Sarah E. Cowie

The Plurality of Power: An Archaeology of Industrial Capitalism

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Acknowledgments

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Chapter 1
The Plurality of Power in Industrial Capitalism: A Case Study of Fayette, Michigan

"On the north-western coast of Lake Michigan, a narrow point of land bends around towards the west and north, somewhat like the curling of a snail-shell.... There is scarcely a more romantic spot in all this region" –from an 1870 evangelical novel based on the Fayette community

(Langille [1870] 2001: 15).

Introduction

Fayette, Michigan, was a nineteenth-century company town that was constructed entirely to support iron-smelting operations. Today, as a historic state park, Fayette appears as a picturesque village, representing a romanticized industrial frontier on the shores of Lake Michigan. Tidy wooden houses are in good repair, and the masonry furnace structures sit serenely near the harbor. Green grass is neatly trimmed around relic foundations of other collapsed buildings. Smooth, unpaved roads meander leisurely through the town. Cool breezes blowing from Snail Shell Harbor are clear and clean, smelling of lake water and lush vegetation. This park has been a beautiful location for archaeological fieldwork (Fig. 1.1). Lunch breaks afforded leisure time on Fayette's green grassy slopes or on the harbor's docks with views of sailboats, while the end of work signaled time to swim and lounge on the cobblestone beach.

But there is a reason why the shore here is known as Slag Beach (Fig. 1.2). Closer inspection of the beach cobbles reveals that many of them are actually water-polished bits of glass and ceramics, rusted scraps of metal, and rounded chunks of slag (a waste product from smelting metal). An imaginative gaze toward the town's twin furnaces suggests that if they were in blast, the deep blue sky would turn black with ominous clouds of soot and gaseous industrial waste. Upslope, away from the beach, kick a heel in the sod and find blackness underneath; not organic black dirt, but a toxic mixture of charcoal, slag, and furnace refuse. One wonders how the grass grows here at all. The landscape remembers: this was an industrial company town.

Fig. 1.1 Overview of Fayette, with Snail Shell Harbor in the foreground. The mainland is to the left, and Slag Beach is on the opposite side of the peninsula

The Company Town of Fayette

The main purpose of this volume is to explore the highly varied, subtle, and nuanced power relationships expressed within industrial capitalism, and particularly within industrial communities such as Fayette. It would be very difficult to achieve this by studying a large industrial city like Pittsburgh, but it is quite feasible at the scale of a small self-contained company town. Fayette is an ideal context in which to study social, political, and economic power relationships in industrial capitalism, given its isolated location and relatively short period of occupation – only 24 years. This site, along with a wealth of company documents, newspapers, and oral histories, provides an excellent research base for interpreting industrial capitalism, and particularly nineteenth-century industrial communities. In addition, it has been the subject of several archaeological investigations and histories (e.g., Cowie 1996; Friggens 1973; Martin 1987a; Pletka 1993; Quinlan 1979). The community was also the inspiration for an 1870 evangelical novel entitled *Snail Shell Harbor*, which described how a morally bankrupt industrial community experienced a religious epiphany and became righteous citizens (Langille [1870] 2001).

The community of Fayette is situated in a rural area of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, nestled within extensive hardwood forests and surrounded by the shores of Lake Michigan. It was built on a small dolomite peninsula that wraps around Snail

Fig. 1.2 View of Slag Beach today, with dark deposits of industrial waste (i.e., slag and charcoal) from Fayette's twin blast furnaces. Note the proximity of the working-class neighborhood in the background, represented by a reconstructed log cabin

Shell Harbor, part of Lake Michigan's Big Bay de Noc (Fig. 1.3). The main townsite was built to support iron-smelting operations, and numerous outlying sites hosted additional charcoal kilns, churches, taverns, and transportation hubs (Fig. 1.4).

The Jackson Iron Company founded the town of Fayette in 1867, shortly after Fayette Brown, the company's general agent and manager, decided upon its location; the town was named after him. The town was a comparatively successful iron-producing town, ranking second in the production of northern Michigan pig iron during its 24 years of operation. However, a downturn in the pig iron market and dwindling natural resources, particularly hardwood forests, adversely affected profits, and production was shut down in 1891 (Friggens 1973:1, 72) (Fig. 1.5). Its residents relocated elsewhere, and eventually the land and company buildings were sold. Entrepreneurs occasionally rented the remaining houses to tourists in the midtwentieth century, until the site became a state park in 1959 (SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996). Fayette is listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

Fayette existed as a company town from 1867 to 1891. During that period, the Jackson Iron Company owned all of the town's land, buildings, and structures, and every adult resident in town either worked for the company or supported those who did. Elsewhere, in the late-eighteenth and early- to midnineteenth centuries, some

Fig. 1.3 Location map of Fayette
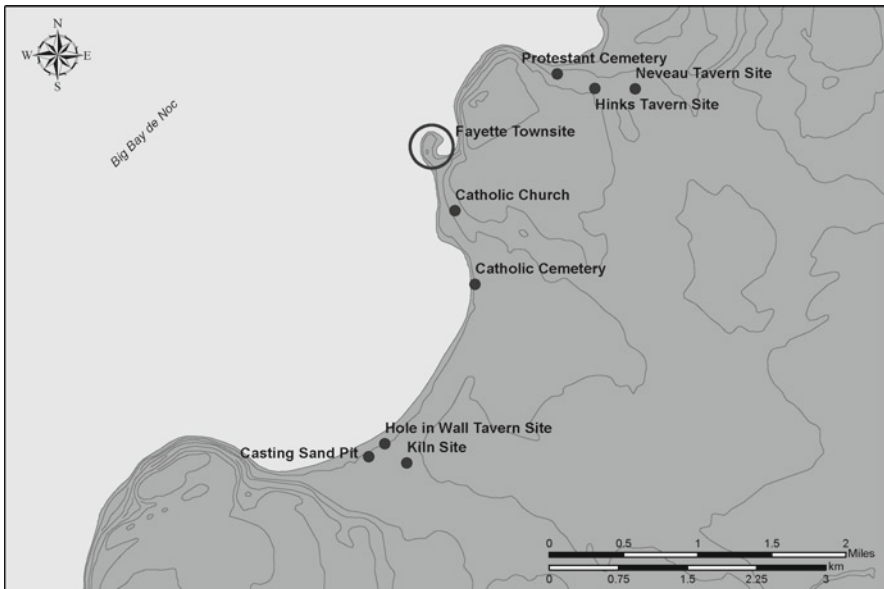
Fig. 1.4 Location of Fayette townsite and outlying sites

Fig. 1.5 View of Fayette townsite, circa 1907. Snail Shell Harbor is in the foreground. Notable features from left to right are several charcoal kilns, furnace complex, administrative and commercial buildings, and a knoll that housed upper and middle-class employees. Photo provided courtesy of the Michigan Historical Museum

city planners such as Alexander Hamilton (Patterson, New Jersey), Robert Owen (New Harmony, Indiana), and Jeremy Bentham (designer of the Panopticon, made famous by Foucault) experimented with designing utopian model towns. However, the concept of a completely planned and idealized town did not become widespread in the United States until well after 1883, when George Pullman established Pullman, Illinois; the trend grew further with the Progressive Era and with Ebenezer Howard's Garden City movement of the early-twentieth century (Batchelor 1969; Crawford 1986). In keeping with national trends, model industrial communities did not appear in Michigan's Upper Peninsula until the turn of the twentieth century (see Alanen and Bjorkman 1998).

Thus, as Fayette was established in 1867, it preceded the trend toward planned model towns. An analytical look at the general layout of the town indicates that town planning was not an idealized or utopian design; rather, its internal structure was an organic response to the needs of a growing industrial community (Fig. 1.6). The town sits on a small peninsula that wraps around Snail Shell Harbor, though portions of the community also extend to the mainland (which is another peninsula). Unevenly spaced clusters of buildings and structures, divided by curving and criss-crossing roadways, indicate three sectors in the town: residential, industrial, and administrative/commercial. Residential neighborhoods are not strictly bounded, but are indicated by unpaved roadways and natural features. Upper- and middle-class framed houses with spacious yards surround a knoll in the northwestern half of town. The remains of decayed log cabins lay in the opposite end of town making up the working-class neighborhood, crowded just above the beach and against the sloping mainland. A centrally located saddle hosts the industrial structures and administrative/commercial buildings, which separate the log cabins from framed houses.

Within the townsite itself, which is the focus of this volume, 19 buildings and structures survive today, including the furnace complex, kilns, commercial structures, and housing. During the years of its operation, it housed up to 250 employees and their families and reached a maximum population of about 500 residents. Two charcoal-fired blast furnaces, as well as facilities for producing charcoal
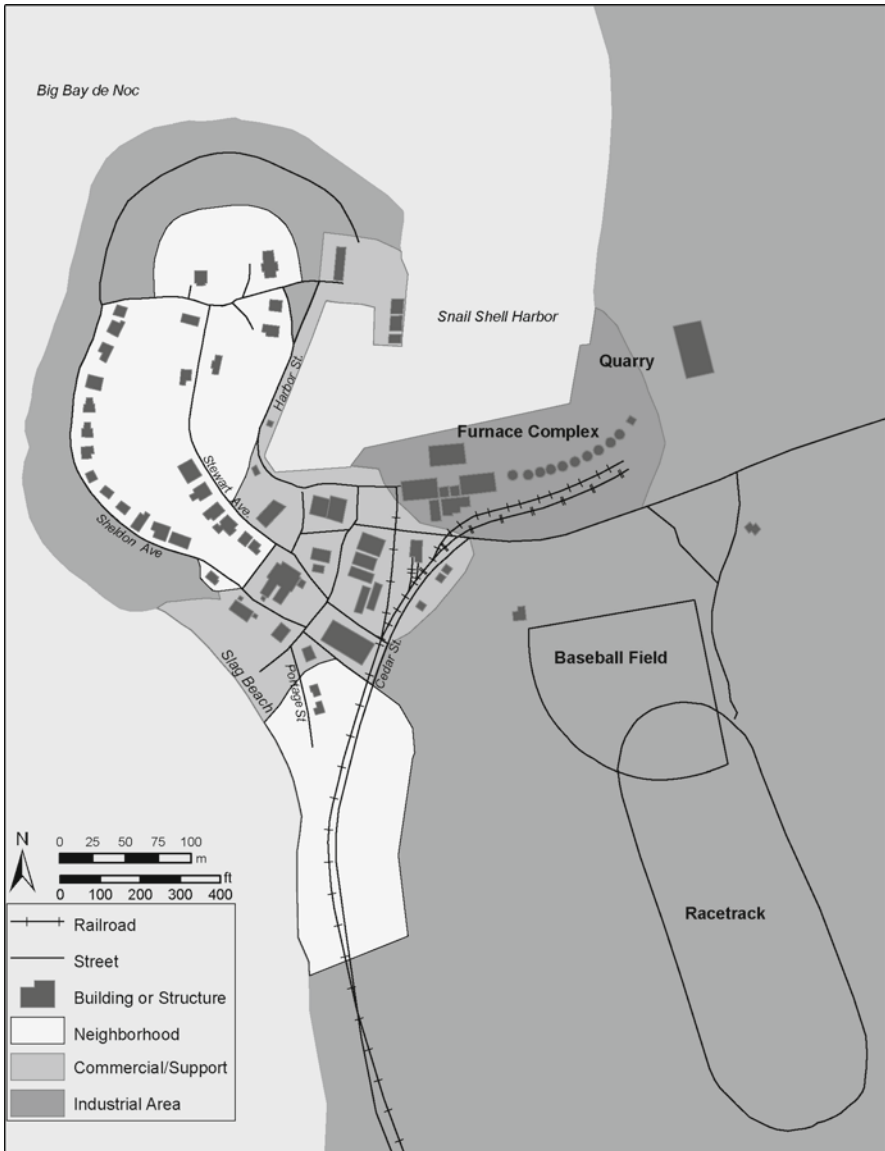
Fig. 1.6 Overview of Fayette, circa 1886, including residential, commercial/support, and industrial sectors. Portage Street is known to have been in this general location; its precise location is only tentatively identified here (this map and others like it in this volume have been generated from data in Cowie 1996; Martin 1987a; SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996; Stone 1974)

and lime, dominated the landscape. The Jackson Iron Company owned ca. 20,000 acres of the surrounding hardwood forests, which provided fuel for the two furnaces that ran 24 hour a day (Friggens 1973). This created a heavily industrialized, yet fairly isolated community. At the time, upper Michigan was a frontier, and Fayette's

employees relied on the company for nearly all their goods and services, including food, clothing, medicine, housing, and even educational and religious services.

As described in subsequent chapters, Fayette's population included mostly families, but there were also a large number of single males who worked in the industry. Most men at Fayette worked for the company, and the rest worked in support services. Women rarely worked directly for the company, and instead labored in household (re)production or part-time work that often supplemented their families' incomes. Rental housing was assigned by the company and was divided roughly into one neighborhood of upper management, one of middle management and skilled workers, and one for day laborers. Upper-class residents included the town doctor and the superintendent, the company's highest-ranking employee in residence. They lived in the town's largest houses with the most architectural elaboration, and their yards were large and well-maintained. Middle-class residents also had clean, spacious yards, but lived in substantially smaller and simpler frame houses. Residents there worked in diverse occupations predominated by skilled trades. Working-class residents lived in another part of town, in very crowded log cabins in an industrially polluted neighborhood; the majority of residents there worked as laborers and teamsters. Many of the town's residents were French-Canadian and European immigrants, especially those living in the working-class neighborhood.

The Plurality of Power

Many archaeologists examining power relationships in industrialized societies focus on a singular definition of power, for example, concentrating on a Marxist paradigm of domination and resistance also used in modern world systems theory (e.g., McGuire and Paynter 1991; Saitta 2007; Shackel 1996). Other research has explored postmodern interpretations of power in industrial capitalism (e.g., Given 2005; Leone 1999), and feminist interpretations of gendered power (e.g., Baugher and Spencer-Wood 2010; Lawrence 1998; Rotman and Savulis 2003). Each of these approaches is a valuable contribution to our understanding of social, economic, and political changes accompanying industrial capitalism, and this volume builds upon these kinds of studies.

However, there is often a temptation to focus tightly on singular conceptualizations of power and certain topical interests. For example, the domination and resistance paradigm is pervasive in historical archaeology, and often discussions of power are restricted to two binary dimensions. To do so falls short of an integrated approach to power that might encompass power in its myriad forms. In order to gain a complex understanding of industrial capitalism, it is necessary to develop a more nuanced understanding of how multifaceted power exists within such as system. Indeed, some archaeological studies attempt to integrate multiple dimensions of power, such as class, identity, agency, gender, surveillance techniques, and the like (e.g., Metheny 2007; Orser 2005; Rotman and Nassaney 1997; Shackel and Palus 2006; Wurst and Fitts 1999).

The concept of pluralistic power acknowledges that power can be experienced in numerous manifestations, such as domination, resistance, hegemony, heterarchy, authority, intersectional identities, collaboration, collusion, and creative action. Different conceptualizations of power can be explored within diverse contexts (e.g., in written documents, architecture, material culture, and the body's physical experiences) and within numerous socially constructed categories (e.g., ethnicity, gender, and class). Power can be experienced by individuals and collective groups, and power can be both oppressive and productive, depending on the context (for overviews of different forms of power, see Miller and Tilley 1984; O'Donovan 2002). The notion of pluralistic power acknowledges that multiple definitions of power might work together in any given case study, depending on the data, the context, and the social actors in question. Pluralistic power is related to similar concepts that emphasize the diversity of human interpretations, relationships, motivations, and identities. For example, it is similar to the concept of multivocality, which is sometimes used to describe the need for multiple voices and interpretations of the past (e.g., Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Habu et al. 2008). Plurality is also related to sociological and archaeological research on intersectional identities, which acknowledges that individuals cannot be understood solely by singular, essentialized aspects of their identities such as class, gender, or race (e.g., Baugher and Spencer-Wood 2010; McCall 2005).

Thus, research at Fayette draws upon archaeology and historical ethnography of the town to explore myriad, intersecting forms of power found within industrial capitalism. This work illuminates the microcosm of social, political, and economic relationships that are representative of power dynamics within industrial capitalism at Fayette and elsewhere. Initially, research presented here is structured by a discussion of domination and resistance within Fayette's hierarchical class system. Economic class relations influenced many aspects of life in the town, and so class remains an important touchstone. This volume then examines additional manifestations of power by looking at it from the perspective of the body (biopower, symbolic violence, habitus, physical health, and medicine), as well as heterarchical, pluralistic power relationships surrounding personal identity and individuals' noneconomic capital (i.e., social, cultural, and symbolic capital).

In keeping with diverse perspectives on power, work at Fayette draws up a variety of theory and method. This volume employs a pastiche of architectural and topographic data, historical documentation, oral histories, archaeological excavations, and the author's own phenomenological interpretations about the experience of *beings in the world* of Fayette to turn a Heideggerian phrase (Heidegger 1996) (for phenomenological examples in landscape archaeology, see Bender 1998; Tilley 1994). Although it is not possible to claim objectivity in assessing lived experience in the Fayette landscape, it is important to imagine people's lives there and to explore individuals' identities and agency within a class system. In terms of theory, Marx's work is pivotal for discussing the concepts of economic class and worker exploitation (e.g., Marx 1978) through documents, artifacts, and landscape. Gramsci's (1971a, b) notion of hegemony and Weber's (1964, 1993) work on authority illuminate subtle paternalistic interactions and the negotiation of residents'

rights, particularly in cases where the documentary record is at odds with the archaeological one. Landscape theory and Foucault's work guide an interpretation of the town's landscape and built environment; a study of architecture, town planning, and viewsheds reveals processes such as surveillance, self-regulation, and boundary-maintenance between and within neighborhoods (Foucault 1977a; Rabinow 1984). Additionally, agency theory and Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) notions of bodily practice, symbolic violence, noneconomic capital, and consumption illuminate residents' daily practices regarding the built environment, social mobility, and expressions of identity through consumerism and use of the landscape (see also de Certeau 1984; Dobres and Robb 2000; Elias 2000). Agency theory, in combination with theory regarding intersectional identities (e.g., McCall 2005), shows that class was not necessarily the single most important aspect of people's identities, nor was it the only deciding factor in people's life circumstances. These theories illuminate residents' subtle experiences with power outside of the prevailing corporate hegemony through identity, literacy, and participation in community groups (e.g., religious and social institutions).

Many of these topics have been addressed extensively in archaeology, sociocultural anthropology, social history, sociology, and cultural geography. For example, in regard to the power dynamics surrounding ethnicity and industrialization, sometimes literate, educated, technically trained, and comparatively well-off people from the Old World came to the United States and filled working-class laboring positions. This topic has been widely discussed in anthropology and sociology (e.g., Lamphere et al. 1994), social history (e.g., Gutman 1977), and in historical archaeology (e.g., Griggs 1999; McGuire 1982; Penner 1997). Landscape studies in these fields are equally diverse (e.g., Basso 1996; Bender 1998; Binford 1982; Crang 1998; Kempton 2001; Tilley 1994). Archaeologists working at industrial sites have offered a rich literature on landscapes derived from a number of these perspectives, with particularly innovative attention to industrialists' manipulation of landscapes and built environments to control employees' morality, express corporate ideology, aide in surveillance of employees, and maintain socioeconomic boundaries (Alanen and Bjorkman 1998; Barker and Cranstone 2004; Beaudry 1989; Greenwood 1998; Malone and Parrott 1998; Nassaney and Abel 2000; Shackel 1996). Also relevant to research on industrial towns is the vast literature on class, stemming in part from modern world systems theory (and critiques of it), the archaeology of capitalism, and notions of inequality, domination, and resistance (e.g., Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989a, b; Hardesty 1998; Johnson 1993; Leone 1995; Leone and Potter 1999; Little 1994; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Miller et al. 1989; Mrozowski et al. 1996; Nassaney and Abel 1993, 2000; Orser 1996b; Paynter 1988; Saitta 2007; Wurst and Fitts 1999). Research such as this is particularly appropriate in industrial settings, as these sites are undoubtedly locations of both aggressive and subtle conflicts. Additionally, many scholars have recognized the power involved in consumer behavior (e.g., Majewski and Schiffer 2001; Miller 1995; Schulz and Gust 1983; Spencer-Wood 1987), and studies of consumerism have naturally been employed in research on industrial communities (e.g., Mrozowski et al. 1996; Shackel 1996).

In conclusion, the remaining chapters address various aspects of power in industrial societies. Chapter 2 provides an introduction to research at Fayette and contextualizes its milieu as a technologically centered, company town in Victorian America. Chapter 3 provides critical analyses of theories regarding power, documents, artifacts, and landscapes; the chapter also explores power in complex societies, industrialization, and the archaeology of historical-period industrial sites. Paternalism, resistance, and hegemony at Fayette are addressed in Chap. 4, with particular attention to evidence that the company shared similar moralistic ideals with Protestant and Victorian ideologies. Chapter 5 explores how the company imposed a three-tiered class system of hierarchical power upon employees, which was generated and reinforced through the built environment and pay scales. Bodily discipline, symbolic violence, and health are discussed in Chap. 6, which shows how Fayette's management benefited from techniques of power that reinforced economic and gendered hierarchies. As Chap. 7 explains, social status and intersectional identities among the classes are rather at odds with a hierarchical model of the class system. Chapter 8 continues that theme by demonstrating residents' use of noneconomic capital (social, cultural, and symbolic capital) to further their own goals both within and outside the company hierarchy. The final chapter revisits several foci of power (e.g., paternalism, class, power and the body, intersectional identities, and noneconomic capital) and explores past and present processes of exploitation, consumerism, and agency within industrial capitalism.

Summary

Theories of power within industrial capitalism take myriad forms. Archaeologists working at industrial sites most often use binary domination and resistance paradigms, or focus on topical interests such as gender, class, or ethnicity. This volume builds on much of that work and uses a pluralistic understanding of power, especially regarding aspects of corporate paternalism, economic class, power and the body, intersectional identities, and noneconomic capital. Research at Fayette, a nineteenth-century American company town, integrates multiple models of power that have potential to inform past and present, worldwide processes of industrialization, as well as individuals' and groups' agency amidst those processes.

Chapter 2
Working Communities and the Victorian-American Company Town

Among the busy and thriving new places on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, is the little village …[of Fayette]. Located as it is just out of the way, and aside from any great line of travel, it is all the more creditable to the projectors of the enterprise which built it up and still maintains it, that so prosperous a town should exist there

(Mining Journal 1869).

Introduction

Studying power and capitalism at a nineteenth-century American company town illuminates broader aspects of industrialization, class formation, and modernization in the United States and elsewhere during the long-term shift from agrarian to industrial lifeways. This kind of research contributes to a better understanding of power dynamics in company towns, power shifts resulting from immigration, and consumerism in restricted markets. Understanding local and regional processes is essential for exploring the broader implications of hegemonic reinforcement (and worker internalization) of strong work ethics, proper social behaviors, good citizenry, and knowing one's place, so to speak. It is necessary for interpreting world-wide, ongoing processes of globalization, modernization, and immigration, as well as for understanding socioeconomic power and individuals' agency in the midst of such processes.

This chapter provides historical, social, and technological background to contextualize working communities in industrial capitalism and also introduces research at Fayette. The first section discusses the reorganization of work during the development of industrial capitalism, and provides an overview of technologically centered communities, especially company towns. The second section provides historical context for Fayette as a Victorian company town in America's upper Midwest, including the technological context and cultural geography of iron smelting. The third section summarizes the majority of historical and archaeological

research undertaken at the site, as well as documents generated for park management and restoration purposes. The final section introduces the archaeological research that provides the primary data for this volume.

Working Communities and Industrial Capitalism

Because Fayette was immersed within industrial capitalism, it had much in common with other technologically centered, working communities in the past and present, in this region and elsewhere. In particular, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed sweeping changes associated with industrial capitalism. New communities were formed, often in rural areas, and technological innovations emerged in tandem with related shifts in social organization, urbanization, and power relations. Below is a brief selection of research illuminating these changes, as discussed by historians of technology, social historians, cultural geographers, sociologists, anthropologists, and archaeologists.

The Reorganization of Work

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, workers and working communities of the United States and Western Europe experienced rapid industrialization, accompanied by shifts in social structures and organizational control. Burris (1993) provides an important introduction to the organization of work from craft production to the postindustrial era over approximately 400 years. She uses a framework that is organized chronologically and assumes changes in production paralleled shifts in organization, but she also asserts that such changes were not linear or consistent. Burris' framework of organizational control structures begins with craft/gild and family control structures of the precapitalist period, when the labor process was only loosely controlled through apprenticeships and the prevailing ideologies of gender and socioeconomic position. Beginning with capitalism in the eighteenth century and continuing into the present, forms of control include simple control (e.g., time discipline, direct supervision, and coercive authority), technical control (production is less flexible and machines set the pace), bureaucratic control (job specialization, increased management, and clear job ladders), and professional control (professionals are formally trained and then controlled through ethical codes and self-regulation).

  The transition to industrial capitalism coincided with widespread reconfigurations of numerous groups of people, such as agricultural communities, aristocrats and gentry, skilled craftsmen, and laborers. Two of the most notable groups that emerged during that transition are the working class and engineering professionals. Thompson (1966) provides a coherent overview of classic literature on the emerging working class. Of particular relevance is Marx and Engels' assertion that industrial capitalism and subsequent relations of production exploit factory workers and their families, and that exploitation will lead to working class consciousness and solidarity, in spite of gender, ethnic, and economic diversity within the working class.

A number of American historical archaeologists working in industrial contexts have specifically explored issues surrounding class formation, class consciousness, and working class solidarity (e.g., McGuire 2008; McGuire and Reckner 2002; McGuire and Walker 1999; Saitta 2007).

Although it has been less studied, it is also important to recognize the emergence of the engineering profession from the same system (Gispen 1989; Hovis and Mouat 1996). The development of this new professional category illustrates the existence of complex social groups that were neither laborers nor owners. Engineering combined practical know-how of craftsmanship with theoretical knowledge from a formal education system, and engineers occupied an ambiguous role. Because engineering maintained a need for practical knowledge, learning on the job (reminiscent of the craftsman's apprenticeship) made advancement from the lower technical ranks possible. However, research on late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century mining in the western U.S. demonstrates that the emergence of mining engineers also accompanied deskilling and displacement of more traditional, "jack-of-all-trades" miners (Hovis and Mouat 1996:451). With the emergence of the engineering profession, nonengineering workers became increasingly specialized and had less freedom to make technological decisions at the worksite. As with mass production, mine workers such as muckers and shovelers "had become one more labor fragment to be applied as needed" (Hovis and Mouat 1996:451; for a discussion of job titles and respectability within the class system, see Sennett and Cobb 1993).

Social history and archaeology provide some of the most vivid accounts of the transition from craft production to industrial capitalism, particularly in the United States. Gutman's (1977) social history describes the technological and coercive control mechanisms encountered by first generation factory workers. Though Gutman focuses on a variety of interest groups, quotations from factory workers provide some of the most convincing data for a rather startling transition to industrial capitalism for some individuals, as expressed in this clothing worker's poem (cited in Gutman 1977:24):

> The clock–I shudder–Dost hear how it draws me?
> It calls me "Machine" and it cries [to] me "Sew"!

The suggestion that workers were to become cogs in a machine of industrialism – mere operatives as opposed to skilled craftsmen – is also found in material evidence of industrial capitalism. For example, archaeology at the Lowell Boott Mills, Massachusetts, yielded tangible evidence of the pervasiveness of industry, including regulated workers' housing and overlapping industrial and domestic services (Beaudry 1987, 1989).

Work and domestic organization is sometimes interpreted in a positive light as progress toward efficiency (e.g., Wilkinson 1965), or more ominously as oppressive mechanisms of social control. Archaeological investigations at the Harpers Ferry Armory, West Virginia, address the effects of the industrial system and control mechanisms on workers. For example, Larsen (1994) discusses restrictions on piecework conducted at workers' homes during the transition to mass production and subsequent restructuring of work. Management at Harpers Ferry developed a variety of control mechanisms, including surveillance technologies, timed

machinery, moral reform, and town planning. Many workers found the industrialists' methods objectionable and resisted the new system using both subtle and overt means (Shackel 1996).

In the face of organizational control, factory discipline, boundary maintenance, shifts in technology, and far-reaching changes in the structure of work and society, employees do not always welcome organizational control and technological change. For example, Lucas and Shackel (1994) assert that a nineteenth-century craftsman rejected mass-produced goods in his home as a statement of his dissatisfaction with industrialization in his workplace. Similarly, Ong's (1987) ethnography of women factory workers in industrializing Malaysia suggests that the women use spirit possession in a rebellious bid for empowerment. Terkel (1974) collected American working people's oral histories in the era of late industrial capitalism and documented extensive lack of job satisfaction and pervasive malaise over how their work was undervalued. Even in the current postindustrial economy of the United States, where employees allegedly have vested interests in productive work, Vaughan (1999) demonstrates that routine nonconformity and misconduct are systematically produced in the workplace.

Technologically Centered Communities, Company Towns, and Paternalism

As Thompson (1966) so vividly demonstrated, individuals' relationships to technology and production shape their worldviews. In technologically centered communities where social and economic divisions are often pervasive and highly visible, employees frequently express their relationships to organizational control structures though a sense of community or class consciousness. Case studies by Saitta (2007), Hardesty (1998), and Nash (1993) demonstrate that class consciousness and community identity can emerge as powerful statements to industrialists and management. Saitta's case study synthesizes work at archaeological sites related to the Colorado Coalfield Strike of 1913 and 1914, where striking coal miners and their families engaged in deadly conflict with corporate entities and state militia (see also McGuire 2008). In Hardesty's study, nineteenth-century miners avoided the owners' morally restrictive company town, and favored services in another nearby community. Nash describes the oppressive working conditions of contemporary tin mining in Bolivia and the resulting sentiments of worker solidarity and community unity. In Nash's study, during industrial crises including strikes and economic slumps, the employees' benefits are restricted and often the company commissary shuts down entirely. Various elements of the working class community, including the Housewives' Association, pooled resources to redistribute supplies and provide moral support. This is one of many examples in which peer groups offered collective means for support and negotiation. In these and other contexts, workers have found support and expressed power through membership in unions, community organizations, and religious institutions.

Alternatively, technologically centered communities sometimes also have intensely factionalized groups, even when the groups belong to the same economic class (e.g., Sheridan 1998; Van Onselen 1982). For example, in south-central African mining communities in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, black and white service sector workers were members of the same economic class, but black workers did not enjoy the same social or political status (Van Onselen 1982). Regulations established by mine owners and the government consistently treated black and white workers unevenly, offering dissatisfied whites political recourse to make demands, and only leaving room for blacks to rebel in subversive ways. Race and ethnicity are not the only divisive factors in these communities, as *Red Hill*'s contemporary oral history demonstrates a vast array of differing opinions from white British miners (Parker 1986). On the one hand, there were elements of community and working class solidarity in the face of a potential mine closure; statements equating "the pit" with family and life itself are common (e.g., Parker 1986:20). On the other hand, members of the working class reacted differently depending on their families' history with the mine and in accordance with their household development cycles (e.g., miners with ill children were more tempted to break the strike).

The complex intersection of ethnicity, gender, class, and power found within industrial communities is perhaps even more complicated in situations of direct and planned social control, as in company towns. Company towns are defined as communities occupied by employees of one or more companies that own all or most of the land, housing, and support services (Crawford 1986; Davis 1930:119). Some company towns were expedient and pragmatic plans reproduced repeatedly by companies in different locations, regardless of local environments; others were inspired by ideologies of "religion, labor, or design" that attempted to "mitigate the effects of economic logic by imposing social and physical planning, … [emphasizing] conceptual order and symbolic form" (Crawford 1986:2) (see also Allen 1966; Garner 1984, 1992). The latter type, often described as a model town, often involved some form of Christian benevolence, "justified by economic rationality" (Crawford 1986:2).

Industrial benevolence of this kind is often discussed in terms of paternalism, referring to the protective, yet controlling, relationship between a (male) parent and child. Corporate paternalism can be interpreted on a continuum of power, as oppressive and manipulative behavior on the part of the owners and managers; or as a gentle, supportive approach to worker/owner relations; or as a negotiation between workers and owners, with informed and politically active employees. For example, the interdisciplinary investigations at the Boott Mills in Lowell, Massachusetts showed that

> [t]he corporate system in Lowell permanently altered the relationship between work and its outcome; what is more, it brought about a change in the organization and economy of working class households. The corporate ideology that promoted social control as a mechanism for ensuring a profit for a few fostered the development of a pervasive system that extended beyond the workplace and took charge of the domestic, religious, and educational aspects of workers' lives (Beaudry 1987:14).

In the Great Lakes region, Alanen (1979:256) suggests that "town planning activities undertaken by mining companies generally proved to be idealized, free-enterprise concepts with the objective of stabilizing the work-force and

improving employee efficiency, health, and morality." Apparently, these ideals did not always translate into reality, as Lankton (1991) describes numerous strikes and protests in upper Michigan's nineteenth-century mining industry. In other cases, industrialists in the area did have some success in preemptively raising wages before workers complained publicly. In doing so, they turned a bad situation into a "public relations victory," and "avoided the humiliation of making wage concessions to an angry band of men parading in the streets" (Lankton 1991:204).

Gaventa (1982:63) stresses the importance of choice in workers' negotiation with the company. Upon agreeing to work for the company, employees agreed to accept company governance and accepted (perhaps, demanded) the paternalistic benefits to which they were entitled. Workers within the company system often knew what company benefits they enjoyed as compared to everyone else, and what sort of a future they might expect if they continued to work and live within the conditions outlined by the company. By working for the company, employees hoped to attain certain desirable goals such as upward mobility and particularly earning one's place in the stratified, economy-driven social arena of the United States (see Ginger 1965:86–95; Gutman 1977). The concept of coercion (on the company's part) vs. resistance (on the worker's part) is too simplistic. More believable is that workers had choices to make, though companies may have exaggerated benefits.

It is important to note that, while this volume focuses on a nineteenth-century company town in America, studying power relations within a paternalistic setting has wide-spread relevance. To name just a few examples, scholars have discussed paternalism in the context of enslaved African-Americans (Garman 1998); colonialism (Kaczynski 1997); gender and ethnicity (Laliberte and Satzewich 1999; Paulson and Calla 2000); historical industries in France, Scandinavia, Britain, and southern Africa, (Gilbert 1991; Nielsen 1994, 2000; Reid 1985; Van Onselen 1982); and modern industries in India, Bolivia, and southern Africa (DuToit 1993; Ewert and Hamman 1999; Nash 1993; Panjwani 1984; Sylvain 2001).

Fayette, Michigan: An Iron Town in the Gilded Age

Fayette, Michigan was a nineteenth-century company town that was built to support iron-smelting operations. The previous section addressed how working communities such as Fayette were immersed within industrial capitalism and how similar communities felt the effects of increasing rationalization and bureaucracy. There are also technological and chronological factors to consider in Fayette's social history, and specifically what it meant to be an iron-producing town during the late-nineteenth century. Residents' everyday experiences in life and work were profoundly entwined with the processes of iron production and the social milieu of the Victorian era.

Nineteenth-Century Iron Production

In the nineteenth century, there were numerous technological transitions in the production of iron, particularly in the use of fuels and blast furnaces (Gordon 1992; Gordon and Malone 1994; Warren 1973). Regardless of fuel type, all blast furnaces operate on similar principles. Blast furnaces combust and reduce a mixture of fuel, iron ore, and flux to produce iron in a chemical process. The flux, usually processed limestone, combines with impurities in the iron ore (e.g., sand and clay) to form the waste product known as slag. This process extracts the impurities from the ore, and only the molten iron was left.

