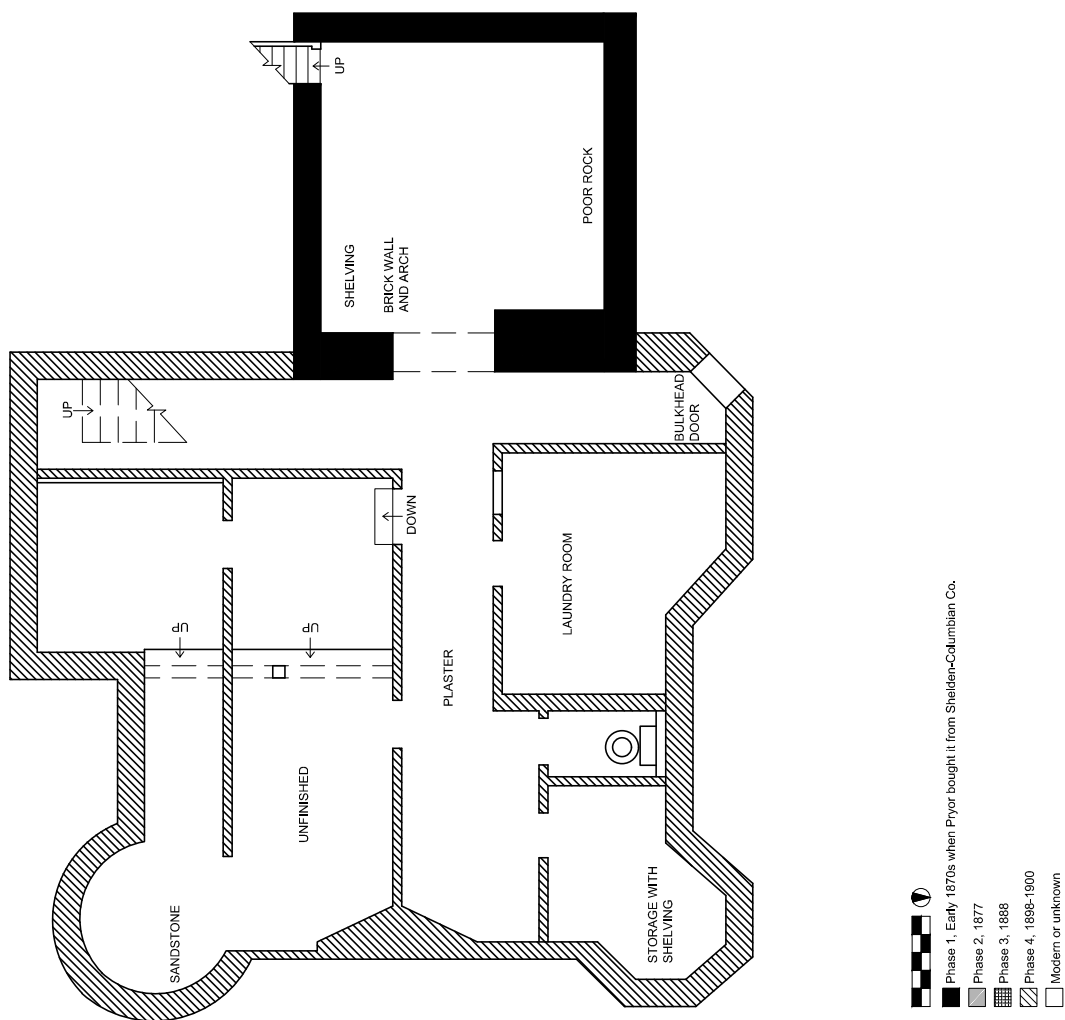


Fig. 2.21. James Pryor House, Basement. The basement under the current dining room is the only part of the 1874 house that remains today. Much of the basement received updating in Phase IV, with lath and plaster walls in the laundry room and storage rooms.

East Houghton and the Waterfront 1908 Sanborn Maps

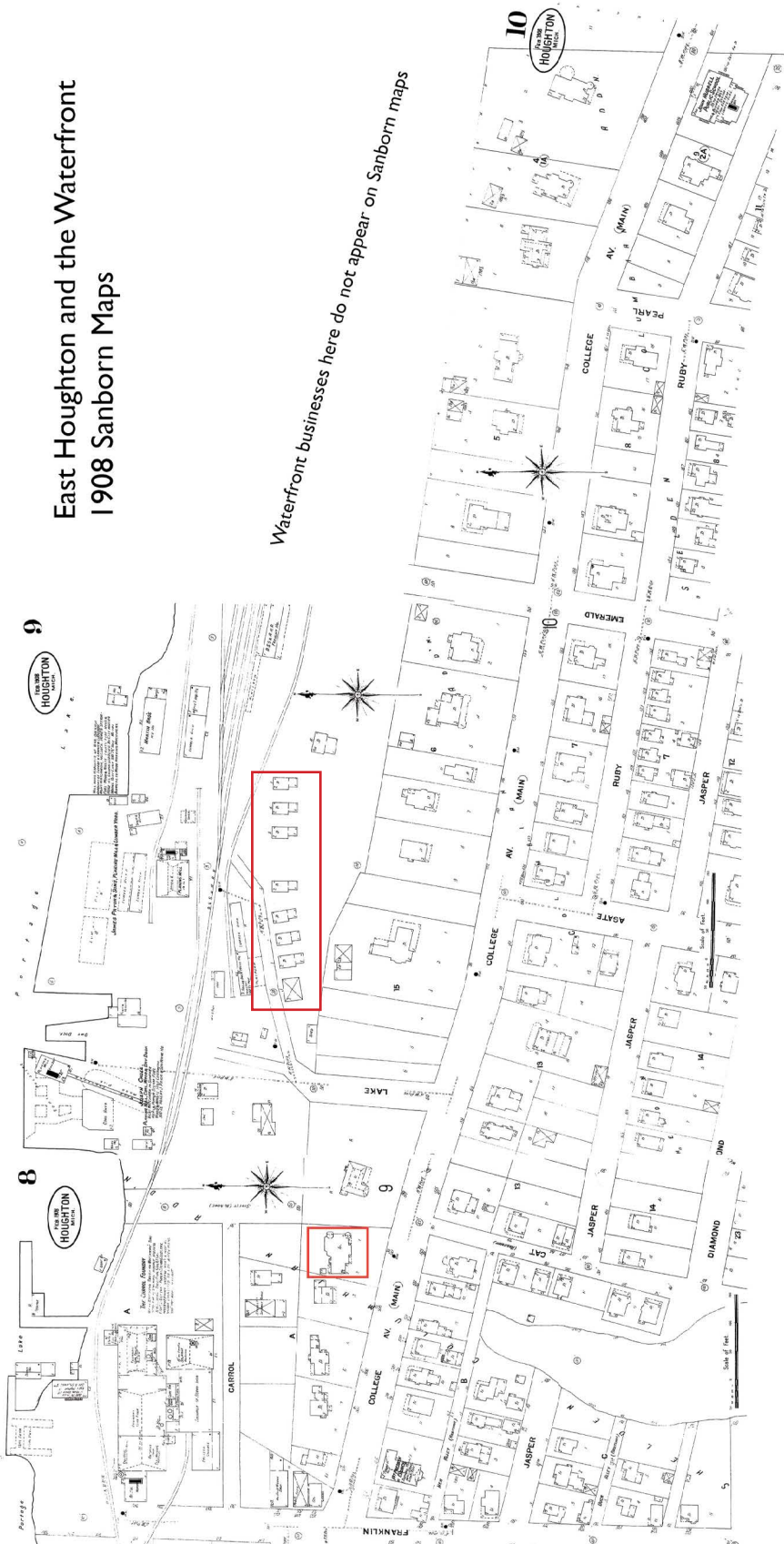


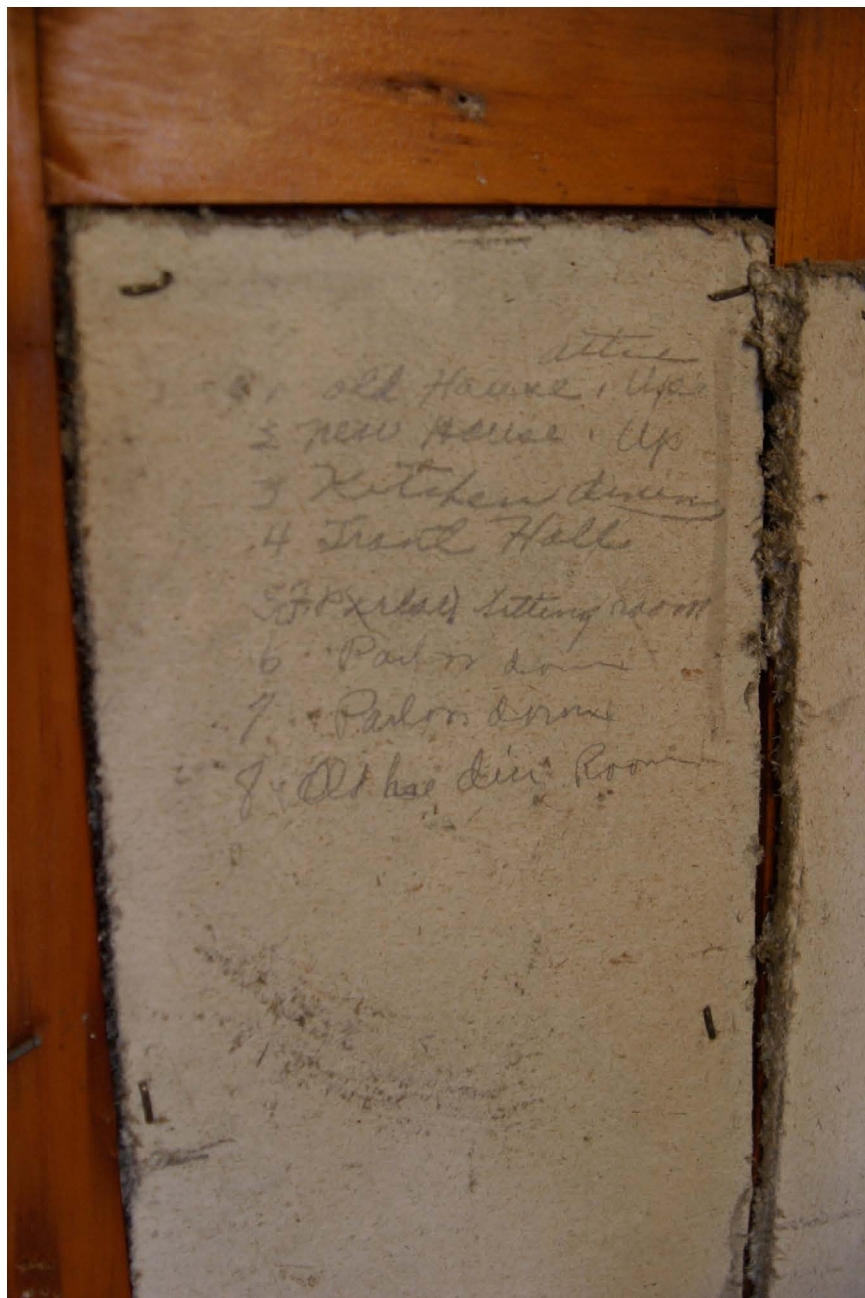
Fig. 2.22. James Pryor House indicated on Main Street (College Avenue). The James Pryor & Sons lumber company expanded at the waterfront and built the highlighted row of houses to rent to workers. Details of sheets 8, 9, and 10 from "Insurance Maps of Houghton, Michigan," (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1908).



Fig. 2.23. This 2012 aerial photograph looking south shows the Pryor House situated on the bluff (on the right) looking down over the Portage Lake waterfront, where the family's lumberyard and dock stood until the 1970s. The current location of roads approximate their historic locations. The bike path in the foreground follows the former rail line. The line of workers' houses on the left were built by the Pryors' company in the early twentieth century. DigitalGlobe, Landsat, USDA Farm Service Agency, 2012, SL-0592.



Fig. 2.24. Grace United Methodist Church, Houghton, Michigan. William T. Pryor, architect, 1892–93, with major renovations 1916–28 after a fire, and modern addition added in 1991. Photo 2014.



- 1 Old House, up
- 2 New House, up
- 3 Kitchen [illegible]
- 4 Front Hall
- 5 F.[ront?] Parlor Sitting Room
- 6 Parlor down
- 7 Parlor down
- 8 Old hse dining room

Fig. 2.25. Pryor House fuse box with penciled labels. Photo 2012.



Fig. 2.26. Service areas in the James Pryor House after the Phase IV alteration, ca. 1900. With the exception of the first floor dining room and adjoining bedroom, the old house was relegated to work while the new house created spaces for entertaining.



Fig. 2.27. Pryor House, front stair hall, with detail of wall painting possibly by Associated Artists of Milwaukee, ca. 1900. The painted canvas originally covered the ceiling too, until it was removed after water damage in the 1990s. The ceiling canvas remains in the possession of AST Sorority. The contrasting wood flooring also dates to the 1990s repair. Photos 2013.



Fig. 2.28. Pryor House, fireplace surround with detail, south or “front” parlor. This carved oak surround would have been ordered from a specialty company in Chicago or another large city, and fitted on site with the tiles. The architect probably designed the chimney and canted walls to fit standard surrounds. Photos 2012.



Fig. 2.29. Pryor House, fireplace surround, north parlor. As in the previous figure, this fireplace surround would have been ordered from a specialty company. Note that both retain their stamped copper covers, which use a local material (though it probably was not produced in the Copper Country) to acknowledge middle-class nostalgia for the hearth. Photo 2013.



Fig. 2.30. Pryor House, library looking into north parlor, with detail of painted wall canvas possibly by Associated Artists of Milwaukee, ca. 1900. This canvas wall painting features an expressive scene of deciduous and evergreen forest, much like that found on the Keweenaw Peninsula. Photos, top: 2013 and bottom: 2012.



Fig. 2.31. Pryor House, basement with details from the Phase IV upgrade, ca. 1900. Note the plastered walls, corner protector, and casement window for air circulation into the laundry room. Photo 2013.



Fig. 2.32. Pryor House, newel post, detail, front hall. Laminated in three parts to accommodate wiring for a now-missing lighting fixture, this newel post was carved by a skilled worker, probably in a larger city and assembled here on site. Photo 2012.

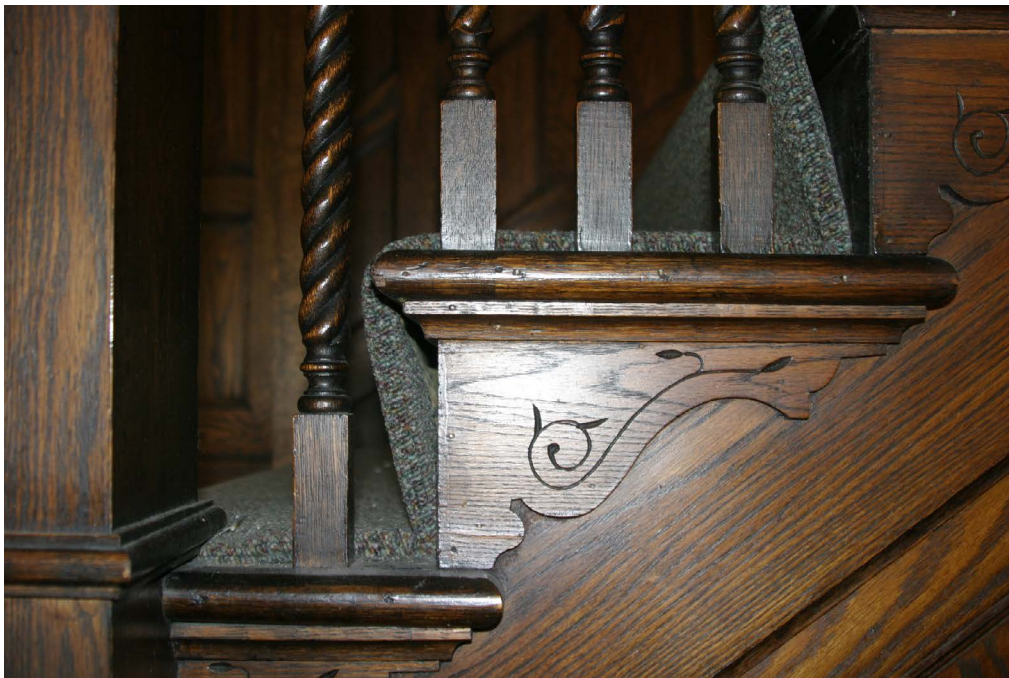


Fig. 2.33. Pryor House, decorative stairbracket, front hall. These brackets would have been made in a factory and ordered from a catalog. The simple carving would have made these relatively inexpensive. Also, their so-called “Eastlake” style was on its way out of fashion in 1900. Photo 2012.



Fig. 2.34. Pryor House, detail of contrasting quality of decorative treatments in the north parlor. The painted egg and dart cornice molding is plaster and quite crisp. The corner block in the door surround features a very common fan pattern executed in fairly crude carving, possibly done with a machine stamp. The picture molding could have been produced locally at Pryor's own yard. Photo 2012.



Fig. 3.2. Edward Demar, "Hancock, Mich.," Hancock, M.I.: B. H. Pierce & Co., 1890. MS015-MI-2-143, MTU.

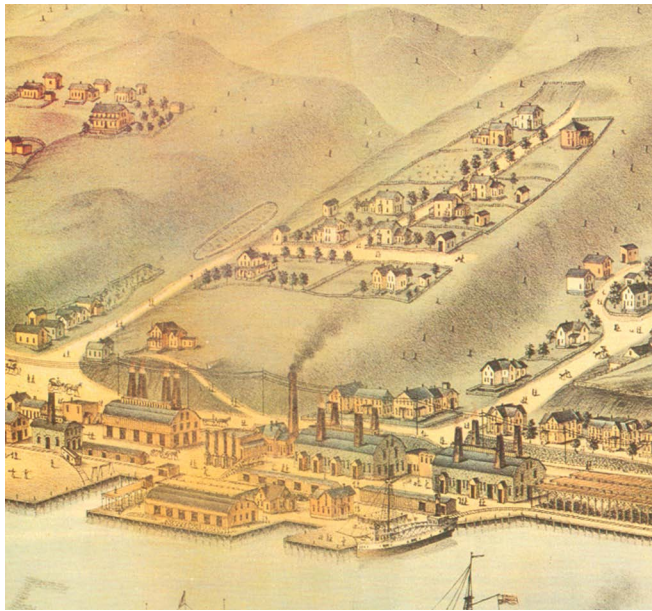


Fig. 3.3. Johnson Vivian's "East Hancock" addition, as seen in 1890. Detail of figure 3.2.