   Furnaces ran constantly, 24 hours each day for months and even years at a time, in order to maximize production and maintain the internal heat and pressure of the structures. An interruption in the process was disastrous, because the partially combusted and molten material would have to be removed from the furnace. Usually, this could only be accomplished by dismantling and rebuilding large portions of the furnace walls.

   The main components of any blast furnace are the blowing apparatus, tuyere(s), charging deck, throat, bosh, and hearth. The fuel, flux, and ore were carried to the throat (top opening) of the furnace and dumped into it using a charging apparatus. Individual workers initially carried out this process, but it was usually mechanized by the later nineteenth century. In that period, the charging machine often took the form of a hoist, which operated by a motor that ran the gearing, pushing the material from bins out into the furnace.

   The furnace was kept full at all times. New materials worked their way down the throat to the bosh, which is the widest part of the furnace just above the tuyere, where combustion takes place. A blast of air is blown into the furnace through the tuyere. The blast provides oxygen to the combustion process, similar to the effect a person produces when blowing on a small fire to make it burn hotter. Initially, water-powered bellows created the blast of air, but later, nineteenth-century innovations used boilers and stoves for a hot blast.

   Molten slag and iron collect in the hearth below, where workers tap them off through a small opening. Slag is lighter than molten iron and floats to the top of the reduced mixture, and at regular intervals, both slag and iron are tapped off at the base of the furnace. There, slag is skimmed off the top and disposed of, and molten iron runs into beds of sand in a casting shed (also called a casting house). Depressions in a level sand floor are filled with iron to form bars of manageable size (called pig iron) for transportation to other industrial sites (Fig. 2.1).

   Although no detailed documents exist that describe employees' jobs at Fayette's furnace, job titles in company documents (see Chap. 5) indicate that work was structured similarly to other comparable furnaces of the period. Gordon and Malone (1994:242) depict the typical labor structure at blast furnaces, and describe how furnaces required a large crew overseen by a founder. It was the founder's job to coordinate all materials and labor required to smelt the iron. Because the founder could not see directly inside the furnace during blast, he relied on craft knowledge
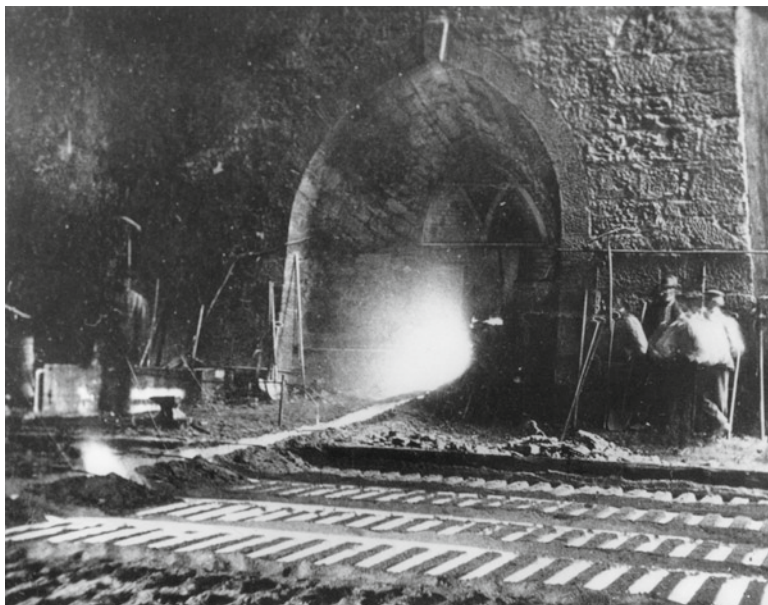
Fig. 2.1 Casting bars of pig iron at a nearby furnace in Munising, Michigan. This late-nineteenth-century photo is taken from within a casting shed, looking at the exterior façade of a furnace. Photo provided courtesy of the Michigan Historical Museum

to assess sounds and smells from the furnace, as well as the appearance of the iron when tapped. The founder needed to make frequent adjustments to the process. On any given day, the mixture inside the furnace combusted differently, depending on the materials used and the weather conditions. The founder's intangible, craft-like familiarity with the technology, as described by Gordon and Malone (1994), is also similar to the findings of cognitive anthropologists in studies of blacksmithing (Keller and Keller 2008).

Gordon and Malone (1994: 242–244) describe how even a fairly small furnace required at least a dozen workers, citing a mid-nineteenth-century furnace in Connecticut as an example (Gordon and Raber 1984). The furnace employed 15 people: one founder, one cinderman, three men to run the blowing engines for the blast, two (char)coal forkers, two helpers, and five laborers. Gordon and Malone (1994:243) suggest there was very little division of labor for most workers at the furnace, and they probably shifted from task to task as needed. By contrast, the founder and cinderman had more specific responsibilities and were present at the furnace every time the furnace was tapped, every 12 hours.

Two crews typically worked at the furnace. Charging the furnace was a continuous process maintained by the charging crew. Each half-hour, the engine man shut off the blast and a filler opened the door in the top of the furnace. From the charging deck, the filler and a helper shoveled hundreds of pounds of ore, bushels of charcoal, and flux into the furnace. The door was closed and the blast

put back on. Then, they worked together with another laborer and a coal forker to prepare materials for the next charge. A second crew worked at the base of the furnace, in the casting house. Throughout the blast, the cinderman periodically drained slag (also called cinder) from the hearth into a sand pit. Once it cooled, it was broken into pieces and disposed of. A laborer and a helper prepared the sand for the molten iron by moistening the sand and making channels and furrows in it. From the furnace's tap hole, a main feeder line in the sand led to branch lines, which then led to smaller furrows of a suitable size for making iron bars. Sand dams were used to control the flow of molten iron. Approximately every 12 hours, the founder and cinderman were on hand to tap the iron. The founder shut off the blast, removed the clay plug from the tap hole, and allowed the molten iron to begin flowing through the sand channels. Once the iron was sufficiently cool, the laborer and helper used a sledge to break off the iron bars. Then they removed them from the sand and stacked them for later transportation (Gordon and Malone 1994:242–243). Bars of pig iron were eventually shipped to various locations and distributed to other industries for manufacturing.

The arrangement of molten iron channels in the sand gave rise to the name "pig iron." Molten iron was tapped off from the furnace and cast in rectangular bars on the sand floor. The main channel of tapped iron was thought to resemble a mother sow, and the smaller furrows that eventually formed bars of iron were thought to resemble suckling baby pigs. The use of an agrarian metaphor for this industrial process is an interesting hint at the early shift from agricultural to industrial lifeways, and how close agrarian lifeways were in memory.

Other agrarian metaphors are also used in describing the history of iron production. Early nineteenth-century iron production is sometimes described as taking place on "plantations," because of the rural and small-scale nature of the undertakings. Often, they were self-sufficient operations, producing not only iron but also their own food, and "were therefore as much agricultural as industrial operations" (Schallenberg and Ault 1977:436). As described in the next section, Fayette was built in the latter nineteenth century. It was a larger community than the iron plantations described above, but nonetheless still bore the hallmarks of a remote industry.

The Cultural Geography of American Iron Towns

The community of Fayette was fairly isolated in the nineteenth century, largely because its raison d'être was to smelt iron. It made use of the ample fuel, ore, and transportation resources of this remote location. In particular, upper Michigan had vast supplies of iron ore that provided the majority of ore for American blast furnaces from 1880 to 1900 and further sustained American iron production for decades thereafter. It has even been observed that the late-nineteenth-century American iron and steel industry "rose to international prominence largely because of high-grade ores" from upper Michigan (Reynolds 1989:112).

Before the 1830s, pig iron in the United States was manufactured in blast furnaces predominantly using charcoal fuel. Markets tended to be localized, and small furnaces satisfied local consumers' needs. The countryside was sprinkled with small ironworks, and larger market centers were marked by higher concentrations of such ironworks. The "advantages of scatter" were that the fuel source – forests – were spread fairly evenly over the landscape so that sometimes the industry was even considered "analogous to agriculture," as discussed above (see also Schallenberg and Ault 1977:436; Warren 1973:11).

There were two stages of growth in iron production in the United States. The first stage, which was predominant until 1850, is defined by a dependence on charcoal fuel and "implied small-scale and generally scattered production" (Warren 1973:329). Production was scattered because of the dispersed but plentiful fuel source. Early market demand was complimentary to scattered production centers; settlers in the frontier regions were also dispersed, and they needed basic iron tools and construction materials for homesteading. Later, as farmers cleared more land, timber suitable for charcoal was not as plentiful, and expanding railroads opened up new markets outside of local regions (Warren 1973:2). Types of iron became more specialized as producers tailored iron for unique uses such as shipbuilding. These changes marked the second stage that began around 1850. The transition was also marked by the use of mineral fuels such as anthracite and coke; large conglomerate corporations replaced small, dispersed iron works.

Early use of charcoal fuel was sufficient for many local markets, and small-scale production using charcoal fuel persisted well into the late-nineteenth century in certain timber-rich regions with localized needs for iron. In most regions of the United States, iron production excelled after the Civil War, and American industrialists increasingly used coke to produce larger quantities of iron. What began during Reconstruction continued with westward expansion, as industrialists and entrepreneurs built miles of railroads and canals, both of which consumed large amounts of iron. Iron was used increasingly for ships, architecture, boilers and machines, firearms, and hand tools (Warren 1973).

After the Civil War, even as the demand for iron increased, engineers began choosing steel over iron, particularly for structures and machines. The trend continued such that, "by the early twentieth century, steelmaking rather than ironmaking was the paradigm of American heavy industry" (Gordon and Malone 1994:155). The eastern U.S. lacked large supplies of the bituminous coal needed to make steel, so instead developed a large steel industry around the anthracite deposits such as those in Pennsylvania. New mineral fuels such as coke and anthracite could be used in furnaces originally designed for charcoal. However, the use of mineral fuels also accompanied a shift to larger furnaces, and higher rates of production. Instead of situating ironworks in isolated wooded areas, mineral-fueled iron and steel works were increasingly located in larger towns, near canals and railways (Gordon and Malone 1994:272).

Fayette's iron works suffered the same fate as the other charcoal-fired iron industries described above. By the late-nineteenth century, Fayette's dwindling natural resources, particularly hardwood forests, adversely affected profits. This factor and the declining demand for charcoal-fired iron contributed to Fayette's demise in 1891 (Friggens 1973:1, 72; SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996:48).

American Communities in the Gilded Age

However isolated the Fayette community might seem in the historical landscape, its residents undeniably participated in the economic and social networks of the times. Fayette was established in 1867, in the post-Civil War Reconstruction era, and it thrived in the 1870s and 1880s. This was America's Gilded Age, a period named for the 1873 novel authored by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner. *The Gilded Age* was a satire and morality tale that critiqued the American pursuit of wealth. The novel parodies the contemporary trends in America toward rapid and intense industrialization, shady real estate deals, corrupt politics, and ruthless accumulation of money. It was the era of the famed robber barons such as Carnegie and Rockefeller, who accrued vast fortunes and built transcontinental railroads, industrial complexes, museums, and libraries. Many of these accomplishments were fueled by the exploitation of the environment and of laboring men, women, and children. Some of the most exploited people in America were recent immigrants who came to this country in large numbers during the Gilded Age. Charles Darwin's 1859 *The Origin of Species* inspired social and moral philosophies such as the "survival of the fittest." Industrialists and investors justified exploitation as legitimate business.

The Progressive Era of the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries marked a reaction to the social ills and environmental pollution that accompanied the intense industrialization of the Gilded Age. Fayette ceased to operate as an industrial community in 1891, before the Progressive Era began in earnest. Thus, its residents did not experience the social and environmental reforms that accompanied it.

Fayette's lifetime as a company town also spanned the Victorian Era, named for the reign of England's Queen Victoria (1837–1901). This time period generally coincides with the Gilded Age and refers to American and British trends in social values, consumerism, and fashion, as well as to the political and economic trends discussed above. Victorianism was generally derived from urban, British-American, Protestant values, particularly the values of hard work, self improvement, sexual repression, punctuality, sobriety, and modern and generally compulsive behavior; the trends that began with bourgeois Protestants soon became pervasive among many different groups of Americans (Howe 1976:10, 17–18).

While notions of gentility and polite society for the aristocracy developed in the eighteenth century, it was not until the nineteenth century that the middle classes emerged and actively pursued a genteel lifestyle (Bushman 1993; Howe 1976) (for a sociological analysis of the development of mannered society, see Elias 2000). Bushman (1993:xiii) explains that during this period, industrialization, mass-production, and middle-class consumerism fed one another and that "middling people found ways to assemble the requisite accouterments of what might be called vernacular gentility." In the new social order, many individuals strove to present an outward, refined appearance. This created a culture of exclusion, in which self-declared refined people ostracized the rude, the coarse, and the unfashionable. However, pursuit of gentility did not always polarize the

classes as one might expect. Instead, notions of gentility "offered the hope that anyone, however poor or however undignified their work, could become middle-class by disciplining themselves and adopting a few outward forms of genteel living" (Bushman 1993:xv–xvii). This was the American dream of upward mobility. It had the peculiar effect of teaching the population "to live like gentlemen and ladies even when the productive mechanisms of society instructed them to work like slaves" (Bushman 1993:xviii). The intersection of genteel consumerism with economic class and social status is an important theme in this volume (see especially Chaps. 5, 7, and 8).

In fact, consumerism and instruction played a large role in the refinement of middle-class people. Magazine articles and instruction manuals abounded in the latter nineteenth century and educated the public, especially housewives, in the art of refined domesticity, sometimes referred to as the cult of domesticity. For example, *The House Beautiful: Essays on Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks*, first published in 1877, explains in great detail how to banish coarse, rude furnishings from one's home and to tastefully decorate with balanced colors, harmonious furniture, well-placed lace, and endless knick-knacks (Cook [1877] 1995). The author convincingly argues that his prescriptions for good taste are affordable to anyone and encourages his readers to pursue refinement, no matter their economic standing. He even suggests that a wealthy man with a beautifully decorated house does not necessarily have excellent taste; most likely, "it is not his taste at all, but the taste of the town" (Cook [1877] 1995:332). It retrospect, "the town" was part of the wider Victorian ideals of good taste, refinement, and upward mobility. In particular, the notion of upward mobility was inextricably embedded within the ideals of industrial capitalism.

Research at Fayette

The nineteenth-century community of Fayette exists today as a historic state park. A number of buildings and structures are still visible on the landscape, including two charcoal-fired blast furnaces, charcoal and lime kilns, company offices, a town hall, and a variety of commercial and industrial buildings. There are also a number of upper- and middle-class houses still available for visitors to tour, but the working-class log cabins are no longer standing. Fayette's built environment is described in greater detail in Chap. 5.

As a historic state park, Fayette has received substantial attention from historians, archaeologists, architects, and land managers. The intention here is not to provide a synthesis of all research at the site or to provide an exhaustive bibliography of resources for Fayette. Rather, the majority of resources available are summarized here with a focus on social history, neighborhood landscapes, and household consumerism. The following is a summary of histories and archival resources, landscape studies, and archaeological research.

Histories, Park Management Plans, and Archival Resources

Fayette's status as a historic state park has generated numerous master's theses, as well as transcriptions and compilations of oral histories, historical letters, company ledgers, newspaper articles, and cemetery records. Many of these documents are on file at Fayette Historic State Park and the Michigan Historical Center. There are also a number of manuscripts produced mostly for interpretive and general research purposes, for example, focusing on the laborer's cabins (Friggens 1989), workers at Fayette (Leiby 1979), death records for Fayette residents (Laasko n. d.), and the history of iron making at Fayette (Quinlan 1979). This body of research is too extensive to summarize here, but many of the documents will be cited in the following chapters.

In particular, three documents provide well-organized, thorough descriptions of the Fayette townsite and its history. Friggens (1973) was the first to provide a detailed social history of the townsite and its occupants. His well-researched thesis situates Fayette in the wider U.S. economic and social context and presents detailed information about life within the company town. Major restoration work at the site began in 1974, when the *Restoration and Stabilization Recommendations for Historic Fayette Townsite* report documented all known buildings and structures and outlined extensive plans for repairing several buildings (National Heritage Corporation 1974). In 1996, a Cultural Resource Management Plan was developed for Fayette (SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996). This document provides the most comprehensive information on the townsite to date, and includes a complete inventory and history of all buildings, structures, and features, as well as detailed recommendations for restoration and maintenance of the park.

Archival documents regarding Fayette are available in several public archives in Michigan, such as the Michigan Technological University Library (Houghton), the Northern Michigan University Archives (Marquette), the Michigan Iron Industry Museum (Negaunee), the State Archives of Michigan (Lansing), the Fayette Historic State Park History Office (Fayette), the Delta County Historical Society (Escanaba), and the Garden Peninsula Historical Society (Garden).

Again, because Fayette is a historic state park, numerous historians and interns have compiled an immense amount of research in the past several decades, and much of it is on file at the Fayette Historic State Park History Office. This repository includes thousands of historical documents related to Fayette, as well as biographical files on nearly 1,400 of Fayette's residents. Conveniently, many historical documents and oral histories have been transcribed, and other researchers have already tackled the time-consuming task of searching newspapers and public documents for references to Fayette and its residents. Also on file are transcribed company documents including rent and payroll records, butcher shop ledgers, and documents related to entertainment, voluntary associations, healthcare, church, and school services. The 1880 U.S. census is the only one available for the furnace-period occupation of Fayette (Department of the Interior 1880).

In addition, there is a rather unusual historical reference for Fayette. *Snail Shell Harbor* was an evangelical novel first published in 1870 and based on the author's

recent visit to Fayette (Langille [1870] 2001). While the tone of the novel is purposefully moralistic and religious, the geographical descriptions of Fayette appear to accurately reflect the town in the late 1860s. Even one of the novel's central characters, a tough sailor named Sandy, appears to be based on a real personality at Fayette. The novel offers an intriguing contemporary perspective on social and cultural interactions within an isolated company town.

Analysis of Landscape and Built Environment

For this volume, an analysis of Fayette's landscape and built environment was guided by Foucaultian constructions of power and observation, and by Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and the daily reproduction of identity through activities such as walking to one's designated neighborhood (see Chap. 3). The analysis included a combination of photography, archival research, archaeology, and work with Geographic Information Systems (GIS).

GIS is a tool used to link data to geographic reference points, enabling the visual display of spatial data. For this work, historical-period and modern maps were digitized and georectified, linking features, buildings and structures to known points on modern maps. Modern geographic data used for constructing the maps include the National Geographic Dataset (USGS 2008) and various digitized maps (e.g., from SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996). A geodatabase containing artifactual and architectural data was then used to link data to specific points within Fayette's landscape. In addition, analysis employing 3D Analyst (ArcGIS) software provides a sense of historical viewsheds, taking into account, for example, vegetation patterns from circa 1886 (as reconstructed from historical photographs in SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996) (see Chap. 6).

In addition, digital cameras recorded the landscape and built environment at Fayette, with particular attention to viewsheds, topography, spatial distributions of buildings, and architectural designs of workers' housing. Archived historical maps of the town were critically analyzed with particular attention to topography and viewsheds. Archived blueprint drawings of residents' housing provided data for comparing square footage and fenestration between neighborhoods. Historical descriptions of the buildings and landscape provide residents' contemporary evaluations of their housing, and archaeological excavations demonstrate differing levels of industrial pollution in the neighborhoods.

Archaeological Research

The following paragraphs summarize selected archaeological research, organized by location within the townsite. In addition, archaeologists also have excavated a stock barn (Martin et al. 1993), the hotel's locally famous two-story privy

(Pletka 1993), and other areas. The Michigan United Conservation Clubs retrieved a number of artifacts from Snail Shell Harbor in 1965 (Halsey 1994). These research efforts are not described here because they shed little light on neighborhood landscapes or household consumerism, which are two primary foci of this volume. Also excluded from this section is archaeological research on the prehistoric occupations in the area.

Town Road System

Archaeological excavations of Fayette's road systems support the supposition that the town grew with the needs of the community, rather than being built as an idealized model. One project consisted of two trenches excavated to examine roadbeds in cross section (Halsey 1998; Halsey and James 1998). A trench was excavated adjacent to the northeast side of a stock barn on Sheldon Avenue near Slag Beach. Excavations revealed the furnace-period road surface as indicated by a layer of hard-packed dolomite, slag, glass, and nails, underlain by a prepared surface of slag fill nearly one foot thick. The lowest excavation level yielded saw-cut animal bones, indicating that the site had been in use for some time before the road system was formalized. Evidence suggests that the slag fill was limited to the roadbed preparation; deep, intentional slag deposits in this part of town are restricted to Slag Beach and roadbeds, rather than forming a continuous lens of fill between the beach and the working center of town. Another excavation of a roadbed near Slag Beach yielded nearly identical results (Halsey and Anderson 1996). Halsey suggests the "road-right-of-way was probably an 'ideal' construct and that traffic – wagon, buggy, and foot – went pretty much wherever it wanted or needed to go without any great concern for rigid road margins" (Halsey 1998:5). He further points out that none of the furnace-period roads in the town has formal boundaries or curbs.

Racetrack/Baseball Field

A crew from Michigan's Office of the State Archaeologist conducted an excavation of Fayette's racetrack and baseball field, which overlapped each other (Halsey 1999a, b; Mead and Halsey 1999). This feature is discussed in detail in Chap. 8 of this volume.

Slag Beach

In 1996, the Office of the Michigan State Archaeologist conducted test excavations near a small stock barn and the foundations of a house near Slag Beach. Test units revealed "a fairly impressive sheet midden (0.6 foot thick) containing slag, nails, window glass, container glass, building hardware, ceramics, and animal bone" (Halsey and Anderson 1996:1). At this time, other test units were placed near

a historical-period access road near a larger stock barn adjacent to Slag Beach. The excavations demonstrated that the original ground surface of beach cobbles was overlain by humus with "a few" historical artifacts including nails, window glass, and animal bone (Halsey and Anderson 1996:1). Overlying the humus were slag deposits that varied in thickness, probably due to the use of slag as fill, and then an upper level of humus and sod.

Residential Excavations

In the mid-1970s, Stone (1974) conducted the first professional archaeology at the townsite, in order to provide the Michigan Department of State with an assessment of the site. He was the first to systematically compare historical maps with extant buildings and structures, foundations, artifact concentrations, and other features. He followed this research with test excavations across the site designed to explore a variety of domestic, industrial, and commercial contexts. Stone commented on the utilitarian nature of the domestic artifacts he found; he expressed his surprise at the apparent lack of high-quality items he assumed high-status individuals (e.g., skilled tradesmen) would posses.

The superintendent was the town's highest-ranking company official in residence. Exploration of the landscape surrounding the superintendent's house has been a byproduct of excavations for other purposes. Archaeologists excavated several test pits in the superintendent's yard to provide clearance for reconstructing the house's front porch and to test a prehistoric occupation discovered in the vicinity (Halsey 1986; Halsey and Mead 1986). Excavations along the house's foundation revealed an uppermost level dense with architectural debris and artifacts most likely dating to the postfurnace occupation. Lower levels included comparatively fewer historical-period artifacts. Apparently, the superintendents' families kept the front yard cleaner than later renters and tourists did. Test pits to the south (front) and east of the house showed a lens of slag fill overlying historical-period artifacts, while other parts of the yard closer to the house were relatively slag-free (Halsey and Murphy 1986). Without more research, it is not possible to assess whether the slag was deposited during the furnace period or later, though the second possibility is more likely considering the stratigraphy. While reconstructing the yard's fence, archaeologists discovered a curbed flagstone drive on the west side of the house, and limestone paved walkways leading from the south and front porches; these are believed to be the only paved surfaces at Fayette (Halsey 1987). While the walkways appear to be contemporary with the furnace period, Halsey (1994) suggests that the driveway is probably later.

Excavations in front of a middle-class residence on Stewart Avenue revealed a relatively low density scatter of historic artifacts; most were architectural debris probably resulting from repairs to the house over its lifetime. The excavation notes do not mention the presence of slag or other furnace waste (Halsey 1997).

By contrast, the working-class neighborhood was extremely polluted with industrial waste (Cowie 1996; Halsey 2002; Martin 1987a). For example, a reconnaissance survey and limited test excavations in the working-class neighborhood

revealed the presence of numerous depressions representing cabins that have yet to be fully documented or excavated (Halsey 2002). The excavation notes describe this area as having high density deposits of charcoal, artifacts, and slag, indicating a domestic sheet midden mixed with industrial waste products.

In 1986, Patrick Martin of Michigan Technological University excavated two log cabins in the laborer's neighborhood near Slag Beach (Martin 1987a). He found that the small cabins were constructed of rounded pine logs, chinked with mortar. The houses' yards consisted of a dense sheet midden of domestic and industrial refuse; slag and charcoal had been heaped around the cabins for insulation against lakeshore winds. This was followed by an analysis of butchered animals bones from the sheet midden (Martin 1987b), and an analysis of the cabins' history and architecture for the purposes of reconstructing a cabin for public interpretation (Friggens 1989).

Comparative Excavations of Class-Based Neighborhoods

The author's archaeological research provides the primary basis for comparing consumer behavior in Fayette's class-based neighborhoods (Cowie 1996, 2008). Test units were laid out to sample domestic refuse associated with three neighborhoods representing Fayette's presumed economic groups: upper class, middle class, and working class (Fig. 2.2). Excavations explored one large privy vault behind the town superintendent's family residence in the upper-class neighborhood, two privies behind a house in the middle-class neighborhood, and sheet midden and other features in the working-class neighborhood. Several excavation units were opened to expose the privy feature located behind the superintendent's house, including units 95-13-1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. The unit, eventually designated as 95-13-6, bisected the privy and was excavated to bedrock, with a portion of the privy left in situ. Two units were opened in middle-class neighborhood, 95-14-1 and 95-14-2. Each unit bisected a privy, and both were excavated to solid bedrock. Units in the working-class neighborhood included units 95-15-1 (a midden-filled depression), 95-15-4 (a cold-storage feature), and 95-15-3x, which was an extension of a unit opened in the 1986 excavations of two laborers' cabins (Martin 1987a). The purpose of this unit was to clean up part of a test unit wall from that previous excavation that had begun to slump.

Artifacts from those excavations were categorized according to South's (1977) classification scheme for historical-period artifacts and entered into an Access database. South's system is based on functional divisions of artifacts. Items used largely in the kitchen or associated with food preparation or consumption are assigned to the Kitchen group; architectural items such as window glass and nails are in the Architectural group, and so forth. Here, functional categories are not used as part of pattern recognition research as South did; categories are only used for general presentation of results. Artifacts with potential to inform on social and economic power (e.g., ceramics, glass vessels, and personal artifacts) were analyzed in greater detail than items with little connection to household consumer choices (e.g., nails).
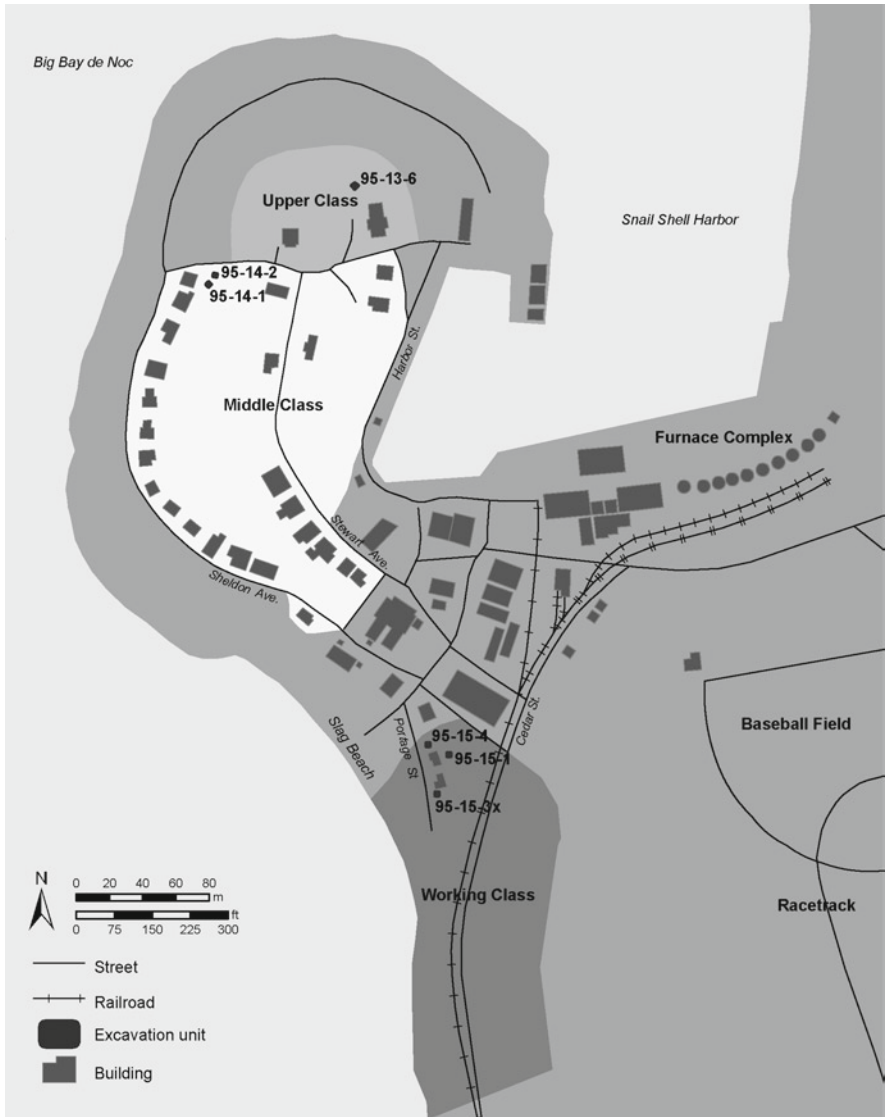
Fig. 2.2 Location of excavation units sampling upper- and middle-class privies, and working-class household midden

Nearly 18,000 ($N = 17,825$) artifacts were analyzed from the combined excavations of the superintendent's privy, two middle-class privies, and three midden-filled test units from the working-class neighborhood. This number excludes faunal and botanical remains, which are discussed below. Most artifacts date to the furnace-period occupation of the site, with the exception of the upper levels of some units, which are minimally contaminated by later artifacts.

Table 2.1 Relative frequencies of artifacts in functional groups per neighborhood

Functional group	Upper class		Middle class		Working class	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Kitchen	1,793	60.4	1,932	30.6	2,278	48.0
Architecture	515	17.3	2,774	44.0	1,765	37.2
Furniture	3	0.1	2	0.0	2	0.0
Arms	11	0.4	6	0.1	2	0.0
Clothing	113	3.8	83	1.3	84	1.8
Personal	251	8.4	131	2.1	60	1.3
Tobacco	1	0.0	10	0.2	41	0.9
Activities	284	9.6	1,373	21.8	515	10.8
Total	2,971	100.0	6,311	100.0	4,747	100.0

Artifacts from these chronologically mixed proveniences were excluded, resulting in 14,029 artifacts for the remainder of analysis. The table above presents relative frequencies of artifacts in functional groups for each neighborhood; excavation units in each neighborhood have been combined to provide a generalized view of artifact patterns between the neighborhoods (Table 2.1).

The same functional types of objects were being deposited in both privies and yard middens, and they appear in roughly the same frequencies in the three neighborhoods. If nothing else, this organization into functional categories shows that though artifacts were recovered from two different types of disposal practices (in privy and yard refuse), comparison of artifacts between these areas is valid. Furthermore, the artifacts in all three areas reflect what South (1977) called the "frontier" pattern, also noted in earlier excavations of two laborer's cabins (Martin 1987a). The characteristics of the frontier pattern include a relatively even percentage of items in both the kitchen group and the architecture group, which, combined, make up about 80% of the total collection. The third largest category is the activities group, and the rest are very small. Fayette's faunal collection from these excavations included 8,029 specimens (Cowie 1996). The faunal analysis rests mainly on a comparison of relative frequency of identified fragments and minimum number of individuals between neighborhoods.

Separate contractors analyzed soil samples from each of the three neighborhoods for botanical remains and parasite analysis. Kathryn Egan-Bruhy and Jeanne Nelson of Commonwealth Cultural Resources Group (CCRG) conducted botanical analysis (Egan-Bruhy 2005). They analyzed 16 flotation samples from the three neighborhoods with an emphasis on identifying subsistence and medicinal remains. While CCRG floated some samples, a number of samples in previous years had been floated without recorded volumetric data. Thus, in the absence of volumetric data, botanical analysts simply noted presence or absence of the taxa. Parasite analysis was conducted by Faulker and Mayes of the University of Tennessee and presented in earlier publications (Cowie 1996; Falkner and Mayes 1996; Faulker et al. 2000). Eleven soil samples representing the three neighborhoods were analyzed for evidence of human parasitic infection.

Summary

Fayette was a geographically isolated town whose sole purpose was to smelt iron. It is generally representative of company towns in Victorian America, and its workforce experienced many of the same relationships to industrial technology and bureaucratic management as other employees immersed in industrial capitalism elsewhere. Its residents were also immersed in broader ideologies surrounding mass consumerism, morality, and proper work ethics. Residents of company towns like Fayette experienced corporate paternalism in most aspects of their lives, because residents relied on the company for nearly all their goods and services. Archaeologists, historians, and land managers have generated a tremendous amount of research on Fayette Historic State Park. Much of that research is synthesized in this volume with respect to power relations in industrial capitalism.

Chapter 3
Critically Reading Power, Landscapes, Documents, and Artifacts in Industrialized Society

Introduction

In studying the archaeology of industrialized societies, it is essential to analyze the history of power relationships as evidenced in landscapes, documents, and artifacts. In *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*, Comaroff and Comaroff (1992:28) suggest that power is not a separate factor in culture and history, "but it is directly implicated in their constitution and determination." One cannot simply add power and stir.

This volume explores varied definitions of power through a case study of Fayette, Michigan, a nineteenth-century company town that represents a microcosm of industrial capitalism. In keeping with the Comaroffs' (1992:28) approach to studying power and history, I do not simply add power to the economic and social history of Fayette. Rather, I seek to understand how power is both employed by people and embedded within individuals' experiences with documents, space, and material culture. I use multiple definitions of power depending on which definition seems appropriate, depending upon the material medium, the individuals, the collective groups, the historical circumstance, and so forth.

Providing an overview of the different conceptualizations of power is useful here, as many of those conceptualizations become evident in the case study of Fayette. In addition, I discuss their application to subsequent studies of complex societies, industrialization, and the archaeology of historical-period industrial sites. The second half of the chapter summarizes theory and case studies addressing documents, landscapes, and artifacts as sources of data to be read critically.

Theorizing Power

Power is an ambiguous concept with as many definitions as there are theorists. For example, Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) make a distinction that clearly differentiates at least one central aspect of power based on agency. On the one hand, power can be expressed in an agentive mode, by exerting control over others in the production

of objects or by shaping subjectivities and realities. On the other hand, nonagentive power is found immersed in everyday life and internalized as constraints, conventions, or values. Nonagentive power appears natural, in spite of the fact that it can serve the interests of specific groups and individuals. Miller and Tilley (1984:5) summarize a number of other binary conceptualizations of power, such as individual vs. collective expressions of power, consciously expressed power vs. structurally located power, negative and repressive vs. positive and productive, forceful vs. coercive power, power that is possessed vs. power that is exercised, and power *to* affect one's world vs. *power over* others as a form of social control (for another excellent survey of different forms of power, see O'Donovan 2002). In addition, power intersects with multiple identities, such as class, gender, and ethnicity. It can be examined from the perspective of architecture, material culture, the documentary record, and the human body, among other foci. It can be interpreted as a binary opposition between two sets of interests, or it can be viewed in myriad adirectional forms.

From my perspective, power is something that people might employ or experience in many contexts and in varied levels of consciousness. Power exists when it is experienced or employed by agents in social, political, or economic networks. In different circumstances, power can be either productive or repressive, and it can be expressed and experienced both by individuals and collective groups in meaningful ways. It can involve *power over* others and *power to* change one's life circumstances (see Miller and Tilley 1984:5), as well as aspects of domination, resistance, coercion, hegemony, heterarchy, and collusion. Rather than seeking a singular definition of power, I prefer to explore myriad forms of power found within industrialized society and particularly within bureaucracy, engineered environments, and conspicuous consumption. Thus, theory presented in this chapter lays the foundations for later chapters that examine how power is evidenced in documents, landscape, and consumerism. This chapter is largely an overview of research on power in industrialized society; a critical discussion of power in regard to my work at Fayette is presented in the final chapter. My approach to discussing power is not critical in the sense that I reject some notions of power and accept others. Most of the definitions of power probably have some utility in a given set of circumstances. Rather, my discussion of power is critical in the sense that some notions of power illuminate certain social processes better than others, depending on the people, events, and data in question.

Following the outline of subsequent chapters, I divide this discussion of power into three sections: Structural Power, Class, and Hegemony; Power, the Individual, and the Body; and Status, Noneconomic Capital, and Identity. I mainly draw upon five theorists' work on power: Karl Marx, Max Weber, Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, and Pierre Bourdieu. In this section, I briefly discuss these five foundational theorists' ideas on power, particularly within industrialized society, as well as an overview of how subsequent researchers have applied theory to their studies of industrialization, urbanization, and modernization.

Structural Power, Class, and Hegemony

Karl Marx (1818–1883) famously explored how class conflict, economic power, and commodities are crucial to an understanding of power relationships within industrialized societies (e.g., Marx 1978). Though theorists may not subscribe to Marx's speculations on the demise of capitalism, one certainly cannot deny his influence in the fields of history, anthropology, political science, and economics. Nor can one negate his contribution to the theoretical underpinnings of current cultural frameworks such as evolutionary theory, postmodernism, and postprocessualism (see the works of Leslie White, Julian Steward, Marshall Sahlins, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michel Foucault), which build upon concepts of stratification, power, and ideology. Sometimes, especially in the United States, other terms are used in place of Marxism and for the relatively same purpose, including cultural materialism (e.g., Milner 1993), domination/resistance, and inequality (e.g., McGuire and Paynter 1991).

For Marx, power is something that can be possessed by individuals and economic classes, exclusively in the material form of the means of production (e.g., factories and machines). One of the most important concepts of Marxism is the notion of conflict between forces, particularly between workers and owners and between different modes of production or economies. A dialectical conflict between forces and relations of production leads to their destruction and ultimately to synthesis – the creation of a newly structured society. Marx viewed this dialectic as the process of change. In an industrialized society, the dialectic occurs because, on one hand, proletarian laborers have little power over their actions; once people buy into the capitalist system with loans, mortgages, and the like, they are trapped and must continue to sell their labor for a wage to survive. On the other hand, they are also potentially all-powerful. Without workers, the machines would be useless. Marx felt that if the proletariat realized their situation, they would revolt against the bourgeoisie and create a new society that incorporates all the technological advances achieved to date. He argues that one mechanism preventing class conflict from completely erupting is false consciousness. Workers convince themselves (wrongly) that they really are not powerful; class differences are mistakenly viewed as legitimate because of the mystifying aspects of ideology (e.g., religion). He visualizes the means of production as the *base* of society; ideology and religion are in the less privileged position, the *superstructure*. Marx's notion of false consciousness is problematic because it does not acknowledge that workers are often aware of their oppression. Though they often are able to see through ideological propaganda of the industrialist bourgeoisie, many workers probably choose not to revolt for a variety of well-thought-out and politically-informed reasons, not simply because they have been duped (for an ethnography of a mining town closure that describes workers' complicated decision making, see Parker 1986).

Like Marx, Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) explored the nature of class struggle and power within capitalism; I primarily draw upon Gramsci's discussions of hegemony and industrial paternalism. Gramsci famously wrote about the concept of

hegemony in vague and ambiguous terms, in part because much of this work was conducted in prison while under the watchful eyes of Mussolini's Fascist sensors. Generally speaking, hegemony refers to a form of control by the dominant class that employs both forceful actions of the dominant group and consensual self-subjugation by less-dominant groups (Hoare and Smith 1971). Thus, hegemony is sometimes conceived as "the organization of consent" (Simon 1991:22). Hegemony is a form of power that can be organized in a variety of organizations and institutions within civil society, such as schools and trade unions. A counter-hegemony might be formed by an organized and widespread resistance to the prevailing hegemony, but Gramsci demonstrates how difficult this can be. Negotiation often quells those who are dissatisfied, and malcontents can be brought back into the folds of the prevailing hegemony with various enticements and concessions. Gramsci discussed Fordism as an example of hegemony in America (Gramsci 1971a), but he hoped that the Factory Council's movement in Italy might offer a niche for establishing a counter-hegemony and revolution (Simon 1991:79–86).

Gramsci was fascinated by rationalization in factory settings, suggesting that under a thoroughly rationalized and mechanized industrial system, workers themselves would become mechanized, and their basic working gestures would require no thought, as in walking (1971a:309). In some ways, Gramsci saw Americanism and Fordism as a positive development. He felt that rationalization would free worker's minds to consider their unhappy situation of being disowned from the means of production and ponder "nonconformist thoughts," perhaps even revolution (Gramsci 1971a:302, 310).

However, according to Gramsci, "rationalization has determined the need to elaborate a new type of man suited to a new type of work and productive forces" (Gramsci 1971a:286). In studying the American industrial system, Gramsci reacted against European critiques that American paternalistic industrialists' actions stemmed from Puritanical beliefs. He argued that American industrialists "are not concerned with the "humanity" or the "spirituality" of the worker which are immediately smashed" because of the worker's separation from the means of production (Gramsci 1971a:303). Rather, he felt that moral control is simply another tool used by the industrialists to increase production. For example, he suggested that "the new industrialism wants monogamy: it wants the man as worker not to squander his nervous energies in the disorderly and stimulating pursuit of occasional sexual satisfaction. The employee who goes to work after a night of "excess" is no good for his work" (Gramsci 1971a:305).

As new, desirable, rational habits become second nature to working-class Americans, workers internalize the industrialists' rationalized values of morality, work, production, and efficiency. At first, pressures to behave in certain ways are external and take the form of coercion and propaganda (Gramsci 1971a:295, 298). Eventually, as workers internalize these values, they engage in self-discipline or self-coercion (Gramsci 1971a:300); in other words, they consent to behave in ways advocated by the industrialists. This marks the point at which industrialists have made their interests the same as the interests of the working class and have achieved hegemony.

Thus, the end-product of the rationalization of work and moral reform becomes the consensual subjugation of the workers to the industrialists' hegemony. Gramsci observed that through a combination of force (destruction of trade unions) and persuasion (high wages, benefits, and propaganda), American industrialists "succeed in making the whole life of the nation revolve around production. Hegemony is here born in the factory..." (Gramsci 1971a:285).

Gramsci was critical of a traditionally Marxist base/superstructure model, which emphasizes the economic influence of society over philosophical influences. He preferred the concept of a more integrated and less deterministic "*historical bloc* in which precisely material forces are the content and the ideologies are the form" (Gramsci 1971b:377). To understand the new type of rationalized workers and their roles in society, Gramsci stressed the importance of understanding "not only the *ensemble* of scientific ideas applied industrially ... but also the "mental" instruments, philosophical knowledge" (Gramsci 1971b:353). Thus, one must study not only the material base of society, but also a person's interaction with the philosophical superstructure; he suggested that workers' interaction with the superstructure is more important than previous Marxist theory proposed. A worker's interaction with a society's superstructure is particularly important for the process of subject formation, because hegemony is ultimately attained through consent – a political and philosophical process.

While Marx focused on worker exploitation to understand power and Gramsci explored why workers consented to their own exploitation, German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) focused on authority and domination to understand power. Weber drew extensively upon Marx's writings on class, but he diverged significantly in other ways. For example, Marx linked human satisfaction and contentment solely with production, whereas separation from the means of production leads to a feeling of alienation. Weber, on the other hand, felt that alienation arose from increased bureaucracy and the rationalization of life, and he emphasized the importance of social organization in power relationships.

Weber was particularly interested in the means by which leaders and bureaucrats legitimate their power, especially forms of authority, rule, or domination. He discussed several abstract types of authority that leaders could wield, including traditional (based on beliefs in following authority derived from long-standing traditions), charismatic (based on devotion to an extraordinary or heroic individual), and legal/rational/bureaucratic (tied with political power and the legality of rules) (Weber 1993). The latter form of authority is a modern one, which Weber associated with increased bureaucracy engendered by growing numbers of governmental and nongovernmental institutions. Charismatic and traditional authorities have deeper historical antecedents, although they continue in the present, sometimes alongside bureaucratic authority, and at other times, at odds with it. One example of traditional authority is a patriarchal leader; such a leader exercises a kind of authority that "rests upon the belief in the sanctity of everyday routines" (Weber 1946b:297). Weber cites patriarchal power as "the most important type of domination" that is legitimized by tradition; it is the kind of authority wielded by a father over

his household, a master over serfs, a lord over his subjects, and so forth (Weber 1946b:296). A patriarchal leader who wields traditional authority often chooses his staff and administrators from among his kinsmen and other loyal followers. He is obeyed, not because of rules, but because of the traditional authority that comes with his position (Weber 1964:341–2). This is conceptualization of power and authority is directly related to corporate paternalism, which will be discussed at length in Chaps. 4 and 9.

Power, the Individual, and the Body

Unlike Marxists who explored the intentionality of power expressed by people, postmodern theorists have studied power that is less intentional, for example, power that is more fluid and widespread among individual's experiences in the world. Power relationships surrounding the human body are directly related to the concept of subject formation, championed by Foucault (1926–1984). In a fairly direct criticism of the Marxist base/superstructure model, Foucault suggested that "power relations are rooted deep in the social nexus, not reconstituted 'above' society as a supplementary structure whose radical effacement one could perhaps dream of" (Foucault 1983:222). Simultaneously, he rejected the notion of a singular, truthful ideology, based on his efforts to see "how effects of truth are produced within discourses which in themselves are neither true or false" (Foucault 1980a). Rather, he found that "ideological productions" accompanied "mechanisms of power" in history, and that there has "probably been an ideology of education, and ideology of the monarchy, an ideology of parliamentary democracy etc." (Foucault 1980b:102). Rather than focusing on ideology *per se*, he examined the mechanisms through which discourses and knowledge are produced and through which power is exercised.

Unlike Marx and his followers who assumed power was something that could be held by a particular group of people (i.e., owners of the means of production), Foucault described power as "never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of organization. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization" (Foucault 1980b:98). Power is "a way in which certain actions modify others…. Power exists only when it is put into action" (Foucault 1983:219). According to Foucault, power does not act upon individuals. "Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action" (Foucault 1983:220). While he spent a great deal of time analyzing power within institutions (e.g., the madhouse, the prison, the educational system), he felt that power relationships existed outside of institutions. Foucault suggested, "every power relationship implies, at least *in potentia*, a strategy of struggle" (Foucault 1983:225). But Foucault seemed to suggest that this struggle has more history and complexity than a structure of domination and resistance implies. Rather, domination and resistance appear as central ideas in history, because they "manifest in a massive and universalizing form, at the level of the whole social body, the locking

together of power relations with relations of strategy and the results proceeding from their interaction," (Foucault 1983:226). Thus, Foucault is less concerned with the origins or legitimation of power, but with its techniques, effects, and "capillary" manifestations (Foucault 1980a:125, b:96, 1983:211–217). Foucault suggests there are three types of struggles: against domination (e.g., ethnic or religious), against exploitation (in a Marxist sense), and against subjugation, "against that which ties the individual to himself and submits him to others" (Foucault 1983:212). He analyzed how individuals are made subjects (objectified) in three modes. The first is through "the status of the sciences," for example, through "the objectivising of the productive subject, the one who labors, in the analysis of wealth and economics." The second is through "dividing practices," which subjectify people by making distinctions between allegedly different groups of people, for example, between mad and sane. The third mode is the way in which individuals turn themselves into subjects (Foucault 1983:208) (for further reading on the psychology of subject formation, see Butler 1997).

His work demonstrates that individuals can be made subjects in a variety of ways other than through state politics, particularly through "techniques" or "technologies of power" introduced increasingly since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Foucault 1980a:125). Perhaps his most famous example of this, panopticism, demonstrates how observation and self-surveillance in institutions create free subjects; it is the disciplinary power of military and industrial organization that allows groups to be subjected to the mechanisms of production (rather than the capitalist economy, itself, as Marx asserted) (Foucault 1984c:210–211). Although Foucault did not necessarily contest the idea that industrialization was bound up with domination, he suggested we look to body discipline, surveillance, and subjugation as mechanisms of domination, rather than political economics (Foucault 1984b:181–182). Thus, as opposed to Gramsci, who suggested that rationalization would free workers' minds, Foucault draws the opposite conclusion: "The soul is the effect and instrument of a political anatomy: the soul is the prison of the body" (Foucault 1984a:177).

In his attention to the body, Foucault (1984e:261–263) describes two forms of "bio-power" or "power over life" that emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and enabled the development of industrial capitalism. The first, *anatomopolitics* of the body, emphasized disciplining and optimizing the body's performance in work. It involved the development of various techniques of power that took the form of disciplinary institutions, such as schools, workshops, military institutions, and apprenticeships, as well as practices such as the adjustments of workers' physical capacities to the mechanism of production. One of the most famous industrial examples in this vein was Frederick W. Taylor's scientific management and time-motion engineering studies in the early twentieth century (see Hughes 1989; Taylor 2003; Wilkinson 1965). Perhaps the most potent and radical form of discipline at work in early industrialization was the clock, which was the foundation of the factory system (see Landes 2000).

The second form of biopower discussed by Foucault, *biopolitics*, consisted of medical interventions and regulatory controls over populations, particularly

regarding conditions of birth, health, longevity, and mortality. This entailed a host of modifications in workers' everyday forms of life. In France, biopolitics was central to the development of apparatuses of security that enabled capitalist relations of production. Though hierarchical forms of subordination, including those that facilitated capitalist production, were part and parcel of the relations and practices of biopower, the latter did not emerge to justify the former. Instead, the mechanisms of biopower were "an intrinsic part" of relations of production and "in a circular way ... both their effect and cause" (Foucault 2007:2). Moreover, biopower was not simply about subordination. Social changes entailing new forms of association and circulation of people, commodities, and diseases presented new challenges for the state as well as companies. Power is not just the power to subject, but also to enable the conditions that make certain forms of human society possible. Its effects are not simply negative; the power strategies of security, for example, made possible the new form of urban living that went hand in hand with American Fordist capitalist production by minimizing the new risks of disease transmission created by close forms of association.

Like Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) offered an alternative to Marxist conceptions of power that instead focused on individual agency and the body. Bourdieu did not specifically focus on power relations in industrialized settings, but his work on bodily practice, agency, symbolic capital, and misrecognition is certainly applicable to studies of industrial capitalism. Habitus and practice are central concepts in Bourdieu's work. Habitus is a concept popularized in the social sciences by Bourdieu, although he was not the first to discuss it (e.g., Elias 2000:366–369). Generally speaking, Bourdieu replaces the concept of governing rules (favored by structuralists) with the idea that people do things in the pursuit of social strategies; they do this within habitus, described as an organizing framework of cultural dispositions (Jenkins 1992:39). Habitus can also be described as an aggregate of social behavior, collective history, and personal decision making (Jenkins 1992:36, 74, 80). Practice is generated within habitus and is largely organized by the unconscious mind, as in knowing by heart the rules of a game; it requires practical sense and improvisation. According to Bourdieu, people are not always conscious of why they choose particular practices, but are not without unconscious purpose. Though their actions may be inspired by the underlying habitus in their society or group, people do not really conform to rules; context and situation are important for choosing a particular action (Bourdieu 1984:25). People's practices produce habitus, and habitus produces people's practices, though in a restrictive way (Bourdieu 1984:78, 95). It is a mixture of freedom and constraint (negative determinism by extant social structures), and conscious and unconscious intentions (Jenkins 1992:69; for a similar concept in the sociology of work – constrained agency – see Wicks 1998). In short, Bourdieu described the power to make choices as an agent in the world. This type of embodied, improvisational freedom to choose is linked with several other notions of power described below.

In addition, Bourdieu described processes in which "order and social restraint are produced by indirect, cultural mechanisms rather than by direct, coercive control" (Jenkins 1992:104). Bourdieu developed his concept of symbolic violence to explain

how this occurs. Symbolic violence can be described as "the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning ... upon groups or classes in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate. This legitimacy obscures power relations which permit that imposition to be successful" (Jenkins 1992:104). Once the systems are seen as legitimate (either doxic in slowly changing societies, or orthodoxic/heterodoxic in quickly changing societies), the system is reproduced through people's actions. According to Bourdieu, power relations in legitimized social structures are achieved through misrecognition, in which power relations are not perceived as they really are (probably repressive) but as individuals see them. Bourdieu suggests that symbolic violence is usually euphemized or censored; "it cannot take place overtly and must be disguised under the veil of enchanted relationships," (Bourdieu 1984:191) as in gift-giving. This concept is reminiscent of Marx's notion of false consciousness, and it is equally problematic in failing to give agents credit for consciously understanding power relationships surrounding them. This has obvious parallels with the power relations surrounding paternalism, which I discuss in later chapters.

Bourdieu's work on the cultural mechanisms of social control is reminiscent of, and probably influenced by, earlier work by sociologist Norbert Elias. Elias's (2000) book, *The Civilizing Process*, traces the origins of mannered behavior in Western society since the Middle Ages. He describes bodily behaviors as means of social distinction, including behaviors associated with nudity, sexuality, spitting, table manners, dressing, and the speed at which one walks. His work follows trends from the Middle ages as people self-consciously changed their behavior and evaluated others with increasing deliberation. Social prescriptions for proper behavior initially emulated from members of royal courts and the Catholic Church. The increasing pressure "not to offend or shock others" was in conjunction with new power relationships of the Renaissance, including the emergence of a secular, educated bourgeois (Elias 2000:69). The sixteenth century witnessed increased emphasis on politeness and manners, especially beginning with a publication, *On Civility in Boys*, first published in 1530 and extensively republished over the next 200 years. The book came at a time of social change from a medieval social hierarchy to a more flexible society where mobility was possible; manners in imitation of the court were later democratized (Elias 2000:63–68). As the pressures for social consideration became more widespread, prescriptive social expectations eventually applied "to all people equally, regardless of their rank and status" (Elias 2000:134–135). Failure to live up to society's expectations negatively affected a person's social status; proper emulation of important bodily distinctions offered upward mobility and power.

Status, Noneconomic Capital, and Identity

Max Weber addressed social status from a slightly different perspective than Elias and Bourdieu, although their ideas are not unrelated. Weber is credited with developing a more pluralistic interpretation of power than Marx's historical materialism offered. Weber suggested,

> Economically conditioned power is not, of course, identical with "power" as such. On the contrary, the emergence of economic power may be the consequence of power existing on other grounds. Man does not strive for power only in order to enrich himself economically. Power, including economic power, may be valued "for its own sake." Very frequently the striving for power is also conditioned by the social "honor" it entails, (Weber 1946a:180).

Unlike Marx, Weber recognized the importance of the ideological/social/religious aspects of society (Marx's superstructure) in power relations, hence his interest in the role of the Protestant work ethic in the rise of capitalism. He found power not only in economic production, but also in all forms of exchange, including social and political interactions.

Weber defined three forms of power that people seek out: class, which is economically determined; status, which is socially and ideologically determined; and party, which is politically and legally determined (Weber 1946a). Class is a phenomenon of production and a function of the capitalist system (Giddens 1982); it is one of the foundational concepts of Marxism. To Weber, "this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income" (Weber 1946a:181). Although class is determined by the capitalist system, individuals institute class-based economic divisions on a more localized level. To Weber, status is the "positive or negative, social estimation of *honor*" (Weber 1946a:187). This rather ambiguous concept has to do with the amount of respectability projected by an individual, and how much of his somewhat predetermined class he has been able to actualize. Status is a part of the social and symbolic aspects of culture and can be manipulated within cultural networks. Status may be assumed by an individual or accorded by his/her peers through a number of mechanisms, for example, individuals' consumption of socially significant material goods. "With some over simplification, one might say that 'classes' are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods; whereas 'status groups' are stratified according to the principles of their *consumption* of goods" (Weber 1946a:193). Subsequent authors have followed Weber's lead in recognizing that "differentiation or conformity in consumption can itself be used as a means of stratification," (Fine 1995:140). Classes and status groups can also influence society through party, legal and political forms of power. Parties "may represent interests determined through 'class situation' or 'status situation,' and they may recruit their following respectively from one another…. Their means of attaining power may be quite varied, ranging from naked violence of any sort to canvassing for votes" (Weber 1946a:194).

Weber's differentiation between class, status, and party is closely related to forms of power addressed by Bourdieu, specifically power involved with noneconomic capital. Individuals negotiate different forms of power in what Bourdieu refers to as a social field; this is defined as "a social arena within which struggles or maneuvers take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them" (Jenkins 1992:84). Bourdieu proposes that people strategize in social interactions and that strategies unfold over time, much of which is an effort to gain varied forms of capital. Four kinds of capital are at stake in a society: "economic capital, social capital (various kinds of valued relations with significant others), cultural capital (primarily legitimate knowledge of one kind or another) and symbolic capital (prestige and social honor)" (Jenkins 1992:95). (I discuss noneconomic capital in greater detail in Chap. 8).

For example, Bourdieu describes how symbolic capital is wielded in a powerful way in the process of gift-giving (Bourdieu 1984: 6, 171). Depending on the situation, a person could reciprocate a gift immediately or long after and reciprocate in kind or not. What a person chooses to do expresses his or her estimated or perhaps desired power relations with the other person. The timing of gift-giving and reciprocation is particularly important, and it is by no means a disinterested form of exchange. Having people under one's obligation (as in gift-giving or excusing personal slights) is to have a certain amount of symbolic power, honor, and social prestige. This power can be cashed in, so to speak, at a later point in time. This and other anthropological work on gift-giving (Godelier 1999; Weiner 1992) has obvious implications for corporate paternalism, which is discussed in the final chapter.

Cultural capital and distinction through conspicuous consumption are crucial concepts for interpreting consumerism later in this chapter and in Chap. 7. Bourdieu's (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* details how powerful classes and status groups (a distinction adapted from Weber) strategically use legitimate culture and taste to mark, maintain, and mask social boundaries (Jenkins 1992:137–138). Decades before Bourdieu published this research on social distinctions, Elias (2000) made similar observations regarding the last several hundred years of European history in his book *The Civilizing Process*. He found that power relationships were entwined with social manners that were established by the upper classes. He argued that in societies with complex hierarchies, it is not enough to rule by violence. A "strict code of manners" … "is an instrument of prestige, but it is also … an instrument of power" (Elias 2000:431).

A related concept, the fetishism of commodities, is critical for understanding why individuals imbue material culture with economic power. According to Marx, as soon as something becomes a commodity, "it is changed into something transcendent" from its material form (Marx 1978:320). He finds that commodities are too far removed from people who produced them. They are no longer able to recognize them as products of their own labor, because they are alienated from the means of production. Then, social relationships between people assume "the fantastic form of a relationship between things" (Marx 1978:321). With commodities, "the labor of the individual asserts itself as a part of the labor of society," and "producers do not come into social contact with one another until they exchange their products" (Marx 1978:321). Commodities become the only means of relating to one another socially; the absurd result is "material relations between persons and social relations between things" (Marx 1978:321).

Related Theories of Power

Scholars in a variety of fields have applied theories about power developed by Marx, Weber, Gramsci, Foucault, and Bourdieu, expanding their generalized discussions of power and tailoring them to applications regarding complex societies, capitalism, and industrialized settings, among others. In this section, I sample the incredibly rich literature on these topics, which often examines power relationships

along with gender, ethnicity, class and status groups, health practices, religion, and corporate paternalism. In spite of my organization of the following paragraphs by tradition (Marxist, Weberian, and so forth), many authors discussed below integrate several theories, for example, citing Marx, Foucault, and Bourdieu in the same stretch of reasoning.

Marxist approaches vary widely depending on the field and focus of study. For example, labor historians have consistently used Marxist frameworks in their work, as it is difficult to discuss labor without talking about class conflict and worker alienation. Gutman's (1977) *Work Culture and Society* describes case studies involving so-called "mill girls" at Lowell, railroad strikes in the west, ethnic and class conflict in the coal mining industry, and oppressive time management studies in the factory system. Rule's (1998) study of Cornish miners offers a compelling description of Marx's notion of false consciousness via religion. One of the most influential Marxist approaches in anthropology and historical archaeology examines how cultures engaged in two different modes of production meet and interact. Drawing on Wallerstein's (1974) modern world systems theory, Wolf's (1992) *Europe and the People without History* explores colonialism and globalization, as well as themes of exploitation and mutual impact of different societies on one another. He addresses the fact that Europeans were engaged in a very different mode of production and structure of society than were the Native Americans during colonization, which influenced power relationships. Historical archaeologist Orser's (1996b) *A Historical Archaeology of the Modern World*, for example, explores some of these issues from an archaeological standpoint.

A few archaeologists offer an explicitly Marxist approach to power (McGuire 1992, 2008; McGuire and Reckner 2002; Saitta 2007; Wurst 2006) or rigorously apply a Marxist notion of ideology (e.g., Leone et al. 1987). However, many tend to use class as a primary organizing principle, without appearing explicitly Marxist. Some look to class conflict to explain power relations in what many describe as the archaeology of capitalism (e.g., Johnson 1993; Leone 1995; Orser 1996a; Paynter 1988). However, proponents of this approach have also received their share of criticism for operationalizing class as a category, rather than a lived experience (Wilkie and Bartoy 2000). Many have shown that class can be interpreted as a relationship, especially one that is negotiated (Beaudry et al. 1991; Paynter and McGuire 1991; Van Bueren 2002; Wurst and Fitts 1999). In archaeology, labor history, and geography, power relationships between economic classes are often studied in conjunction with ethnicity and gender (Dublin 2003; Griggs 1999; Hardesty 1994; Howell 2000; Mayne and Murray 2001; Nassaney and Abel 2000; Nassaney et al. 2001; Oberdeck 2001; Rotman and Nassaney 1997).

Weberian discussions of power tend to be much less explicit than Marxist applications and usually appear as studies of the legitimation of authority and multidimensional power, such as wealth, prestige, and political connections (Inomata and Triadan 2003; Lassman 2000; Lukes 1978; Mann 1986; Yoffee 1993). Though many Weberian works are still undeniably concerned with domination and hierarchical power relationships, there is usually acknowledgment of varied forms of power that indicate potentially heterarchical power relationships

(e.g., Crumley 1987; Ehrenreich et al. 1995; Joyce and Hendon 2000). For example, in historical archaeology, Hardesty's (1998) essay on power in mining communities employs Mann's sources of social power, itself an adaptation of Weber's approach. He investigates economic, political, cultural, and military power networks that were exercised in ephemeral mining towns and were indicative of heterarchical power structures. In particular, however, most historical archaeologists have failed to acknowledge the Weberian distinction between class and status and have conflated the two ideas in pursuit of consumer economic scaling (e.g., see Spencer-Wood 1987).

Gramsci's notion of hegemony is used freely in the social sciences, though it often goes uncited. When Gramsci is referenced, often the treatment of hegemony is embedded in Marxist discussions of dominant (hegemonic) ideology and false consciousness as explanations for why individuals subject themselves to rule by the dominant classes (see Althusser 1970; Giddens 1975). Anthropologist James Scott has examined the conceptualization of hegemony as involving false consciousness and critically analyzes thick and thin versions of false consciousness. "The thick theory claims consent; the thin theory settles for resignation" (Scott 1990:72). While he finds the thin version tantalizing, ultimately, he rejects both in favor of studying antagonism and resistance. Loose applications of hegemony can be found in a variety of contexts in historical archaeology, ranging from gendered hegemony in household archaeology (Barile 2004) to miners' rejection of the mining town hegemony in favor of illicit activities in peripheral communities (Hardesty 1998; Vergara 2003).

Foucault's work offers a number of concepts (particularly bodily discipline, production of knowledge, and panopticism) that have proven widely exportable and applicable to other fields and contexts. For example, archaeologists have applied Foucaultian concepts to study the European Neolithic, regarding space as a mechanism for expressing gendered power (Hodder 1984), the phenomenology of lived space and the embeddedness of knowledge within tombs (Thomas and Tilley 1993), and the flexibility of meanings in monumental architecture (Brück 2001). Historical archaeologists have noted the widespread phenomenon of panopticism for social control in varied settings such as a mining town in colonial Cyprus (Given 2005), women's prisons in Tasmania (Casella 2001), and plantations in Arkansas and Jamaica (Brandon and Davidson 2005; Delle 1998). Other work in historical archaeology blends Marxist and Foucaultian approaches to domination, exemplified by Paul Shackel's work at Harper's Ferry. He analyzes class struggles in this industrial community, while at the same time examining Foucaultian interests in observation, surveillance and body discipline as they intersect class relations (Shackel 1996; Shackel and Palus 2006). Mark Leone (1999) further explores the concept of body discipline in industrializing America. He argues that in the nineteenth century, disciplinary power of the recently rationalized factory system quickly became established in workers' homes. The subjects of the factories became subjects in their own homes; ceramic analysis and historical research suggest that they "learned to work productively, go to school, watch the clock, and eat with a fork and spoon from a mass-produced, and modular plate" (Leone 1999:211).

Bourdieu's work and similar structuration theory by Giddens (1984) are applied broadly in archaeology, particularly with attention to agency (emphasized more by Giddens) and practice (emphasized more by Bourdieu) (see Dobres and Robb 2000; Knauft 1996). In historical archaeology, agency and practice are most often found embedded within more traditional domination/resistance literature (Frazer 1999), modernization theory (Cabak et al. 1999), and in acculturation and contact studies (Cusick 1998; Mullins and Paynter 2000; Rice 1998). Bourdieu's notion of social capital has been vigorously applied by social historians of capitalism (e.g., Edwards et al. 2001; Rosenband 1999; Rotberg 1999), but has received little attention in historical archaeology. Symbolic violence has received more attention, again primarily because some find it useful for bolstering domination/resistance narratives. For example, Orser (2005) has applied the concept of symbolic violence to his study of nineteenth-century rural Irish tenant farmers, who eventually embraced English consumer goods and the accompanying baggage of capitalistic and hierarchical power relations (see also Orser 2006).

Theorizing Documents, Built Environment, and Consumerism

This section provides a discussion of theory that I employ to critically analyze the three sources of data I draw upon for the case study: historical documents, landscape and built environment, and artifacts reflecting household consumption. In this section, I integrate theory from the five theorists already discussed with relevant examples from ethnographic research, cultural geography, material culture studies, and archaeological research.

Critically Reading Historical Documents

Traditionally, the point of departure for historians' analysis has been analyzing the authenticity and credibility of historic documents. According to Wood (1990), a historical document used in research must hold up to external criticism to verify the document's authenticity; internal criticism evaluates the author's credibility, based on the author's ability and willingness to report historical details accurately. While Wood does not claim that truth is attainable, he suggests researchers pursue verisimilitude.

Literary criticism and some postmodern philosophy suggests that making a distinction between true/false or fiction/history is not possible or even of primary importance (e.g., Culler 1997; Foucault 2002; Gordon 1980; Williams 1977). Rather, an in-depth treatment of documents can explore how knowledge was produced through discourse. According to Foucault, power is bound up in the production of truth and knowledge. He suggests, "We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of

truth" (Foucault 1980b:93). Truth, knowledge, and the concept of "right" are instruments of domination, not so much in the sense of one person dominating another, but in the sense that the notion of truth (and therefore, power) is inherently embedded among all relationships between people (Foucault 1980b:96). In *Archaeology of Knowledge*, this critique of ideology leads him to critical analysis of discourse and documents that are presented by others as truthful history (Foucault 2002).

In cultural anthropology, John and Jean Comaroff (1992:13) argue that rather than working to make anthropology more historical or history more anthropological, there should be no division between history and anthropology at all. They also reject the notion that anthropologists should simply shift their focus from elite discourses to the subaltern. They suggest,

> To be something more, these partial, "hidden histories" have to be situated in the wider worlds of power and meaning that gave them life…. But there has been relatively little effort to interrogate the constructs through which silences and spaces between events are filled, through which disjoined stories become master narratives. In practice, of course, the way in which the "historical imagination" does its work is culturally crafted (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:17).

Instead, in the construction of historical ethnographies, they propose a neomodernist anthropology that rejects

> "the very possibility of a realist, or an essentialist, history. This is not to say there are no essences and realities in the world…. But our objective… is to show as cogently as possible *how* they are constructed: how realities become real, how essences become essential, how materialities materialize…. To the degree that our analytic strategy may still count as objectivist, then, it is highly provisional and reflexive" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:20).

As an historical archaeologist, my approach to history is similar to that of the Comaroffs.

American historical archaeology emerged in the 1960s and its practitioners soon joined other scholars in critical analysis of documents and written history. By the mid-1970s, historical archaeologists began to look critically at one another's documentary research methods, arguing that documents "must be analyzed not 'read,' and that historical facts cannot stand in isolation from some meaningful context" (Schuyler 1978:271). Such criticisms and statements of what today seems obvious may not be surprising, as the majority of historical archaeologists (myself included) are archaeologists first by training and historians only by default. In any event, historical archaeologists in the 1970s were then quick to recognize the bias of the documentary record as one often created by elites (e.g., Schuyler 1978), thus recognizing a power differential of the recordation of history. Others engaged in documentary research were inspired by cognitive studies championed by folklorist Henry Glassie (e.g., 1975). For example, James Deetz famously integrated data from both documents and grave markers to study structural, cognitive changes in New Englander's views on mortality in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1972; Deetz 1977). In the 1988 introduction to her edited volume, *Documentary Archaeology in the New World*, Mary Beaudry (1988:1–2) asserted that many historical archaeologists still "seem puzzled over how to handle the historical record"; "historical archaeologists must develop an approach toward

documentary analysis uniquely their own," with "notions arising from a materialist perspective of the past dictated by the nature of archaeological evidence." In the 1980s, historical archaeologists devoted considerable effort to exploring myriad applications for documentary analysis, ranging from linguistic analyses of probate inventories (Beaudry 1988), to the economic scaling of ceramics (Miller 1980), to the application of title searches to archaeological survey (Langhorne and Babits 1988).