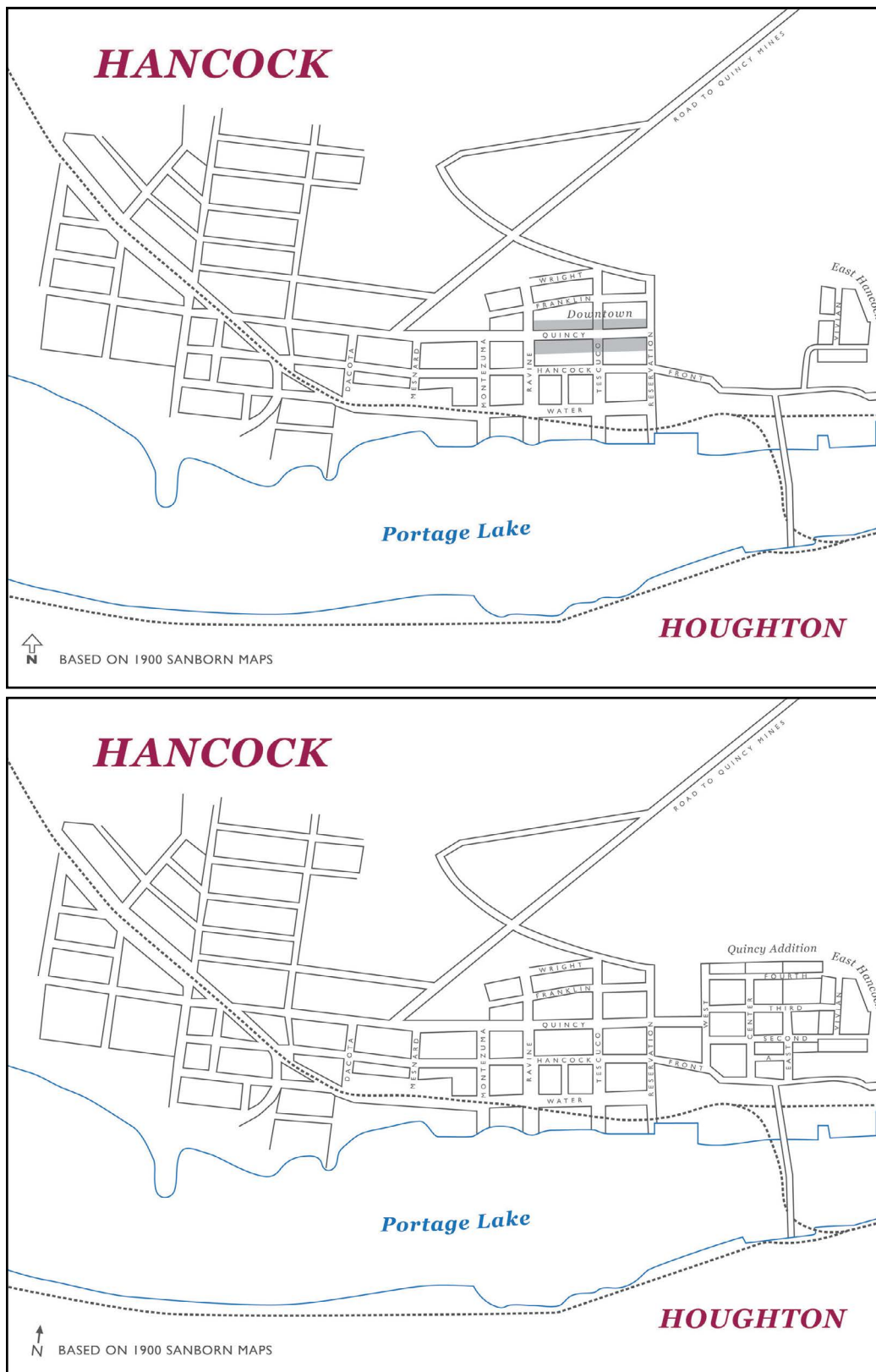


Fig. 3.4. Hancock with “East Hancock” ca. 1889 (above), and with the “Quincy Addition” ca. 1891 (below).

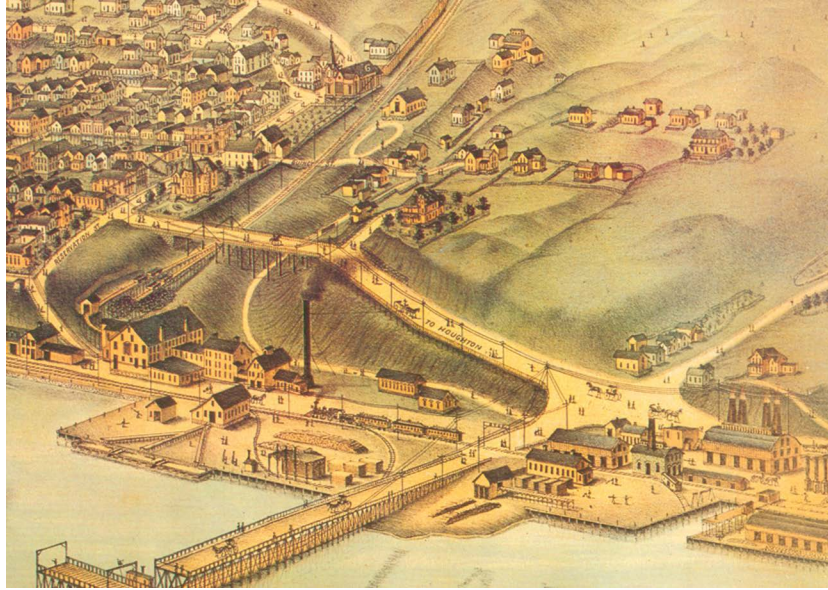


Fig. 3.5. The new Quincy Addition in 1890 with the Hanchettes' house in the center. In the line of houses behind the Hanchettes', on the left is Phillip Carroll's, and the center is John Funkey's. The two-story five-bay in the upper right is Scheuermann's. Detail of the image in figure 3.2.



Fig. 3.6. Harris-Hanchette family, ca. 1892. This may be in the Hanchettes' new Quincy Addition house. Left to right: Mary Bennett Harris, Charles David Hanchette, Samuel Bennett Harris, Ellen Jane "Nellie" Harris Hanchette. Children are Eleanor Hanchette Gilson and Estelle Hanchette Seeber. MTU Accession #06-105A-001, MTU.



Fig. 3.8. "P[ortage] Lake Toll Bridge, built 1875-6," ca. 1876. Scheuermann's house is the two-story five-bay structure in the center left surrounded by a fence seen in the detail. Photographic print made by J.T. Reeder, possibly after an earlier negative. Courtesy of Michael and Sylvia Cooper.

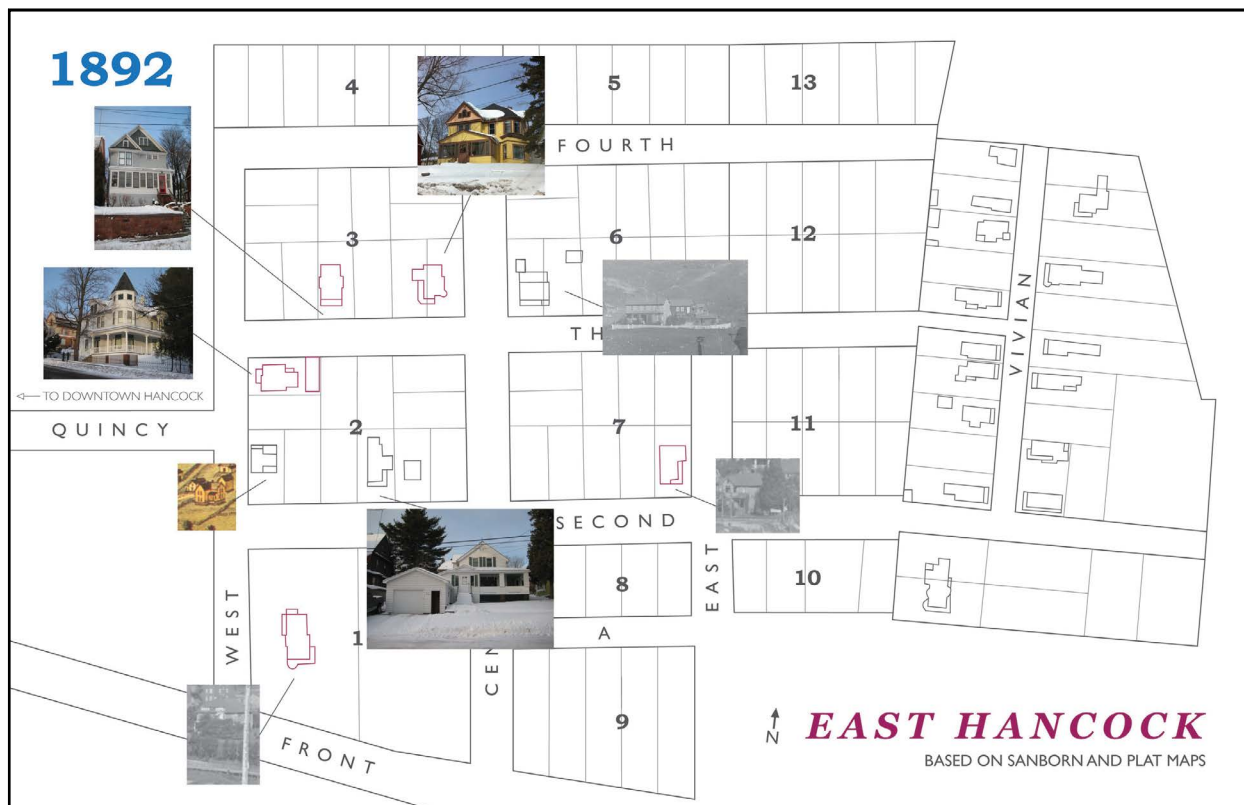


Fig. 3.9. Houses standing in the Quincy Addition by the end of 1892. Pre-existing houses are gray, including the houses in the Quincy Addition from the mining era. The new Quincy Addition houses are purple, including Charles D. Hachette's house in block 1, and the four initial lot sales. Detail of Scheuermann's in lot 6 is from image in figure 3.8. Details of Hanchette's in block 1 and Wagener's in block 7 are from image in figure 3.19.



Fig 3.10. Charles D. Hanchette House, 204 Front Street, ca. 1890. Significant twentieth-century alterations have been made to the exterior of this house. Photo 2014.



Fig. 3.11. Dr. William Courtney House, 208 Harris Ave. (Second St.), 1892. Photo 2009.



Fig. 3.12. Allen Kirkpatrick House, 218 Harris Ave. (Second St.), 1892. The tower on the right side of this house originally stood three stories, and the porch was open originally and wrapped around the left side of the house. Photo 2014.



Fig. 3.13. Dr. William A. Burnham House, 203 Dunstan (West) St., 1892. The wrap-around porch was added sometime between 1900 and 1907, when it appears on a Sanborn map. Photo 2009.



Fig. 3.14. Frederick Wagener House, 316 Cooper Ave. (Second St.), 1892. Building was razed after 1945. Detail from photograph in figure 3.19.

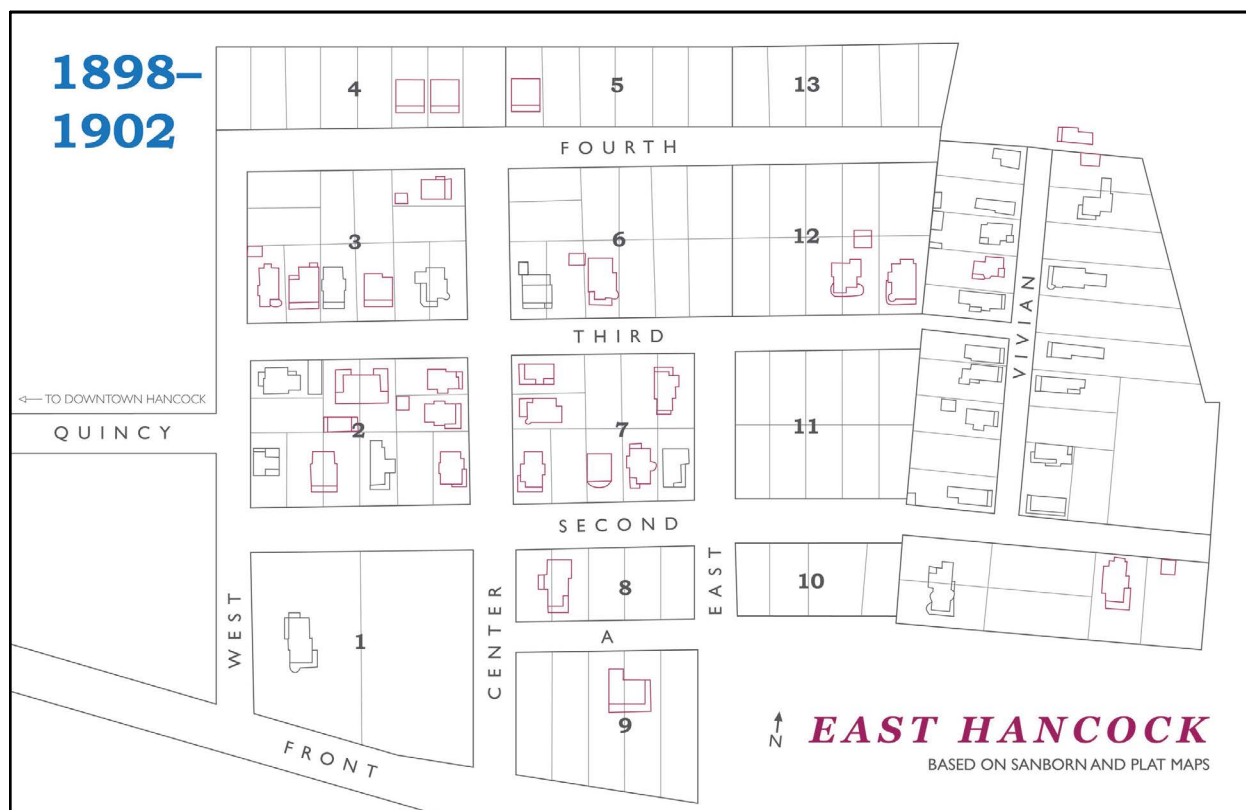


Fig. 3.15. New houses built in the Quincy Addition and East Hancock during the second building phase, 1898–1902. New houses are purple. James R. Cooper’s house is in block 9. Thomas Whittle’s is in the southeastern corner of the former Vivian Addition.



Fig. 3.16. Edwin and Marie Henwood House, 209 Center Street, 1900. Garage was added in the mid twentieth century. Photo 2014.

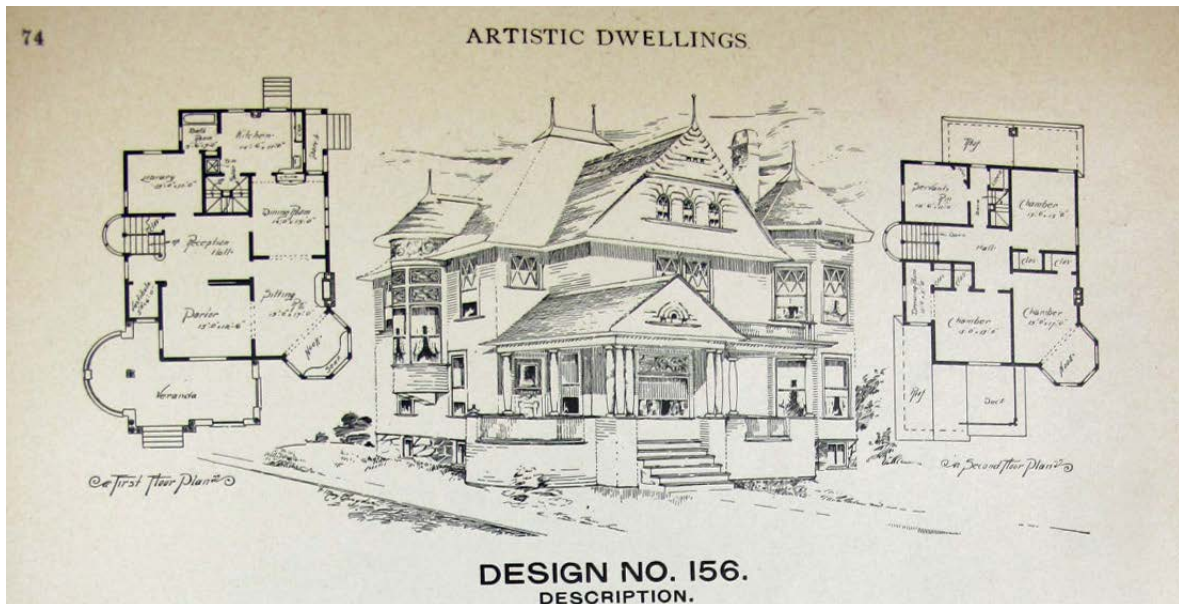


Fig. 3.17. Patternbook design used for Henwood House. Frank P. Allen, *Artistic Dwellings: Containing Views, Floor Plans and Estimates of Cost of Fifty-Six House and Cottage Designs, Ranging in Cost from \$650.00 Upwards*. Grand Rapids, MI.: F.P. Allen, 1892. Image courtesy of the Grand Rapids Public Library.