In the last two decades, historical archaeologists have greatly refined applications of documentary analysis to material culture studies (e.g., Majewski and Schiffer 2001). Recent studies offer less explicit and less self-conscious studies incorporating both documents and artifacts. Rather, historical archaeologists today use archival sources to provide background demographic research for archaeological projects and to demonstrate repeatedly that documents provide an incomplete story of the past, therefore justifying the necessity of archaeology. Historical archaeologists also seem to mine historical documents to compliment thematic studies of material history, for example, regarding the perceived social status of prostitutes (e.g., Simmons1998), discovering industrialists' conscious agendas in capitalistic endeavors (e.g., Beaudry 1989; Shackel 1996), or exploring behaviors that have little or no interpretable material manifestation beyond documents (e.g., African–American acts of double-consciousness in Victorian America, Mullins 1999).

Critically Reading Landscapes and Built Environments

Cultural geographers were understandably some of the first and strongest proponents of landscape studies, and their work has much in common with historical archaeology. In 1925, Carl Sauer, an American geographer first proposed the idea of a cultural landscape, as opposed to a natural landscape (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:3). This is the foundation for the premise that "Landscapes are not synonymous with natural environments"; they are synthetic products of cultural systems (Anscheutz et al. 2001:160). Cultural geography of the 1960s and 1970s had a strong focus on ethnicity, regional personalities, culture areas, and diffusion (Crang 1998:18). By the 1980s, cultural geography had incorporated the cultural materialism of Raymond Williams, poststructural concepts from French philosophy, and feminist theory to a certain extent, culminating in a new vision for the field (Mitchell 2000:xiv).

Many cultural geographers now assume that landscape and architecture are used to produce and reproduce social meaning through political symbols and signs, and human interaction with the landscape occurs in a dialectical sense (Mitchell 2000:xx). This is surely an influence of Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and practice (Bourdieu 1977). Much research in cultural geography today also hinges on resistance narratives (largely stemming from postcolonial theory), as well as landscape-based narratives centering on socioeconomics, ethnicity and race, gender and sexuality, and power expressed in nations and institutions. In addition to sociopolitics, of particular interest is the construction and maintenance (again in a dialectical

sense) of boundaries between public and private space (especially in gender), establishment of "their space" and "our space" (especially in ethnicity), and the performance of identity roles in concurrence with previously established norms. In other words, "Space is also the die that casts identity in stone" (Mitchell 2000:xx). Yet other studies emphasize structural approaches to space (e.g., drawing from Bourdieu's work on the Kabyle), cosmological and sacred understandings of space and landscape (e.g., feng shui), and concepts of controlled and perfected nature (e.g., formalized landscapes and gardens) (Crang 1998:27–41).

Sociocultural anthropology shares much in common with cultural geography in regard to landscapes. Particularly prominent in anthropological studies of landscape are phenomenological and linguistic approaches, "emphasizing 'landscape' as constituted by humans' dwelling in it, a set of potentials instantiated by human choice and action" (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:3). Landscape is also a process in which humans selectively choose some actions and relationships over others, resulting in the present condition and interpretation of the land (following Knapp and Ashmore 1999:3). For example, Basso's (1996) *Wisdom Sits in Places* describes the processes of naming places and (selectively) recalling the names, narratives, and wisdom embedded within them; this process yields a phenomenology of sorts – a way of knowing the truth about history that is culturally and socially relative. Similarly, cognitive anthropology's attention to the environment supports the idea that different cultures may understand and model the environment differently, resulting in alternative views of nature and people's place in it (e.g., the difference between American and indigenous South American land management models) (Kempton 2001).

As in cultural geography, anthropology is also attentive to gender and boundary issues in regard to landscape. Nash's (1993) ethnography of Bolivian tin mining discusses the important role of gender in constructing ideas about appropriate places for people in regard to the mining landscape. There the community is the realm of female domesticity and indigenous tradition, and women's presence is generally taboo in the dangerous, capital-driven, male world of underground mining. Mining historians elsewhere have reported widespread restrictions on women in underground mining (Gregory 2001).

Archaeological approaches to landscapes are extremely diverse and include positivist and processual metanaratives, vague postmodern and postprocessual phenomenologies, and much in between. Early settlement pattern studies were inspired by Steward and Clark's ecological anthropology of the 1930s–1950s, which "considers the relations between the structure and organization of how a cultural group earns its living and the group's natural environment" (Anscheutz et al. 2001:168–169). The large scale of analysis, the utility of survey data (especially as generated by cultural resource management), and seemingly endless possibilities for data-crunching continue to make settlement archaeology a topic of interest for many archaeologists (Anscheutz et al. 2001:168–169). Conversely, others find a fundamental fault with settlement archaeology, because it seems to theorize environment as "a passive backdrop or forcible determinant" for human behavior (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:2). Regardless of one's opinion of settlement archaeology's utility, it has been suggested that many settlement archaeologists "tend to employ landscapes as a new label for the same old things" (Whittlesey 1997:19).

Other archaeologists have pursued more innovative approaches to landscape. For example, Zedeño's behavioral approach investigates "how people build social environments through interactions with nature" (Zedeño 2000:97). She also makes important connections between social practice and material categories, such as landmarks, and attempts to ground cognition in materiality. Also interesting is the phenomenological approach most aggressively advertised by British prehistorians Barbara Bender and Christopher Tilley. Their approaches seek to find human agency (or at least activity) in the prehistoric record, particularly as outlined in Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* and Giddens' structuration theory and emphasized by Heidegger's notion of people as *beings in the world* (Bender 1998:5; Tilley 1994). The relationship between landscape and behavior is dialectical, rather than causal or deterministic; "landscape is both medium *for* and outcome *of* action and previous histories of action" (Tilley 1994:23, italics in original).

While the archaeological applications of such philosophical theory are tantalizing, finding sociopolitics and cosmology in prehistoric flint scatters (e.g., Tilley 1994) might seem in want of better grounding. Perhaps historical documents, oral history, and ethnographic observations provide firmer ground for discussions of cognition in landscapes than the material artifacts alone. When read critically, these sources of data provide another dimension of information for interpreting the mindsets of *beings in the world*.

Historical archaeologists, like cultural geographers and anthropologists, have the benefit of contemporary written and oral data to support their suppositions about the embeddedness of ideology and symbolism in landscapes. Though most of the field's early studies focused on garden archaeology, practitioners quickly turned to myriad fields of inquiry, exploring the intersection of space with gender, ethnicity, class, and power. Cognitive, symbolic, and ideological concerns in historical landscape studies soon became common and could be found in edited landscape volumes, side by side with more traditional garden archaeology. For example, *Earth Patterns* (Kelso and Most 1990) includes a number of essays that emphasize social and symbolic meanings behind symmetry in historical gardens (Kelso 1990; Leone and Shackel 1990). Another contribution to the volume continues to explore moral and ideological control in corporate settings (Mrozowski and Beaudry 1990). Other archaeologists focused less on urban landscapes, and more on outlying, contextualized rural space. Adams (1990) argued that archaeologists should look more closely at the overlap between built and natural environments, particularly in light of the midnineteenth-century progressive farming reformers who advocated strict boundary maintenance and efficient farm layout. Again, such attention to ideology would have been significantly less well-received without documentary evidence of such goals.

In recent years, historical archaeology has creatively applied landscape approaches to discuss a number of issues ranging from domination and resistance, to ethnicity and acculturation, to class and gender relations. There are a number of examples that demonstrate innovative approaches to these themes, many of which draw on landscape and built environment as a primary sources of data. For example, James Delle's work on sixteenth century Irish landscapes puts a slightly different twist on the domination/resistance debate. He finds that the elite Irish and old English colluded, excluding the Gaelic Irish and revamping architecture, use of

space, and the cognitive landscape for their own interests (Delle 1999). Other studies look at how ethnic groups manipulate space and how landscape structurally defines us/them and our space/their space in ethnic relations (Nassaney et al. 2001; Penner 1997; Seirlis 2004). Another study by Rotman and Nassaney (1997) describes ways in which the built environment is used in structurally separating private/back/female realms from public/front/male areas of the home. Focusing on home-life in Michigan, they suggest that in spite of broad social changes in the region, gendered use of space at home remained virtually the same. In a similar vein, an important body of work has emerged recently, which rejects the essentialization of social categories and instead explores the intersections of landscape, class, ethnicity, and gender (Baugher and Spencer-Wood 2010; Rotman and Savulis 2003). In addition, research on urban landscapes has become important for recognizing the totality of lived experience and the nature of social and political performance within communities (O'Keefe and Yamin 2006), as for understanding the relationships between landscapes, poverty, and social transformation (Mayne and Murray 2001).

Of particular relevance here, of course, is the archaeology of landscapes within the socioeconomic milieu of industrial capitalism (e.g., Barker and Cranstone 2004; Casella and Symonds 2005). Stephen Mrozowski explains, "landscapes of eighteenth-century mercantile capitalism and nineteenth-century industrial capitalism were direct expressions of the spatial requirements of both economic regimes and the inequalities they engendered." Archaeology at industrial sites reveals that urbanization "was predicated on a new set of spatial priorities which were influenced by both material and ideological forces and which shaped the urban landscape of the city at large, as well as individual lots" (Mrozowski 1991:80). Robert Paynter and Randall McGuire, who guided historical archaeology's exploration of domination and resistance, demonstrated how space was used historically to create and reinforce inequalities under hierarchies of capitalism (McGuire and Paynter 1991; McGuire 1991; Paynter 1982).

In related research, Mary Beaudry and her colleagues conducted influential work at the company town of Lowell, Massachusetts, and investigated landscape as an expression of corporate ideology, capitalism, efficiency, and socioeconomic inequalities (Beaudry 1987, 1989; Beaudry and Mrozowski 1987, 1989a, b; Mrozowski et al. 1989). For example, at the Boott Mills in Lowell, an analysis of historical documents, company housing, and the park-like millyard revealed the company's manipulation of the built environment to divide the workforce by sex, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status and also to create a naturalized and moral environment (Beaudry 1987). These readings of ideology in the landscape are supported by documentation from the company's owners and stockholders, such as an overt call in 1848 to establish "a strict system of moral police" in the form of corporate paternalism (cited in Beaudry 1987:9).

Work on industrial landscapes at the Harpers Ferry Armory, West Virginia, follows in the tradition of the work at Lowell; it demonstrates changing use of space under industrialization and paternalistic efforts to control efficiency and morality (Halchin 1994; Shackel 1993, 1994, 1996). For example, Shackel traces the shifting settlement patterns at Harpers Ferry through changes meant to enclose the town,

restrict access to certain places, and render workers and residents visible to the owners and managers (Shackel 1996). In support of his argument, he cites material evidence from the landscape in the form of fence lines, walls, canals, and architecture. He also quotes town administrators, including one superintendent in 1844 who suggested parts of the town be reconfigured to render the "Armory buildings under view, and the activity between these dwellings and the avenue neatly cultivated" (cited in Shackel 1996:77–78); industrialists' interests in observation and surveillance are reminiscent of Foucault's panopticism (Foucault 1984c).

Critically Reading Consumerism Through Historical Artifacts

In contrast to Marxist notions of power solely in production, some scholars have demonstrated that power can be expressed through consumerism. The Weberian distinction between class and status shows that while buying power parallels hierarchical, Marxist ideas of class in an economic sense, the ideological nature of items purchased feeds into social status. In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Pierre Bourdieu uses parallel terminology, replacing Weber's class and status groups with class fraction and lifestyle (Bourdieu 1984; Jenkins 1992:138). Bourdieu explains how there are "two relatively independent logics, that of the fields of production and that of the fields of consumption" (Bourdieu 1984:230). In a sociological study of French consumer behavior in the 1960s, he examines how tastes are dialectically produced and reproduced within habitus and through practices; tastes and legitimized Culture are authorized and legitimized by powerful groups and used in competitive struggles. Legitimation of taste is "mediated in large part through formal education. People *learn* to consume culture and this education is differentiated by social class" (Jenkins 1992:138). He posits a model of cultural tastes, including "legitimate" taste, "middle-brow" taste, and "popular taste" (Jenkins 1992:138). He suggests that the working classes, because of their class situation and economic constraints, have less freedom to determine how legitimate taste is defined. Upper classes who have purchasing power are less regulated by necessity and enjoy a "playful seriousness" to experiment with and develop newer esthetics within legitimate Culture, a position that is, in itself, distinctive (Bourdieu 1984:54; Jenkins 1992:139). To participate competitively in struggles of taste, individuals must have a certain amount of economic freedom, sufficient education in Culture, and appropriate body hexis. Thus, members of the middle class or petite bourgeois might have sufficient funds and education to purchase a fashionable item, but find themselves unable to "'bring it off': another case of 'manners maketh the man'" (Jenkins 1992:139).

This is not to say that there is a direct correlation between economic capital and cultural capital, far from it in fact. Bourdieu illustrates in typically structuralist fashion an axis in cardinal directions where the two forms of capital intersect within social space (Bourdieu 1984:128–129). For example, he finds that some individuals (e.g., artistic producers and higher education teachers) have a great

deal of cultural capital (used to achieve status), but much less economic capital (a part of class). Conversely, other individuals (e.g., industrialists) might have a great deal of economic capital but little cultural capital, and unskilled workers and farmers might have very little of either. These patterns are reflected in individuals' consumer tastes regarding art, music, food, furnishings, and so forth. However, it is important to note that Bourdieu recognized the fluidity of individuals' movement within this scheme; the two forms of capital often can be converted to one another, and there are many realms of taste in which to compete.

Anthropologists have examined similar themes, for example, exploring how objects become prestigious and therefore imbued with inalienable status (e.g., Godelier 1999; Mauss 1990; Weiner 1992) (see also Belk et al. 1989). Similarly, archaeologists have recognized materials goods as one means by which ideology is given form. For example, Elizabeth DeMarrais and her colleagues discuss the materialization of ideology and argue that elites can control economic production and then manipulate the meaning of objects, propagating a particular ideology (DeMarrais et al. 1996). Although it is important to recognize that social practice attaches ideological meaning to objects (that then can be used to gain power), it is necessary to acknowledge that ideology operates on many levels beyond the material; meanings are open to interpretation (see Hutson 2002).

Consumer choice is understandably an important topic in historical archaeology (for a further introduction to this topic, see McCracken 1990; Miller 1995; Spencer-Wood 1987). Consumerism touches on broad and complex issues in history, culture, and society and comments on the uneven (but not inevitable) shifts from "...traditional to modern culture, from village to city, ...from face-to-face exchange to capitalism" observed historically in Western societies (Martin 1993:152). Particularly in the early eighteenth century, consumer culture emerged with a rise in population, increase in overall wealth, and emergence of capitalism and mass-production. New consumer goods became increasingly available to wealthy citizens of Europe and the United States, and by the latter half of the century, similar goods for personal grooming, dining, entertaining, and household furnishing were available to the less wealthy (Martin 1993:152). Practices of gentility and sociability became even more pervasive in the following century. With the advent of mass-production in the nineteenth century, individuals who were unaccustomed to many material goods were suddenly faced with new decisions regarding aggressive advertisements, social competition, and unprecedented availability of mass-produced goods.

In the history of historical archaeology, attention to consumerism has changed in tandem with shifts in archaeological theory. The earliest approaches to interpreting artifacts were not particularly concerned with consumerism, and instead focused on empirical and culture historical studies. Some of the most widely used studies along this line are Ivor Noël Hume's (1970) *Guide to Artifacts of Colonial Williamsburg*, Toulouse's (1971) *Bottle Makers and Their Marks*, and Godden's (1964) *Encyclopedia of British Pottery and Porcelain Marks*, which have been termed "foundational studies" (Majewski and Schiffer 2001:29). Such studies do not address broad theoretical issues, but by their very nature, provide the basis for

further inquiry. Processual archaeology studies were largely defined by artifact pattern recognition theory. This approach was championed by Stanley South (1977; 1988), who predicted the function of archaeological sites (e.g., domestic, military, frontier, etc.) could be determined from a comparison of functional artifact percentages for activities related to the kitchen, architecture, furniture, arms, and so forth. These studies sought patterns in artifact assemblages to make statements about the practical nature and comparability of site assemblages, but paid little, if any, attention to reasons *why* people possessed certain items beyond functional assumptions.

Around that same time, James Deetz pursued a very different approach to material culture based on structuralism and cognitive inquiries. Deetz (1978) applied this framework to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century archaeological assemblages in New England and argued that seventeenth-century assemblages reflected individuals' Medieval mindset favoring heterogeneous decorative schemes, while eighteenth-century assemblages of matching ceramics reflected a Georgian mindset favoring an ordered life. Deetz also worked with Lewis Binford's distinction between technomic function (roughly equivalent to Stanley South's functionalism) and ideo-technic and sociotechnic functions and demonstrated that artifacts have social and ideological meanings beyond utilitarian uses (Deetz 1977:51).

Yet other archaeologists pursued ways to link material artifact studies with consumer choice, particularly by examining ways to determine what individuals were willing to invest monetarily in certain items. The most often cited work along this line is George Miller's effort to classify ceramics in such a way as to reflect purchasers' expenditures (Miller 1980, 1991). Using decorative techniques to rank ceramics, he developed a seemingly empirical method for determining individuals' social status. I emphasize the alleged empiricism here because ceramics could be classified in a number of ways that are open to interpretation. In any case, pairing a materialist reading with comments on social status seems to have been Miller's veiled interpretation of Marxist cultural materialism, a framework many archaeologists returned to later in more direct language of an archaeology of capitalism (discussed below). In spite of Miller's important recognition of the interplay between artifacts, consumer choice, and individuals' purchasing power, his work in this vein does not address many of the symbolic and ideological aspects of consumer goods. These concepts have been recognized in later studies that often combine Marxism, structuralism, feminism, postcolonial theory, modernization theory, and postmodernism.

Gendered consumerism in historical archaeology has been understudied, perhaps because of the difficulty of locating gender in the material record. The late-nineteenth-century Victorian emphasis on domesticity, family dining, and masculine and feminine ideals has been discussed at length, particularly in regard to consumer behavior (e.g., Blaszczyk 2000; Bushman 1993; Ginger 1965; Schlereth 1991; Wright 1980). Also, in contrast to modern stereotypes of women as the purchasers of pretty things, it has been pointed out that during this period, young college men were seen as potential purchasers of beautiful glassware; glass manufacturers "wooed them with fabulous stories about rich and powerful men who owned pieces of masculine glassware" (Blaszczyk 2000:46). Before the Civil War, apparently men were making most of the

decisions about which household goods were purchased; after the Civil War, mail order catalogs enabled women to make more purchasing decisions from home (Majewski and Schiffer 2001). In any case, no longer can archaeologists assume that refined, esthetically pleasing artifacts are exclusively indicative of feminine consumer behavior. It is important to explore the roles of women as consumers and managers of household consumption strategies (Majewski and Schiffer 2001; Martin 1993:142), but historical archaeologists have not adequately addressed methods for finding such behavior in the material record.

Historical archaeologists have also explored ethnicity in consumer culture. Some studies analyze the consumption of ceramics and subsistence items to discern the ethnicity of a site's former residents (e.g., Crabtree 1990; Langenwalter 1980). Others study consumption to explore the intersection of ethnicity and class. For example, Griggs (1999) discusses the intersection of class and ethnicity in a nineteenth-century Irish community in New York and demonstrates that class and ethnicity do not always correspond. Yet others discuss the consumption of meaningful goods as an act of resistance against a dominant power structure, as in a case of resistant consumerism at a World War II Japanese-American internment camp (Branton 2000, 2004). In another study, Penner (1997) describes the ethnogenesis of Swiss-Appenzellers in South Carolina in an innovative study of consumer behavior as an indicator of acculturation strategies. Their first strategy in the New World was self-imposed isolation, but later changed certain elements of their material culture and everyday interactions to integrate with their neighbors' cultural practices. Penner finds that consumption of ceramics and food items is especially a sensitive indicator of shifting perceptions of ethnicity, a supposition also supported by McGuire (1982).

Modernization has some parallels with acculturation in regard to consumerism and social and cultural change. While many historical archaeologists are understandably concerned with exploring the intertwined processes of colonization, acculturation, ethnogenesis, industrialization, and modernization, there is not enough attention to the significantly loaded terminology they use. For example, modernization theory is problematic in that it can portray cultural process as linear and inevitable, when many cultures supposedly undergoing modernization exist in the present (and thus, should be considered fully modern). In spite of the problematic terminology, some archaeologists have conducted interesting studies centered on consumerism in "modernizing" contexts. For example, one study explores the implications of increasing mechanization in rural farming practices in South Carolina prior to 1951 (Cabak et al. 1999). The authors study built environment and consumer behavior and conclude that very few homes had become modernized by 1950, but many of them purchased new commercial goods. It seems apparent that everyday decisions about consumerism change more quickly than larger, long-term investments in architecture. Another study by Thomas Kruggeler (1997) shows how modernization and acceptance of western capitalist consumer patterns is not necessarily inevitable. Kruggeler found that many indigenous peasants in nineteenth-century Peruvian villages were very reluctant to consume foreign goods, because most "did not share the common notion that consumption had a civilizing effect or proved one's civilized

manners" (Kruggler 1997). Similarly, Paul Shackel's (1994, 1996) work at Harpers Ferry equates one armory employees' apparent rejection of newer, mass-produced goods with an ideological rejection of mass-production as a whole.

Yet other studies have focused on capitalism and the role of consumerism in asserting one's class, status, or degree of gentrification in capitalist systems (e.g., Branstner and Martin 1987; Hardesty 1994; Leone 1995; Otto 1977; Rotman and Nassaney 1997; Shepard 1987; Wurst 1999). Many studies also address consumerism in broader historical and economic contexts, such as the modern world system (Hall 2000; Orser 1996b), various work on the archaeology of capitalism (Johnson 1993; Leone 1995; Leone and Potter 1999), and studies of corporate paternalism (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1987, 1989b; Mrozowski et al. 1996).

Others have critiqued consumer choice models, claiming that archaeologists' attention to consumerism ignores the fact that people's choices are restricted by their life circumstances. Wurst and McGuire (1999: 198) suggest that consumerism is an ideological illusion of capitalism, and that we must simultaneously study both consumerism and production, with emphasis on the latter. Their suggestions that people's choices are constrained and that we should study both production and consumption are points well-taken. However, they have indeed overstated their case in suggesting, "To put all of this perhaps too simply, choice is a privilege of the powerful and the well to do" (Wurst and McGuire 1999:193). Simply because people's consumer choices are limited, for example, because they are poor, does not mean that their choices are illusory or inconsequential. Rather, archaeologists might give the subaltern of the past some credit for recognizing their own oppression by the capitalist system. People do make choices that are constrained and enabled by their life circumstances and by the social structures in which they participate. But they still have choices, however limited they may be. Archaeologists can study material culture for evidence of the complexities of their consumer choices, which are made with constrained agency (for further reading on constrained agency, see Wicks 1998). Everyday, poor people have the power to decide whether or not to try and scrape together funds to purchase a coveted item. Alternatively, they might steal it, borrow it, buy an imitation, or perhaps even make a facsimile. They might ultimately reject a certain item altogether for an endless variety of possible reasons, including the possibility of seeing through the supposed illusion of consumerism. There are many options available to all consumers, and some options are less desirable than others. But there are always options and choices to be made.

Summary

Rather than seeking a singular definition of power, this research explores myriad forms of power found within industrialized society and particularly within bureaucracy, built environments, and conspicuous consumption. Here, power is envisioned as something that individuals or groups might employ or experience in social,

political, or economic networks and in varied levels of consciousness. It can involve power over others and power to change one's own life circumstances, as well as aspects of domination, resistance, coercion, hegemony, heterarchy, and collusion. This chapter initially focuses on theories of power as proposed by Marx, Gramsci, Weber, Foucault, and Bourdieu, as well as their application to subsequent studies of complex societies, industrialization, and the archaeology of historical-period industrial sites. The second half of the chapter summarizes theory and case studies addressing documents, landscapes, and artifacts as sources of data to be read critically.

Chapter 4
Paternalism, Resistance, and Hegemony

"When [Fayette school teacher] Charlie Mason asked [the schoolchildren] who was Governor of the State, they replied with united voices 'Fayette Brown.' They were wrong as to Michigan, but they knew who was 'boss' in their town" (Escanaba Iron Port 1879b). Fayette Brown was a Jackson Iron Company agent after whom the town was named.

Introduction

Those studying company towns face the difficult challenge of sorting out structural power relationships generated by paternalistic efforts, from power and ideology embedded in broader social, cultural, and religious movements in which citizens participate. Also challenging is the need to identify issues of power related to domination as opposed to hegemony, which offer subtle conceptual differences. This chapter describes paternalistic efforts at Fayette, including for example, the provision of housing, support services, and benefits for employees and their families. The following sections address several topics that explore paternalism evidenced in the built environment, and the documentary record, as well as historic events illuminating domination, resistance, and hegemony.

Corporate Paternalism

As discussed in Chap. 2, company towns can be defined as communities occupied by employees of one or more companies that own all or most of the land, housing, and support services (Crawford 1986; Davis 1930:119). Company towns such as Fayette were often located in isolated, rural areas that were close to natural resources, but far from urban centers. As such, companies who wished to attract and maintain a reliable labor force provided employees with a variety of benefits. Industrial benevolence is often discussed in terms of paternalism, from a metaphor

of the protective, yet controlling, relationship between a (male) parent and child. Paternalistic power relations established in a company town such as Fayette hinged on the authority of a patriarchal leader. Sociologist Max Weber famously described patriarchal leaders as those who exercise traditional authority; it is the kind of authority wielded by a father over his household, a master over serfs, a lord over his subjects, and so forth (Weber 1946b:296). A patriarchal leader is obeyed, not because of rules, but because of the traditional authority that comes with his position (Weber 1964:341–342) (power and authority are discussed in greater detail in Chap. 3). In Fayette's case, the patriarchal leaders were the company's visiting agent and the town superintendent, the town's highest-ranking company employee in residence (both are discussed below).

Corporate paternalism in the United States has taken many forms, ranging from oppressive and manipulative behavior on the part of the owners and managers, to an informed negotiation between workers and owners. In the Great Lakes mining region, Alanen (1979:256) suggests that "town planning activities undertaken by mining companies generally proved to be idealized, free-enterprise concepts with the objective of stabilizing the workforce and improving employee efficiency, health, and morality." This description is fairly accurate for Fayette, as well, as will be discussed in this chapter.

As in many company towns, Fayette was entirely built and owned by the company Jackson Iron Company (J. I. C.). For detailed information on the town's corporate history, architecture, and archaeological excavations, readers can consult a number of documents (Friggens 1973; National Heritage Corporation 1974; SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996). This section provides a summary of the Jackson Iron Company's paternalistic efforts at Fayette, such as the provision of housing, benefits and services, recreational facilities, and green engineering (also known as environmental engineering), with emphases on structural power and hierarchical relationships that typically accompany paternalistic practices in industrial capitalism. Detailed information about Fayette's class structure is presented in Chap. 5.

Paternalism in Services and Benefits

There was no town here before the Jackson Iron Company established one in 1867, and Fayette was a paternalistic endeavor from the very beginning. Once founded, it was immediately named after Fayette Brown, the Jackson Iron Company agent who chose the town site's location (Fig. 4.1). As an agent for the company, Brown was probably based in New York, and probably traveled to various locations as he was needed for company business. There is no documentation to indicate that he ever lived at Fayette, but even from a distance, his patriarchal authority was certainly felt keenly. According to one newspaper article, "When [Fayette school teacher] Charlie Mason asked [the schoolchildren] who was Governor of the State, they replied with united voices 'Fayette Brown.' They were wrong as to Michigan, but they knew who was 'boss' in their town" *(Escanaba Iron Port 1879b)*.

Fig. 4.1 Fayette Brown, Jackson Iron Company agent after whom the town was named. Photo provided courtesy of the Michigan Historical Museum

The company was responsible for the construction of all buildings and structures at Fayette. Most were constructed in roughly the first decade after establishment, circa 1867–1879 (SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996). For accommodations, employees rented wood-frame houses built along several streets on the peninsula and log cabins located closer to the mainland (details are provided in Chap. 5). Alternatively, they rented rooms in Fayette's boarding house or hotel, or sublet rooms from families living in rented houses. Industrial structures and features within the townsite included two charcoal blast furnaces, two casting sheds, boiler and blower rooms, blast ovens, charcoal kilns, a lime kiln, and a hoist house, as well as a limestone quarry, a railroad line, and shipping docks. Administrative and commercial buildings in the center of town included a company office, hotel, town hall/opera house, machine shop, store/warehouse, granaries, jail, ice house, railroad engine repair building, granaries, carpenter and blacksmith shops, barns, sheds, and stables (Figs. 4.2 and 4.3; Table 4.1).

Employees relocated to Fayette from other countries and other parts of the United States. To attract workers to this remote region, the Jackson Iron Company offered employees a variety of benefits. This practice was common in the establishment of company towns, both past and present (Allen 1966; Crawford 1986; Garner 1992). Payroll records and labor contracts illustrate that the pay scale was one of the most immediately discernable elements of the class structure imposed by the company.
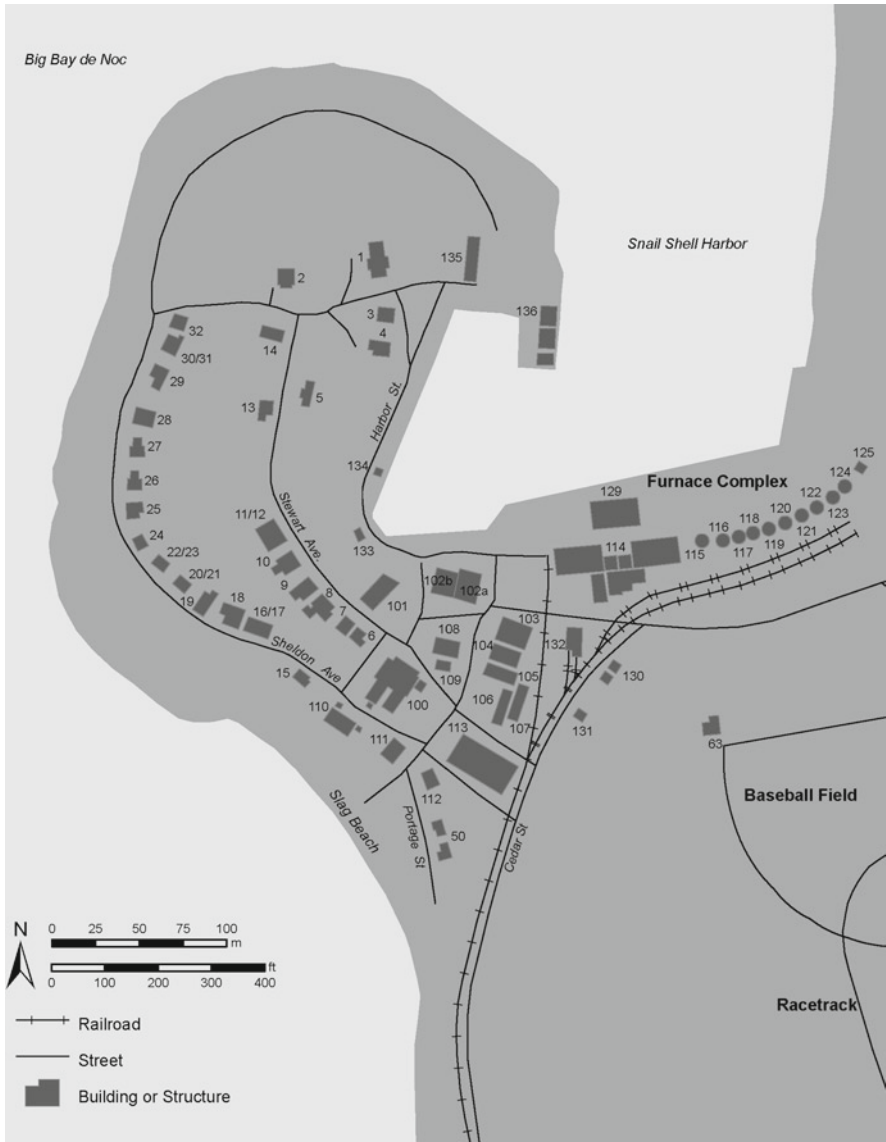
Fig. 4.2 Fayette townsite, circa 1886. Numbers are keyed to Table 4.1 below

For example, payroll records from 1887 (Jackson Iron Company 1887) indicate that some employees were paid monthly and had a certain amount of job security, while others were paid daily, depending on whether or not their services were needed each day (Table 4.2). The lowest-paid employees listed in April 1887 were laborers and teamsters. Of those earning daily wages, the highest paid were carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, and those working on the company's steamships. Various foremen,
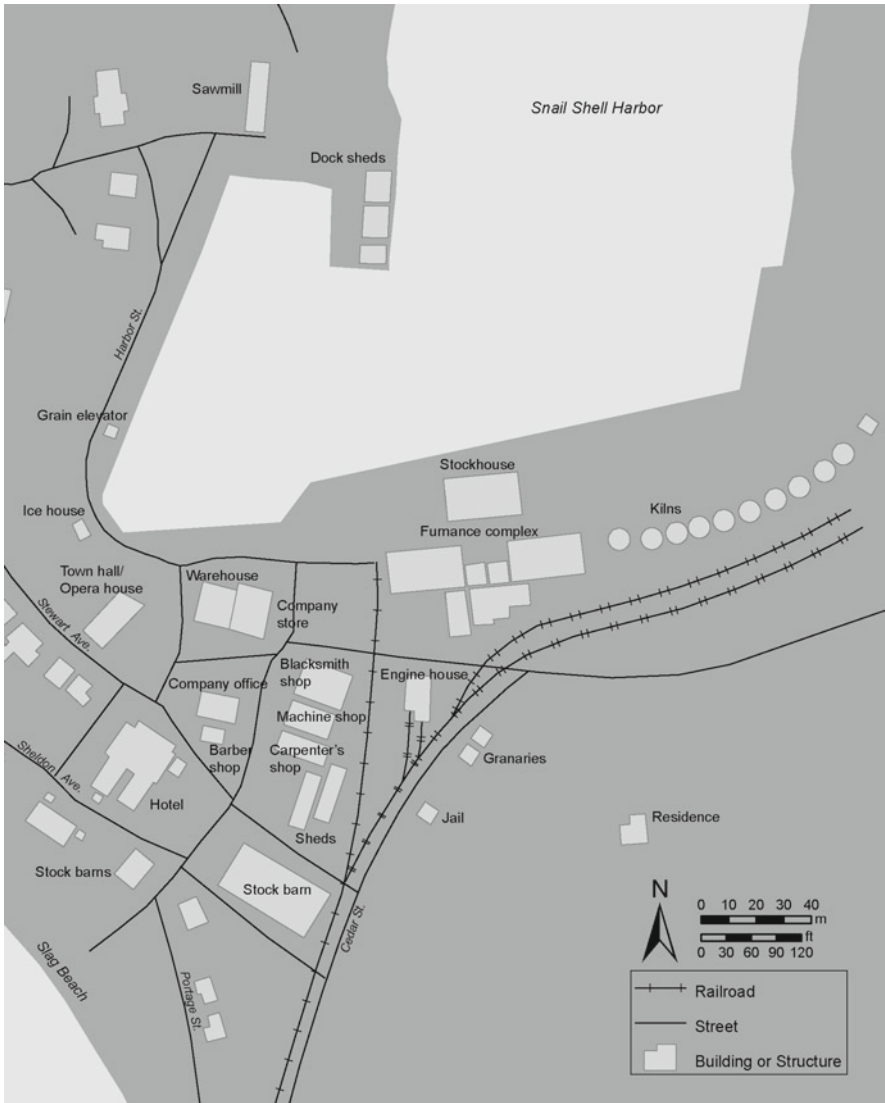
Fig. 4.3 Overview of Fayette's commercial/support and industrial sectors

machinists, and storekeepers earned higher and more secure monthly salaries, while the highest-paid employees listed in the document were the book keeper and the iron founder.