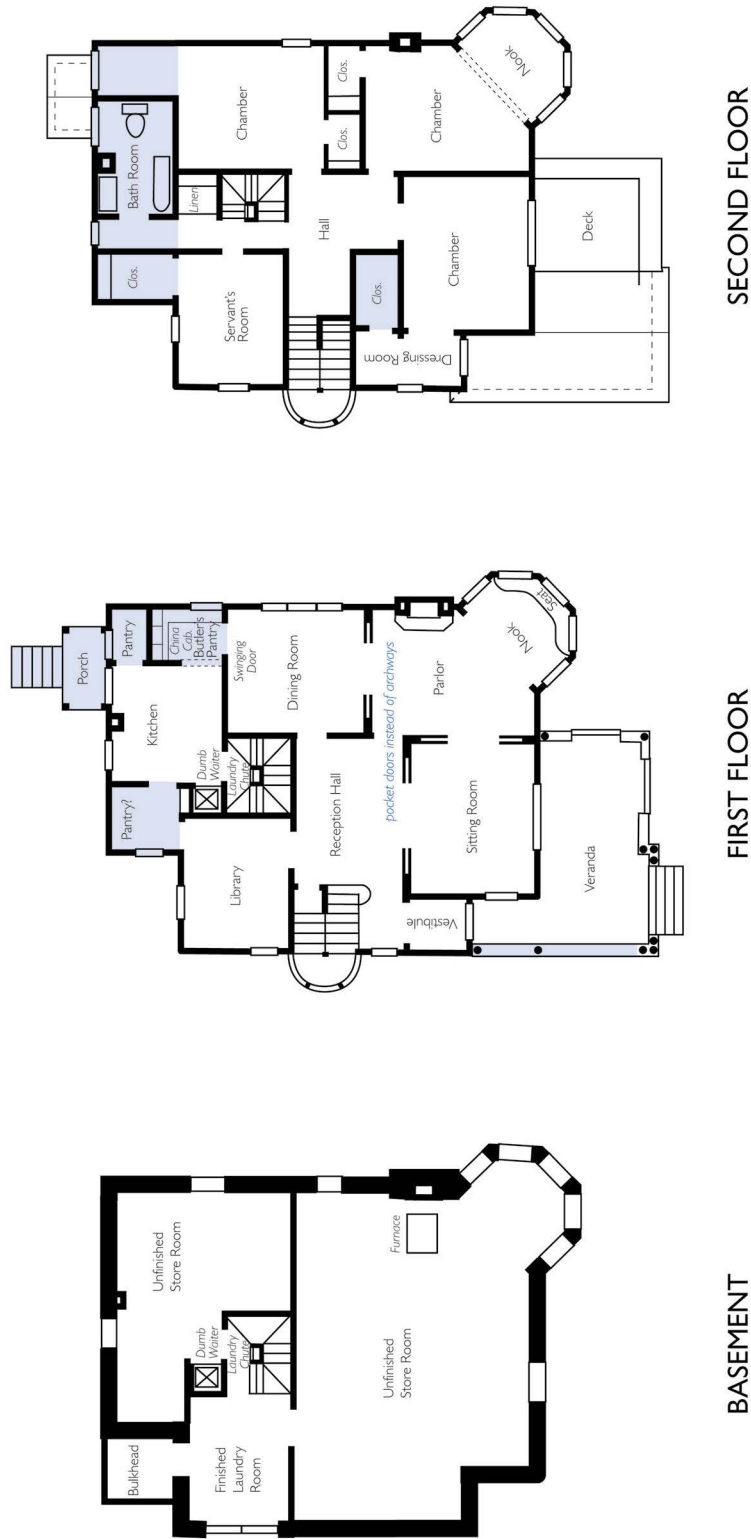


Fig. 3.18. Henwood House, 209 Center Street, as built. Blue areas were changed from Allen's patternbook design. Drawings based on Allen's patternbook design and fieldwork by the author, 2014.

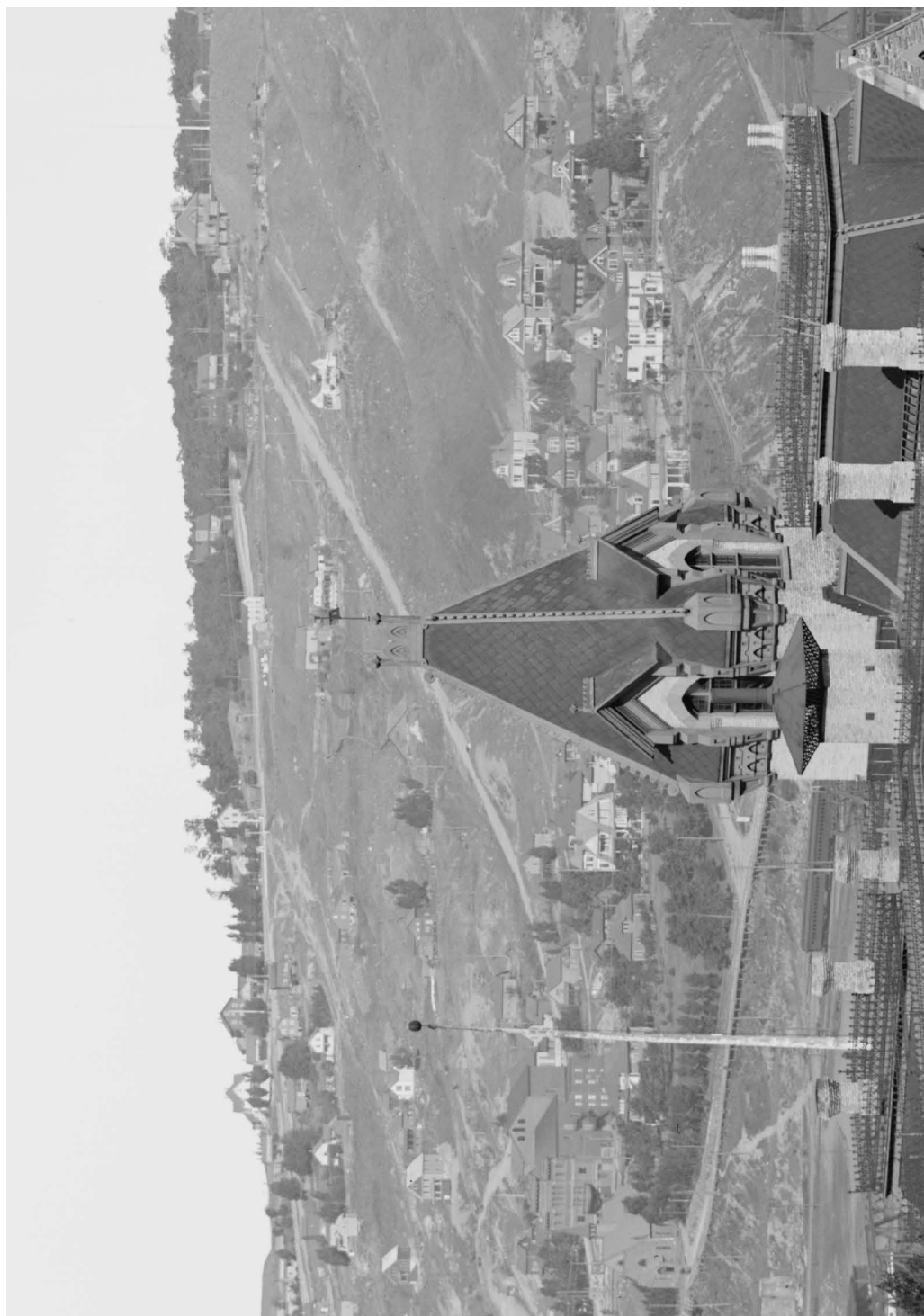


Fig. 3.19. View of East Hancock ca. 1905 with Houghton County Courthouse tower partially obstructing the view. Detail from Detroit Publishing Company. Quincy Hill and Hancock Michigan. Photograph, glass negative, ca 1905. Prints and Photographs Division. Library of Congress. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/det1994007116/PP/>.

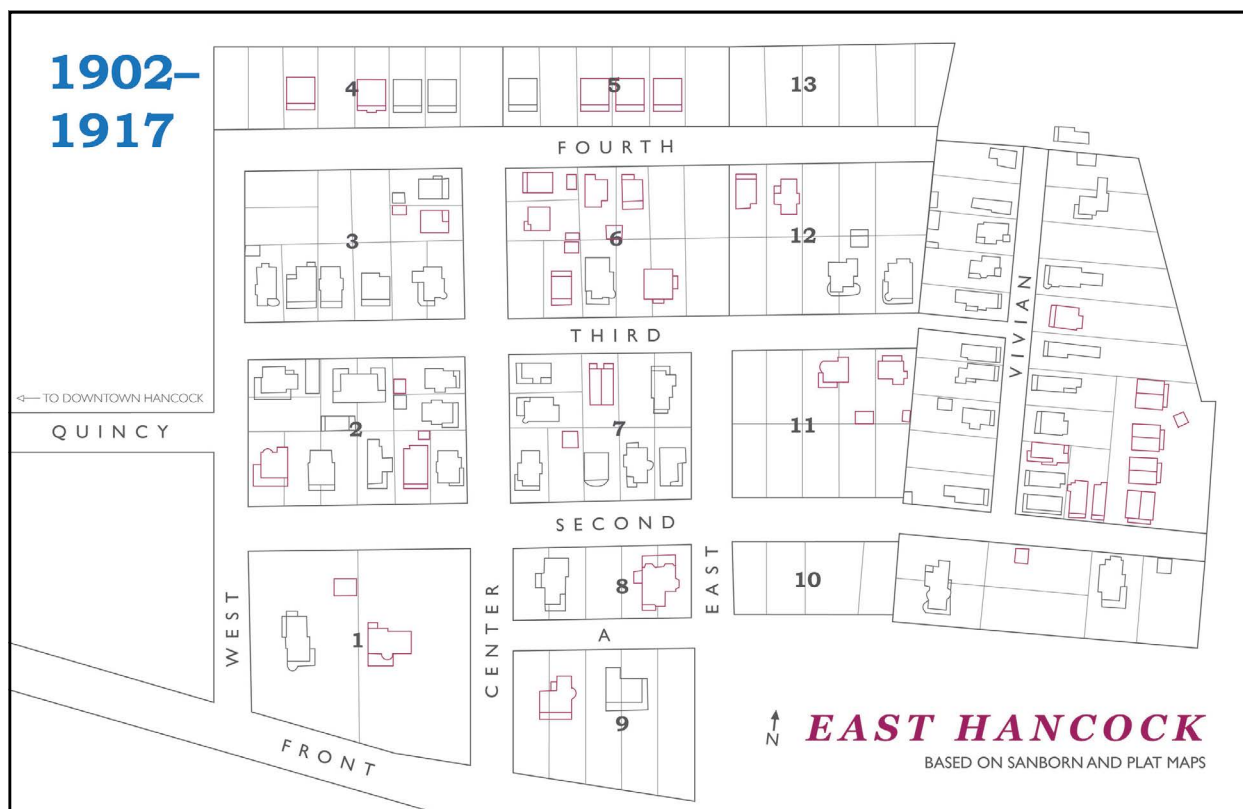


Fig. 3.20. New houses built in the Quincy Addition and East Hancock after 1902. New houses are purple. The Harris' house is in block 1.

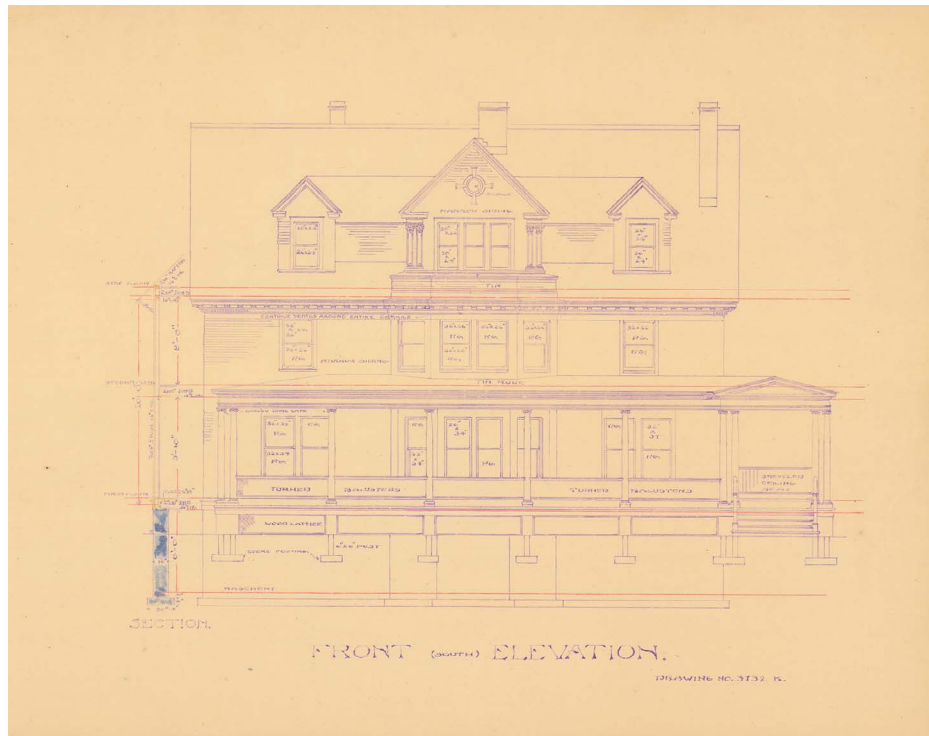


Fig. 3.21a. South (Front) Elevation, James R. Cooper House, 110 A Street, Charlton, Gilbert & Demar, architects, 1900. Numbered Map Collection, Drawer 62, Folder H, MTU.

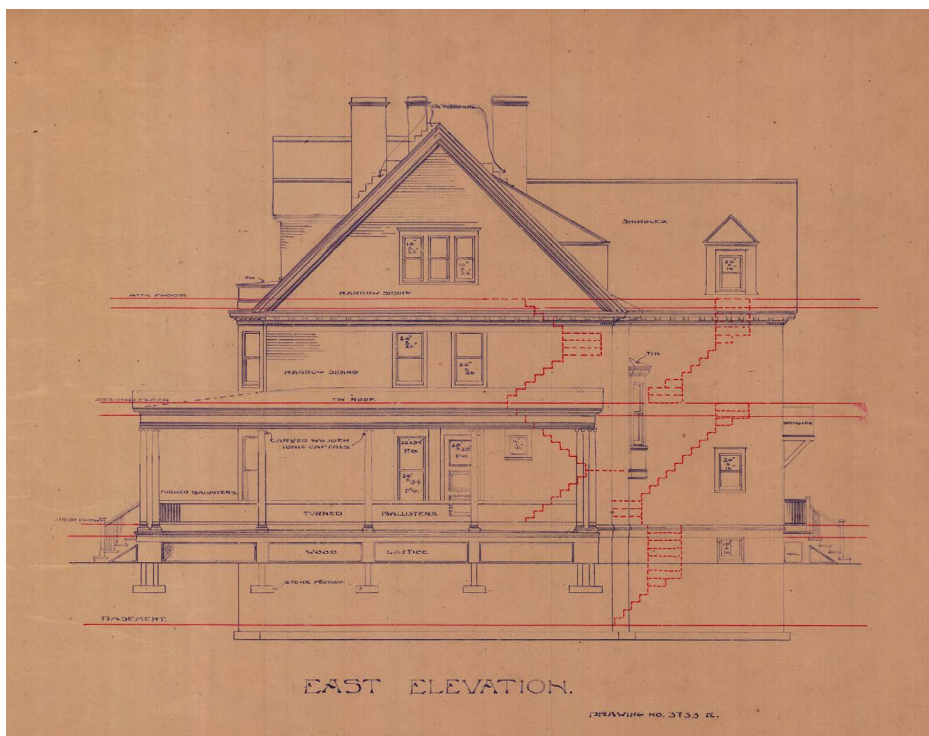


Fig. 3.21b. East Elevation, Cooper House elevations.

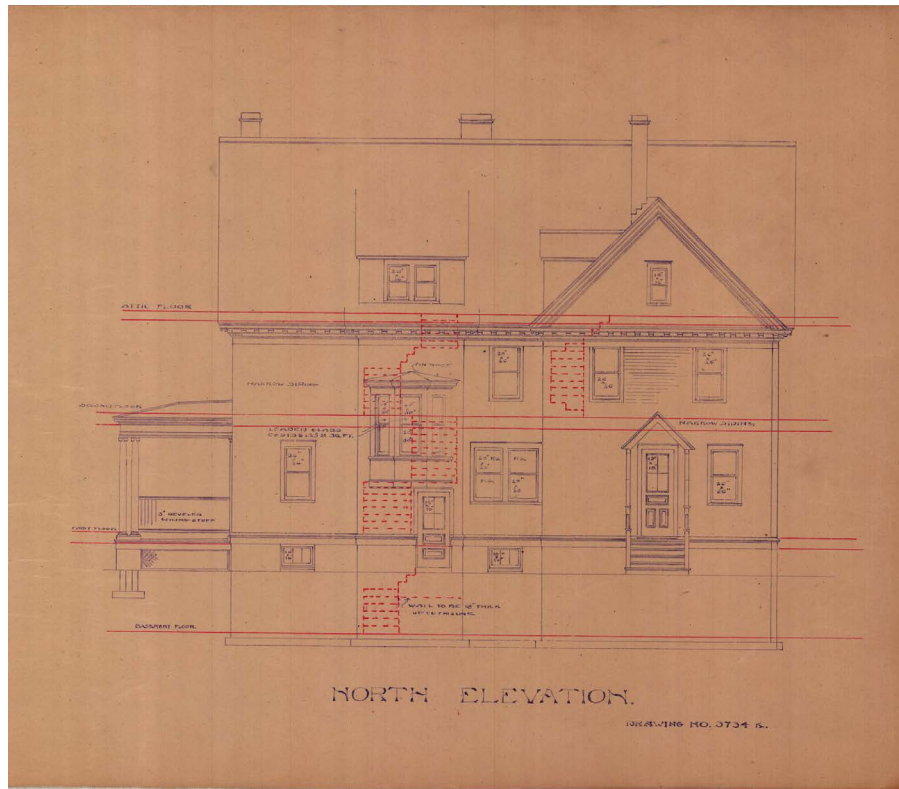


Fig 3.21c. North Elevation, Cooper House elevations.

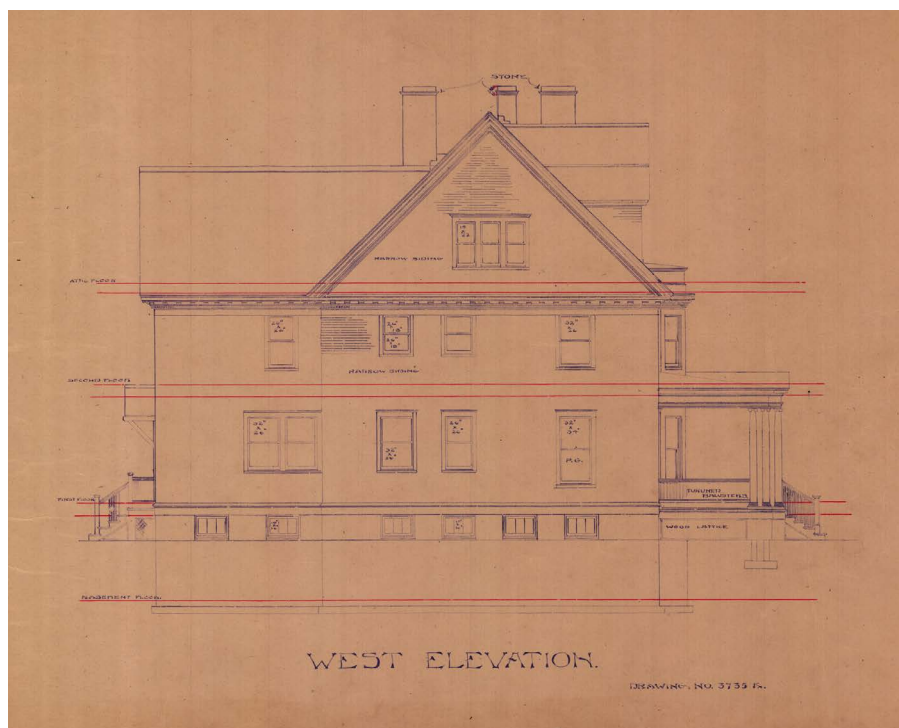


Fig. 3.21d. West Elevation, Cooper House elevations.

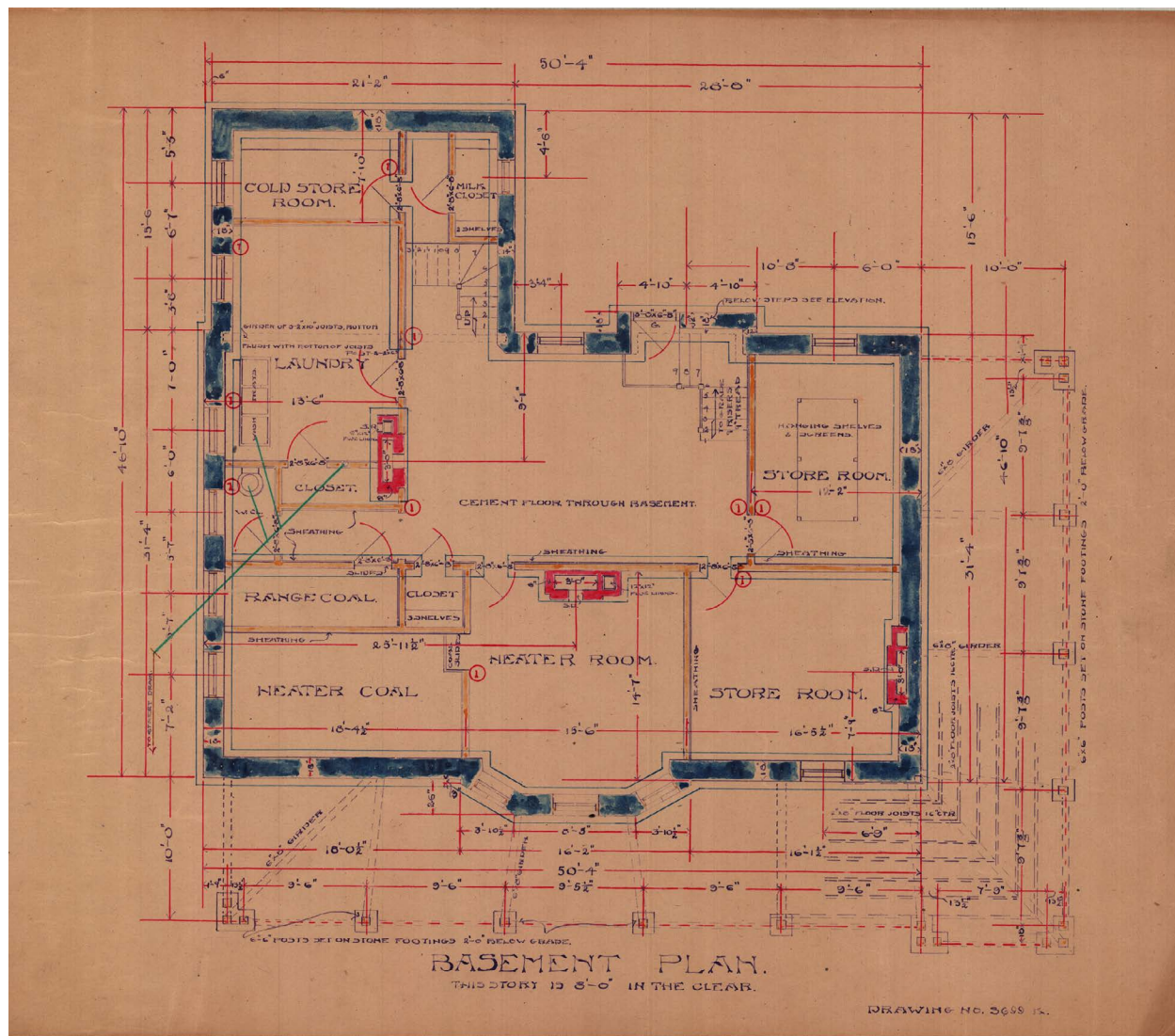


Fig. 3.22a. Basement Plan. Cooper House plans.

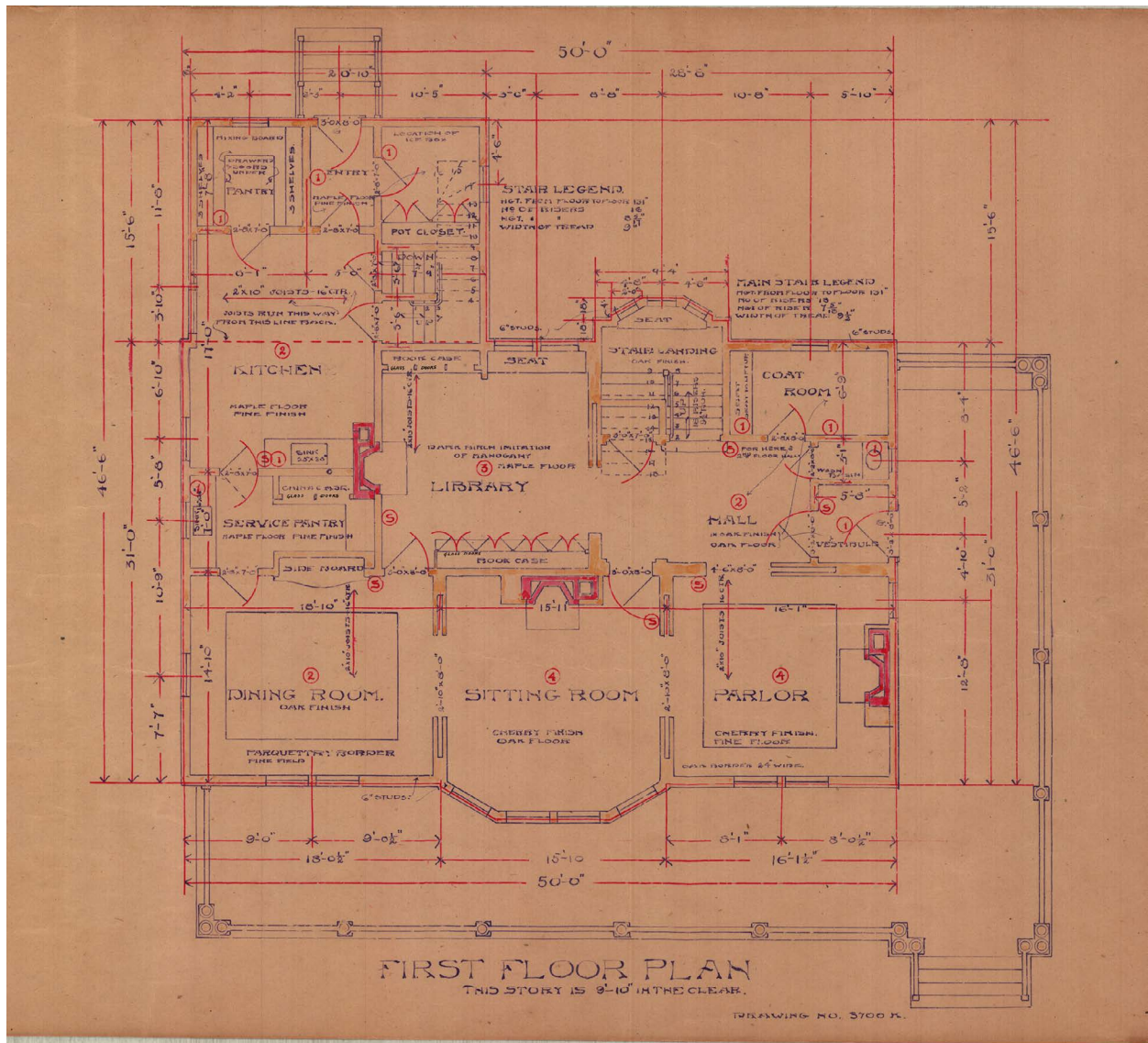


Fig. 3.22b. First Floor Plan. Cooper House plans.

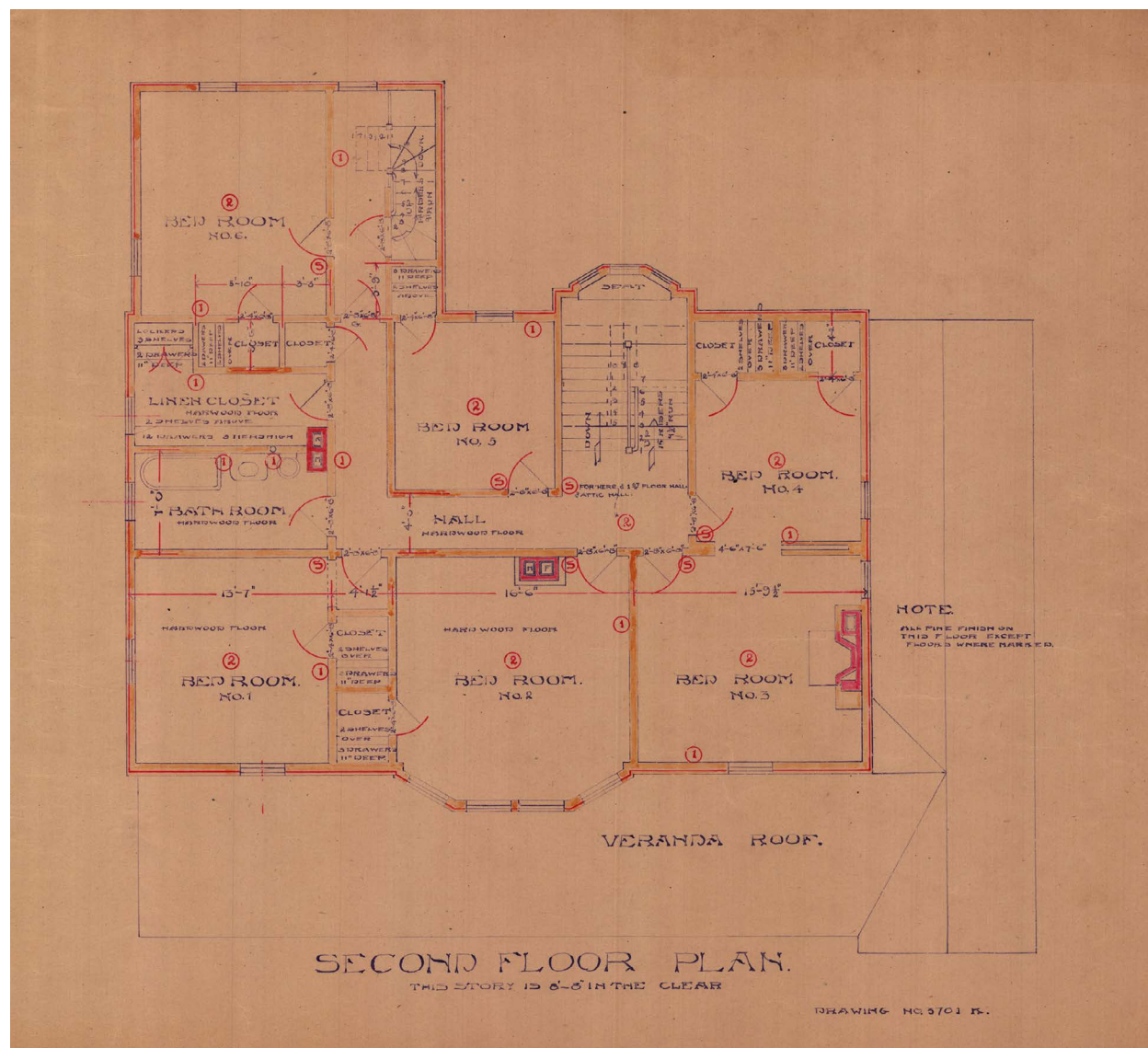


Fig. 3.22c. Second Floor Plan. Cooper House plans.



Fig. 3.23. Thomas Whittle House, Hans T. Liebert, architect, 415 Cooper Ave. (Second St.), 1902–03. Photo 2014.



Fig. 3.24. Samuel B. and John L. Harris House, Henry L. Ottenheimer, architect, 108 Center St., 1910–12. Photo Courtesy of Alison K. Hoagland, 2009.



Fig. 3.25. East Hancock from the Portage Lake with a ship called "Progress of Fairport," Houses visible on the bluff from left to right: Hanchette, Carroll (behind), Harris, MacDonnell, Cooper, MacDonald and another obscured by smoke from the stack, and Mette. J.T. Reeder, photograph, after 1912. Courtesy of Michael and Sylvia Cooper.



Fig. 4.1. Center Street, East Hancock, Hancock, Michigan. Photo 2014.

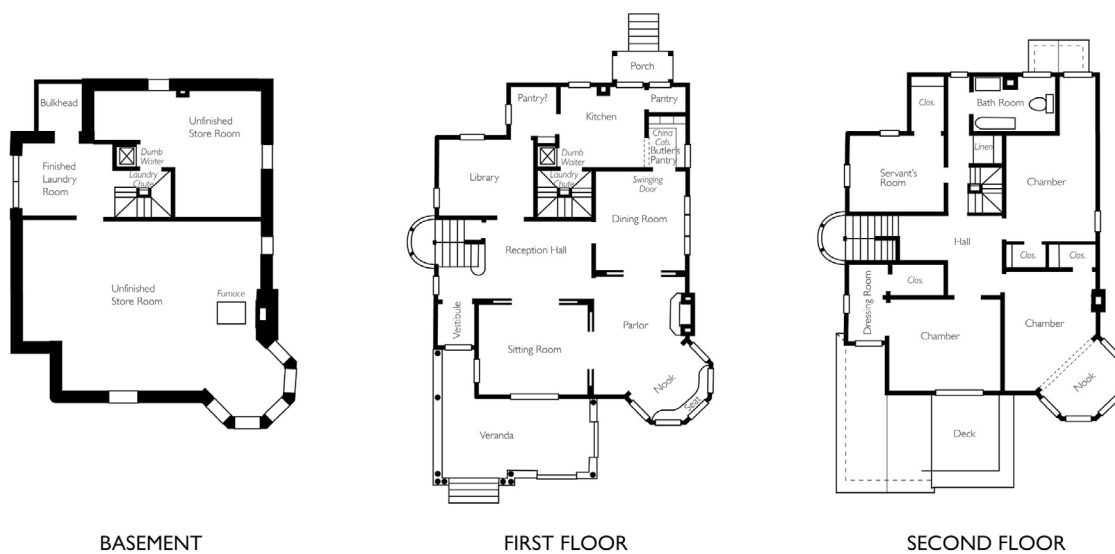


Fig 4.2. 209 Center Street, East Hancock, Hancock, Michigan. Built for Edwin and Marie Henwood in 1900. Photo 2014. See figures 3.17 and 3.18.



Fig. 4.3. Map showing counties in Wisconsin's Lead Region and Michigan's Copper Country. The families of Marie and Edwin Henwood lived in both regions. Based on Google Earth, 2014.



Fig. 4.4. Henwood House, ca. 1930. Note the small concrete staircase to the right of the house that led to the back service entry. Photo was taken by the Paulsrud family who bought the house in 1928 after Edwin Henwood died. "Ellen Croll Historical Research," courtesy of Stephen and Ruth Ann Smith.

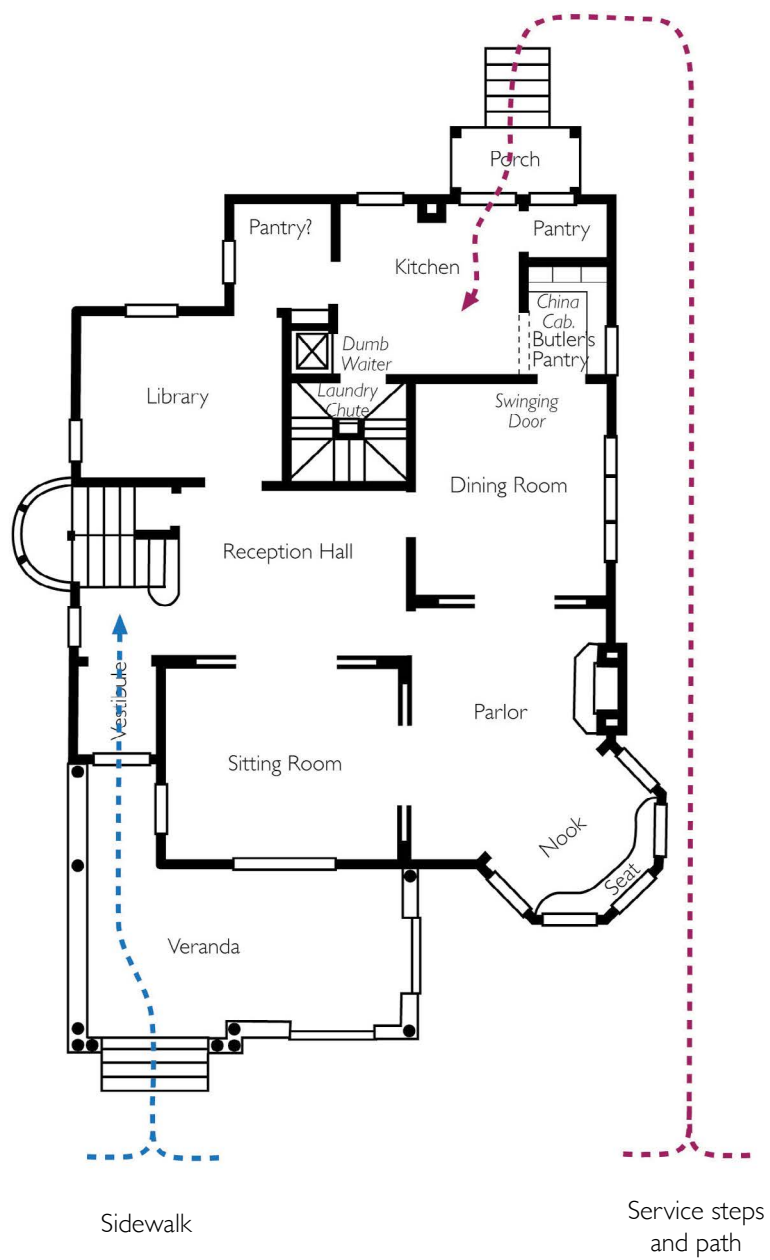


Fig. 4.5. Routes into the Henwood House. Blue indicates the formal approach, and purple the service approach.