Interestingly, the town's superintendent, foreman of coal kilns, and foreman of the furnace are not listed on the existing company payrolls (Jackson Iron Company 1879–1892, 1886, 1887, 1888–1891). Presumably, the regional Jackson Iron Company office paid them directly and paid them well. The superintendent was the

Table 4.1 Chronology of buildings and structures within the townsite (adapted from SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996: 119)

Building No.	Building or structure function	Present condition	Dates of construction/ demolition
1	Frame residence (Superintendent's)	Extant	Ca. 1867–1869 through present
2	Frame residence (Doctor's)	Extant	Ca. 1867–1869 through present
3	Frame residence	Extant	Ca. 1867 through present
4	Frame residence	Extant	Ca. 1867 through present
5	Boarding house	Foundations/features	Ca. 1867 through ca. 1950
6	Frame residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1867 through ca. 1950
7	Frame residence	Extant	Ca. 1867 through (between 1907 and 1961)
8	Frame residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1867 through (between 1907 and 1961)
9	Frame residence	Extant	Ca. 1867 through (between 1907 and 1961)
10	Frame residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1869 through (between 1907 and 1961)
11/12	Frame duplex residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1869 through (between 1907 and 1961)
13	Frame residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1867 through (between 1907 and 1974)
14	Frame residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1869 through (between 1907 and 1961)
15	Frame residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1869 through (between 1907 and 1961)
16/17	Frame duplex residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1869 through (between 1907 and 1961)
18	Frame residence	Extant	Ca. 1869 through present
19	Frame residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1869 through (between 1907 and 1961)
20/21	Frame duplex residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1870–1872 through (between 1907 and 1961)
22/23	Frame duplex residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1870–1872 through (between 1907 and 1961)
24	Frame residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1868–1878 through (between 1907 and 1961)
25	Frame residence	Extant	Ca. 1868–1878 through present
26	Frame residence	Extant	Ca. 1875 through present
27	Frame residence	Extant	Ca. 1875 through present
28	Frame residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1870–1872 through (between 1907 and 1961)
29	Frame residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1870–1872 through (between 1907 and 1961)
30/31	Frame duplex residence	Extant	Ca. 1870 through present
32	Frame residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1870 through (before 1907)
50	Log cabin residences. Two excavated in 1986 (Martin 1987a)	Foundations/features	Ca. 1876 through ca. 1907

Table 4.1 (continued)

Building No.	Building or structure function	Present condition	Dates of construction/ demolition
63	Frame residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1879 through (between 1907 and 1961)
86	Frame residence	Foundations/features	Ca. 1879 through 1974
100	Hotel (Shelton/ Fayette House)	Extant	Ca. 1867, 1871, 1882 through present
101	Town hall/ Opera house	Extant	Ca. 1871, 1879, 1882 through present
102A	Company store	Foundations/features	First ca. 1867–1886; second ca. 1886–1922
102B	Company warehouse	Foundations/features	Ca. 1870 through 1922
103	Blacksmith shop	Foundations/features	Ca. 1867 through (before 1922)
104	Machine shop	Extant	Ca. 1868–1870 through present
105	Carpenter's shop	Foundations/features	First ca. 1869–1879; second ca. 1879 through (before 1922)
106	Shed	Foundations/features	Ca. unknown through (between 1907 and 1961)
107	Shed	Foundations/features	Ca. unknown through (between 1907 and 1961)
108	Company office	Extant	Ca. 1869 through present
109	Barber shop	Foundations/features	Ca. 1870–1872 through (between 1907 and 1961)
110	Small stock barn	Foundations/features	Ca. unknown through (between 1907 and 1961)
111	Small stock barn	Foundations/features	Ca. unknown through (between 1907 and 1961)
112	Small stock barn	Foundations/features	Ca. unknown through (between 1907 and 1961)
113	Large stock barn	Foundations/features	Ca. 1869 through (between 1907 and 1961)
114	Furnace complex	Extant	Ca. 1867 through present
115–124	Charcoal kilns	Foundations/features	Ca. 1867 through present (deteriorated and one reconstructed)
125	Lime kiln	Extant	Ca. 1867 through 1881; 1882 through (between 1907 and 1961); reconstructed
128	Hay barn	Foundations/features	unknown through (after 1907)
129	Stock house (Dock building)	Foundations/features	Ca. 1869 through (after 1907)
130	Granaries	Foundations/features	unknown
131	Jail	Foundations/features	Ca. 1879 through 1973
132	Engine (round) house	Foundations/features	Ca. 1872 through (between 1900–1906)
133	Ice house	Foundations/features	Ca. 1867 through ca. 1900
134	Grain elevator	Foundations/features	unknown through (before 1907)
135	Sawmill	Foundations/features	Ca. 1868, rebuilt 1871 through (before 1907)
136	Dock sheds (3)	Foundations/features	Ca. 1870 through (between 1907 and 1961)
150	Racetrack/baseball field	Foundations/features	unknown

Table 4.2 Selected occupations and pay rates from April 1887 (Jackson Iron Company 1887)

Name	Occupation	Rate
William Pinchen	Book keeper	$100.00 per month
John Flynn	Founder	$100.00 per month
Andrew Reid	Store keeper	$83.00 per month
Robert Bassler	Machinist	$75.00 per month
John Chalkline	Foreman	$60.00 per month
Hans Caratleson	Barn man	$55.00 per month
William Rowe	Asst. store keeper	$50.00 per month
B. Allen	[Steamship] Lady Washington	$2.50 per day
James Mays	Blacksmith	$2.50 per day
Jas. Smith	Mason	$2.50 per day
Neil Gormson	Carpenter	$2.00 per day
William LaFond	Teamster	$1.60 per day
Peter Paylert	Coal forker	$1.60 per day
James Benschick	Top man	$1.60 per day
Leon Vermersch	Laborer	$1.50 per day
John Altenhoffen	Furnace man	$1.00 per day

highest-ranking company official living in residence at Fayette. Several men held the title of superintendent over the years. Often the post was held by employees who had worked their way up Fayette's corporate ladder, first working as a founder or a book keeper, for example. In keeping with Weber's (1964) description of a patriarchal leader, the superintendent often employed his relatives in high-ranking positions that bolstered his authority. For instance, the superintendent listed in the 1880 census was John B. Kitchen. In that year, his brother Samuel Kitchen was the foreman of the coal kilns, and his brother-in-law Thomas B. Glendenning was foreman of the furnace. This powerful family occupied the highest-ranking positions in Fayette's corporate hierarchy.

It is unknown how many days per week employees were required to work. However, it is important to note that the highest-paid positions were salaried; lower income positions were paid at a daily rate, which provided less security against layoffs. As was typical in such a power structure, the highest-paid employees had the most job security and the most supervisory power. The lowest-paid employees had the least job security and the least supervisory power. They occupied the most dangerous and labor-intensive positions, such as the ironically titled "Top Man," who was responsible for dumping carts of raw material directly into the top of the furnace, sometimes resulting in serious injuries. One such incident at Fayette was reported in local news in 1874. "A man, whose name we did not learn, while dumping a buggy of coal fell into the top of one of the stacks of the Fayette furnaces.... As luck would have it, they had just finished casting, and the hot blast had not yet been put on, so the man was rescued with only one arm burned" (*The Mining Journal* 1874).

The wages paid to Fayette employees suggest that they were relatively well paid, for example, compared to employees in a late-nineteenth-century industrial town in Pennsylvania, where employees earned roughly half of what Fayette's employees did (Heberling 1987:207). However, as will be discussed in the next chapter, Fayette's employees did not necessarily take home much money after the company deducted various bills from their paychecks (e.g., Friggens 1973:16; Jackson Iron Company 1887).

Compared to the national average, Fayette was progressive in terms of child labor. In 1880, child labor in the U.S. was slowly beginning to decline. Some have suggested the decline was due to changes in manufacturing technology, larger numbers of immigrant laborers, rising wages, and the demands of increasingly organized and vocal social movements against child labor (Moehling 1999:72–73). Research based on Federal census data indicates that in 1880, one in three boys and one in eight girls aged 10–15 in the U.S. were gainfully employed (Moehling 1999: 94). These numbers are quite a contrast with the number of children working at Fayette. According to the 1880 census for Fayette, of the 65 girls aged 16 and younger, none held gainful employment (Department of the Interior 1880). Only three of 82 boys at Fayette aged 16 and under were employed, and they were among the older children, aged 14–16 (see discussion of gendered work Chap. 7). The reason for the Jackson Iron Company's low employment rate for children is open to speculation. No known documents shed any light on their attitudes toward employing children. The availability of immigrant laborers for unskilled work could have been a factor. Also, Protestant clergy took an active interest in Fayette's social ills, and the company's management was largely Protestant, a religion known for its interest in social reform in this period (see Chap. 8 for discussions of Fayette's immigrant workforce and the religions practiced in the town).

Although few employment contracts have been found, several do shed light upon benefits provided by the company to entice prospective employees to the isolated community of Fayette. Of the contracts that exist, all were agreements with managerial and skilled employees and with contractors who did work outside the townsite (e.g., road construction projects, timber harvesting). There are no known contracts with unskilled employees, suggesting that having a signed work agreement, in and of itself, might have been a benefit. Subtle differences between contracts indicate shifts in management style as the company town matured. In the early years, at least some employees enjoyed relatively high pay, rent-free housing, and free firewood as part of their contracts, as did mason Charles Schwartzer, who was contracted to earn $1,000 yearly in 1869 (Jackson Iron Company 1869). Nothing in his contract directly required obedience or allegiance to company rule. Just a year later, a contract with "boss mason" Dennis Boone provides sick leave and moving expenses to Fayette, but no firewood or rent-free housing. He further agreed "in all instances to follow strictly [sic] any and all regulations and orders of said agent serving the said companies [sic] interests and Village and to require the same from every member of his family" (Jackson Iron Company 1870). Insistence that the head of household must control his family's behavior is a clear example of how the company instituted paternalistic power relations in both metaphorical and literal senses of the word.

   Other contracts indicate that the company offered different benefits to different employees, depending upon what was negotiated. For example, an 1881 contract with John Grethen, a mason, promised him $70.00 a month for a year, but that he might be required to do work other than masonry. It was stipulated that he would not be required to work on Sundays or nights except for mason work, and that he would not be required to load pig iron or unload iron ore. A glimpse of the company's power over its employees is again seen in the statement, "This agreement shall be canceled in case of shutting down the works for any cause, in case of disobedience … [illegible] of said Company, or by mutual consent" (Jackson Iron Company 1881).

   Company towns usually provided various services for their employees and their families, exerting varying degrees of social control. Crawford (1986:30–31) describes management styles ranging from "closed" towns in 1870s Pennsylvania that maintained complete authority, to "open" towns such as Calumet and Hecla (also located in Michigan's Upper Peninsula) that allowed independent businesses to operate in town. However, she is careful to note that even so-called "open" towns usually exercised control, for example, by squelching union efforts and coercing local votes to ensure that company personnel occupied county government positions.

   Similar to Calumet and Hecla, Fayette can be described as an "open" company town, where management exerted control over the lifeways of employees and their families with varying degrees of subtlety. For example, historical records do not reveal any union activities at Fayette, but there were apparently some disputes over local politics; political disputes are addressed in the final section of this chapter. As another example, Fayette's children attended a district school, but the company owned and collected rent on the schoolhouse (Jackson Iron Company 1879–1892). Moreover, Fayette's upper management (e.g., superintendent, bookkeeper, founder, doctor) almost always occupied school board positions, raised education taxes, and sometimes held meetings behind the closed doors of their homes (Fayette Board of School Inspectors various years).

   Another subtle mechanism of control was expressed in the following company correspondence, which illustrates the management's attitude toward securing medical services for employees. The letter is from Fayette Brown (after whom the town was named) of the Jackson Iron Company to T. B. Brooks of the Iron Cliffs Company dated 16 October 1867 (Jackson Iron Company Correspondence 1867).

Dear Sir,

I beg leave to introduce my friend Dr. C. J. Bellows who is desirous of moving to Lake Superior, if the prospect of professional business is sufficiently encouraging.

   I wrote to Mr. Merry [then superintendent at Fayette] same day & I was suggesting that I should favor an association of our company and yours and perhaps one or two others to employ a *good* surgeon and purchase medicines for the benefit of employees – raising the necessary funds by a light tax upon their monthly pay.

   I have always opposed anything of the kind unless a competent medicine man as employed. I have that confidence in Dr. Bellows, that I should be very glad to hear

his services secured for the benefit of our men, as well as other good citizens of Negaunee. Besides many years of private practice, he has had five years of experience as surgeon in the army.

<div align="right">
Very truly yours,
Fayette Brown
</div>

Penciled on the reverse side of the letter was a reply from T. B. Brooks to Fayette Brown, reading,

I have made considerable inquiry among our men and find a majority in favor of "free trade" in medicine & have told Dr. B.

October 29, 1867   Brooks

Dr. Bellows was eventually hired, living and working at Fayette until he died in 1882. The friendship between Brown and Dr. Bellows indicates that social networking was a factor in the decision to arrange medical care (see Chap. 8 for a discussion of social capital), though his interest in high-quality care for employees is also apparent. On the one hand, Brown was motivated to provide this benefit for Fayette employees, but on the other hand, he expected the employees themselves to pay for it (see Chap. 7 for a discussion of the Odd Fellows, a mutual benefit society at Fayette).

This type of paternalistic arrangement was typical at Fayette, where the company maintained control and made a profit by arranging for services. As was common in "open" company towns, the company allowed approved merchants and service providers to rent their buildings and operate businesses. However, the employees paid for the services, and the company earned income on rent. For example, the Jackson Iron Company contracted with butchers to operate the town's butcher shop. The butcher shop, which also sold fruits and vegetables, is documented in newspaper articles and daybooks and provides details on employees' food purchases.

For example, on 1 October 1878, George Harris, a butcher, signed a lease with the Jackson Iron Company to operate Fayette's butchery (Jackson Iron Company Correspondence 1878). There are no records that indicate who operated the butchery before 1878, but Harris's contract gave him access to the slaughter house, meat market, one half of the ice house, sausage shop, butcher barn, as well as "such tools as are now on hand for the use of the business" (Jackson Iron Company Correspondence 1878). This indicates that the company owned the building and resources, and only contracted the work to Harris. Also in the contract was a promise by the Jackson Iron Company to give Harris a monopoly, prohibiting outside butchers from coming to town and selling their goods. The contract obliged Harris to "prevent dissatisfaction among the said iron company's employees" (Jackson Iron Company Correspondence 1878).

Unlike the butcher shop, the company itself apparently maintained the company store. Daybooks for the store have not been located, but the company payroll records and cashbooks indicate that Fayette's shopkeepers were on the company

payroll (Jackson Iron Company 1887). The company's steamers imported items for the store along with other industrial shipments *(Escanaba Iron Port 1878)*. Although the store may have been perceived as a benefit and convenience to some, other residents considered it a "pluck me" (*Escanaba Iron Port* 1890; Friggens 1973:43). Fayette residents had other shopping options, such as a store in the adjacent community of Garden, or in Escanaba, across the Bay de Noc. Mail order business also provided some competition for the company store (Friggens 1973:43–44). However, market access was probably not so simple. Employees living paycheck-to-paycheck were able to purchase items from the company store and have it deducted from their salary at the end of the month (Friggens 1973:16), essentially buying on credit. In addition, very poor employees could not afford the time or expense of traveling to other towns to shop. Thus, for many employees, shopping at the company store was still the only option.

Fayette's isolation, especially in late winter and spring, occasionally caused unrest in the community, particularly when food at the company store was in short supply. In May 1888, a news report from Fayette read, "The smoke of the passing steamer was seen today. It was gazed at longingly by the half starved people, w/ wide open eyes & eye glasses, in the vain hope that the steamer was coming here w/provisions. If there is no boat by Sunday next, Reid, look out" *(Escanaba Iron Port* 1888). Reid, the storekeeper, was a company employee. In a paternalistic arrangement, if a company who provides resources fails to deliver the expected benefits, employees typically have recourse to various forms of dissent ranging from protests to strikes (Crawford 1986). This has parallels with anthropological literature on the authority of kingship, where a king might gain rights over others' service by feeding them; simultaneously, there may be social or ritual mechanisms to bring an irresponsible king back under control of the people (Feeley-Harnik 1986:288, 281). However, Fayette's upper management seems to have escaped accountability for failing to provide enough provisions in the company store. The anonymous person reporting to the newspaper held Reid, the company storekeeper, personally accountable, perhaps as a less dangerous target than the company itself. Paternalistic arrangements also have parallels with literature on gift giving as a form of power (Bourdieu 1977; Mauss 1990), as will be discussed in the final chapter.

Paternalism in the Landscape: Green Engineering

Several areas within the Fayette townsite appear to have been set aside for public enjoyment. Although most mid- to late-nineteenth-century industrial planners and landscape architects in America had yet to design model company towns, some applied the principles of green engineering to industrial settings (see Greenwood 1998; Malone 1998; Malone and Parrott 1998). Green engineering (also known as environmental engineering) in the United States usually took the form of building parks and promenades, conserving indigenous vegetation, and planting decorative

greenery around industrial features. According to Malone (1998), industrialists' motivations for building parks and promenades for their employees ranged from well-intentioned philanthropy and personal interest in horticulture, to hopes that beautiful amenities might somehow prevent labor unrest. Green engineering emphasized the creation of landscaped public areas for the moral betterment of middle- and working-class employees. Industrialists often set aside company property for recreational activities and sporting events, hoping employees would release work tensions through sport, improve physical health with exercise instead of leisure, and generally increase their morale and allegiance to the company (Malone 1998). Throughout the nineteenth century, industrialists paid increasing attention to how the working classes spent their free time, particularly as an extension of Victorian interests in classification, social theorizing, cost–benefit analyses, and regulating morality (Billinge 1996; see also Thompson 1981).

Though Fayette has no formal parks, several areas in the town were set aside for public recreation. To the southeast of the townsite, a racetrack and baseball field overlapped one another (see Chap. 8 for a discussion of sports and social capital). The baseball field is used periodically today by the park to host baseball players dressed in nineteenth-century uniforms. The racetrack is no longer visible, but was once an oval-shaped dirt track. Archaeological excavations of the track and field area revealed that the surface had been minimally prepared for sporting events by removing large rocks, cutting trees, removing or burning stumps, and dragging the surface to level it (Halsey 1999a, b; Mead and Halsey 1999). It is not possible to ascertain whether the company sponsored the laborious task of clearing the field, but it is obvious that this endeavor required substantial equipment and labor.

Fayette may have had one or more informal promenades, as well. The portion of Sheldon Avenue that curves around the peninsula's northernmost shore might have functioned in this regard. Historically, locals considered this road as a sort of "Lover's Lane" (Manning 1982:37). This unpaved road provides access to the peninsula's north shore and creates a wooded greenspace that also encompasses the superintendent's and doctor's residences. However, it is doubtful that this forested area was considered part of their household yards; a much smaller portion of the area was fenced off for the superintendent's yard. Likewise, the road probably did not serve the sawmill (building 135) or sheds (building complex 136) at the tip of the peninsula, because Harbor Street would have more directly accessed those structures. Instead, the road does not appear to have any commercial or administrative utility whatsoever. Furthermore, although this greenspace has yet to receive much attention by way of archaeological research, large-scale surveys have yet to locate any buildings or features within it, excepting the two residences and their outbuildings (National Heritage Corporation 1974; SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996). Another intriguing possibility for a historical-period promenade is a pedestrian trail leading from the old County Road (now the main road into the townsite) to the top of the steep limestone bluff, which provides spectacular views of the townsite, harbor, and Lake Michigan (Fig. 4.4) (see Chap. 6 for a discussion of how these some roads might have symbolically transgressed class boundaries).

Fig. 4.4 View of Fayette Historic State Park from a pedestrian trail, circa 1905, when the town became an informal tourist resort. Photo provided courtesy of the Michigan Historical Museum

Hegemony and Resistance

A great deal of research in historical archaeology has been devoted to questions of domination and resistance, particularly regarding cultural contact, company towns, and plantations (e.g., Delle 1999; Frazer 1999; Garman 1998; Groover 2000; Hutson 2002; Majewski and Ayres 1997; Paynter and McGuire 1991). It is important to recognize that many conflicts that might appear as straightforward issues of domination and resistance are probably more complicated than a binary opposition between two forces. Rather, many conflicts that appear as such actually involve more than two parties or groups and are often indicative of more subtle power configurations, such as hegemonic narratives and expectations espoused by various parties, institutions, and participants in social movements. This section describes several conflicts at Fayette such as local residents competing with company managers in local politics, apparent rebellion against the prohibition of alcohol, and employees securing illicit services outside of the company town.

As noted earlier in this chapter, Crawford (1986:30–31) describes several company towns in Michigan's Upper Peninsula as so-called "open" towns, in which the most common forms of control were restrictions of commerce and manipulation of

politics. Similarly, Fayette's highest-paid company personnel occupied most public offices, as documented in local newspaper accounts of local elections; most often, political offices were held by Fayette's superintendent, doctor, boss builder, book keepers, and ship captains (e.g., *Escanaba Iron Port* 1883; *Escanaba Tribune* 1876a). In sum, the more powerful an employee was within the company hierarchy, the more powerful he might become in local politics. For example, the company superintendent usually occupied the position of township supervisor. The first township supervisor was Fayette Superintendent Charles Rhodes, followed by Superintendent John B. Kitchen's tenure from 1874 to 1882. Another Fayette superintendent, Harry C. Merry, served as township supervisor in 1884 and 1886. Newspaper accounts suggest that regional farming and fishing interests in a strong economy and Republican rule also served as company propaganda. One reporter suggested that, for example, company Superintendent J. B. Kitchen's election as county supervisor "ought to be done, and repeated annually for years" (*Schoolcraft County Pioneer* 1881a).

Independently owned (noncompany) newspapers consistently supported the company hegemony for years. For example, when Superintendent Kitchen resigned his position for business in Chicago, news reports laid praise on thickly, without a trace of dissent. One reporter claimed, "Our entire people felt that [in] losing him they had lost their best friend. It is not too much to say that every man woman and child in Fayette will hold in sacrum memberance [sic] the many kind acts and noble traits of character that have graced the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Kitchen…" (*Mining Journal* 1883). These glowing public statements contributed to the production of truth and knowledge regarding the superintendent's power (see Foucault 1977b), not so much of Kitchen himself, but of the company's man. The sentiment is not unlike the traditional proclamation made upon a United Kingdom monarch's death, "The King is dead. Long live the King!" This is reminiscent of Weber's attention to the authority tied to political positions (refer to Chap. 3).

The company's economic power began to decline in the later 1880s, and the company debated whether it was economically feasible to continue operations at Fayette (Friggens 1973). Apparently, this coincided with a decline in the company's political control over employees and surrounding community. It was not until 1889, three years before the company closed operations and sold the town, that noncompany personnel finally won the majority of local political offices. In that year, it was reported, "Election has come and gone like all wars, it leaves a real sting behind. At least it did here, and a good active one to [sic]. There were no broken heads, but a grave many sad hearts. There were two tickets in the field, the townships (or company's) and the Peoples [sic]. The result was a sweeping victory for the latter.... The weather was cool but the politics hot" (*Escanaba Iron Port* 1889a). Fallout continued for weeks afterward, as some openly accused the company superintendent of "bulldozing" employees regarding the election and punishing dissenters with raised rents and even dismissal (*Escanaba Iron Port* 1889b).

Without more detailed documentation, it is difficult to say whether this turn in politics could be described as resistance to company rule, or as the emergence of a counter hegemony, though the later seems more likely. In democratic elections and with no documentary evidence of political unrest until the late 1880s, it would appear that company initially maintained political hegemony, where voters' consent was organized and given willingly. Perhaps this was because of employees' isolation and dependence upon the company for services in this remote area, and because of the apparent lack of union activity at Fayette. Regional newspaper reporters colluded to reinforce the company hegemony for most of Fayette's existence as a company town, perhaps until the company's economic power declined. Then a new, nonindustrial set of interests prevailed, as local populations became increasingly dependent upon agriculture, timbering, and fishing toward the end of the nineteenth century.

Similarly, rebellion against corporate-enforced prohibition might also be cited as an act of resistance, though in Fayette's case, alcohol consumption probably represented a significantly more complex dynamic. As in many nineteenth-century company towns (see Mrozowski et al. 1996), the Jackson Iron Company restricted Fayette employees' consumption of alcohol, though to what extent is uncertain. It is clear that alcohol consumption was at least frowned upon by the company throughout Fayette's operation. An early report from the town stated, "No intoxicating liquors are allowed to be sold, and men are requested to keep sober. A discharge follows drunkenness" (*Mining Journal* 1869). One newspaper account describes the oppositional attitude between town administrators and at least some residents regarding alcohol consumption:

> This week a resident of Fayette obtained a sufficient quantity of "Oh be joyful" at that model temperance town to cause him to throw off all dull care and to become boisterous. Upon being brought up before Justice Pinchin [a company book keeper who later became the superintendent] an effort was made to have him disclose the names of the party or parties of whom he obtained his whiskey, but to no avail; the young man had no idea of telling anything liberal [sic] to implicate anyone besides himself. He now languishes in jail for the period of 30 days (*Escanaba Tribune* 1872).

A series of alcohol-related disputes occurred at Fayette between 1879 and 1881. In 1879, the *Mining Journal*, a newspaper that frequently reported on industrial and daily life in regional mining communities, reported, "Over at the little town of Fayette across the Bay de Noc from Escanaba, they have forbid the sale of beer on account of the bad effect of 'beer dances,' and allow only the sale of whiskey" (*Mining Journal* 1879a). The one authorized source of whiskey sales on company land, albeit, an intermittent source, was the Fayette House. This was the company-owned hotel, whose business was contracted to a string of different entrepreneurs in its history. Some individuals apparently disputed this allegedly authorized source of alcohol. In 1881, hotelkeeper J. H. Harris, one of Fayette's retired iron founders, "was acquitted on a charge of selling liquor without a license, because it was proved that he had a license, and the prosecution failed to prove that he had sold any liquor" (*Mining Journal* 1881). It is unclear whether Harris was brought to court by company managers or by other Fayette citizens.

Table 4.3 Alcohol containers recovered from the 1995 excavations

Excavation context	Beer bottle (ceramic)	Beer bottle (glass)	Stein	Wine bottle	Flask	Spirits bottle
Upper-class neighborhood: superintendent's household privy. Excavation Units 13-1 through 13-6	0	4	0	2	2	1
Middle-class neighborhood: household privy #1. Excavation unit 14-1	0	2	0	0	0	1
Middle-class neighborhood: household privy #2. Excavation unit 14-2	0	0	0	0	1	0
Working-class neighborhood: Household yard midden feature. Excavation Unit 15-1	1	1	0	2	0	0
Working-class neighborhood: Household yard midden feature. Excavation Unit 15-3x	0	3	1	0	0	0
Working-class neighborhood: Household yard cold storage feature. Excavation Unit 15-4	0	1	0	1	0	0
Total	1	11	1	5	3	2

What is obvious from archaeological excavations is that many people throughout Fayette in the 1870s and 1880s disposed of a variety of alcohol containers, regardless of their household's class position. Although the presence of alcohol bottles does not necessarily equate with alcohol consumption (bottles can be recycled for other purposes), alcohol consumption at Fayette seems likely at least to a certain extent. All six features excavated included alcohol containers, such as beer and wine bottles, flasks, and a stein (Table 4.3). The sample size is not large enough to provide comparable quantitative data, but it does show that every unit excavated for this study contained evidence of alcohol consumption, regardless of context.

It was not uncommon for residents of company towns to patronize satellite communities that provided products and services forbidden or discouraged by the company (e.g., Hardesty 1998). At Fayette, unlicensed liquor sales and bootleg operations were common just off company land, implying some perceived need for secrecy and independence from company regulations (e.g., *Escanaba Daily Press* 1958; *Schoolcraft County Pioneer* 1884a). At one time, there was even a floating saloon that operated off a steamship on its route between Fayette and Escanaba, across the Bay de Noc (*Schoolcraft County Pioneer* 1884b). Also tied to the saloons and taverns outside of company jurisdiction were brothels, which seemed to have operated without much public incident. One exception to this was one night in July 1880, when a group of Fayette citizens burned down two taverns/brothels operating outside of town (see text box below).

The Summers and Berlanguette Incident, 20 July 1880

Alphonse Berlanguette operated a "Hole in the Ground" saloon at Fayette, which carried on an illegal, unlicensed sale of whiskey to the men who worked at the Jackson Iron Company's charcoal furnace at Fayette and the fishermen, farmers, woodsmen, and other persons of the area. The tavern was on the shore, south of Fayette. Another establishment nearby was the brothel of Jim Summers, which also relied on the furnace workers for its support. The girls from this establishment were among the patrons at the Hole in the Ground.

Both establishments were frowned upon by the company management, but were beyond its grounds. However, Summers overstepped local tolerance when he lured a Milwaukee girl to Fayette with an advertisement in a Milwaukee paper seeking a "girl companion for my ailing wife." The girl escaped from the brothel after a few days and her charges fired local indignation.

A mob descended on the Summers dive and burned it and "liberated" several women and then burned the Berlanguette tavern to finish the night's work. Summers was slain and his body was found the next morning on the Big Bay de Noc beach, but Berlanguette retired to his home in Fayette.

The mob is reported to have found several thousand dollars in Summers' den and to have given it to the girl from Milwaukee and the other inmates of the place (*Escanaba Daily Press* 1958).

The company's motivations for keeping its employees sober were allied with contemporary trends in Victorian morality and temperance, as well as industrialists' management techniques elsewhere. Antonio Gramsci observed that American industrialists required a "new type of man" who was sober and monogamous as part of a rationalized industrial system that extended beyond the confines of the workplace (Gramsci 1971a:286) (see also Chap. 3). In a parallel movement, the nineteenth century witnessed widespread temperance movements that gained momentum and eventually culminated in legal prohibition of alcohol in the late 1910s. This movement was supported by a wide variety of interest groups, such as women's leagues and Protestant organizations, many of which issued propaganda to that effect. Fayette residents plainly felt the effect of these trends. For example, one regional newspaper suggested to Fayette residents, "'Shun the wine cup' is the motto which every good and honorable citizen of this place or any other ought to follow and profit thereby of it" (*Schoolcraft County Pioneer* 1882a). Fayette had both Catholic and Congregational churches on the outskirts of town, and a Methodist minister regularly visited Fayette on horseback and by boat (Friggens 1973:58). No

doubt, these religious leaders openly criticized residents' morality or lack thereof, as did an 1870 evangelical novel based on Fayette (Langille [1870] 2001). In sum, pressure to behave within certain moralistic parameters came from many directions beyond company rule.

As noted above, alcohol was not strictly prohibited, and there is evidence that alcohol was consumed throughout the community and its class hierarchy. However, both the company and some of its employees apparently drew the line when alcohol and associated vices threatened to interfere with work or community safety. The Summers/Berlanguette incident described above clearly indicates that residents, at least in this case, acted in congruence with the company hegemony discouraging alcohol consumption. Although their protest was sparked by the alleged abuse of a woman, the fact that they burned down a nearby tavern in the aftermath indicates that they also faulted excessive alcohol consumption (there has not been any tavern archaeology at Fayette, but see Dixon 2005 for a study in Nevada).

Thus, some employees shared similar interests with the company, whether reinforced by company decrees, Protestant ideology, media propaganda, sympathy for women in the brothels, or a combination of these. The burning of the brothels and taverns indicates a situation in which private citizens of Fayette rallied against perceived social ills. The fact that the taverns and brothels were burned in an act of mob violence, rather than dismantled through legal or corporate channels, suggests that social and religious ideologies may have held more immediate power and meaning than company rule. The fact that citizens took it upon themselves to rectify the situation suggests that at least some of Fayette's residents had internalized values consistent with both company preferences and the Victorian Protestant value system in support of the prevailing antiliquor hegemony; they opted to self-regulate the community's perceived social ills.

Some archaeologists have interpreted workers' patronage of illicit communities outside company jurisdiction as resistance to company power (e.g., Hardesty 1998). At Fayette, however, temperance was not solely a company agenda, and therefore, rebellion against it cannot be interpreted strictly as resistance against company rule. Rather, alcohol consumption at Fayette probably occurred for a number of reasons involving cultural, religious, class, and gender differences in attitudes toward alcohol consumption. All of these dynamics might have been involved in any given day and produced power relationships much more complicated than a binary opposition between domination and resistance.

This complex dynamic around prohibition recalls sociologist Norbert Elias' (2000) book, *The Civilizing Process*, which follows the development of mannered Western society over the last several hundred years. In it he describes fascinating historical shifts in manners regarding behavior at the table and in the bedroom, as well as the societal regulation of bodily functions. He finds that even the most socially distasteful behaviors (e. g., blowing one's nose) were acceptable within mannered society, as long as individuals followed social prescriptions for the proper ways to conduct the distasteful behavior. To do so was to be civilized, but failing to use proper manners was considered uncivilized and was a cause for being

ostracized from polite society. In spite of the illegality of alcohol at Fayette, it was perhaps tolerated in polite society as long as it was consumed with proper decorum. In contrast, citizens might have declared it distasteful, immoral, or uncivilized within public displays of drunkenness and violence.

Summary

The Jackson Iron Company's paternalistic efforts at Fayette included the provision of housing and medical services, both of which were paid for by employees through rent and deductions in pay. In an early example of green engineering, the company provided a baseball field and racetrack for public entertainment and may have set aside greenspaces for public promenades, in keeping with Victorian ideals regarding health and morality. High-ranking company employees frequently held public political offices until the company's economic power waned in the late 1880s. The company shared similar moralistic ideals with Protestant and Victorian ideologies, particularly regarding alcohol, and some employees apparently subscribed to this hegemony to a certain extent. However, many households throughout Fayette's class hierarchy probably consumed alcohol, indicating a complex power dynamic.

Chapter 5
The Class System

Now they came into contact with a more uncompromising part of the community. The better class of inhabitants had been solicited in the forenoon; and the work that remained was nearly confined to the log-houses on Shanty Street, which were occupied for the most part, by a low grade of German, French and Irish…. Clara almost wondered if they could be part of common humanity

(from an historical novel based on Fayette, Langille [1870] 2001:129, 130).

Introduction

Corporate-structured hierarchy and employees' class positions are visible in divisions within company housing and in consumer trends observed in three neighborhoods. The following sections focus on these two indicators of class to demonstrate that employees' relationships with the company dictated their economic class relative to other residents in the community. In this chapter, class relationships are examined from a perspective loosely derived from Marx: as an identifiable economic relationship based in the material record. By contrast, Chap. 6 examines the intersection of class with disciplinary power and the body; Chaps. 7 and 8 address the intersection of class with social status and identity (e.g., gender, consumer behavior, peer relationships), which is more in keeping with Weber's notion of class as a descriptive grouping of people with diverse ideas and motivations (see Paynter 1999). Here, the class system at Fayette is examined in relative terms on a local level, comparing residents' class positions with one another. In this case, class is defined by income and type of work done, rather than by individuals' relationship to the means of production (cf., McGuire 2008:97).