Fig. 4.6. View of staircase just inside the Henwood House vestibule. Photo 2014.



Fig. 4.7. Main staircase at Henwood House. Photo 2014.



Fig. 4.8. Reception Hall, Henwood House. Photo 2014.



Fig. 4.9. Three sets of pocket doors (two shown here) could be opened and closed in different combinations to control the flow of visitors and create different types of spaces. Henwood House, Parlor looking into the sitting room and reception hall. Photo 2014.



Fig. 4.10. Lincrusta-Walton wall covering in Henwood House reception hall. Retains its original stamped metal chair-rail band. Photo 2014.

Servant's name	Age	Years in the U.S.	Origins or Heritage	Speaks English	Worked for
Angie Lambert	20	3	Finland	No	August Mette
Marian Kemp[?]	21	21	Germany	Yes	William Lapp
Annie Mulkare[?]	36	36	Ireland	Yes	William Harris
Tillie Haikkala	23	4	Finland	No	Edwin Henwood
Lizzie W[???	21	19	Germany	Yes	Fred Wagner
Lena Johnson	19	2	Sweden	No	William Mason
Lizzie Kopena	20	8	Finland	Yes	William Courtney
Annie Peterson	24	11	Finland	Yes	William Burnham

Table 4.1. Servants working and living in houses in both East Hancock and the Quincy Addition at the time of the 1900 Census. Names appear as recorded. Question marks indicate illegibility. United States Census Bureau, *Population Schedule*, Houghton County, Quincy Township, 1900.

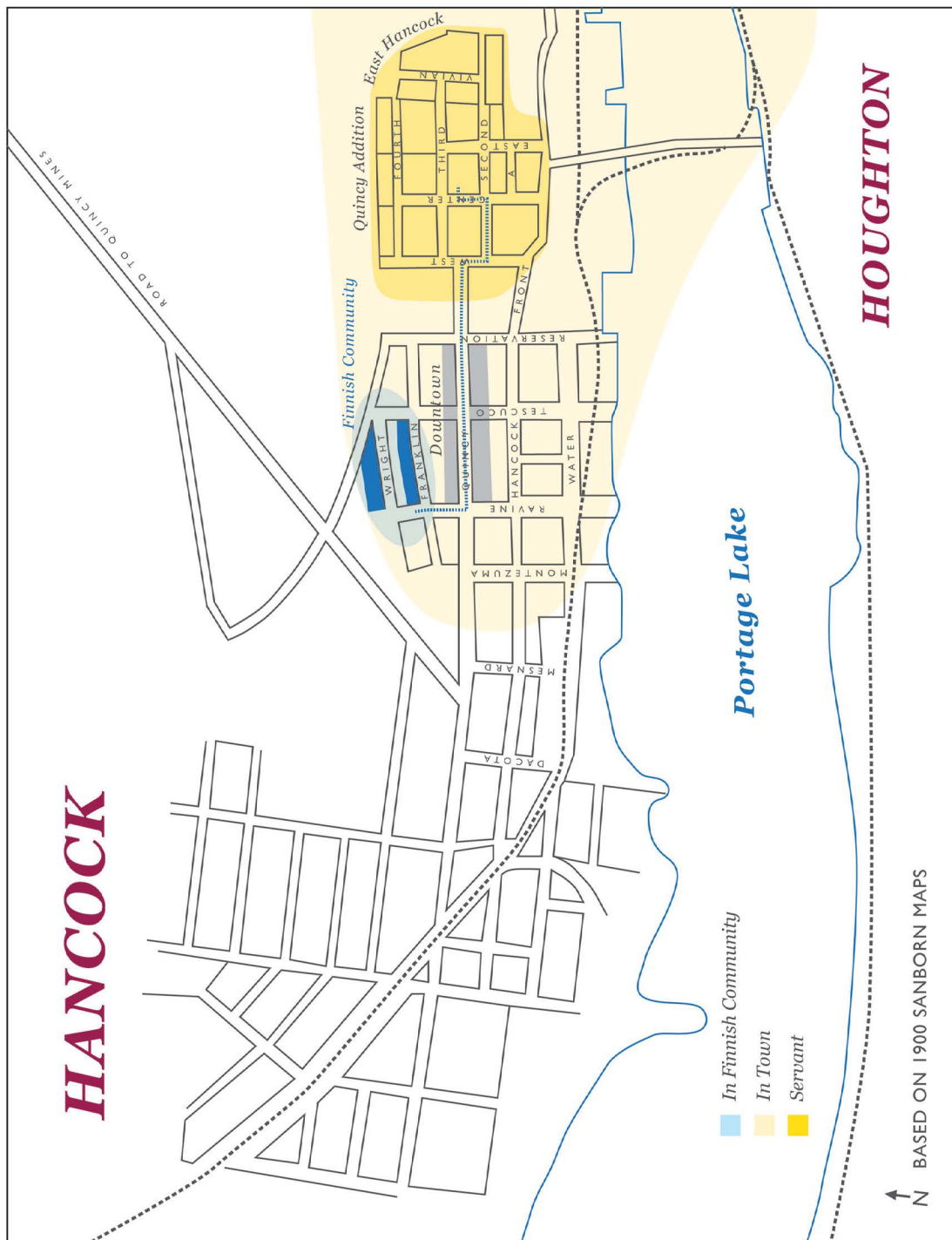


Fig. 4.11. Potential route taken by Finnish servants like Tillie Heikkilä. They performed their identities differently as they passed from the Finnish community through downtown Hancock and into East Hancock. The boundaries between these areas created trigger points at which they dissolved and reformulated their identities.



Fig. 4.12. "Women in Finnish Costumes," by J. W. Närä, n.d. Mounted on a card from studio of John Stolt, Calumet, Michigan. No known photos of Finnish women as servants in East Hancock survive. But Tillie Heikkilä and her acquaintances may have met up to reminisce about Finland, even if she did not have enough money for a photograph studio. William Närä Collection, #42-174, MTU.



Fig. 4.13. Quincy Street in Hancock, early twentieth century, looking West from Reservation Street. As Tillie Heikkilä walked toward East Hancock, if she had looked back toward town from the wooden bridge, this would have been her view. Petermann Glass Plate Negative Collection, #378, Keweenaw National Historical Park.

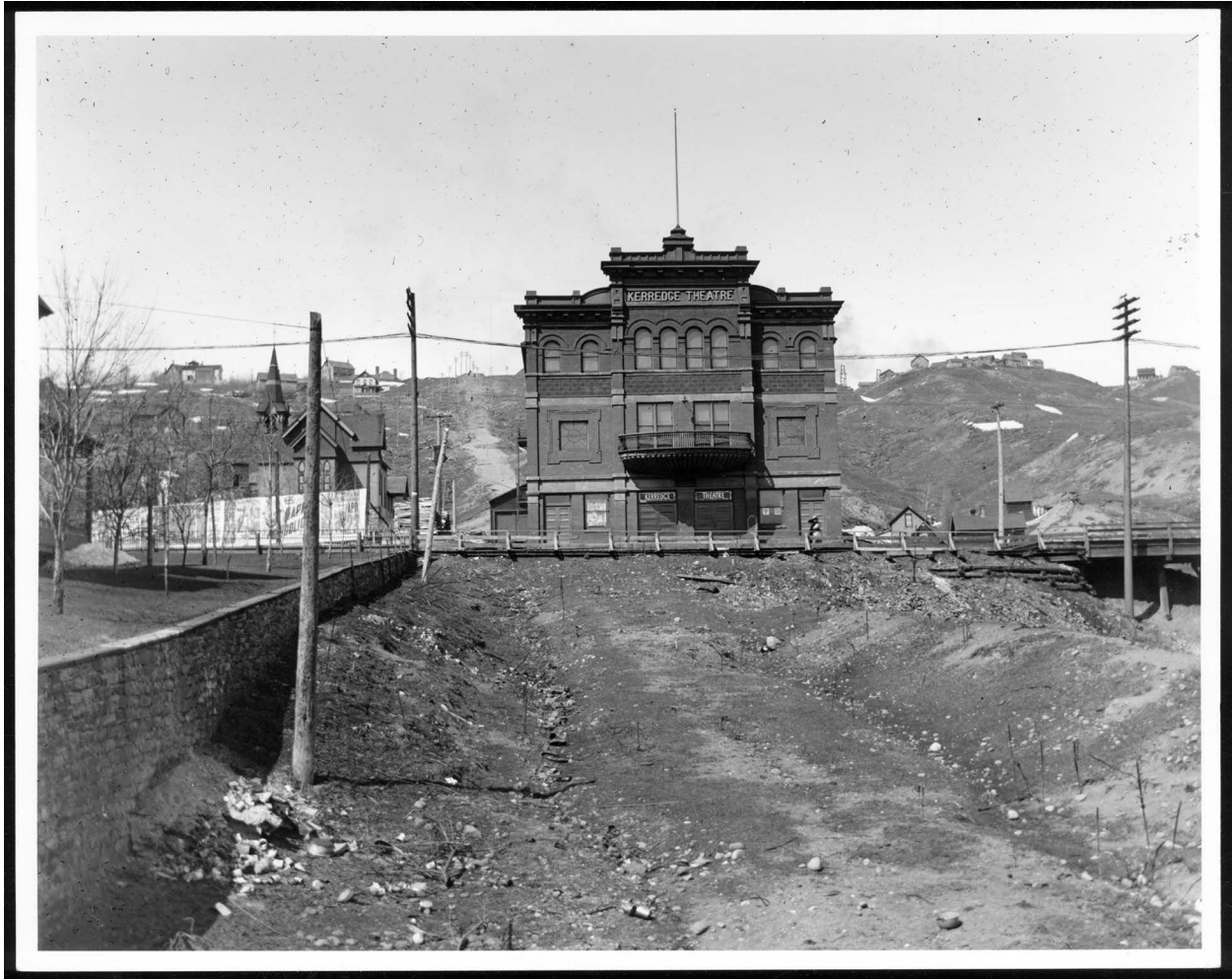


Fig. 4.14. Tillie Heikkilä would have passed from West to East (left to right) through this scene on her way to East Hancock. She would have encountered the contrast between the orderly planting and neat stone retaining wall of merchant Peter Ruppe on the left and the untended garbage-filled ravine in the center. Note the wooden sidewalk, which connected to the bridge over the ravine that led to East Hancock. This photo was taken after the 1902 construction of the Kerredge Theater. The theater went on to host famous international acts including Sarah Bernhardt. In 1906, the lot to the West (left) was occupied by the fashionable Hotel Scott. The theater burned in the 1950s and the ravine was filled in before 1910. Photograph, 1902–06. No Neg 2008-02-15-01, MTU.

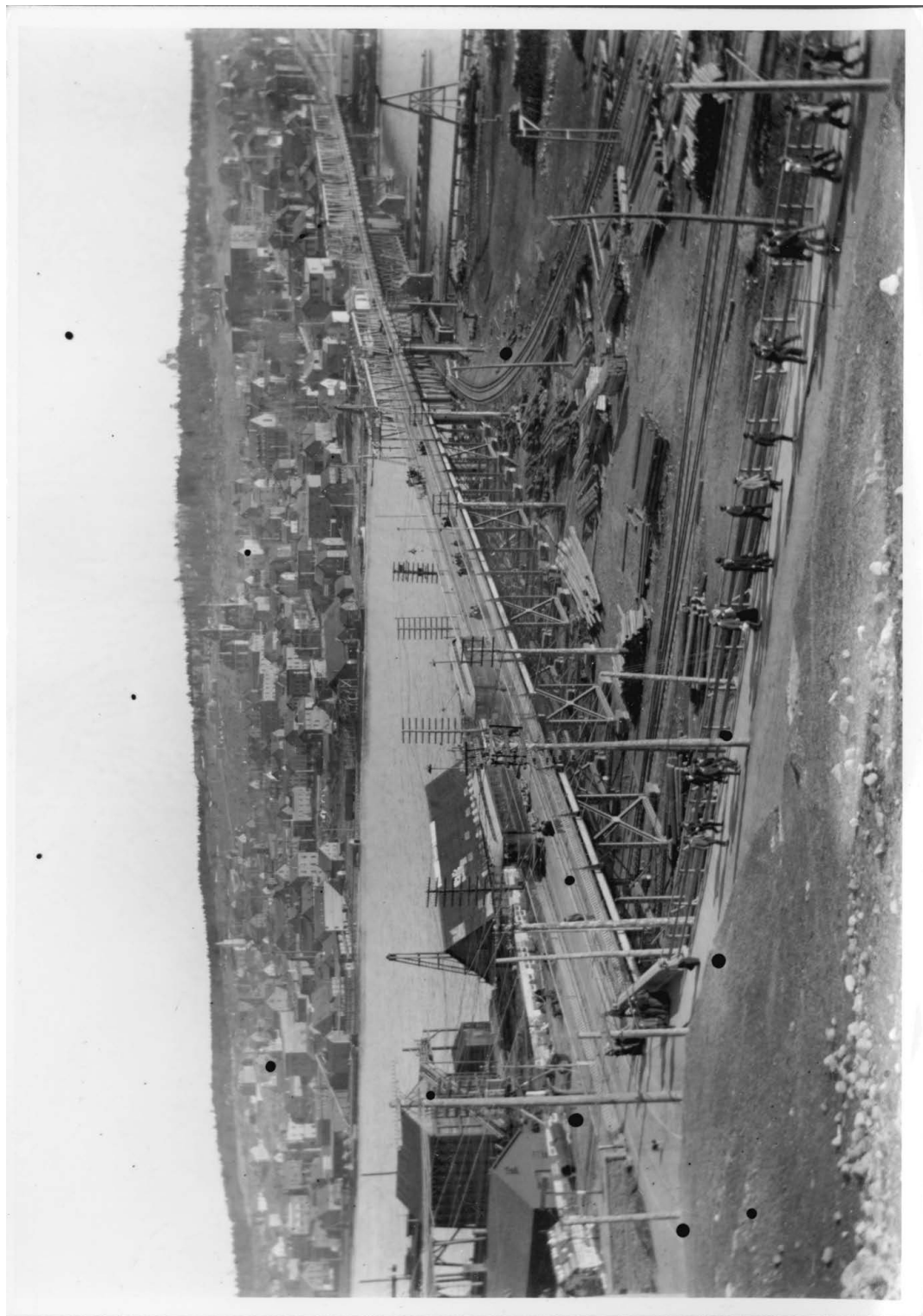


Fig. 4.15. Other workers might have approached East Hancock from the Protage Lake by walking up Front Street. Street cars began running in the Copper Country with a stop on the Hancock side of the bridge in 1901. This anonymous photograph was taken from the Harris or Hanchette property looking down. Copper Country Vertical Photograph File, gift of Charles Sincok, MTU Neg 05796, MTU.



Fig. 4.16. South side of the Henwood House, ca. 1929. This is the path that Tillie Heikkilä would have taken from the street to reach the back service entrance. Photo taken by the Paulsrud Family as in figure 4.4. "Ellen Croll Historical Research," courtesy of Stephen and Ruth Ann Smith.



Fig. 4.18. Swinging door between the dining room and the butler's pantry at the Henwood House. Detail of lower hinge. The door is made of oak with pine veneer on the kitchen side. The door no longer swings. Photos 2014.



Fig. 4.19. While no known photographs of Marie Henwood survive, many middle-class Copper Country families took photographs in their homes. Henwood's parlor may have resembled this room in the house of Dr. Jones in nearby Lake Linden. Jones Collection, #11, Keweenaw National Historical Park.

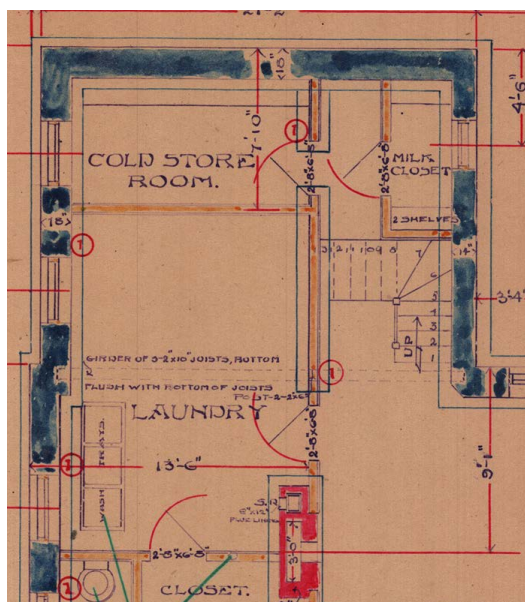


Fig. 4.20. The original laundry sink at the Henwood House is lost but it probably stood in front of the basement window facing north. Laundry sinks in East Hancock houses generally featured three basins like this example from the Pearce House, made of slate with decorative cast iron legs. The laundry sink at the Cooper House also stood in front of a window, as indicated in original plans. Top: Photo courtesy of Samuel R. Sweitz, current owner of Emma Jane Pearce's house at 312 Cooper Avenue. Photo 2007. Bottom: detail from figure 3.22a.