Class and the Built Environment

As discussed later in this chapter, a great deal of literature in historical archaeology analyzes consumerism and purchasing power as indicators of economic class (e.g., Spencer-Wood 1987; Wurst and Fitts 1999). However, there are few examples in historical archaeology that compare quantifiable architectural data as indicators of class; although this type of data has the potential to provide relative ranking in terms of class, it has been understudied in this field (for exceptions, see Heberling 1987; Wall 1999).

A three-tiered class system was ingrained in Fayette's landscape, as demonstrated in historical documents, architecture, and archaeological data. The built environment served to generate and reinforce a relational class system that was particular to Fayette, but generally representative of how class was manifest in American industrial capitalism during the second half of the nineteenth century. Fayette was built entirely for the purpose of smelting iron in a remote location. While it was not formally planned as a model town, apparently it was built with class divisions in mind and was perceived as such by contemporaries. The following sections provide details on the class system visible in the built environment, which parallels an early description of Fayette's housing (*Mining Journal* 1869): an exclusive upper-class neighborhood primarily represented by the superintendent's house, several frame middle-class houses, and numerous working-class log cabins.

Assessing Class-Based Neighborhoods

The class system at Fayette is readily visible when demographic and architectural data are combined. This section compares square footage of residential space allotted to residents, presence or absence of servants and boarders, and occupation of the heads of household, all of which are indicators of relative class position.

There were seven residential streets at Fayette: Harbor, Stewart, Sheldon, Cedar, Portage, Hill, and an unnamed east-west-trending street. The unnamed street appears on modern and historical maps, but is not labeled. In the 1880 U.S. census of Fayette, the two houses facing this street were included with other streets that perpendicularly intersected the unnamed street (Department of the Interior 1880). The exact location of Hill Street is unknown, and housing located there probably dated to a later period than other housing; thus, Hill Street is excluded from analysis. Table 5.1 and Fig. 5.1 combine data from the 1880 U.S. census, archaeological excavations of housing, and architectural data to show that residents living on each street occupied varying numbers of residential square footage (see Fig. 5.1, Table 5.1).

These data show that these seven streets represent three relative class groupings based on architecture, among other variables. Residences on the unnamed east-west-trending street in the northernmost part of town hosted the largest residences at Fayette. Each resident in this exclusive, upper-class neighborhood occupied an average of 674 square feet of space, more than twice as much as other residents in town.

Table 5.1 Demographics and Square Footage Statistics for six streets

Street name	Type of housing construction	Number of households[a]	Number of residents[a]	Average number of residents/household[a]	Average total square footage/house[b]	Average square footage/resident
Unnamed E-W	Frame	2	7	3.5	2,358[c]	674
Harbor	Frame	2	11	5.5	1,647[c]	299
Stewart	Frame	10	53	5.4	1,484[c]	275
Sheldon	Frame	16	79	4.9	1,353[c]	276
Portage	Log	8	43	5.4	841[d]	156
Cedar	Log	25	130	5.2	841[d]	162
Total	–	63	324	–	–	–

Note: Table excludes the hotel and Hill Street, whose exact location is uncertain

[a] Data were derived from the 1880 census

[b] Total square footage includes livable space, basements, cellars, lean-to additions, etc.

[c] Data were derived from blueprint drawings on file at Fayette State Historic Park

[d] Data were derived from photographic and archaeological evidence (Martin 1987a)
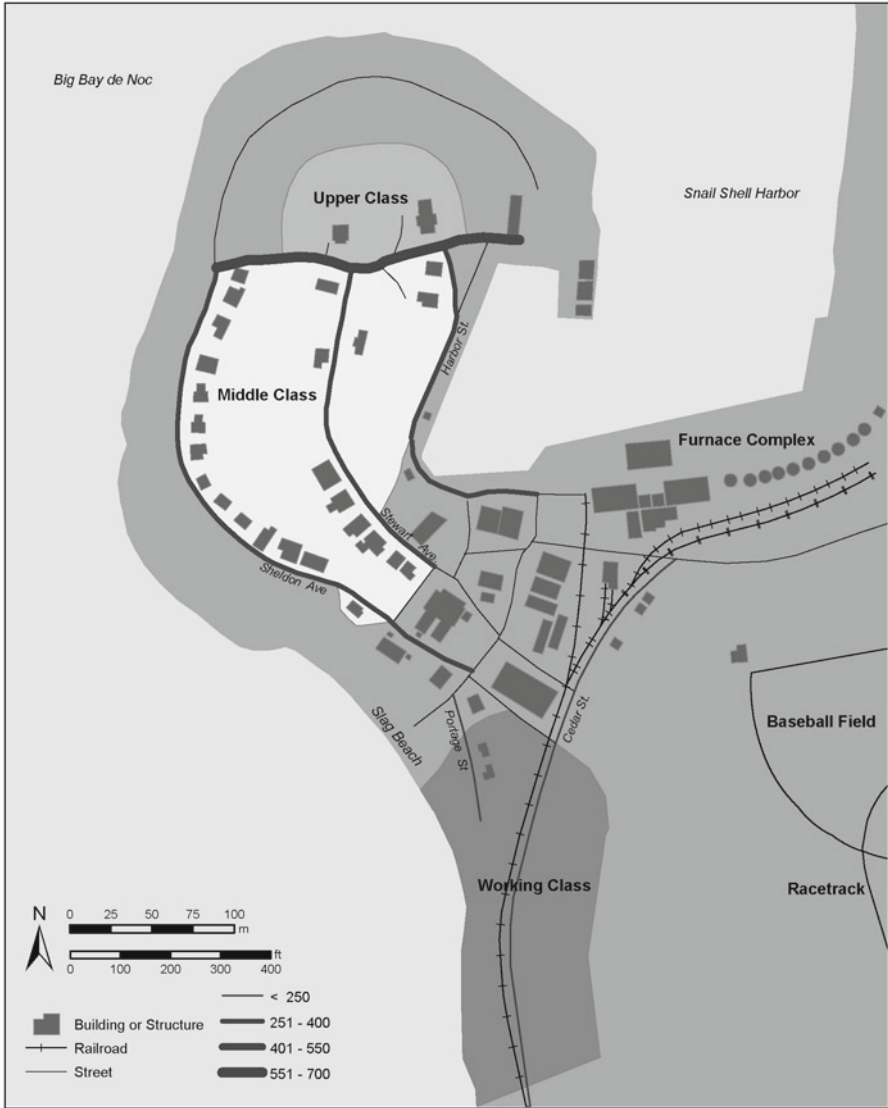
Fig. 5.1 Average square footage per household on each street

Residents of Harbor Street, Stuart Avenue, and Sheldon Avenue occupied between 276 and 299 square feet per resident, and represent the middle class. Working-class housing is represented by log cabins on Portage and Cedar Streets, which offered its residents only just over half the space allotted to those in middle-class housing.

As might be expected, a similar pattern is found in the number of doors and windows for each single-family residential building (Table 5.2, Figs. 5.2 and 5.3). Those living on the unnamed, east-west trending street have four or five exterior doors, and the superintendent's house (house number 1) has the many windows in

Table 5.2 Square footage and numbers of doors and windows in selected single-family homes

Street name	House number	Number exterior doors	Number exterior windows	Total square footage
Unnamed E-W	1[a]	5	28	3,206
Unnamed E-W	2[a]	4	14	1,509
Harbor	3[a]	2	13	1,477
Harbor	4[a]	2	15	1,816
Stewart	7[a]	2	8	1,175
Stewart	9[a]	3	10	1,625
Stewart	13[a]	3	11	1,653
Sheldon	18[a]	2	10	1,283
Sheldon	25[a]	2	8	1,144
Sheldon	26[a]	3	11	1,493
Sheldon	27[a]	3	11	1,493
Cedar	50[b]	2	6	841

Refer to Fig. 4.1 and Table 4.1 in the previous chapter for a key to building and structure numbers
[a]Data were derived from blueprint drawings on file at Fayette State Historic Park
[b]Data were derived from photographic and archaeological evidence (Martin 1987a)

town by far. Those living on other streets have fewer windows and doors, and the residents of Cedar Street have the fewest windows of any residents in town. This trend reflects differences in the expense of buildings that employees occupied, which is a material reflection of class.

This hierarchical class pattern is supported by data regarding the heads of household living on each street, as well as the numbers of live-in servants and boarders living there (Tables 5.3–5.5). According to the 1880 U.S. census, the unnamed street hosted town superintendents J. B. Kitchen and Dr. Curtis Bellows, who were most likely the highest-paid individuals in that town (refer to Chap. 4). These two households did not have boarders. The doctor's household did not have a servant, but in the superintendent's home, a sister-in-law lived there and worked as their house keeper. Heads of household on Harbor Street were a merchant and the furnace foreman (the superintendent's brother-in-law). Neither household took in boarders, but both had live-in servants. This appears to be a case of (upper-) middle-class residents who hired servants as a household luxury, rather using servants to host boarders (as is the case with other middle-class homes at Fayette). Residents of Stewart and Sheldon Avenues again show commonalities in their occupations, which were diverse, but dominated by those in the skilled trades. Several households on these streets had live-in servants, but the servants only lived in households that took in boarders, apparently in an attempt to boost household income. Residents of Cedar and Portage Streets worked either in skilled trades or more likely as laborers and teamsters. Income earned by members of these occupations also reflects an economic hierarchy in pay scale (refer to Table 4.2 in Chap. 4).

A three-tiered class structure was reinforced on the landscape with several physical features. The upper-class neighborhood resides on an unnamed east-west trending street located on the least topographically sloping residential area in town. By contrast, middle-class residents lived on three parallel streets running roughly north to south (Harbor Street, Stewart Avenue, and Sheldon Avenue), and centered
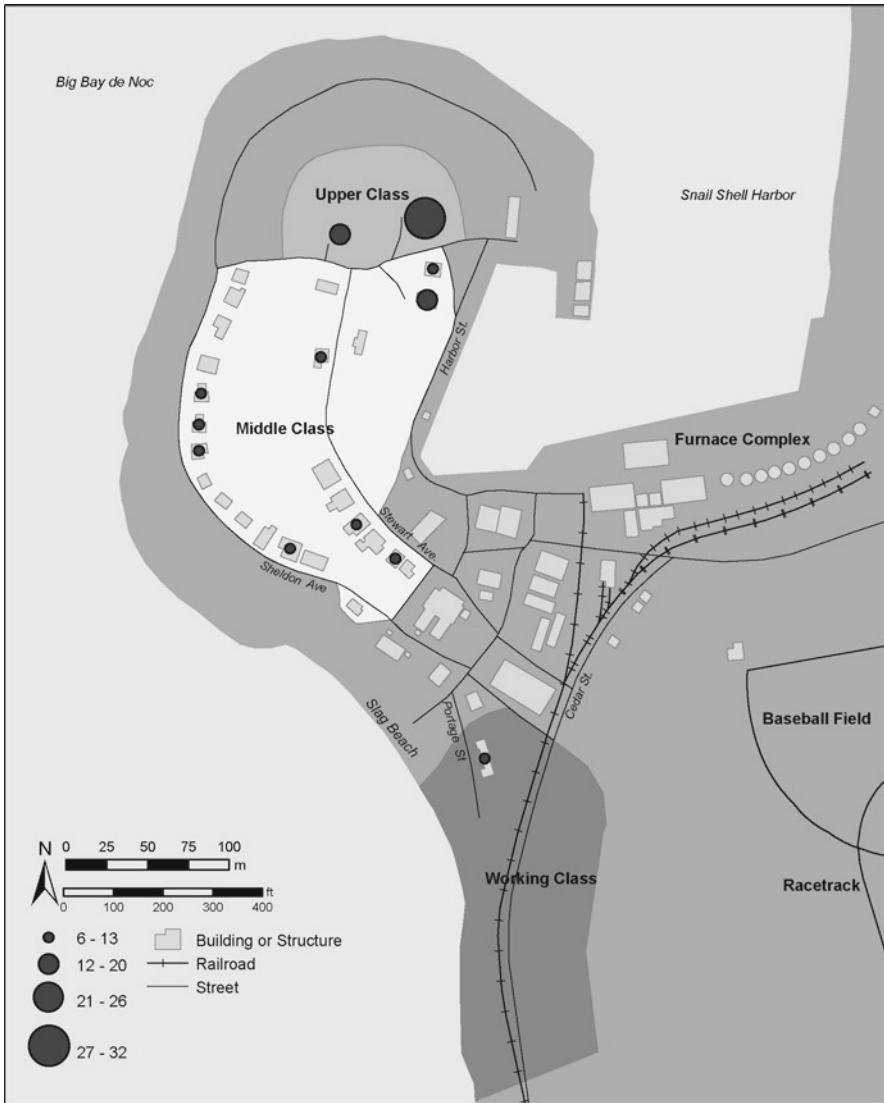
Fig. 5.2 Number of windows per house

on a wooded knoll. The working-class neighborhood was separated from the others by Fayette's commercial and support service sector. This neighborhood was situated along two north to south trending streets (Cedar and Portage Streets) crowded at the base of a steep slope. It was centered on a railroad track and lay adjacent to an industrial waste dump known as Slag Beach.

All of these trends taken together form a composite picture of a three-tiered class system that was partially generated and reinforced in the built environment (see Table 5.6, Fig. 5.4). Upper-class residents lived in the largest houses with the
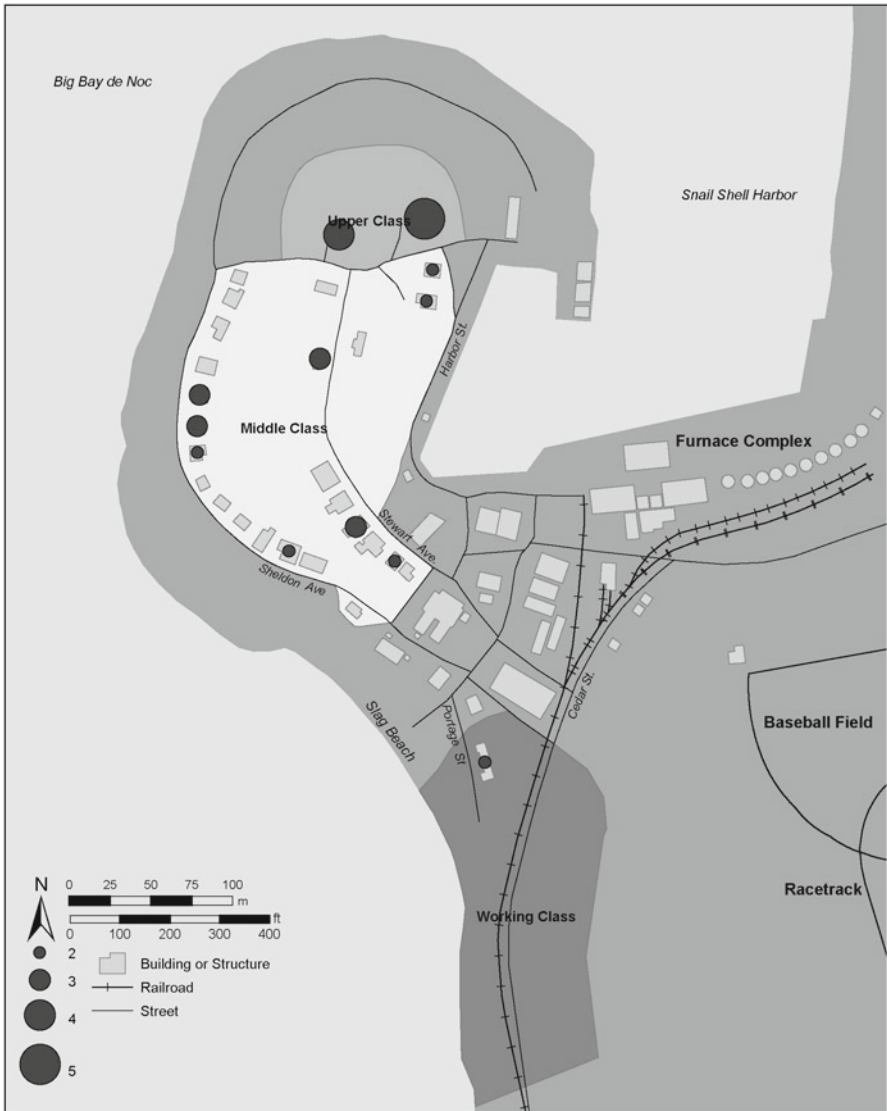
Fig. 5.3 Number of exterior doors per house

many windows, doors, and architectural elaboration (see below for details); the residents here were the company doctor and the superintendent. Middle-class employees lived in substantially smaller and simpler frame houses with fewer windows and doors; the residents here worked in diverse occupations, predominatly in skilled trades. Working-class residents lived in another part of the town, in very crowded log cabins with few window and doors; the majority of the residents here worked as laborers and teamsters.

Table 5.3 Occupations for the heads of households, per street, based on 1880 U.S. Census

Street name	Heads of household on the street	Laborer/ Teamster		Skilled trades		Supervisory		Nonindustrial support services	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Unnamed E-W	2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	1	50.0
Harbor	2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	1	50.0
Stewart	10	2	20.0	4	40.0	2	20.0	2	20.0
Sheldon	16	4	25.0	6	37.5	2	12.5	4	25.0
Portage	8	7	87.5	1	12.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Cedar	24	18	75.0	6	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	62	31	–	17	–	6	–	8	–

Table 5.4 Boarders per street (excluding hotel and Hill Street), based on 1880 U.S. Census

Street name	Boarders (#)	Residents who are boarders (%)	Households with boarders (#)	Households who have boarders (%)
Unnamed E-W	0	0	0	0
Harbor	0	0	0	0
Stewart	14	26	2	20
Sheldon	14	17	2	13
Portage	3	7	2	25
Cedar	12	9	5	20

Table 5.5 Servants and housekeepers per street (excluding hotel and Hill Street), based on 1880 U.S. Census

Street name	Servants/ Housekeepers (#)	Residents who work as servants/ Housekeepers (%)	Households with servants/ Housekeepers (#)	Households who have servants/ Housekeepers (%)
Unnamed E-W	1	14	1	50
Harbor	2	18	2	100
Stewart	1	2	1	10
Sheldon	2	3	2	13
Portage	0	0	0	0
Cedar	0	0	0	0

Table 5.6 Architectural summary for upper-, middle-, and working-class housing

Neighborhood	Average number of residents per household[a]	Average total square footage[b]	Average square footage per resident	Average number of exterior doors	Average number of exterior windows
Upper class	3.5	2,358[c]	674	4.5[c]	21.0[c]
Middle class	5.1	1,462[c]	287	2.4[c]	10.8[c]
Working class	5.2	841[d]	162	2.0[d]	6.0[d]

Note: Table excludes the hotel and Hill Street, whose exact location is uncertain
[a]Data were derived from the 1880 census
[b]Total square footage includes livable space, basements, cellars, lean-to additions, etc.
[c]Data were derived from blueprint drawings on file at Fayette State Historic Park
[d]Data were derived from photographic and archaeological evidence (Martin 1987a)
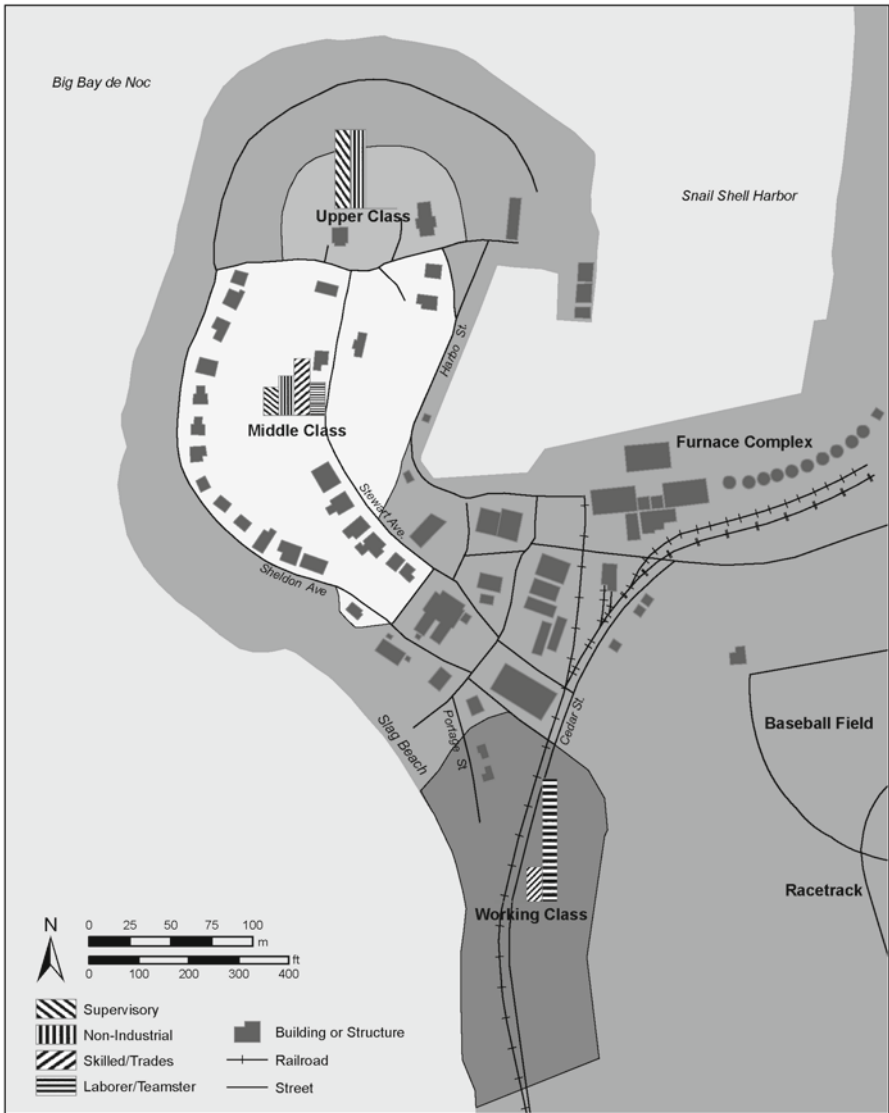
Fig. 5.4 Occupations of the heads of household in each neighborhood, as listed in the 1880 U.S. Census

Upper-, Middle-, and Working-Class Housing

As discussed above, an analysis of the town's housing indicates three neighborhoods that contributed to the hierarchical class divisions within the company's workforce. The following paragraphs provide descriptions of housing in these neighborhoods to illuminate class differences embedded in the town's built environment. As will

be discussed in the next chapter, residents experienced these loose divisions as
meaningful cultural geography, but this chapter focuses on the materiality of
architecture and landscape.

   The working-class neighborhood consisted of log cabins along Portage, Cedar,
and Hill Streets.[1] Many of these cabins did not sit on the town site's peninsula, but
were located just south the peninsula, on the mainland. The log cabin neighborhood
was centered on either side of railroad tracks that seemed to separate this neighbor-
hood from the rest of town. None of the log cabins remain standing, and today,
much of the landscape is overgrown with vegetation at the base of the mainland hill.
The ground surface is extremely uneven from trash deposits and cellar depressions.
Historical-period photos indicate that at least some of the cabins were side-gable
one-and-one-half-story log cabins with vertically boarded gables and cedar shin-
gled roofs; at least one had dormers (SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996:25).
The cabins were spaced very closely together, with little yard space. Excavations of
log cabins closest to the beach suggest that they were spaced roughly 10–20 ft apart
(Martin 1987a), while a reconnaissance survey of cabin depressions closer to the
hill showed that cabins were consistently only 10 ft apart (Halsey 2002). Streets in
this neighborhood were very close together, with rows of houses separated from
one another only by narrow lanes. None of those buildings survives on the Fayette
landscape today, but the park staff have built a reconstructed log cabin on the foot-
print of one excavated by archaeologists in 1986 (Martin 1987a) (Figs. 5.5 and 5.6).
The reconstructed cabin has a kitchen, sleeping rooms, and a lean-to addition
(Figs. 5.7 and 5.8). This exhibit allows park visitors to experience how close
working-class housing was to Lake Michigan, and how unsheltered this neighbor-
hood was from the winter lake winds.

   Archaeological excavations of two log cabins, directed by Patrick Martin of
Michigan Technological University (Martin 1987a), indicate that the cabins were
constructed of rounded pine logs with lime-based chinking. The footprint of one
cabin measures 13.5 by 27.6 ft (approximately 373 square feet), and the footprint
of the second cabin measures 23 by 35 ft (814 square feet). Martin (1987a:59) sug-
gests that the smaller building was designed as a single family-home and the larger
as a duplex.[2] The square footage would double if the houses were one-and-one-half
or two stories. There is evidence of plastered and painted interior walls, a suspended
chimney, few glass windows, minimal door hardware, and small root cellars. There
are some questions regarding flooring; most areas within the houses appear to have
simply used the limestone beach cobbles as a floor surface in a kind of pavement,

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[1] Although the exact location of Hill Street is unknown, Park Historian Brenda Laakso believes it
was located on the mainland hill, as part of the log cabin neighborhood (Brenda Laasko, June
2004, personal communication).

[2] Although the sizes suggest that these buildings were a single family home and a duplex, census
data suggest that houses in this neighborhood might have housed multiple families, extended
families and/or boarders, depending on household life cycles and the occupants' economic and
social strategies.

Fig. 5.5 Reconstructed log cabin. The cobblestone beach in the foreground is mixed with chunks of slag and historical-period trash

Fig. 5.6 Reconstructed log cabin; note the proximity of the house to Lake Michigan's beach in the background
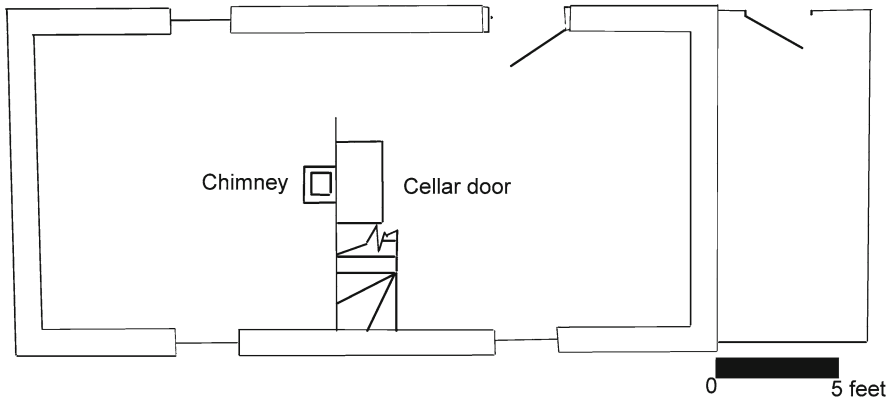
Fig. 5.7 First floor plan for a reconstructed working class log cabin, based on archaeological and photographic evidence. Adapted from blueprints on file at Fayette Historic State Park
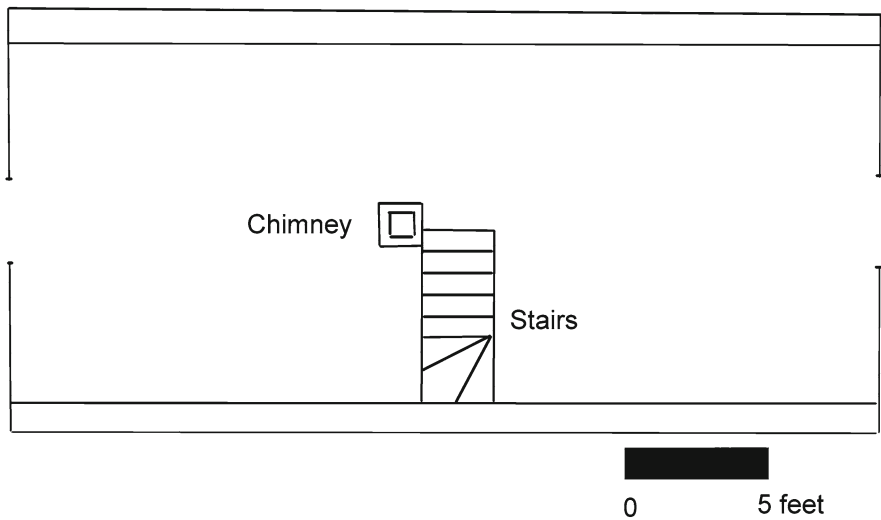
Fig. 5.8 Second floor plan for a reconstructed working class log cabin, based on archaeological and photographic evidence. Adapted from blueprints on file at Fayette Historic State Park

but one room yielded evidence of pine flooring. The stratigraphy around the perimeter of one house indicates that thick lenses of charcoal, slag, and furnace rubble were used to level the surface prior to building the house. Charcoal was also used to insulate a root cellar and was intentionally heaped against the house foundations; Martin (1987a:59) suggests charcoal might have been used to insulate the house from harsh winter winds from the lake. In sum, this neighborhood was crowded, lacking in privacy, unsheltered from harsh winds, and polluted by industrial waste.

In contrast to the log cabins in the working-class neighborhood, middle-class houses on Harbor Street, Stewart Avenue, and Sheldon Avenue were of frame

construction, several of which survive today. Architectural historians have analyzed historical photos and extant buildings from this neighborhood, which are summarized here (SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996:25). All buildings in this neighborhood rested on dolomite foundations and had nine-over-six or six-over-six windows and cedar shingled roofs. The houses originally had vertical board-and-batten siding, often later changed to clapboard siding and plain cornerboards. Several houses were one-and-one-half-story, side-gable houses with a center entrance (Fig. 5.9). Others had a two-story upright and a one-and-one-half-story wing. There were also similarly styled duplexes with entrances at each end of the facades. Houses in this neighborhood usually had a kitchen, two or more sleeping rooms, and a room that could have functioned as a parlor (SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996:37–38) (Figs. 5.10 and 5.11).

Archaeological excavations in this neighborhood yielded occasional, small chunks of slag and charcoal, but nothing remotely of the magnitude of the industrial waste heaped around the working-class houses. Historical photos and maps indicate that middle-class houses had substantially larger yards, more privacy, and a thick treeline sheltering the houses from winter lake winds.

Upper-class housing consists of only two houses on an unnamed east-west-trending street in the northern portion of the peninsula. Both houses possess distinctive architectural features that set them apart from framed housing in the middle-class neighborhood. One house was assigned to the company doctor, as evidenced in the 1880 U.S. census (Fig. 5.12). The first story was brick and probably served, at least in part, as the doctor's office. This first floor had two separate

Fig. 5.9 A middle-class house on Sheldon Avenue. Note the foundations for another house to the *right*, and the extant hotel in the background
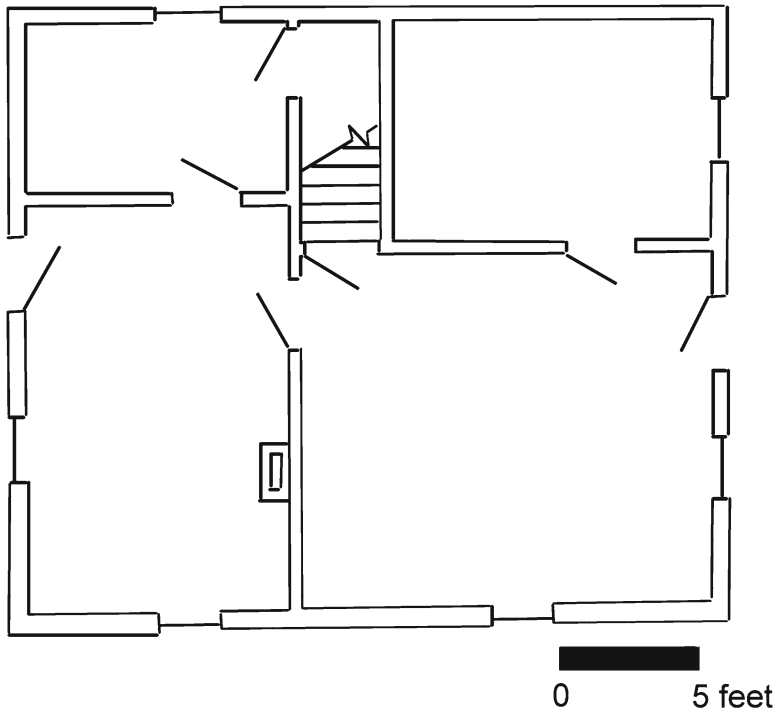
Fig. 5.10 Middle-class residence (building 7) first floor plan. Adapted from as-built blueprints on file at Fayette Historic State Park

entrances at ground level. Front and back staircases led to an additional framed one-and-one-half-stories above, which included rooms for a kitchen, parlor, and three additional rooms (SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996:39).

The superintendent and his family occupied the other house in this neighborhood (Figs. 5.13 and 5.14). This two-story, front gable with shallow cross-gable wings was by far the largest residence in town. Rooms in this elaborate house included a parlor, dining room, library, kitchen, maid's room, pantry, storeroom, five bedrooms, and a large cellar (SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996:39) (Figs. 5.15 and 5.16). Both the middle- and upper-class floorplans at Fayette provided a separation of public and private space within households that was a Victorian ideal with roots in the Georgian order; working-class floorplans did not allow for this division (see Baxter 2002:22–23; Deetz 1977:92–117; Rotman and Nassaney 1997). The separation of public and private space within the home was requisite for important social engagements and social capital (meaningful relationships with significant people) as discussed in Chap. 8. Furthermore, architectural historians have pointed out that the superintendent's residence is the only house in town that "possesses even a modicum of decorative character, with sidelight-and-pilaster-framed front entrance, fanlight device in the front gable, and a front verandah" (SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996:25). Locals knew this residence as the "White House" during Fayette's operation as a furnace town (Manning 1982:42).
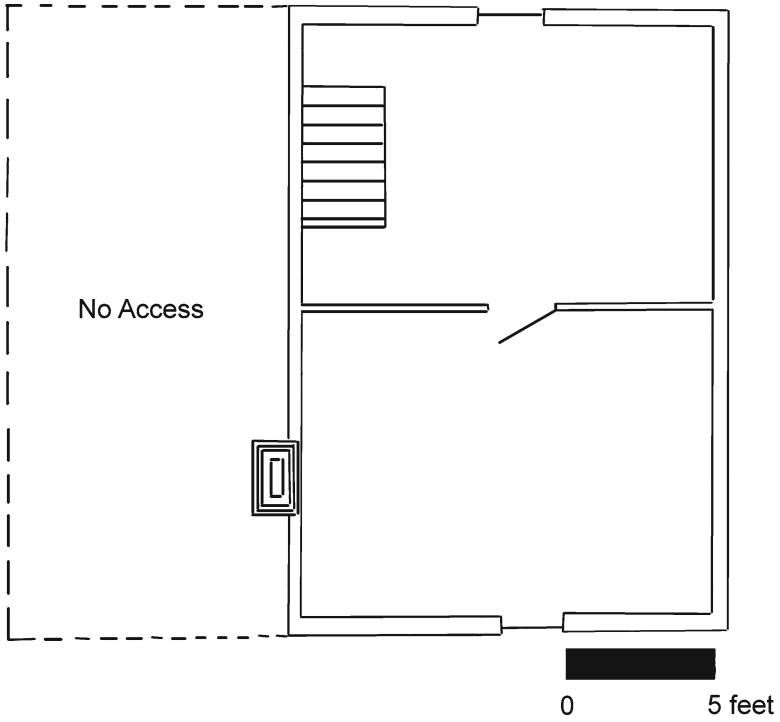
Fig. 5.11 Middle-class residence (building 7) second floor plan. Adapted from as-built blueprints on file at Fayette Historic State Park

Fig. 5.12 Doctor's family home in the upper-class neighborhood

Fig. 5.13 Front facade of the superintendent's family home in the upper-class neighborhood

Fig. 5.14 Side view of the superintendent's family home in the upper-class neighborhood

Archaeological excavations showed that yard waste in the superintendent's back yard was minimal, with little trash and only a very few pieces of slag and charcoal. Historical photos and maps illustrate a private, fenced yard, sheltered by trees on two sides closest to Lake Michigan. The other two sides of the house were largely
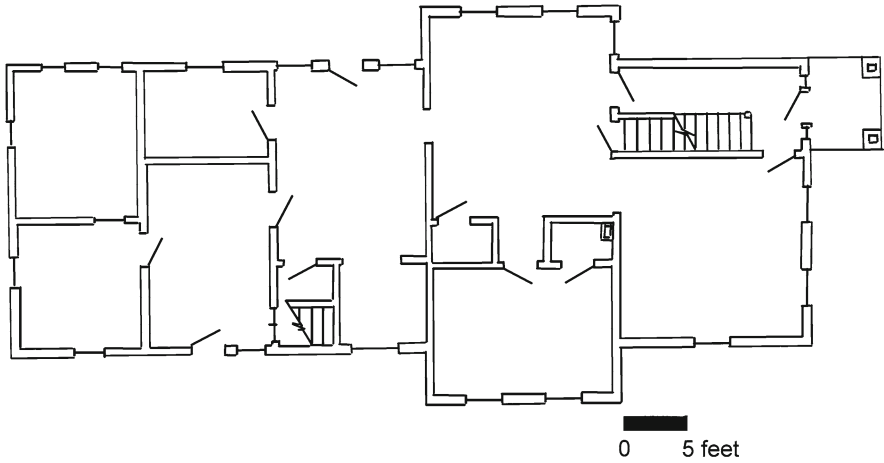
Fig. 5.15 Superintendent's family residence, first floor plan. Adapted from as-built blueprints on file at Fayette Historic State Park
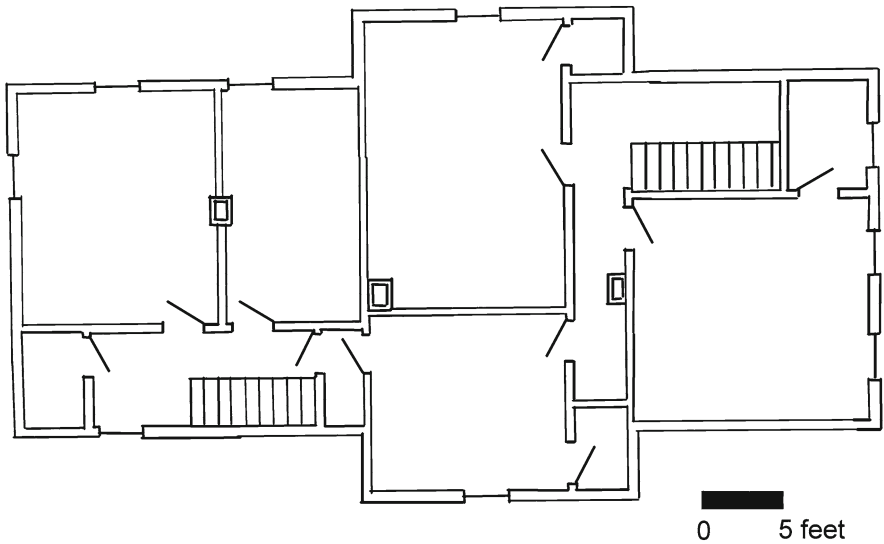
Fig. 5.16 Superintendent's family residence, second floor plan. Adapted from as-built blueprints on file at Fayette Historic State Park

free of trees, affording a commanding view of the furnace complex (see Chap. 6 for a discussion of viewsheds and surveillance).

In sum, housing at Fayette reflected the class hierarchy imposed by the company, as evidenced in the houses' square footage, fenestration, building materials, degree of privacy and shelter from wind, and exposure to industrial waste. Housing differences reinforced class positions, and contemporaries were well aware of these differences. Numerous historical accounts describe the differences in housing and

the uneven power distribution they implied. For example, in 1869, two years after Fayette's establishment, a representative of *The Mining Journal* of Marquette, Michigan, visited the town. The author provided detailed descriptions of the furnace complex, operations, and associated buildings, and introduced a number of upper-management personnel. He writes of the housing, "Other permanent improvements made by the Company, consist in part of… [the] Superintendent's house, nine good frame houses, all with the necessary out-buildings, [and] forty comfortable log houses…. The house of the Superintendent, Mr. Harris, is particularly well built and finished" (Swineford 1869). His comments highlight the architectural evidence of a three-tiered class system that was apparently noted by contemporary viewers, though the term class was not used.

As another example, Fayette residents referred to the superintendent's house as the "White House" (Manning 1982:42). To draw a parallel reference to the U.S. President's home as a symbol of political authority is a clear statement of the superintendent's authority and symbolic capital, as well (see Chap. 8 for more on symbolic capital). In stark contrast, as discussed in Chap. 6, contemporaries complained about the appearance of the working-class neighborhood. Writers found the neighborhood disordered, crowded, and unclean, and the residents were described as "a low grade" of people (*Escanaba Iron Port* 1879a; Langille [1870] 2001:129–130).

Class and Consumerism

This section addresses consumerism particularly from the standpoint of purchasing power as an indicator of economic class, in contrast to Chap. 7, which examines aspects of consumerism tied with social status, style, and distinction. Comparative consumer behavior in Fayette's three neighborhoods has been addressed in previous archaeological excavations of household privies and yard refuse (refer to Chap. 2 here and Cowie 1996, 2008). Specific attention is given here to certain categories of artifacts that are particularly sensitive indicators of economic class, including faunal remains, edible fruits, glass, and ceramics.

Faunal Remains

The following faunal analysis is a brief synopsis of previous faunal studies on the same archaeological features addressed in this volume (Cowie 1996) (Appendix E, Cowie 2008). It should be noted that different preservation conditions might have skewed the results to a certain degree. The upper- and middle-class remains were recovered from deep privy deposits, which might have better preserved smaller bones from fish and fowl. By contrast, the working-class deposits were recovered from smaller, shallower features that served a different function and might have

offered less-favorable preservation conditions. With that in mind, the following analysis is certainly not the only explanation for the relative frequencies presented below. The analysis rests mainly on a comparison of relative frequency of the number of individual specimens (NISP) and minimum number of individuals (MNI) from the three neighborhoods (Tables 5.7 and 5.8, Figs. 5.17 and 5.18).

NISP and MNI provide similar results. Residents in each of the three neighborhoods consumed a wide variety of species. The upper-class collection included several chickens, ducks, a turkey, fish, oysters, and elements of cow, pig, and deer. The middle-class collection includes a large number of chickens, with fewer numbers of turkey, grouse or pheasant, fish, cow, pig, deer, and sheep or goat. By contrast, fowl and seafood are underrepresented in the working-class neighborhood, whose residents apparently consumed more beef and pork.

A variety of wild and domesticated meats were available for purchase at Fayette's butcher shop. However, some meats were more expensive than others, and Fayette's poorest residents surely made at least some (if not most) purchasing decisions based on their pay. Some residents seemed to be barely scraping by, as in the case of William Kihm, who worked as a cinder in 1887. His wages from April of that year amounted to $31.50, but by the time the company deducted his bills, including butcher shop purchases, he took home only $0.26 (Friggens 1973:16; Jackson Iron Company 1887).

It is difficult to evaluate the relative costs of certain species in this market setting and with these samples. Some researchers, for example, have assigned values to certain species and cuts of fish in an attempt to discern economic differences between

Table 5.7 Faunal minimum number of individuals (MNI) for each neighborhood

	Upper class		Middle class		Working class	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Cow	1.0	5.9	2.0	7.7	7.0	36.8
Pig	1.0	5.9	3.0	11.5	4.0	21.1
Sheep/goat	0.0	0.0	2.0	7.7	0.0	0.0
Deer	1.0	5.9	2.0	7.7	2.0	10.5
Fowl	8.0	47.1	15.0	57.7	4.0	21.1
Seafood	6.0	35.3	2.0	7.7	2.0	10.5
Total	17.0	100.0	26.0	100.0	19.0	100.0

Table 5.8 Faunal number of individual specimens (NISP) for each neighborhood

	Upper class		Middle class		Working class	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Cow	65.0	3.0	102.0	5.4	245.0	35.0
Pig	62.0	2.9	69.0	3.6	177.0	25.3
Sheep/goat	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
Deer	2.0	0.1	6.0	0.3	10.0	1.4
Fowl	552.0	25.8	981.0	51.6	201.0	28.7
Seafood	1,455.0	68.1	742.0	39.0	67.0	9.6
Total	2,136.0	100.0	1,903.0	100.0	700.0	100.0
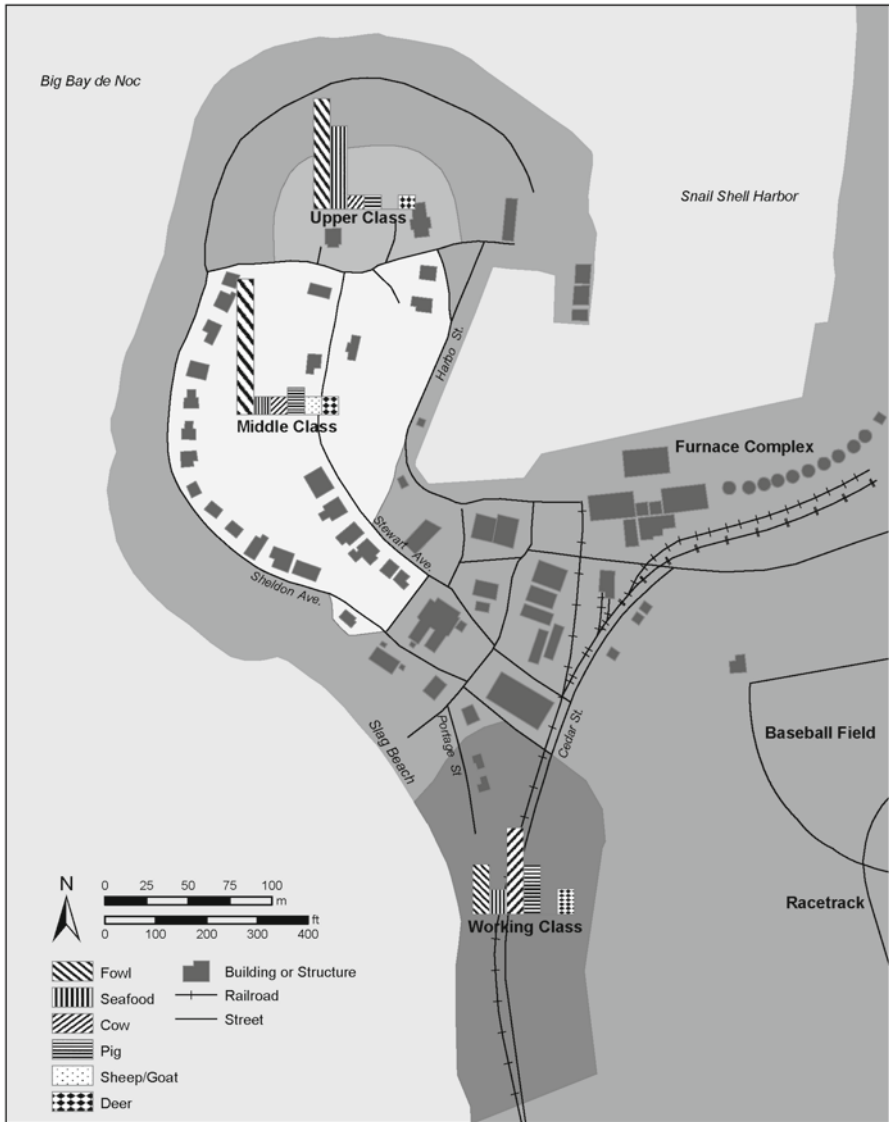
Fig. 5.17 Relative frequencies of faunal minimum number of individuals (MNI) recovered from each neighborhood

households (e.g., Singer 1987). However, with Fayette's collection, very few fish species were positively identified, and it is unknown whether residents on this peninsula purchased fish or caught them in their spare time. Similarly, it is likely that Fayette's working-class residents kept chickens and pigs in their yards (Langille [1870] 2001:129), rather than purchasing them entirely from the butcher. Still, the upper class' consumption of comparatively expensive fowl and seafood stands out among the other neighborhoods, as does the middle class' consumption of chicken and the working
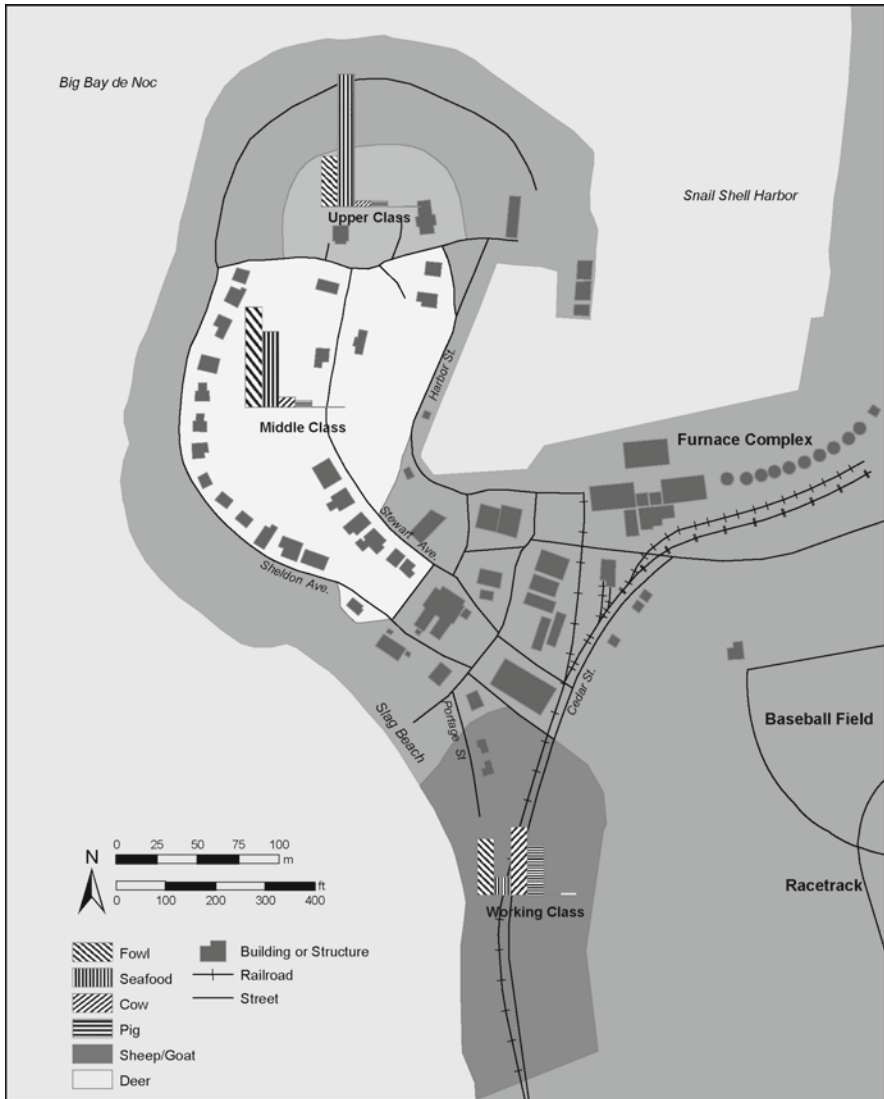
Fig. 5.18 Relative frequencies of faunal number of individual specimens (NISP) for each neighborhood

class' consumption of beef and pork, which were comparatively less expensive at that time period (see below). Again, these apparent patterns could be the result of differing preservation contexts or differences in strategies for acquiring meat. It is also likely that these patterns at least partially represent economic decision making in each neighborhood.

Comparatively evaluating particular cuts of meat, particularly beef and pork, is generally viewed as a more reliable indicator of economic position and has thus received more attention in the zooarchaeology literature (e.g., Davidson 1982;

Landon 2005; Mudar 1978; Reitz 1987; Schulz and Gust 1983). Though items such as bacon and sausage are boneless and do not appear archaeologically, the remaining parts can be analyzed according to their value. Generally, necks and feet are low-quality cuts of meat, usually consumed in stews. Upper hind limbs (proximal femur and innominate) and lower back (lumbar vertebra) are more expensive cuts of meat such as hams, short loin, sirloin, round, and rump. Ribs close to the vertebral column are also fairly expensive.

From the upper-class collection, it is evident that mostly high-cost beef and pork were consumed: short loin, sirloin, ribs, rounds steak, and ham. However, several inexpensive cuts such as chuck and hind shank were recovered as well, though in much smaller numbers. The middle-class collection is similar to the above assemblage in that expensive cuts of meat are well represented. However, unlike the superintendent's assemblage, less expensive cuts are of equal or higher frequency. Neck, foot, and lower leg bones are all present in notable numbers, indicating the dependence on inexpensive single dish meals, such as stews. Body-part representation in the working-class neighborhood very closely resembles the middle-class assemblage; generally, though expensive cuts of meat are present, they are equaled or surpassed by numbers of inexpensive cuts of meat. In a cold-storage unit in the working-class neighborhood, beef cuts are ribs and upper hind quarters, though some foot bones are present as well. Pork remains recovered from this unit include a very wide variety of cuts, both expensive and inexpensive, though more than 25% are from pigs' feet. The other two units have more inexpensive cuts than expensive ones, both beef and pork. Though bone fragments from hams, rump roasts, and round steaks were present, many more of the remains were from the foreshank and lower limb portion of the animals. These findings concur with the conclusions drawn in Terrence Martin's (1987b) report on a faunal analysis of material collected from this neighborhood in 1986.

In all neighborhoods, sawing is the predominant butchering mark. This is not surprising, as the butcher likely used a meat saw to do the majority of meat processing to make his product into smaller, more manageable and salable portions. There is very little evidence for secondary butchering in any of the excavation units, indicating that households did not (or could not) purchase meat in bulk to disassemble themselves. One interesting difference, though, is the higher frequency of cut marks on the bones in upper- and middle-class deposits, which are nearly absent in the working-class collection. It is possible that, although the middle class purchased large quantities of inexpensive meats, they still served many of them as something other than stews, which would still have required a certain amount of slicing at the table or in the kitchen. Working-class households may have been more prone (for economic or cultural reasons) to simply throw the tougher cuts into a stewpot.

Edible Fruits

Soil samples from the 1995 excavations, while not quantifiably comparable, do give an indication of which species were present or absent in features from the three neighborhoods (Table 5.9). Botanical analysis was conducted by Katie Egan-Bruhy (2005)

Table 5.9 Presence/absence of seeds from edible fruit

Seed common name	Upper class (superintendent's privy)	Middle class (two privies)	Working class (one midden-filled wagon rut and one cold storage feature)
Fig	Present	Present	–
Cherry	Present	Present	Present
Rasp/blackberry	Present	Present	Present
Elderberry	Present	Present	Present
Blueberry	Present	Present	–
Grape	Present	Present	–
Bell pepper	Present	–	–

and is summarized here. The large densities of fruit seeds present in the features are consistent with the fact that most features excavated were privies, with the exception of features in the working-class neighborhood. Most of the identifiable seeds present were available locally and may have been consumed as preserves. Figs and bell peppers were not grown locally. Figs were a relatively common commodity in that period, and were probably inexpensive in the form of preserves. By contrast, bell peppers were something of a novelty in that time period, and were very expensive considering this remote, northerly location (Egan-Bruhy 2006).

In sum, it is not surprising that the superintendent's household in the upper-class neighborhood was the only feature to yield the pricey bell peppers. Both the upper- and middle-class households included fig preserves in their expenditures. All other fruits could have been either purchased cheaply or gathered from the local landscape.

Glass Bottles and Jars

An analysis of the minimum vessel count for glass bottles and jars provides insights into frugality, recycling, and expenditures on nonessential household items, all of which reflect upon families' class positions (Table 5.10). Both the upper- and middle-class collections displayed a wide variety of bottles and jars, while the working class only disposed of vessels designed to hold alcohol, foodstuffs, and medicine and cosmetics. In particular, the presence of several sauce bottles and packing jars in the working-class neighborhood is surprising, considering that these items were both expensive and nonessential. It is more likely that these containers in the working-class context probably represent frugal efforts to recycle the vessels for other uses, a practice that has been noted by historical archaeologists in other contexts (e.g., Stuart 1993). In addition to those types of containers, the upper and middle classes also disposed of several chemical bottles, including oil for a sewing machine, which was probably beyond the economic reach of the working class.

Perhaps most interesting in this collection is the fact that the middle-class features were the only ones to yield canning jars. Technologies for preserving food

Table 5.10 Minimum vessel count for glass bottles and jars

Identifiable bottles and jars	Upper class #	Upper class %	Middle class #	Middle class %	Working class #	Working class %
Alcohol bottles	9	15.0	4	11.4	7	25.0
Chemical bottles	3	5.0	6	17.1	0	0.0
Sauce bottles/packing jars	6	10.0	3	8.6	7	25.0
Canning jars	0	0.0	7	20.0	0	0.0
Medicine and cosmetic bottles/jars	42	70.0	15	42.9	14	50.0
	60	100.0	35	100.0	28	100.0

in glass jars developed throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (Toulouse 1969). It was not until the mid-nineteenth century, after Louis Pasteur's discovery that microorganisms caused food spoilage, that technological break-throughs greatly expanded the average American's access to safe canning techniques. Middle-class Americans were the primary consumers of canning jars, as their middling situation provided both sufficient funding and cultural education to purchase and experiment with the new technology. It was also a means to improve the household economy for Americans seeking upward mobility.

Ceramics

Historical archaeologists have generated a great deal of research using ceramics to illuminate economic class as a means of accessing families' purchasing power (e.g., Miller 1980, 1991; Miller, et al. 1994; Mullins 1999; Otto 1977). Extensive ceramic analyses might address economic consumer patterns in ceramic décor, vessel forms, and matched sets, and some of these aspects of ceramic analysis will be discussed in terms of social status in Chap. 7. This section presents just one example of how ceramics reflect economic choices within households, in a brief discussion of ceramic wares.

In that time period, stoneware vessels and unrefined earthenwares such as red- and yellow-bodied earthenwares were generally the least expensive and were used largely for utilitarian purposes in the kitchen. Refined, white-bodied earthenwares were relatively more expensive, increasing in cost depending upon whiteness of the glaze and vitreousness of the paste. From least to most expensive of these wares were cream-colored (CC) ware, whiteware or pearlware, and white granite (also referred to as ironstone, often by collectors) (Fig. 5.19). Several examples of hotelware were found in this study, which were included under the white granite classification. Porcelain was the most expensive ceramic body in that period.

A minimum vessel count was calculated from features in each neighborhood, and categorized according to the types of ware (Table 5.11, Fig. 5.20). All types were present in each neighborhood, with the exception of the inexpensive CC ware,

Fig. 5.19 White granite cup and fragment of a whiteware German stein from the working-class neighborhood. Photo courtesy of Patrick Martin

Table 5.11 Minimum number of ceramic vessels (MNV) recovered from the three neighborhoods, categorized by ware

Ware/paste	Upper class		Middle class		Working class	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Cream colored	0	0.0	0	0	1	1.4
Whiteware	7	36.8	10	32.3	12	16.7
White granite	5	26.3	14	45.2	22	30.6
Porcelain	4	21.1	1	3.2	4	5.6
Unrefined earthenware & stoneware	3	15.8	6	19.3	33	45.9
	19	100.0	31	100	72	100.1

which was only found in the working-class neighborhood. At that point in production history, CC ware had fallen out of fashion in favor of whiter wares, and thus, might represent heirlooms in this context. Upper- and middle-class collections were dominated by whitewares and white granite; it has been suggested that although there was a difference in price between these two wares, consumers showed little preference for the more expensive ware when undecorated (Miller 1980).

The most informative consumer trends in ceramics at Fayette are in other ware categories. Compared to the other two neighborhoods, the working-class deposits contained relatively higher frequencies of inexpensive utilitarian wares such as stoneware, yellowware, and redware. By contrast, the upper-class household disposed of a relatively high frequency of porcelain, and this does not include the upper class' large number of porcelain figurines, toys and miniature tea service items.
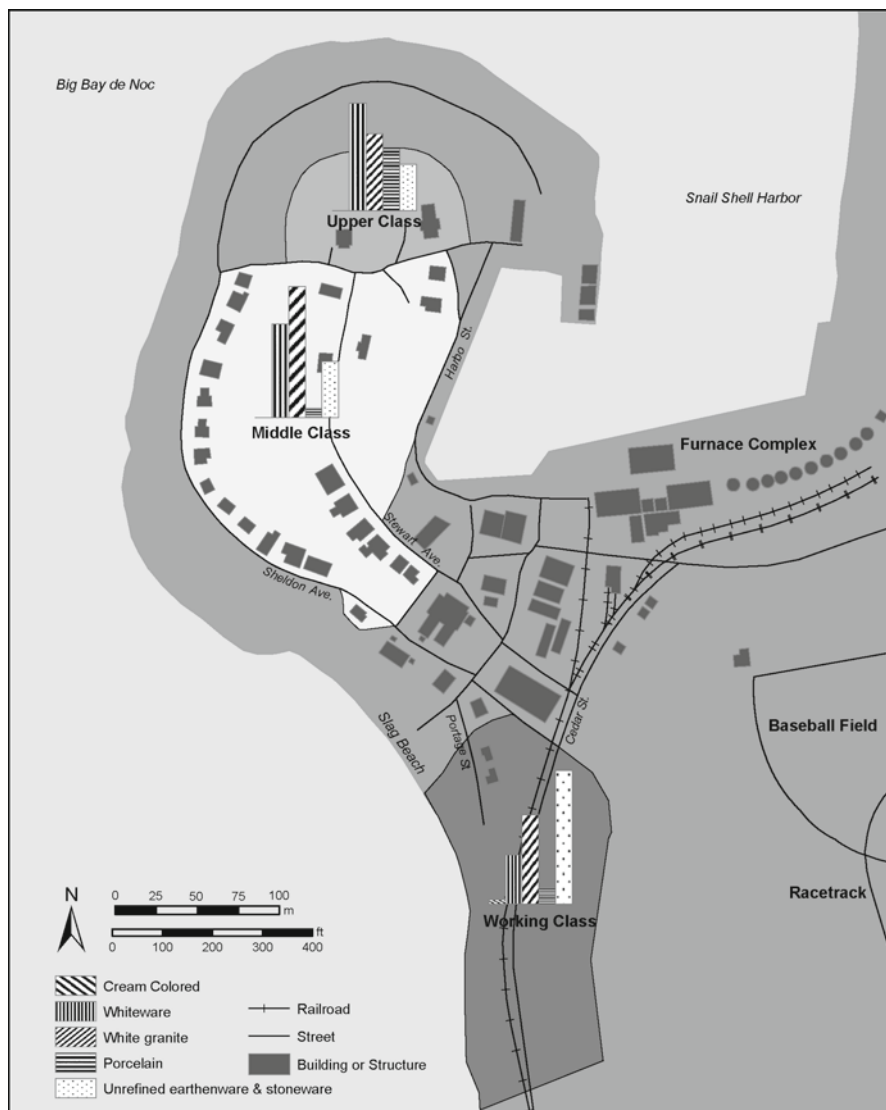
Fig. 5.20 Minimum number of ceramic vessels (MNV) recovered from the three neighborhoods, categorized by ware

Summary

The Jackson Iron Company's employment practices created a three-tiered class system of hierarchical power, which was generated and reinforced through the built environment and pay scales. Data from architecture, pay rates, and consumer behavior patterns are all quite consistent and are therefore reliable proxies for class

when taken together. Upper-class residents lived in the largest houses with the many windows, doors, and architectural elaboration; the residents here were the company doctor and the superintendent. Their families lived in houses with large, private yards that were sheltered from harsh lake winds mostly free from industrial waste. Middle-class residents also had clean, private yards, but lived in substantially smaller and simpler frame houses with fewer windows and doors; the residents here worked in diverse occupations, predominantly in skilled trades. Working-class residents lived in another part of the town, in very crowded log cabins with few window and doors; the majority of the residents here worked as laborers and teamsters. Their neighborhood was unsheltered from Lake Michigan's harsh winter winds, and their homes were surrounded by industrial waste. Artifact analysis reveals that pay scale probably constrained consumer choices, at least in part. Some consumer choices provide a view of class that parallels the three-tiered class model for the town. Broadly speaking, the upper class purchased the most expensive ceramics and food items, the working class had the least expensive, and the middle class consumer patterns fell somewhere in between. These results are not unexpected, given the constraints of company influence over residents' daily lives. As Chaps. 7 and 8 explain, however, social status, personal identity, and noneconomic capital (social, cultural, and symbolic capital) among the classes are rather at odds with this hierarchical model.

Chapter 6
Biopower: Discipline, Symbolic Violence, and the Privilege of Hygiene

> *Fayette employee Dennis Boone signed an agreement "in all instances to follow strickly [sic] any and all regulations and orders of said agent serving the said companies [sic] interests and Village and to require the same from every member of his family*
>
> (Jackson Iron Company 1870).

Introduction

Foucault (1984e:261–263) describes "bio-power" or "power over life" that emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and emphasized disciplining and optimizing the body's performance in work, as well as medical interventions and regulatory controls over populations (refer to Chap. 3 for a more detailed discussion). As Foucault (1984e:263) observed, biopower contributed to "segregation and social hierarchization" within society, and accordingly, the hierarchical implications of Fayette's paternalistic institutions have been discussed in the preceding two chapters.

This chapter examines class relations specifically in regard to biopower. The first section explores what Foucault (1984d:282) describes as the "privilege of hygiene" and focuses particularly on comparative excavations in three class-based neighborhoods. Class was a decisive factor in determining residents' living conditions, exposure to human and industrial waste, incidence of intestinal parasites, and access to healthcare. The second section of this chapter addresses related techniques of bodily subjugation that operated at Fayette, such as legislative documents and disciplinary institutions, and surveillance techniques that served to mold human populations to suit desirable economic processes within capitalism. In addition, Foucault's interpretation of disciplinary techniques and security can be expanded to include disciplinary power enacted through symbolic violence, which was embedded in Fayette's built environment and experienced through residents' daily practices (see Bourdieu 1977).

Health, Biopolitics, and the Privilege of Hygiene

Foucault (1984d:282) refers to the "privilege of hygiene and the function of medicine as an instance of social control." Medicine and the treatment of individuals' bodies and health became a *biopolitical* technique of power, particularly under industrial capitalism (Foucault 1984e). Fayette's residents, especially the working class, were subject to medical controls and adverse influences over their health that were largely beyond their own control. This section illustrates two main concepts. First, company administrators made managerial decisions that directly or indirectly affected employees' health. Second, it is apparent that class was a factor in the degree to which employees' health was affected. The sections below address the effects of company practices on employees' health, including their exposure to waste, incidence of intestinal parasites, and access to medical care.

Living Conditions and Exposure to Waste

Archaeological excavations at Fayette demonstrate that industrial waste (slag and charcoal) can be found in every excavation context in town, including all three neighborhoods, to varying degrees (Cowie 1996; Halsey 1997; Halsey and Mead 1986; Martin 1987a). Slag was used regularly for the construction of roadbeds (Halsey and James 1998), as well as filling in low areas throughout town. However, archaeologists consistently note that residential yards in the upper- and middle-class neighborhoods had only very light scatters of slag, while the working-class neighborhood was covered with dense deposits of industrial waste. During the period of the furnace's operation, waste products from iron ore smelting were dumped at a location known as Slag Beach, which was immediately adjacent to the working-class neighborhood. Excavations of houses in this neighborhood show that working-class families made the best of a bad situation by shoveling the waste against the foundations of their log cabins for extra insulation against the cold Lake Michigan winds (Martin 1987a). Visitors at the site today might note that prevailing winds at Fayette would have blown smoke and soot from the continuously operating furnace directly to the working-class neighborhood (Fig. 6.1).

Excavations also showed that waste disposal was a problem for the working class. Privies excavated in upper- and middle-class households were situated well away from the houses and were originally excavated several feet into bedrock. Yard spaces in these two neighborhoods had only a light scatter of household trash. In contrast, the working-class neighborhood yards were covered with a dense midden of refuse. Two archaeological projects in the working-class neighborhood were unsuccessful in locating privies in this crowded neighborhood, in spite of excavating several promising features (Cowie 1996; Martin 1987a). This suggests that working-class privies were probably shallow and close to Slag Beach's water table, and human waste was incidentally mixed with yard trash over years of occupation. Similar class differences in waste disposal practices have been widely noted elsewhere (e.g., Adams 1990; Garrow 1984).
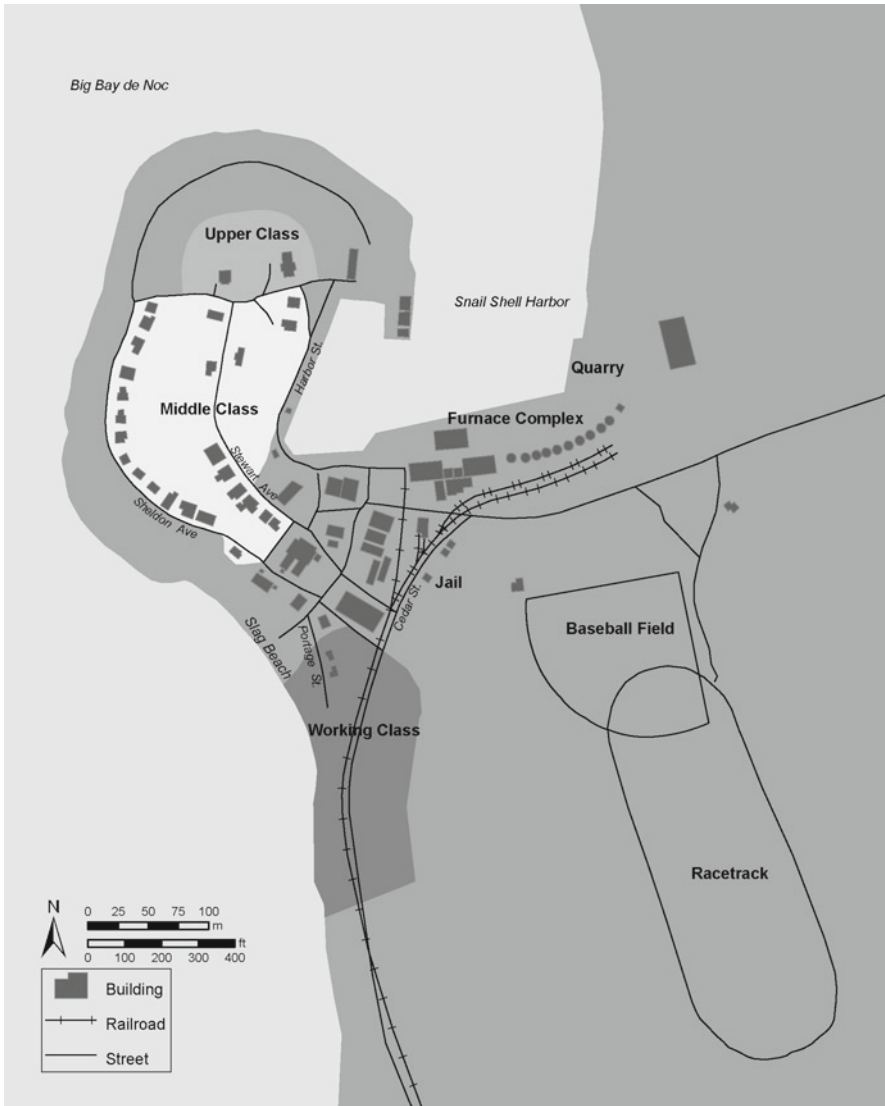
Fig. 6.1 Map of Fayette townsite. Slag Beach overlapped with the working-class neighborhood, and the town jail was built on the working-class' main route to work

Historical documentation supports the supposition that this neighborhood was notably more crowded and polluted than other parts of town. A nineteenth-century novel entitled *Snail Shell Harbor*, inspired by the town of Fayette, provides a description of the working-class neighborhood. In the novel, a group of visitors describes their visit to this part of town:

> Now they came into contact with a more uncompromising part of the community. The better class of inhabitants had been solicited in the forenoon; and the work that remained was nearly confined to the log-houses on Shanty Street, which were occupied for the most part,

by a low grade of German, French and Irish…. Clara had scarcely seen anything so revolting in the worst parts of the city of Cleveland. The huts were built on the very edge of the street. In front and around them, hens scratched, and hogs wallowed in the mire…. Oh the stench that met them at every hand! and the filthy, ragged children! Clara almost wondered if they could be part of common humanity (Langille [1870] 2001:129, 130).