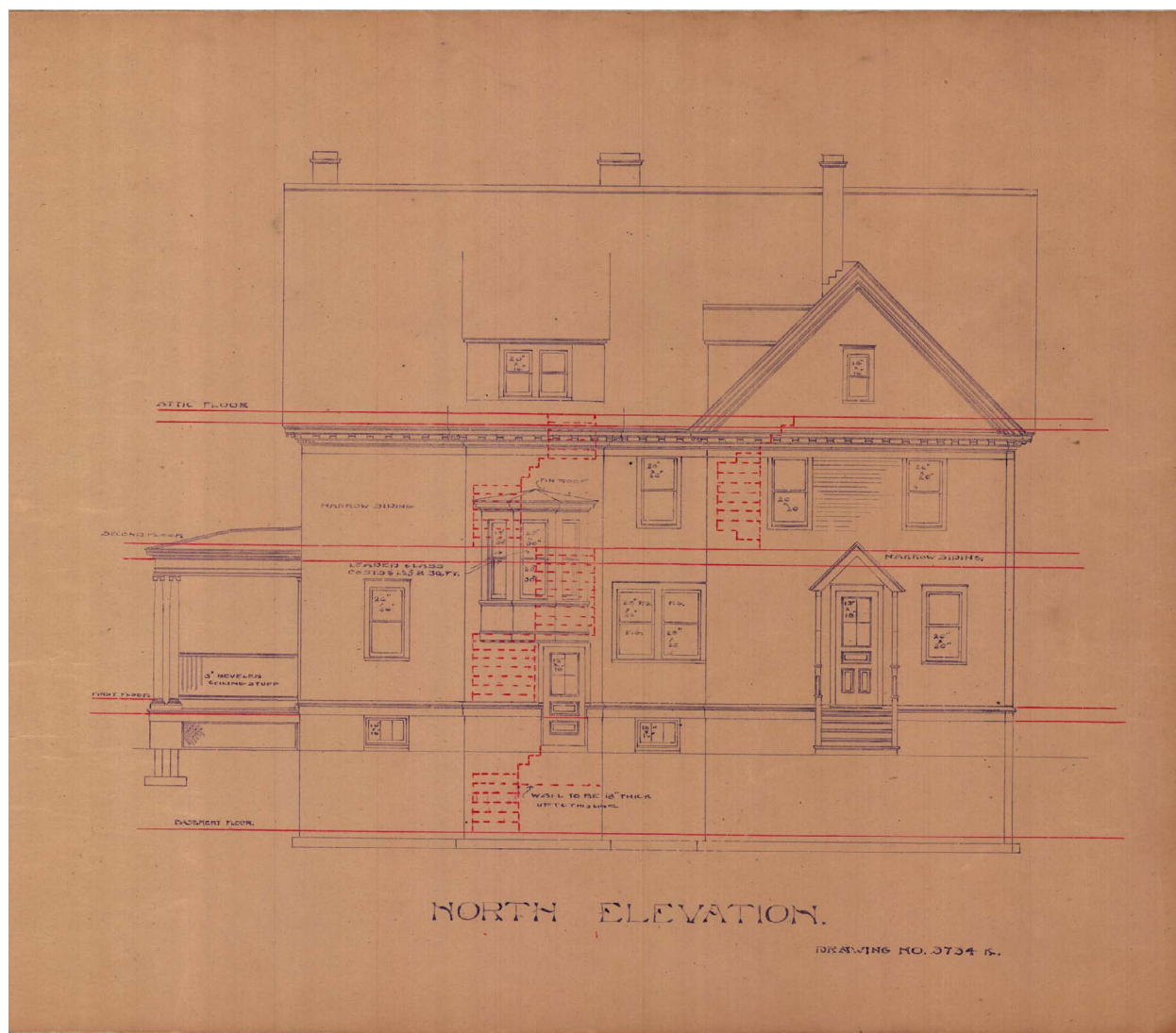


Fig. 4.21. Back doors offered access to ice boxes, milk closets, and kitchens for grocery deliveries. Also they brought “dailies,” servants who came on a short-term basis. The location of the Henwoods’ ice box is unclear, and they may have received deliveries directly on their back porch. This architect’s drawing of the Cooper House suggests the importance of planning the exterior entrances and multiple staircases for service vs. family use. Cooper House, North Elevation, Map Drawer H, MTU.



Fig. 4.22. Crank bells like this example announced deliveries and other workers. Rear service entrance, Pearce House, 312 Cooper Avenue (Second Street). Photo 2009.



Fig. 4.23. Emma Jane Pearce House, 312 Cooper Avenue (Second Street). Designed by Charles Archibald Pearce, 1900. Photo courtesy of Samuel R. Sweitz.



Fig. 4.24. Pearce House, service areas in purple, liminal areas in green. The front areas of the basement may have been used as Archie Pearce's architectural office. Drawings show the plans as built, based on 1930s blue prints by the original architect, courtesy of Samuel R. Sweitz, and fieldwork by Sarah Fayen Scarlett, Timothy Scarlett, Anna Lee Presley, Samuel R. Sweitz, 2010–11.



Fig. 4.25. Delivery man shoveling coal from a cart pulled up alongside a house onto a chute descending into a basement window. The house is probably the Prince House on College Avenue, next to J. T. Reeder's house. J. T. Reeder, photograph, ca. 1900. MS042-044-999-U-31, MTU.



Fig. 4.26. Two coal chute hatches survive on the west side of the Pearce House. Each emptied into divided coal storage in the basement. Photo 2012.

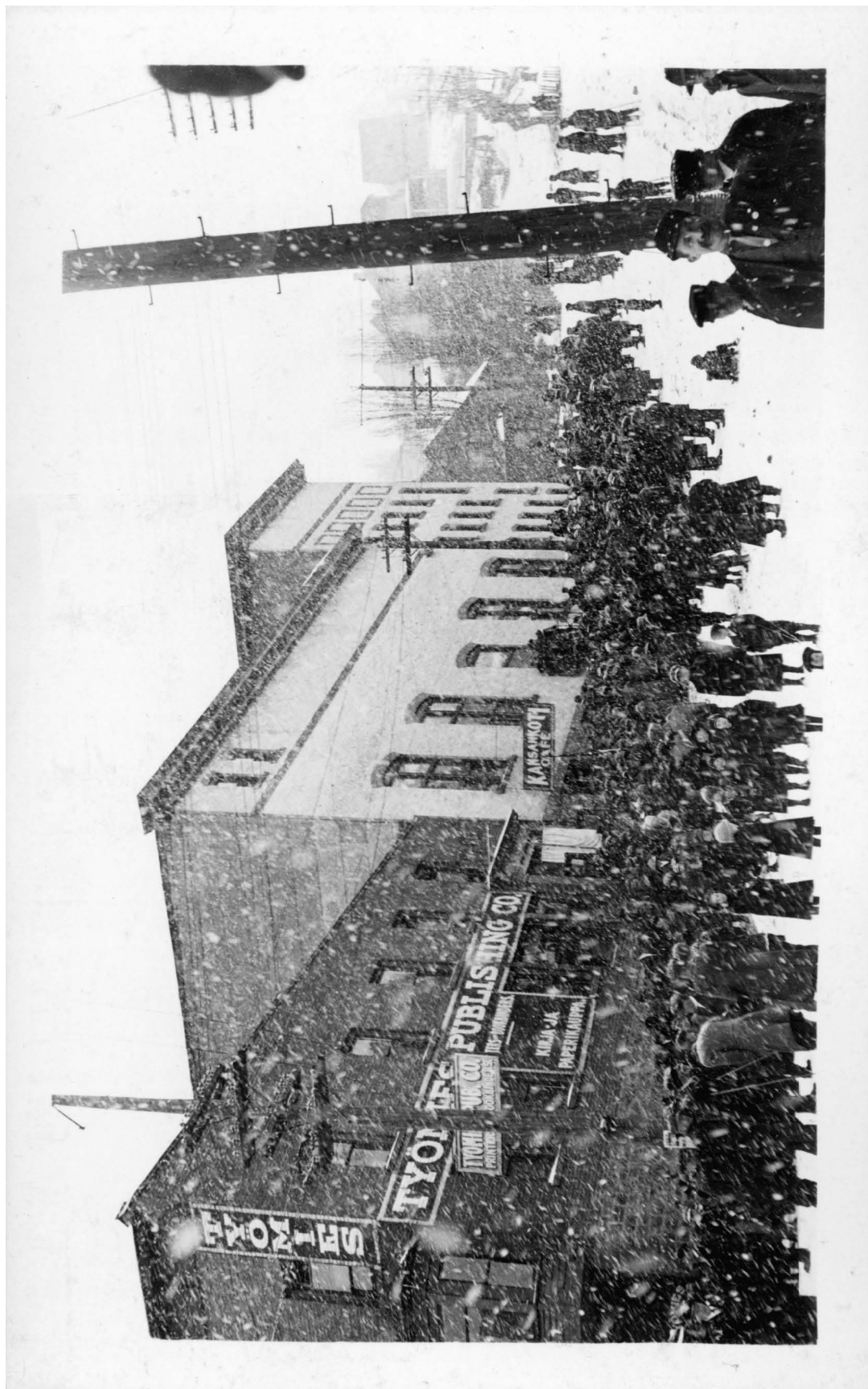


Fig. 4.27. Crowd gathered on Tezucoco Street, Hancock, during strike, February 1914. Työmies Publishing Co. produced pro-labor Finnish-language newspapers as well as the *Miners' Bulletin*, published by the Western Federation of Miners. Kansankoti Hall (1910) is the large connected building. MS-001, Acc-400-12-13-1988-01-08-04, MTU.



Fig. 5.1. This map of the Calumet area shows Laurium (yellow), Red Jacket (red), and Tamarack location (blue). The rest of the land belonged to Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, except for the Florida development south of Laurium, which was platted by the Florida Mining Company in the 1890s. Detail with annotations of “Calumet and Vicinity,” 1915, Keweenaw National Historical Park.



Fig. 5.2. Like other Copper Country communities, Laurium featured a number of large two-and-a-half-story front-gable houses like this one. The Palladian-style window in the gable became a popular feature. 302 Iroquois Street, Laurium, MI. Photo 2014.



Fig. 5.4 Houses like these began appearing in Laurium in the 1890s as white-collar professionals chose prominent corner lots and architecturally impressive forms, rather than suburban enclaves, to differentiate themselves from increasing numbers of workers. Above: Paul Roehm House, 101 Willow Street (corner of First Street), Laurium, 1895–96, William T. Pryor, architect. This house is located off the map to the north in figure 5.5. Below: Charles L. Fichtel House, 242 Iroquois Street, Laurium, 1899, Charles W. Maass architect. Photos 2014.

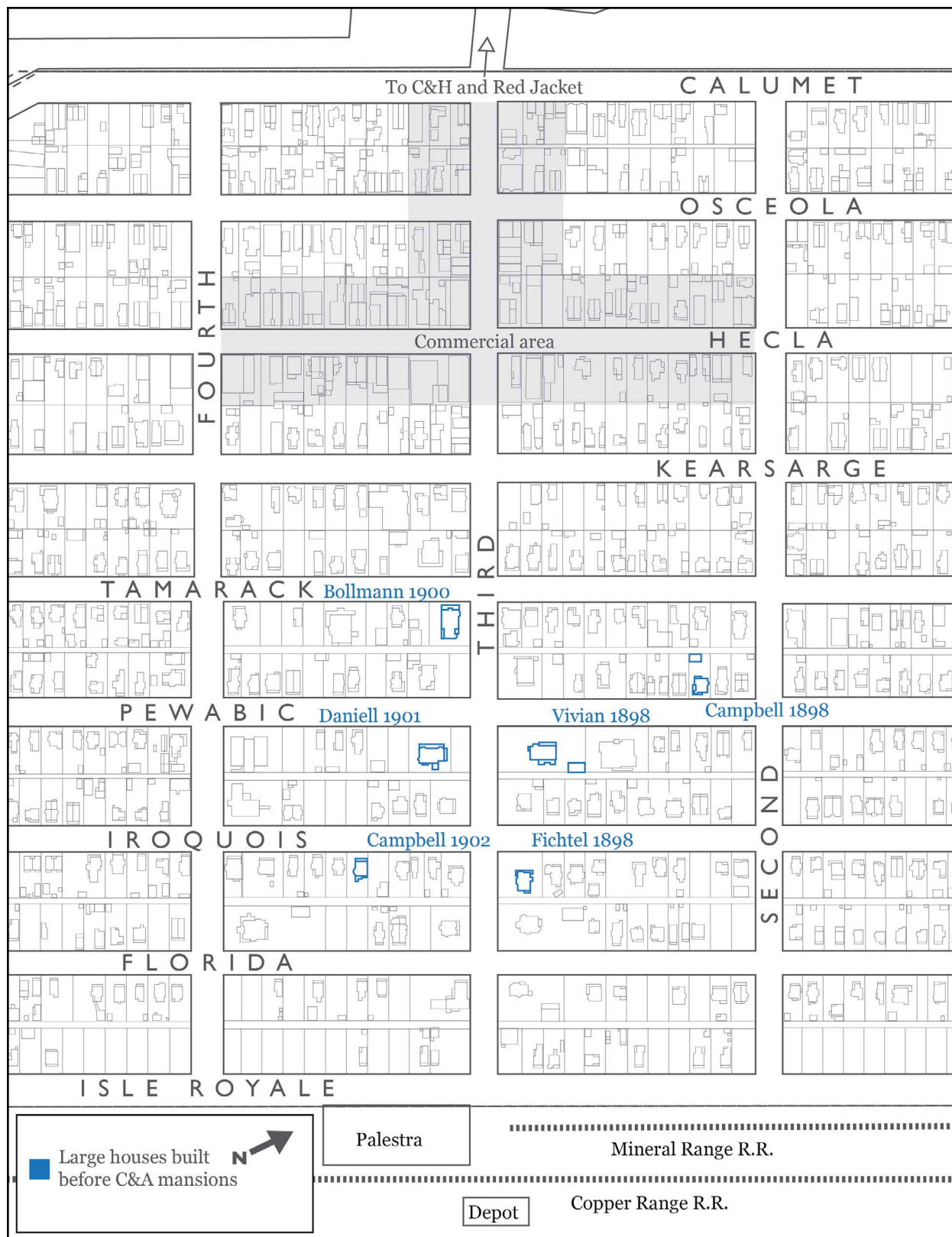


Fig. 5.5. White-collar professionals building large distinctive houses before 1906 chose corner lots near Third Street, which became a fashionable boulevard. Map based on 1917 Sanborn map.

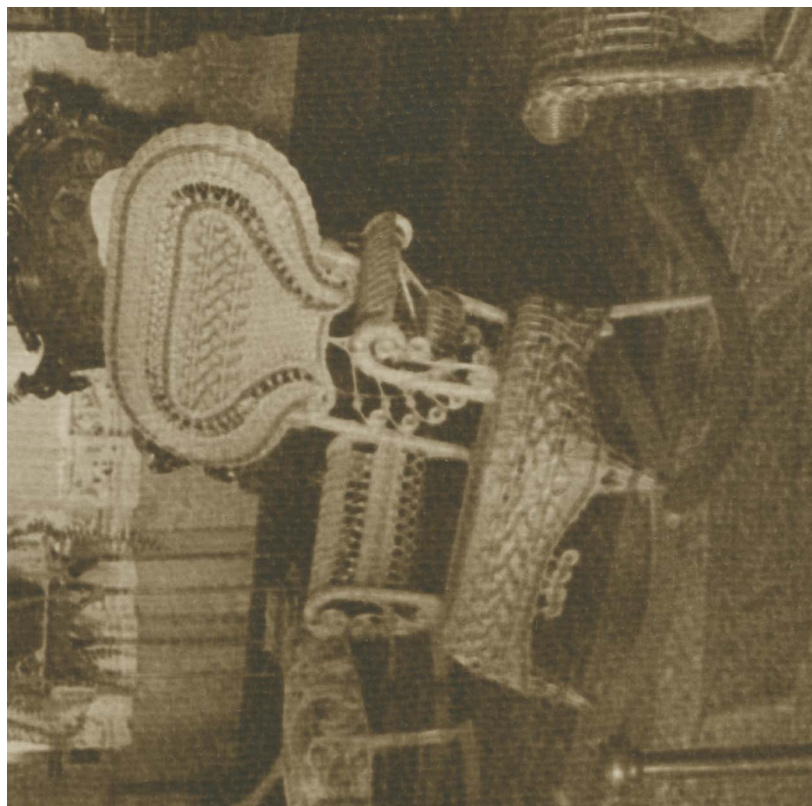
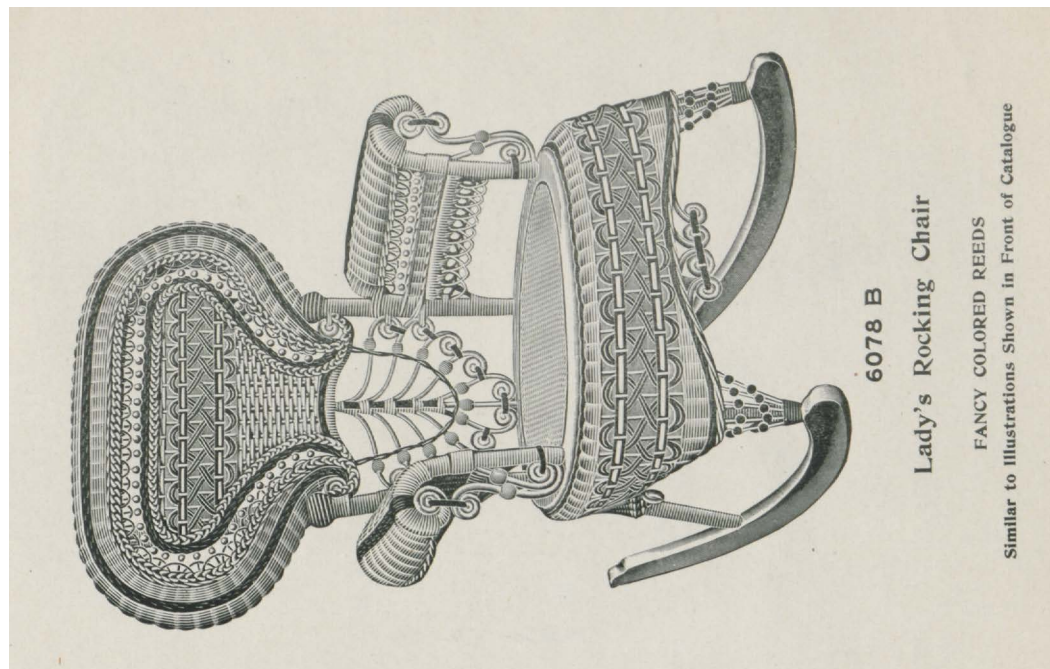


Fig. 5.6. Lady's Rocking Chair, Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company, ca. 1898. The Reeder's original chair does not survive. Left: Detail, photograph of Tamarack location parlor, ca. 1900, J. T. Reeder, Courtesy of Sylvia and Michael Cooper. Right: "Lady's Rocking Chair, 6078B," Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company 1898–1899 (Gardner, Mass.: Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company, 1898), 23. Courtesy of the Hagley Museum & Library.

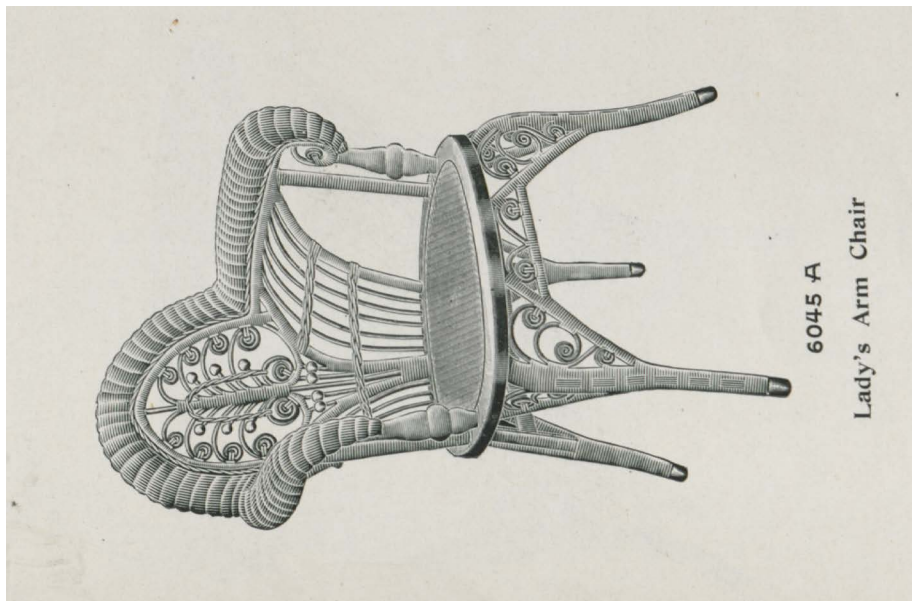


Fig. 5.7. Lady's Armchair, Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company, ca.1898. Left: Detail, photograph of Tamarack Location parlor, ca.1900, J.T. Reeder, courtesy of Sylvia and Michael Cooper. Center: "Lady's Arm Chair 6045A," Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company 1898–1899 (Gardner, Mass.: Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company, 1898), 65, courtesy of the Hagley Museum & Library. Right: Reeder's Lady's Armchair, courtesy of Elizabeth A. Cooper, great-granddaughter of J. T. Reeder. Photo 2013. Bottom: Label under the chair seat covered in paint. Its original finish is not known. Photo 2013.



Fig. 5.8. The Reeders' photographs repeatedly show two very similar but not identical large arm chairs. Large Arm Chair #1 shows evidence of a clear or "natural" varnish originally. Left: Detail, photograph of Tamarack Location parlor, ca.1900, J.T. Reeder, courtesy of Michael and Sylvia Cooper. Right: Large Arm Chair, probably Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company, ca.1898, courtesy of Elizabeth A. Cooper, great-granddaughter of J. T. Reeder. Photo 2013.



Fig. 5.9. The second large arm chair does not survive. Left: Detail, photograph of Tamarack Location parlor, ca.1900, J.T. Reeder, courtesy of Michael and Sylvia Cooper. Right: Large Arm Chair, Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company 1898–1899 (Gardner, Mass.: Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company, 1898), 91, courtesy of the Hagley Museum & Library.

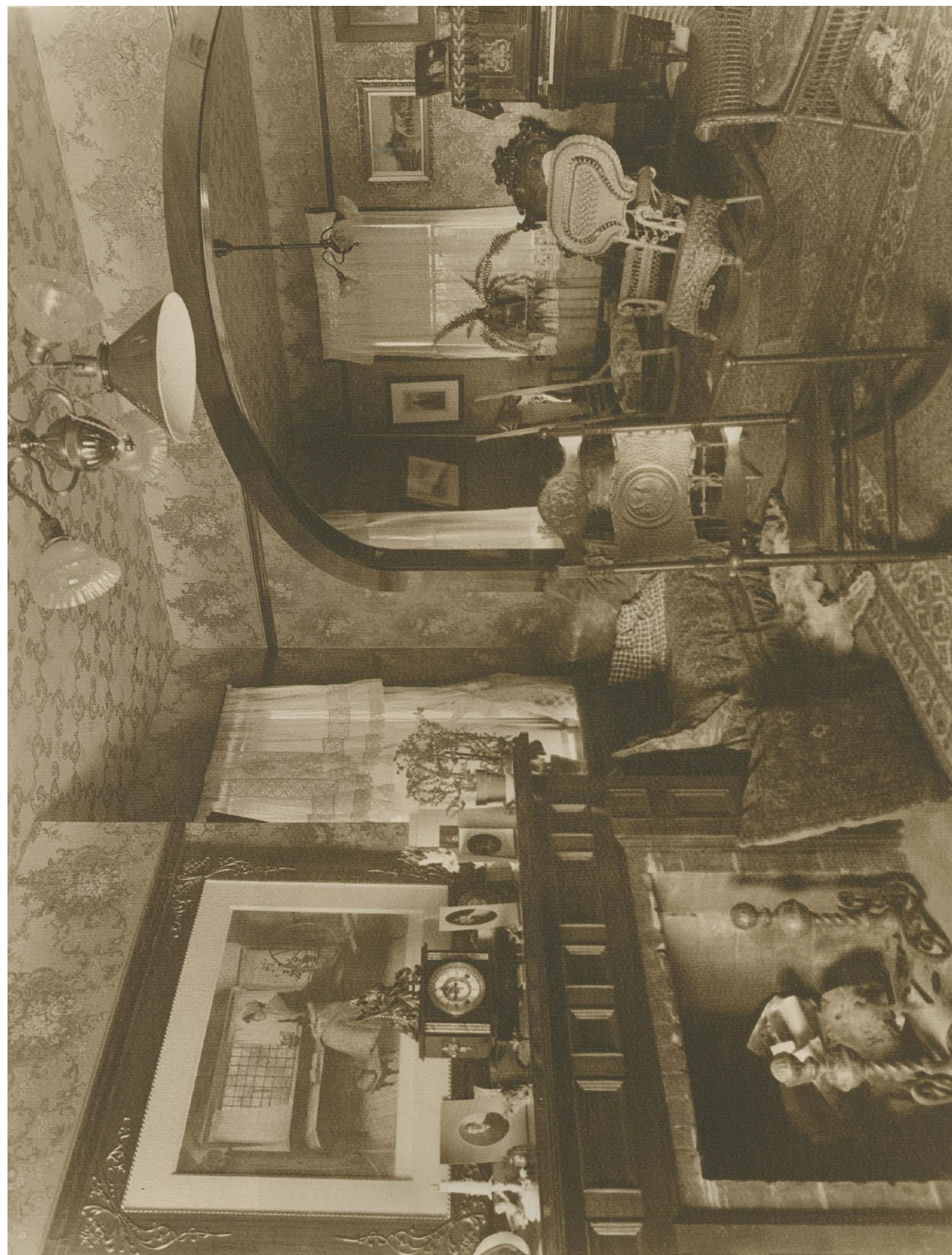


Fig. 5.10. Wicker chairs in the parlor, Reeder House, Tamarack Location, 1890s. Photo J. T. Reeder. Courtesy of Michael and Sylvia Cooper.



Fig. 5.11. Wicker chairs in the parlor, Tamarack Location, ca. 1904. Photo J. T. Reeder. Courtesy of Michael and Sylvia Cooper.



Fig. 5.12. Above: Mrs. Margaret Reeder (right) and daughter Clara Reeder (left) in the double parlor at the Tamarack location, ca.1900. Below: J. T. Reeder and his wife playing cards with friends, ca. 1900. Both photos J. T. Reeder and courtesy Michael and Sylvia Cooper.

ESTABLISHED 1826

INCORPORATED 1897

1898-1899

HEYWOOD BROTHERS AND WAKEFIELD COMPANY

MAKERS OF

REED AND RATTAN FURNITURE
CHAIRS, (HAIR CANE CHILDREN'S CARRIAGES)

WAREHOUSES:

NEW YORK, 195-197 CANAL ST.,
NEW YORK, 297-303 CHERRY ST.,
BOSTON, 182 PORTLAND ST.,
PHILADELPHIA, 1010-1014 RACE ST.,
BALTIMORE, 536-542 W. PRATT ST.,
CHICAGO, 270-272 WABASH AVE.,
SAN FRANCISCO, 659-663 MISSION ST.,
PORTLAND, ORE., 80-86 FIFTH ST.,
LOS ANGELES, 355-361 UPPER MAIN ST.,
LONDON, ENG., LIVERPOOL, ENG.

FACTORIES:

Gardner, Mass.
Chicago, Ill.
Wakefield, Mass.
San Francisco, Cal.

Fig. 5.13. Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company, Reed and Rattan Furniture, 1898-1899. (Gardner: Mass.: Heywood Brothers and Wakefield Company, 1898). Courtesy of the Hagley Museum & Library.



Fig. 5.14. J. T. Reeder's house at the Tamrack location near Red Jacket, ca. 1900, J. T. Reeder. MS042-027-999-BB-28, MTU.

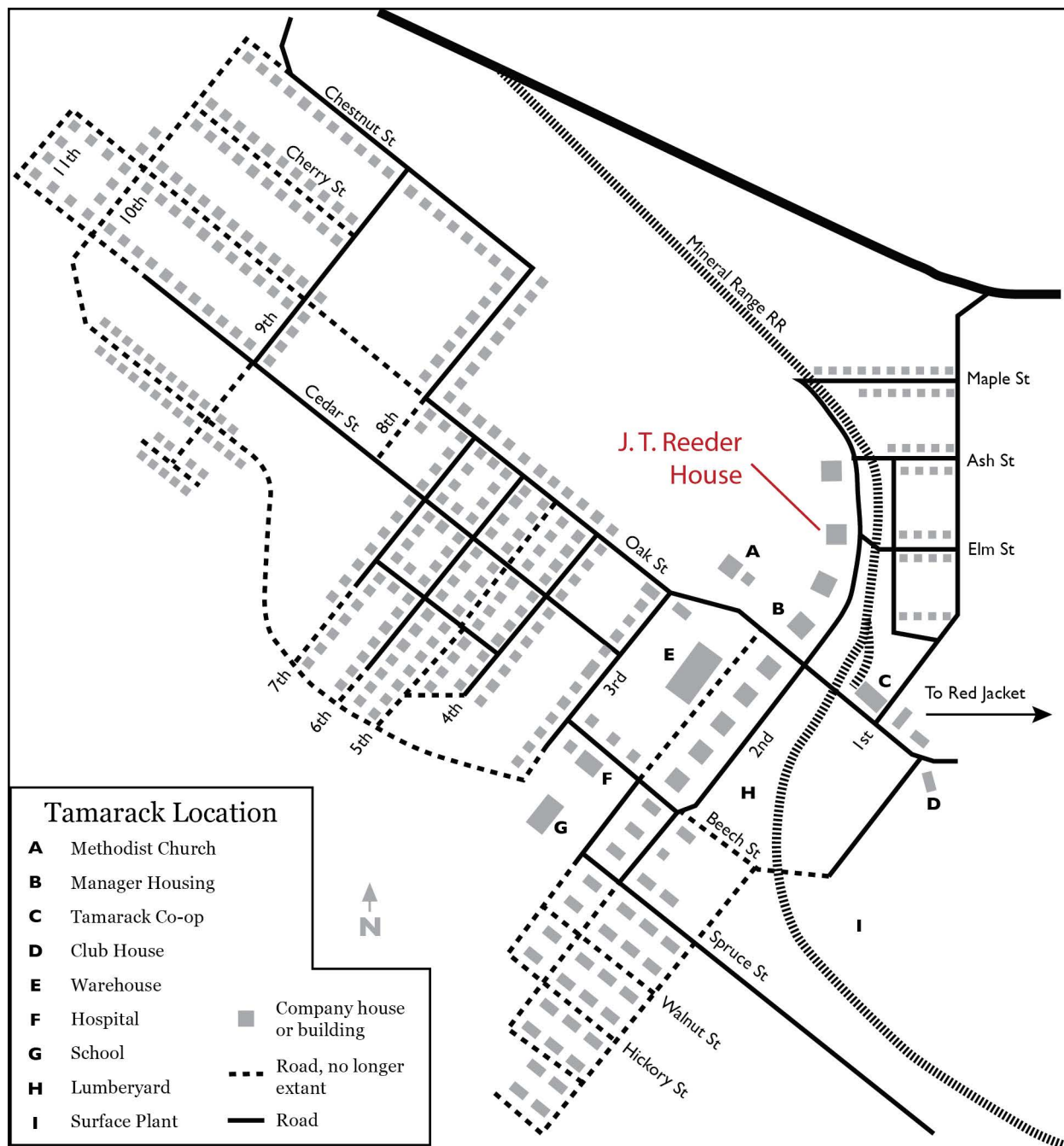


Fig. 5.15. At Tamarack location, Reeder lived in the clerk's house built in a row of managers' houses. The Mineral Range Railroad spur passed directly in front of Reeder's house. Adapted from a diagram courtesy of Mike Forgrave, www.coppercountryexplorer.com.



Fig. 5.16. Middle-Eastern forms appeared in the Reeders' parlors, such as the ceramic dish and rattan tabouret table in the lower right corner above, and the "ottoman" in the photo below. The ottoman also came from the Heywood-Wakefield catalogue. Above: Tamarack Family Scene, ca.1900. Below: Reeders in Tamarack parlor, September 1905. Both photos J. T. Reeder and courtesy of Michael and Sylvia Cooper.



Fig. 5.17. The Reeder family sits on their porch at the Tamarack location, ca. 1900, photo J.T. Reeder. J.T. Reeder stands on the left, daughter Clara Reeder stands on the right, with her mother Margaret Reeder sitting to the left of her. Seated in the wicker rocker is probably a member of the Roehm family. Courtesy of Michael and Sylvia Cooper.



Fig. 5.18. J. T. Reeder's fireproof vault filled with his collection of Native American artifacts and images, including a rug on the floor, geological specimens, and artifacts from early Copper Country settlement. He added this vault to his College Avenue house shortly after it was built in 1908. J. T. Reeder, ca. 1910. MS042-033-999-F276C, MTU.



Norman MacDonald (1863–1949)
Inherited father's successful drug store in
Red Jacket, investor in C&A

305 Tamarack Street, built 1906
Architect: Charles Maass^b
Decorator: unknown
Contractor: unknown

Photo: 2013



James Hoatson (1846–1923)
C&H captain, Western prospector,
Vice President of C&A^d

243 Pewabic Street, built 1906
Architect: unknown
Decorator: unknown
Contractor: unknown

Photo: Neg 00250, MTU

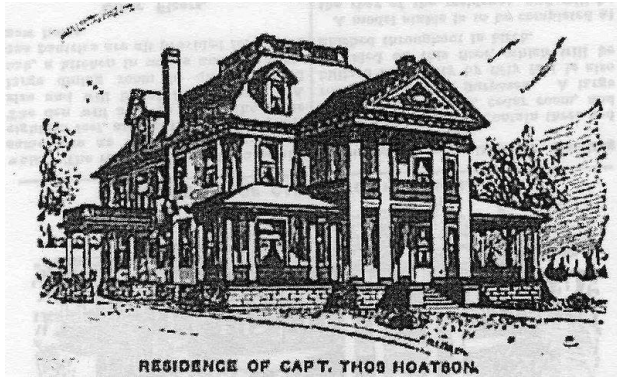


James Weir Milligan
C&H captain, investor in C&A^d

94 Third Street, built 1907
Architect: Charles Maass^c
Decorator: unknown
Contractor: unknown

Photo: 2014

Fig. 5.19a. Laurium houses built with money from Calumet & Arizona Mining Company.



Maj. John Joseph Lathrop (1842–1907)
C&H chief clerk, investor in C&A

78 Fourth Street, built 1907–08

Architect: Charles Maass^{a,c}

Decorator: unknown

Contractor: Edward Ulseth^a

Photo: newspaper article^a

House is extant but dramatically altered



Thomas Hoatson, Jr. (1861–1929)
C&H captain, investor and Second Vice
President in C&A^d

320 Tamarack Street, 1907–08

Architect: Charles Maass^{a,c}

Decorators: Maxwell, Forbes, and Stillman^{a,c}

Contractors: Paul Roehm^a, Edward Ulseth^a

Photo: 2014

Sources

- a. "Two Fine Homes for Laurium," *Daily Mining Gazette*, December 23, 1906, 14.
- b. "Asbestos 'Century' Shingles" advertisement, *House & Garden*, vol. 10 (1906): 15.
- c. "Three Beautiful Laurium Homes," *Daily Mining Gazette*, May 11, 1907, 10.
- d. Calumet & Arizona Annual Reports

Fig. 5.19b. Laurium houses built with money from Calumet & Arizona Mining Company.

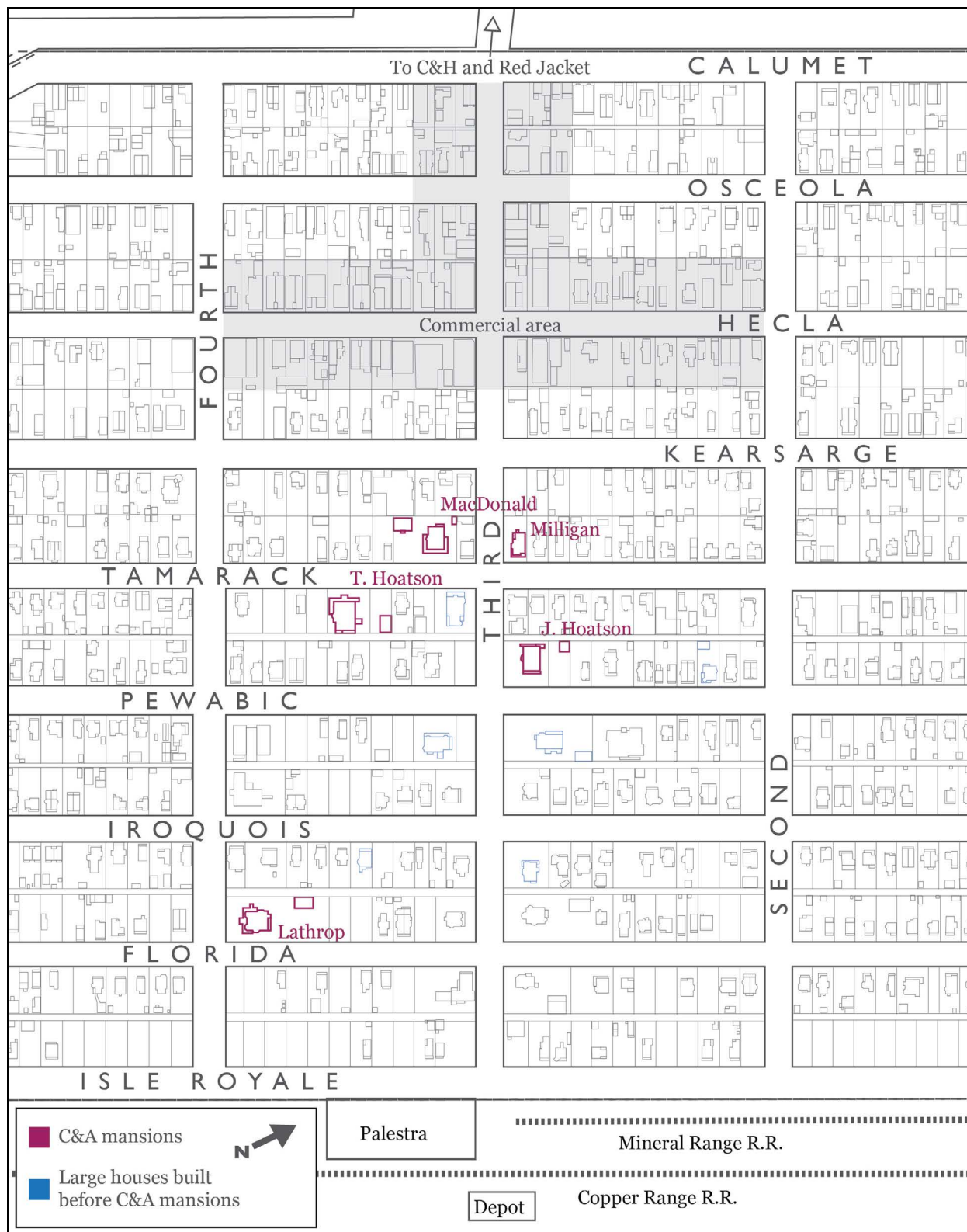


Fig. 5.20. Calumet & Arizona investors built wherever they could acquire several contiguous lots. They clustered near Third Street, which had already become a fashionable boulevard. Map based on 1917 Sanborn Map.

House and Garden

THERE'S A SATISFACTION

in roofing your building with a shingle or slate especially made
to stand all extremes of climatic or atmospheric conditions

RAIN—SNOW—HAIL—SUN—HEAT—COLD—FREEZING

ASBESTOS "CENTURY" SHINGLES

become progressively better under such extreme treatment.
They don't break, split, crack, buckle or wear out. They never
require paint. They are indestructible and last forever. The
cheapest slate for every day use.

PRICE 5 CENTS PER SQUARE FOOT AT AMBLER



Residence of Norman MacDonald, Laurium, Mich.
Maas Bros., Architects, Calumet, Mich.

Asbestos "Century" Shingle Laid French Method

Write for sample and catalogue. Do it now.

KEASBEY & MATTISON CO. AMBLER, PA.

Fig. 5.21. "Asbestos 'Century' Shingles" advertisement, *House and Garden* 10 (1906): 15.



Fig. 5.22. Norman MacDonald House, 1906, 305 Tamarack Street, Laurium. Charles Maass, architect. Photo 2013. Courtesy of Laurium Manor Inn.



Fig. 5.23. Interiors at the Norman MacDonald House, 1906, 305 Tamarack Street, Laurium. Above: molded plaster brackets with roses reference Tudor England. Below left: woodwork is mostly stock elements, like the egg-and-dart molding seen here. Below right: The staircase featured a spectacular tripartite art glass window of unknown origin. Photos 2013. Courtesy of Laurium Manor Inn.



Fig. 5.24. "E. Bitter for Asso. Artists Milw. Wis. April 30, '06." Signature in attic of Norman MacDonald House, 305 Tamarack Street, Laurium, 1906. Photo 2013. Courtesy of Laurium Manor Inn.



Fig. 5.25. Details of painted frieze with nursery rhyme imagery, with some later in-painting. Associated Artists, 1906, Norman MacDonald House, 305 Tamarack Street, Laurium. Photos 2014. Courtesy of Laurium Manor Inn.



Fig. 5.26. Details of painted frieze with nostalgic pre-modern village with windmills and maritime scenes in bedroom at the Norman MacDonald House, 305 Tamarack Street, Laurium, Michigan. Associated Artists, Frieze, 1906. Photos 2014. Courtesy of the Laurium Manor Inn.



Fig. 5.27. Recently uncovered frieze with leafy vines painted to look like embroidery. These closely mimic the foliage painted in the entry at the James Pryor House on Main Street in Houghton featured in Chapter 2. Associated Artists, 1906, in first floor den or guest room of the Norman MacDonald House, 305 Tamarack Street, Laurium, Michigan. Photo 2013. Courtesy of Laurium Manor Inn.



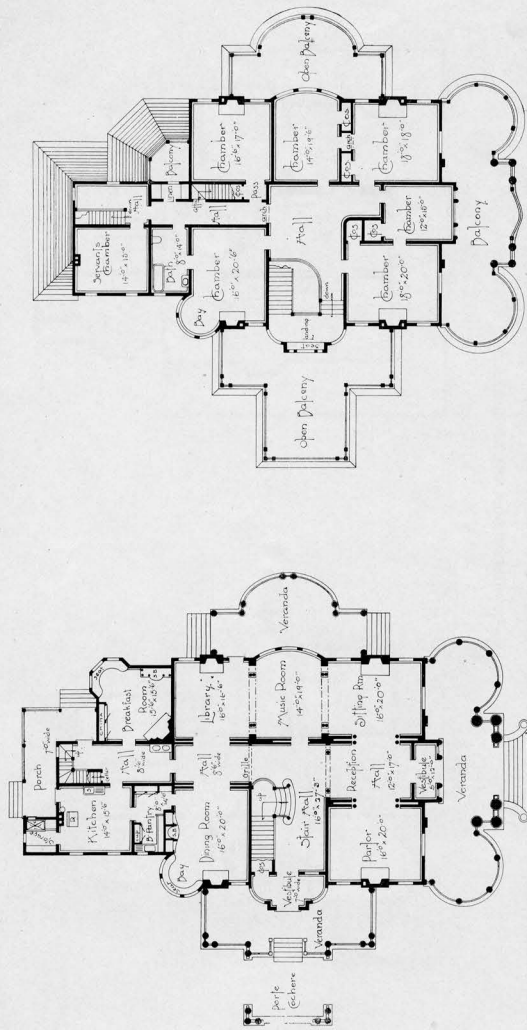
Fig. 5.28. Thomas Hoatson, Jr. House, 1908, 320 Tamarack Street, Laurium. Charles Maass, architect. Photo 2014. Courtesy of Laurium Manor Inn.



Fig. 5.29. Hoatson House. Above: Northwest elevation. Below left: Carriage House, with apartment above and 1920s turn-table. Below right: portico detail. Photos 2014. Courtesy of Laurium Manor Inn.



Fig. 5.30. Charles Maass and client Thomas Hoatson may have been familiar with patternbooks like George Barber's. George F. Barber, *Modern Dwellings* (Knoxville, TN: George F. Barber & Co. Architects, 1900), 104. Courtesy of Knox County Public Library. <http://cmdc.knoxlib.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p15136coll3/id/2224/rec/8>.



FLOOR PLANS (A) FOR DESIGN No. 1

IN THIS magnificent rendering of Georgian or classic Colonial architecture, as applied to a modern American home, we have gone far enough to include every possible feature of elegance and usefulness to be obtained in a house of this cost. The porches are of beautiful classic design and all of the exterior is nicely treated.

For the interior an excellent opening of rooms across the front, viz.: parlor, hall and sitting-room, of a certain character of treatment; then the beautiful throwing together of the rooms along the right of hall, viz.: sitting-room, music-room and library in a different style, in which are artistically employed three double-columned beams, making one grand stretch of rooms of 53 feet in extent.

Across the back hall another series of rooms—library, hall and dining-room—each capable of being separated or cut off by sliding doors. In all a grand circuitous sweep of beautiful rooms.

Height of stories are 12 feet and 11 feet—a full basement and finished attic. Complete in every detail. Further particulars on application.

Fig. 5.31. Charles Maass and client Thomas Hoatson may have been familiar with patternbooks like George Barber's. George F. Barber, *Modern Dwellings* (Knoxville, TN: George F. Barber & Co. Architects, 1900), 105. Courtesy of Knox County Public Library. <http://cmdc.knoxlib.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p15136coll3/id/2224/rec/8>.



Fig. 5.32. Here Maass employed a more sedate Colonial Revival vocabulary less than a block from Hoatson's house. John Weir Milligan House, 1906–07, 94 Third Street, Laurium, Michigan. Charles Maass, architect. Photo 2014.



Fig. 5.33. Interiors, Hoatson House, 1908, 320 Tamarack Street, Laurium. Above: Central hall or gallery features a large mirror at the end which appears to double the gallery's size. Below: Thistle pattern in tiled fireplace in the den. Photos 2014. Courtesy of the Laurium Manor Inn.



Fig. 5.34. Dining Room, Hoatson House, 305 Tamarack Street, Laurium, Michigan. Tooled and gilded wall covering in the Hoatson's dining room is said to be elephant hide. Original custom-designed lighting fixtures, now lost, matched the abstract design of the tooling above. Photos 2014. Courtesy of the Laurium Manor Inn.



Fig. 5.35. Decorative friezes, Hoatson House, 1908, probably by Associated Artists. Above: Boys' bedroom. Below: Daughter Grace's bedroom. Photos 2014. Courtesy of Laurium Manor Inn.



Fig. 5.36. Decorative friezes, Hoatson House, probably by Associated Artists. Above: Oldest son Calvin's room. Below: Den, said to be the view around the Hoatsons' "camp" at Bete Gris in Keweenaw County. Photos 2014. Courtesy of Laurium Manor Inn.

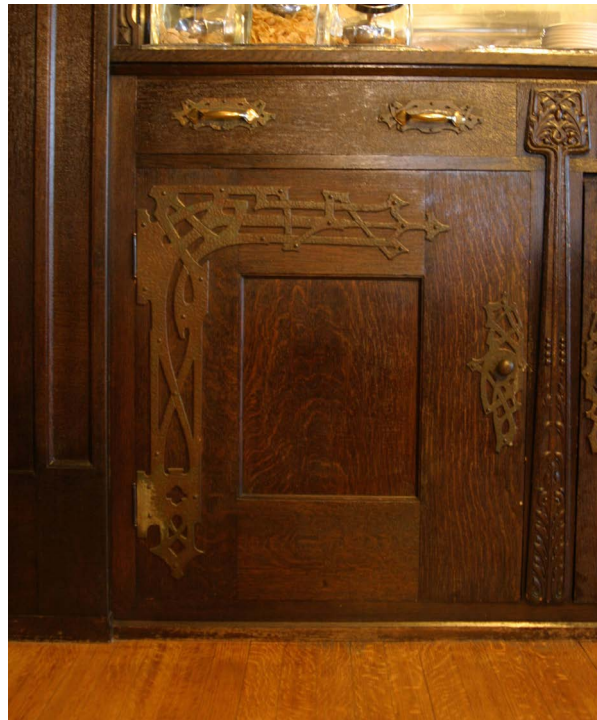


Fig. 5.37. Modernist abstraction in the Hoatson House. Above: painted cove molding in the gallery, probably by Associated Artists, also appeared in the upstairs hall. Below: Copper hinges on the built-in sideboard in the dining room. Photos 2014. Courtesy of Laurium Manor Inn.

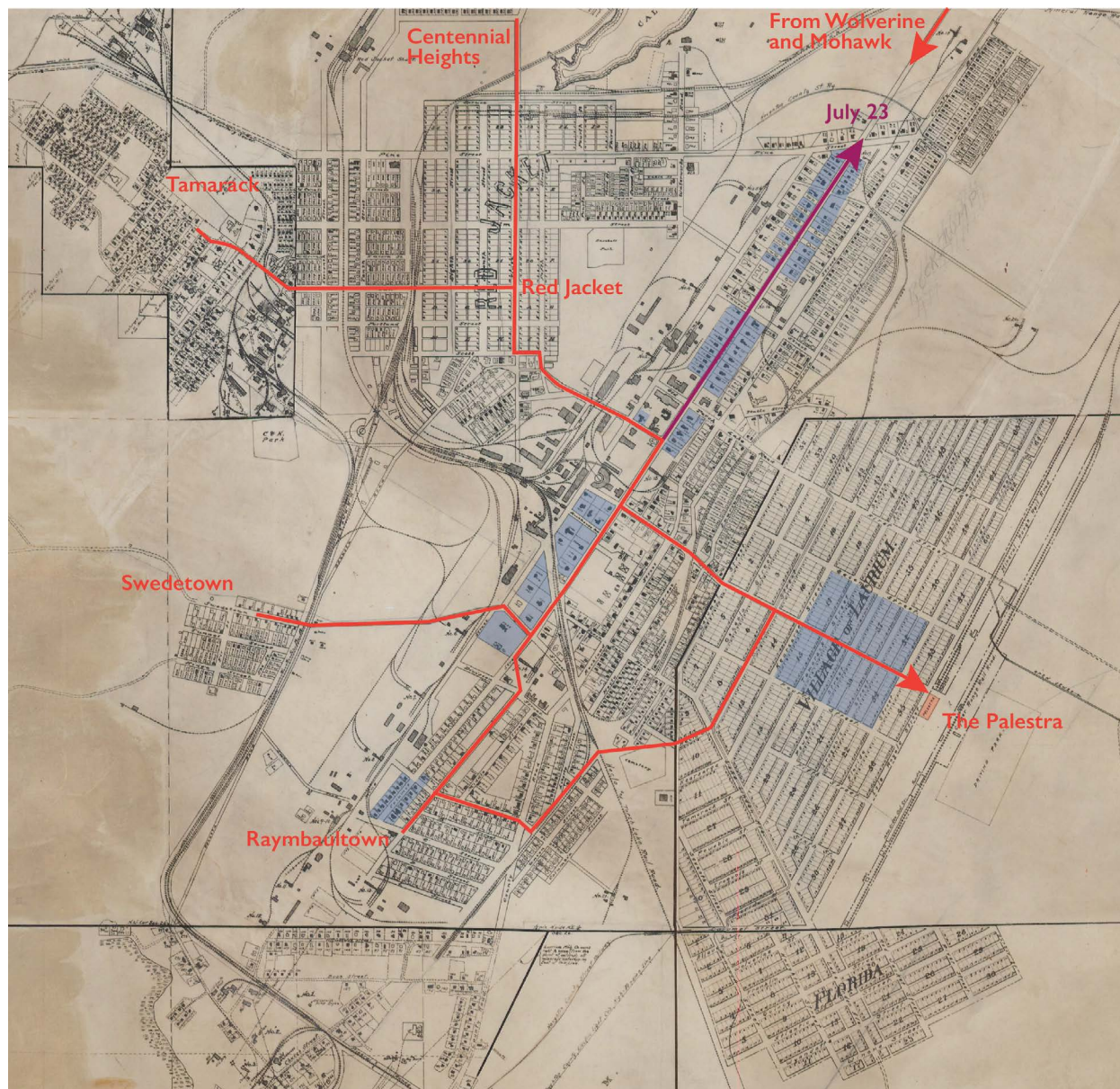


Fig. 6.1. Workers chose to parade through neighborhoods of the socially powerful during the 1913–14 Miners’ Strike. On July 23, 1913, they walked past the Calumet & Hecla Company’s managers’ housing on Calumet Avenue before violently disbanding to shut down operations. Frequently they used Third Street in Laurium to reach The Palestra auditorium, passing the Calumet & Arizona mansions. Detail with annotations of “Calumet and Vicinity,” 1915, Keweenaw National Historical Park.



Fig. 6.2. John Stolt, "Third Street, Laurium, Michigan," 1907. Foster Collection, Album 22, #118, Keweenaw National Historical Park.



Fig. 6.3. Details of figure 6.2.

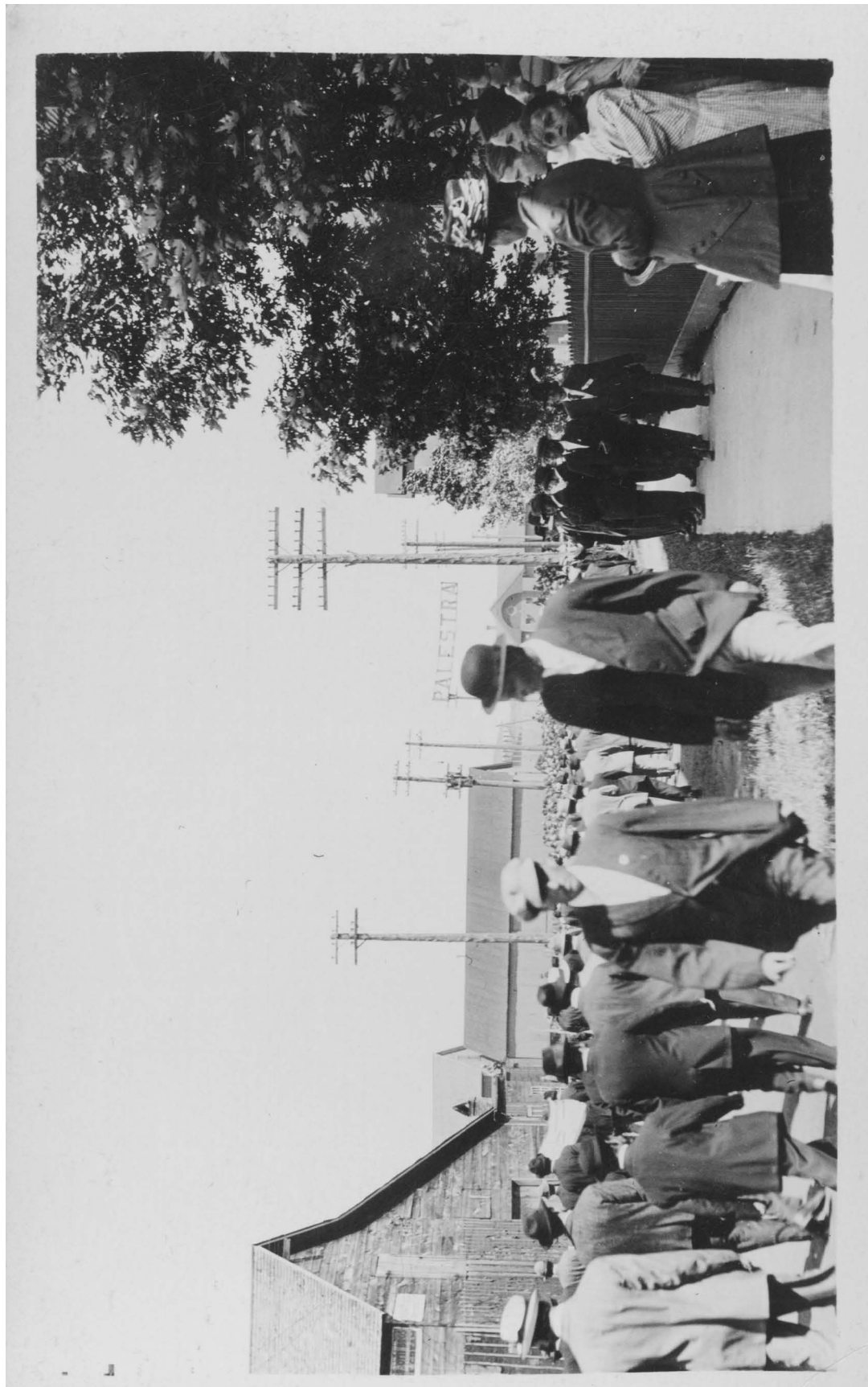


Fig. 6.4. Crowds gather to hear John Mitchell, president of the Western Federation of Miners, speak at The Palestra in Laurium, August 1913. Acc-400-12-13-1988-01-08-27 b, MTU.