While it is difficult to know how much the author embellished the real description of the working-class neighborhood, contemporary news accounts seem to confirm public opinion about living conditions there. For example, one report declares, "Fayette is not a model of cleanliness, & it is difficult to keep everything in apple pie order but there is no excuse for that alley" (*Escanaba Iron Port* 1879a). Besides the physical effects of living in unsanitary conditions, working-class residents were also subjected to public comment and ridicule in publications such as these. According to sociologist Norbert Elias, shame, repugnance, and embarrassment were pivotal characteristics of the civilizing process over the last several hundred years of Western society. He asserts that these habitual feelings were related to "fear of social degradation or, more generally, of other people's gestures of superiority" (Elias 2000:415). Public shaming played into the reinforcement of elites' higher social status and the degradation of those who were shamed.

In sum, there were vast differences in living conditions at Fayette. The working class was particularly subjected to unsanitary and polluted living conditions, which surely affected their health and social status within the community. Company policies regarding the disposal of industrial waste and the allotment of residential space had disproportionate impacts on Fayette's poorest residents and amounted to environmental classism. This phenomenon has been addressed in modern political science, anthropology, and sociology (e.g., Hansen 2002; Loh and Sugerman-Brozan 2002), but has been understudied in historical archaeology.

Incidence of Human Intestinal Parasites

Given the nature of sanitation at Fayette, it is not surprising that some privy deposits tested positive for human intestinal parasites. Parasitology reveals information about health (Reinhard et al. 1986) and provides comparative evidence between groups with varying incomes. Soil samples from Fayette's three class-based neighborhoods were analyzed for evidence of parasites (Faulker et al. 2000). These included sediments excavated from one privy behind the superintendent's house in the upper-class neighborhood, two privies behind a house in the middle-class neighborhood, and several yard midden contexts in the working-class neighborhood. The purpose of the investigations was to examine deposits from the three neighborhoods for diagnostic stages of endoparasitic infection and to make inferences about hygiene in each group and conditions responsible for infections in the human population. Twelve samples were analyzed, four from each neighborhood, with positive identification of *Trichuris trichiura* in the middle-class neighborhood (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Incidence of *T. trichiura* at Fayette (adapted from Faulker et al. 2000)

Neighborhood	Sample location	Results for *T. trichiura* eggs
Upper class	Sealed privy deposit	Negative
Upper class	Sealed privy deposit	Negative
Upper class	Sealed privy deposit	Negative
Upper class	Sealed privy deposit	Negative
Middle class	Sealed privy deposit	Negative
Middle class	Sealed privy deposit	Negative
Middle class	Sealed privy deposit	Positive
Middle class	Sealed privy deposit	Positive
Working class	Yard midden	Negative
Working class	Yard midden	Negative
Working class	Yard midden	Negative
Working class	Yard midden	Negative

T. trichiura (endoparasitic worms) was a fairly common infection in America from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries and was widely assumed to cause poor growth, anxiety, and reduced vitality. It was contracted by ingestion of the parasite eggs, particularly through contact with fecally contaminated soil and inadequate handwashing before meals. Children were especially susceptible (Faulker et al. 2000).

It is evident that endoparasitic infections were present in Fayette's population. Infections were apparently more common in the middle-class neighborhood than among the upper-class population, who invested more enthusiastically in medical interventions (see below and Chap. 7). Infection was probably also common in the working-class neighborhood, though the absence of parasites is probably a function of sampling and preservation. Deposits from this area were taken from yard midden, rather than sealed privy deposits. However, the unsanitary living conditions, poor hygiene, and limited consumption of medicine documented in the working-class neighborhood support the assumption that infection was likely in this neighborhood, but the evidence was only preserved in well-sealed deposits, not in sheet midden.

Medicines and Medical Paraphernalia

The privy and midden features studied in the parasite analysis also contained hundreds of historical-period artifacts related to health and hygiene, providing comparative data for the three neighborhoods. Elsewhere, excavations in working-class neighborhoods such as Five Points, New York, revealed that working classes could only afford inexpensive medicines, as opposed to upper classes who could afford more expensive remedies, healthier diets, and visits to the doctor (Bonasera and Raymer 2001). As might be expected, Fayette's residents followed similar patterns. The following paragraphs detail the types and frequencies of health and hygiene artifacts found in each neighborhood.

All residents could purchase hygiene products from the company store and had access to the town doctor, that is, if they could afford it (see Chaps. 4 and 5). The working and middle classes apparently consumed fewer health and hygiene products compared to the upper-class residents, at least in part because of low income. Fourteen bottles related to health or hygiene were recovered from the working-class neighborhood. One held a tonic of some sort, and another tiny bottle probably held pills. Others were unidentifiable. Of the minimum number of glass vessels found in this neighborhood, 50% are related to health or hygiene.

Similarly, of the identifiable glass vessels from the middle-class collection, just under half of them (43%) contained health or hygiene products. A minimum of 15 bottles held products such as tooth polish and prescription medicines. One bottle contained Ayers Cherry Pectoral, manufactured in Massachusetts, and intended to suppress coughing (Fike 1987:1999). Another bottle indicated it contained prescription medicine from a druggist in the neighboring town of Escanaba. In addition, a hard rubber double-sided lice comb was also recovered.

Artifacts related to health and hygiene from the upper-class (superintendent's) privy were much more abundant and diverse than the other neighborhoods. Of the 60 identifiable glass vessels found in the privy, 70% originally contained some sort of healthcare product. For example, a bottle of St. Drake's 1860 Plantation X Bitters had a 38.2% alcohol content (Fike 1987:32). Dr. Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery from Buffalo, New York, was meant to soothe liver and heartburn problems (Wilson 1981:139). R. R. R. Radway and Co. produced Radway's Ready Relief, an anodyne nervine and painkiller (Fike 1987:74). A bottle of Mexican Mustang Lineament, made in New York, was a pain relieving product (Wilson 1981:39, 41). Two bottles of Burnett's Cocoaine from Boston held men's hair tonic for treatment of the scalp (Fike 1987:157) (Fig. 6.2). Two small bottles held Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup, intended to ease the pains of baby teething (Wilson 1981:140). A bottle of Dr. S. Pritcher's Castoria was made in Boston. This collection also contained a soda water bottle that was used as an alternative and natural health remedy in the nineteenth century (Bonasera and Raymer 2001). It is interesting to note the frequency of medicines intended to soothe gastrointestinal disorders and stress – what would have been called dyspepsia and neurasthenia in this era; these two diseases were primarily associated with upwardly mobile Americans in the nineteenth century (Schifflett 1996:77–78).

In addition to the bottles, a variety of other health-related paraphernalia was recovered from the superintendent's privy. There were two matching glass vessels that appear to have been used to measure medicine. One is a stemmed glass with graduated levels marked by engraved words, "TEA ... // DESS... // TABLESPOON." Also recovered were 26 fragments of bone lice combs and one fragment of a hard rubber lice comb. The collection included no less than 13 bone toothbrushes, most of which were imported from Paris and London (Fig. 6.3). Pieces of three whitemetal douche or enema nozzles were also recovered. At least a dozen hair combs, used to create women's elaborate hairstyles of the Victorian era, were also found (Fig. 6.4).

It is apparent that wealthier households at Fayette more readily adopted modernizing medical practices than poorer families, either for financial or social reasons

Fig. 6.2 A bottle of Burnett's Cocoaine, men's hair tonic, recovered from the superintendent's (upper-class) privy

(the latter concept is addressed in Chap. 7) (Table 6.2). Upper-class households consumed a higher percentage of pharmaceutical and patent medicines than middle- and working-class households. The upper class also consumed a greater variety of health and medical paraphernalia, such as lice combs and toothbrushes, medicine cups, and syringes. The upper class purchased major name brand medicines manufactured in distant cities, while the middle class had fewer name brand medicines, some of which were purchased more locally. In contrast, none of the working-class medicine bottles recovered was a name brand or was from distant market centers. Most likely, most of their medicines were attained as prescriptions from the company doctor or company store. If these residents desired more socially fashionable remedies, it is unlikely they had the economic resources to purchase them, based on pay rates for residents of this neighborhood (see Chap. 4).

These data indicate that market access paralleled the class hierarchy, at least partially as a result of differences in pay (for a discussion of medical care and social
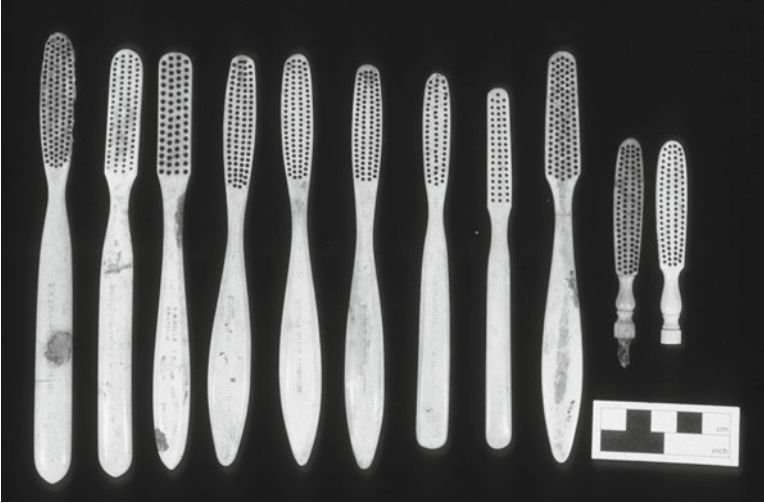
Fig. 6.3 Numerous bone toothbrushes were recovered from the superintendent's household privy. Most were imported from abroad

Fig. 6.4 Numerous hard rubber combs were recovered from the superintendent's household privy

status, see Chap. 7). In addition, consumer choices in the purchase of health and hygiene-related items can be seen as responses to differential access to sanitation, medical care, and information; socioeconomic class position particularly affects these choices. In theory, all residents at Fayette had access to the town doctor. In practice, however, some had more resources than others to follow up on treatment or to

Table 6.2 Summary of health and medical paraphernalia recovered from Fayette

	Upper-class household (superintendent's) privy	Two middle-class household privies	Working-class sheet midden deposits
Percentage of identifiable glass bottles originally containing medicines	70%	43%	50%
Percentage of Personal[a] artifacts represented by medical paraphernalia	30% (45 of 148 artifacts)	<1% (1 of 114 artifacts)	0% (0 of 64 artifacts)
Places of manufacture for medicinal bottles	New York; Boston	Massachusetts; Escanaba, MI	Not indicated; probably locally prescribed

[a]The Personal category of artifacts is based on South's (1977) functional artifact classification and broadly includes items that probably belonged to a single individual, such as eyeglasses, jewelry, and combs

purchase medicines and health paraphernalia. Much of this discrepancy resulted from company policies that directly or indirectly affected employees' health, such as waste disposal practices, the requirement of employees to fund their own health care, and the company pay scale. On the one hand, the company made efforts to secure the town from disease without compromising production, which can be described as a form of productive power (see Foucault 2007). On the other hand, intentionally or not, the company truly did make adequate sanitation, health, and hygiene a privilege reserved for only certain members of its workforce.

Bodily Discipline, Panopticism, and Symbolic Violence

This section examines a number of institutions and practices at Fayette and explores their relationship to corporate discipline. Techniques of bodily subjugation that operated at Fayette included legislative documents and disciplinary institutions, as well as surveillance techniques. In addition, symbolic violence was embedded in Fayette's built environment and experienced by residents, although individuals also had the freedom to improvise, reinterpret, and perhaps avoid the threat of violence through their daily practices (see Bourdieu 1977; de Certeau 1984).

Legislative Documents

Parallel to some of Foucault's work, and as an example of how people are made into subjects through disciplinary processes, de Certeau (1984:140) asserts that a legislative document "refers to what is printed on our body, …with the mark of the Name and of the Law, and ultimately affects it … so as to turn it into a symbol of

the Other, something *said, called, named*" (de Certeau 1984:143). According to anthropologist Scott (1998), naming, mapping, and documenting are processes undertaken by state governments worldwide in an attempt to make their subjects "legible" for administrative purposes. The resulting documentation is often at odds with local practices and assumptions about what is fair and typically instills power dynamics that benefit states' bureaucratic agendas.

Although not all documents disempower working people, Fayette's residents certainly felt the subtle power of documentation over their bodies that made them subjects of the federal government and of the company. For example, in one work contract with the company, employee Dennis Boone signed an agreement "in all instances to follow strickly [sic] any and all regulations and orders of said agent serving the said companies [sic] interests and Village and to require the same from every member of his family" (Jackson Iron Company 1870). This is just one of many examples (refer to Chap. 4) in which industrial managers laid claim to rights over physical behavior, not just of employees, but even of their families. The process made the town's residents their subjects; it created a chain of paternalistic authority, inaugurated by the company and then passed down through the heads of household.

In addition, Fayette's residents were subject to the same disciplinary processes as the rest of the nation, including the U.S. Census. As an instrument of the state, demography made all individuals documented in the census into subjects of the U.S and local governments. More importantly for this study, the census also reinforced the Jackson Iron Company's maintenance of the power hierarchy and management of individual workers and their families, because its results paralleled the company's own hierarchical class structures (see Chaps. 4 and 5). In the census, all residents were categorized with regard to their utility in company operations, whether they worked in the furnace itself or in support services. The very act of census taking was a disciplinary one, especially given the order in which the census was taken. When nineteenth-century censuses were administered in a small town like Fayette, residents were certainly aware of the process. Townspeople became aware of the census taker's presence, probably first by word of mouth or public notice and then as the official walked from door to door, asking personal questions about each occupant and recording the results.

When the census taker interviewed Fayette's residents for the 1880 U.S. Census (Department of the Interior 1880), the first household visited was that of the John B. Kitchen, whose occupation was listed as "Supt. J.I.C. Furnace." As superintendent, Kitchen would have been the highest-paid and most administratively powerful employee in residence at Fayette, and the demographic process of census taking made an unspoken public statement supporting his position of power.

Not coincidentally, the order in which the census was taken reflects Fayette's class hierarchy. The census taker's visit to the superintendent's household was followed by visits to middle-class housing. These were framed houses on Harbor Street, Stewart Avenue, and Sheldon Avenue, which were occupied mostly by skilled tradesmen and people in support services (e.g., merchant, watchman, clerk). The last households visited were those in the working-class neighborhood, on Portage, Cedar, and Hill Streets, which were occupied mostly by laborers and teamsters. Even the enumeration of households visited gave the appearance of

rank; Superintendent Kitchen's house was enumerated as number 1 in the census document (meaning it was the first house visited), while laborer Frederick Woudkie lived in house numbered 67, last in the document. By the time word spread through town, Woudkie must have known he was the last to be acknowledged.

Often, employees who were not powerful within the company system were categorized, not by official job titles (e.g., "Furnace Foreman," "Carpenter," or "Machinist"), but by their type of service to the company (e.g., "Works in furnace," "Chopping cord wood," or "Works on ore dock"). Thus, the disciplinary nature of the census gave some individuals the respectability and individuality of a formal job title, and others were only noted as one among many unspecified workers in the company's employ. The lack of a formal job title for many working-class employees has been described as one of the "hidden injuries of class" (Sennett and Cobb 1993) (for more on job titles, see Chap. 7).

Similarly, most women's occupations at Fayette were recorded in lower case lettering, regardless if they were "keeping house" as most were listed, or listed as "school teacher" or "servant." The manner of recording suggests that because women were not perceived as serving a vital working role within the company or community, their occupation was presented in little detail and with little respect. Other documentary evidence suggests that women at Fayette worked doing laundry and sewing, taking in boarders, and cleaning company offices (see Chap. 7). However, the census does not accurately reflect this diversity of women's work. The methods of the census paralleled the company's tendency to subordinate women's power and to downplay their contributions to community and household economies.

Such a complex document as a census can be interpreted in myriad ways. On the one hand, it was a reminder to the company and its employees that they were all subject to the higher power of federal government. On the other hand, it also may have inadvertently served the company to justify, and in some ways, reinforce economic and gendered hierarchies already in existence in the town. While the federal government intended the census as a mechanism for the rational distribution of resources and voting rights, how those rights and resources were distributed in actuality was very much in control of the company, which dominated local politics (see Chap. 4).

Disciplinary Institutions, Panopticism, and Surveillance

Many of Fayette's paternalistic institutions simultaneously operated as technologies of disciplinary power. Because the company owned or in some way exerted control over all services in town, residents became subjects of the company in terms of consumer choices regarding food and clothing, personal health care, educational and religious services, and even preferences regarding alcohol consumption, sexuality, and morality (as discussed in Chap. 4). Although residents exercised choices within constraints (as discussed in Chaps. 7 and 8), company influence was pervasive.

One technology of power famously described by Foucault (1984c) is referred to as panopticism, named for an eighteenth-century prison design. This institution was intended to render prisoners visible to their captors at all times, leading prisoners

to believe (perhaps wrongly) that their behavior was continuously observed. In theory, this type of one-sided surveillance led prisoners to self-monitor even in the absence of guards. According to Foucault, panoptic architecture is a technology of power; it is a very powerful one because prisoners subject themselves to perceived authority. Visibility and invisibility had political implications, especially in working-class neighborhoods. Anthropologist James Scott notes that in state societies, crowded working-class neighborhoods might create unsurveilled areas that are invisible and illegible to the state. In periods of political unrest, this sometimes creates a "geography of insurrection" (Scott 1998:61). He cites, for example, the resistance movements against Louis Napoleon in nineteenth-century Paris. Insurrection grew primarily in the overcrowded, working-class neighborhoods that were unmapped and difficult to access.

Panoptic built environments and associated power relations have been noted in a wide variety of archaeological contexts (e.g., Barrett 1994; Earle 2001; Mills 2000; Moore 1986) and particularly in settings of collective production, such as historical-period plantations and industrial sites (e.g., Behrens 2005; Brandon and Davidson 2005; Delle 1998; Given 2005; Singleton 2001). For example, in an industrial context similar to Fayette, archaeologist Paul Shackel traces the shifting settlement patterns at Harpers Ferry through administrators' intentional changes meant to enclose the town, restrict access to certain places, and render workers and residents visible to the owners and managers (Shackel 1996:77–78).

Fayette's built environment can be described as panoptic, as well. The upper- and middle-class framed houses are situated around a knoll, the highest elevation in town. While portions of these neighborhoods were heavily wooded, other parts provided views of much of the town and especially the industrial sector. Working-class log cabins located in another part of town are at a much lower elevation. Modern vegetation at Fayette does not completely resemble the environment of the nineteenth century and thus the views today are not the same as in the past. Historical photographs and an analysis employing 3D Analyst (ArcGIS) software provide a more accurate sense of the nineteenth-century viewsheds. The program takes into account vegetation patterns dating to approximately 1886, as discerned largely from photographic evidence. Historically, much of the town was nestled in cedar and birch woodland, predominated by white cedar (*Thuja occidentalis*) (SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996:26, 133). This species reaches an average height of 40 ft (12.19 m) at maturity (USDA 2007). This variable and others, such as topography and architectural data, were used to determine viewsheds from the second stories of houses representing two class-based neighborhoods: the superintendent's residence in the upper-class neighborhood; and log cabins in the working-class neighborhood (Figs. 6.5 and 6.6).

From the top floor of the superintendent's house, one can see very little of the middle- and working-class neighborhoods.[1] Instead, occupants of that building had

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[1] The view from the superintendent's family residence is based on an elevation of 18′ (5.49 m) above ground surface, based on architectural data from as-built blueprints on file at Fayette Historic State Park. The view represents a 5′6″ person's 360° view from second-story windows.

Fig. 6.5 View from building #1, the superintendent's family residence in the upper-class neighborhood. *Shaded* and *outlined areas* are visible from the house

a panoramic view of most of Fayette's commercial and administrative center and the entire industrial sector. Also visible were Snail Shell Harbor and all commercial and industrial ships that passed through this important transportation route. It is unknown whether this design was intentional, but it resulted in a view that allowed monitoring of the town's work. In contrast, some working-class houses had a view
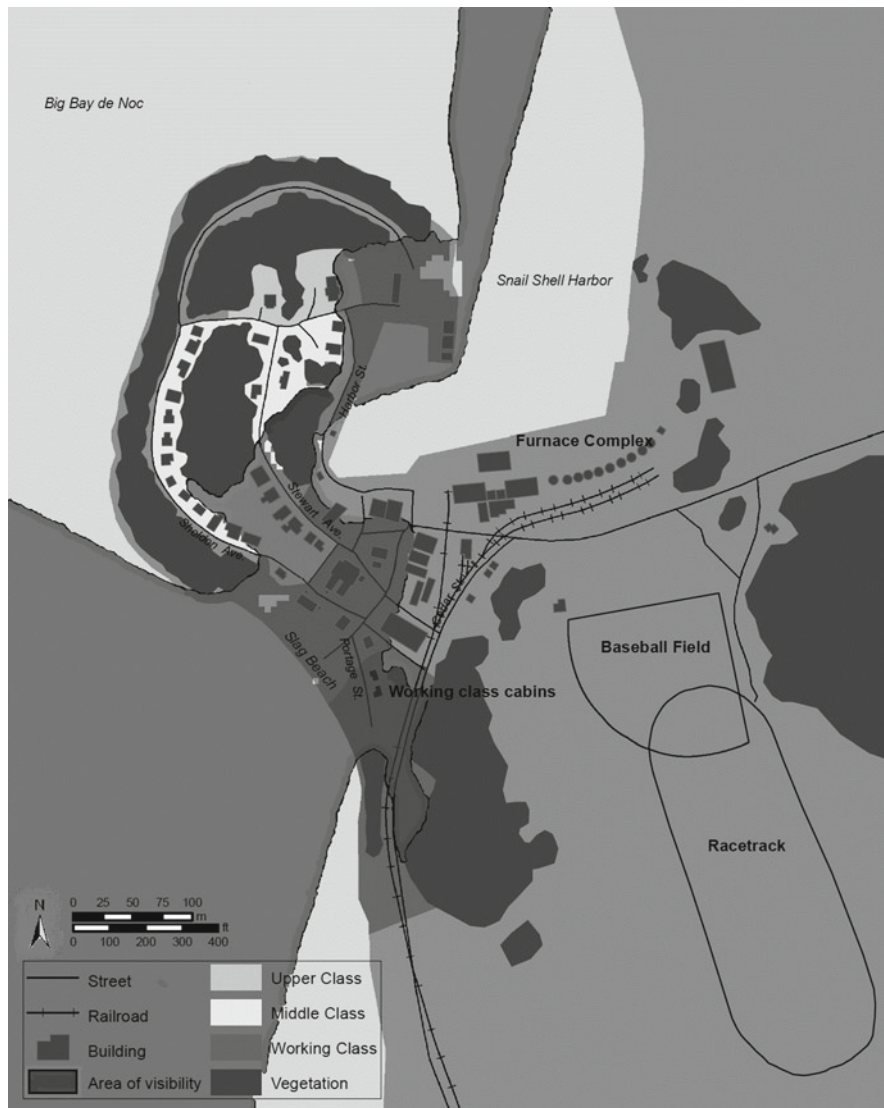
Fig. 6.6 View from residences in the working-class neighborhood. *Shaded* and *outlined areas* are visible from the houses

of Slag Beach, stock barns, warehouses, the hotel, company office, and part of the middle-class neighborhood.[2] They, too, had a view of Lake Michigan, but they could not see most incoming or outgoing traffic. Other aspects of the viewshed

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[2]The view from working-class housing is based on an elevation of 13′ (3.96 m) above ground surface, based on architectural data from as-built blueprints on file at Fayette Historic State Park. The view represents an adult's 360° view from the top of second-story windows.

analysis are not discernable with the software. For example, the view from an upper-class household was estimated based on a standing adult's view from the second-story windows. However, the upper floors of the working-class log cabins were not as high, and adults looking for a full view out those windows would need to stoop over, reducing ease of visibility. In addition, housing in the working-class neighborhood was crowded and had few windows, and neighboring architecture certainly restricted views further. In sum, views from the working-class households illustrated in Fig. 6.6 probably render more of the town visible than is historically accurate.

It is important to recognize that much of the power of surveillance does not hinge on what actually *can be seen*. Rather, the technique of power rests upon the perception that one *might be seen*. While the cramped quarters in between working-class households probably afforded some sense of privacy from the prying eyes of upper management, workers could not escape observation of their movements to and from work, or within commercial and industrial sectors of town. Visibility, particularly in work settings, surely led workers to self-monitor and self-discipline to a certain extent, perhaps encouraging work efficiency and professional behavior, while discouraging thievery.

With that in mind, the next two figures indicate what it might have been like to see and *feel seen* while working at the furnace complex. The map shows the viewshed from that area (Fig. 6.7). GIS is a powerful tool, but readers might get more of a feeling for of this panoptic setting from one historical photograph. The photograph was taken from the furnace complex and depicts the superintendent's house highly visible in the background (Fig. 6.8). Both the map and the photograph concur that workers at the furnace complex, which consists largely of open-air structures, had a view of Snail Shell Harbor, the superintendent's residence, and little else. Each glance up from their work was a reminder of the superintendent's presence.

Historical documents do not indicate whether this particular built environment was an intentional design with manipulative or repressive intent (e.g., as it was at Harper's Ferry, see Shackel 1996:77–78), or that it was even acknowledged by Fayette's residents. Perhaps this ambiguity is in keeping with Foucault's (1977a:194) assertion we should "cease once and for all to describe power in negative terms…. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth."

Symbolic Violence and the Freedom of Daily Improvisation

Bourdieu does not shy away from acknowledging power as repressive or negative. His notion of symbolic violence can be described as "the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning … upon groups or classes in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate. This legitimacy obscures power relations which permit that imposition to be successful" (Jenkins 1992:104). Symbolic violence is usually
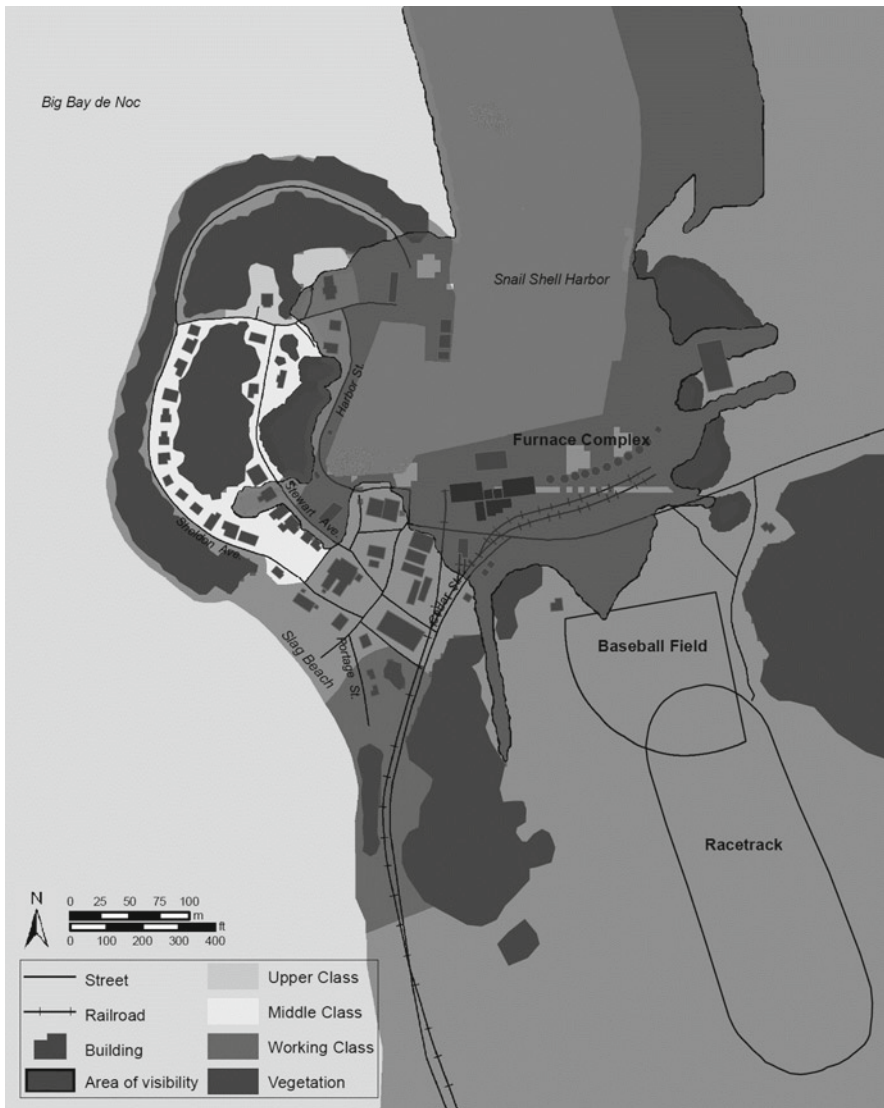
Fig. 6.7 View from the largely open-air furnace complex. The view is based on an elevation of 5′6″ above ground surface. The view represents an adult's 360° view from the ground. *Shaded* and *outlined areas* are visible from the complex

euphemized or censored; "it cannot take place overtly and must be disguised under the veil of enchanted relationships" (Bourdieu 1977:191), as in gift-giving. According to Bourdieu, actions that are perceived as altruistic are often actually exercises of power within a particular social field. As discussed in Chap. 3,
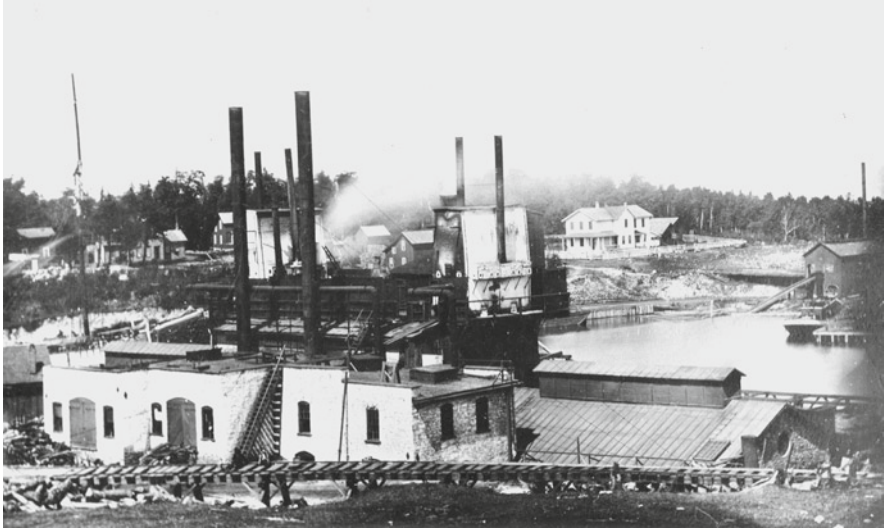
Fig. 6.8 View of the furnace complex (foreground), with the superintendent's residence looming in the background, circa 1875–1880. Photo provided courtesy of the Michigan Historical Museum

Bourdieu's discussion of completely misrecognized altruism is as problematic as Marx's concept of false consciousness. Both concepts fail to give working-class people enough credit for recognizing their own oppression (e.g., understanding that employees' benefits often come with strings attached). Nonetheless, symbolic violence is still useful for discussing the subtle ways people experience power inequalities and even physical violence in their everyday lives. In historical archaeology, symbolic violence has been addressed most notably in studies of race and colonialism (e.g., Orser 2005, 2006), but has yet to be studied in industrial communities in great detail. Symbolic violence in the form of gift-giving has obvious parallels with paternalistic relationships in industrial settings, which is discussed in Chap. 9.

Here, suffice it to say that the company at Fayette controlled numerous institutions that allegedly or actually benefited employees, but these institutions also engendered powerful relationships between the company and its employees. In fact, many of the themes discussed in this chapter and elsewhere might be interpreted as symbolic violence against Fayette's employees, resulting in an uneven power distribution within the community: disciplinary legislative documents, the company store that restricted employees' purchases, moralistic controls that forbade the sale of alcohol (see Chap. 4), medical care paid for by employees themselves, exposure to industrial waste (this chapter), and so forth.

One institution of particular interest here is one that most clearly represents symbolic violence: the town jail (refer to Fig. 6.1). The jail was situated on Cedar Street, a residential working-class street that paralleled the railroad tracks and also led to the furnace complex. Each working day, laborers walked from their homes

and passed the jail to work, under a daily threat of imprisonment and physical punishment for unacceptable behavior. This subtle warning was reserved largely for the working class. Upper- and middle-class residents on their way to work walked down wooded lanes and through the commercial center of town. One can imagine the company foremen and master carpenters doing a bit of window shopping on their way to work, while the working class gazed at railroad tracks and imprisonment. The corporate practice of situating a jail near the workplace is probably not uncommon. For example, Saitta (2007) cites one company in Colorado that built a jail near a mine entrance in an apparent statement to workers; this company was later involved in the infamous Colorado coalfield strike and massacre of 1913–1914 that resulted in the deaths of numerous working-class men, women, and children.

It is important to note that although the Fayette jail was imposingly located on the most likely route for the poorest laborers to access their workplace, people had the freedom to choose an alternate route (albeit, a longer one) or to ignore or reinterpret the symbolic threat. Similarly, working-class residents had the opportunity to move about on the landscape and to transgress class boundaries at least in a momentary way, which had the potential for symbolically loaded experience. For example, Harbor Street originates in the commercial center of town, but then takes pedestrians past the superintendent's family home, located in the most exclusive part of town. Transgressing class boundaries through the occupation of socially charged space could have created opportunities for meaningful change. Elsewhere, one study of late-nineteenth century Toronto showed how middle-class residents deliberately held organized events in downtown areas of the city, in a successful attempt to claim space from competing contenders and to redefine social values attached to that space (Goheen 2003). Similar struggles for defining space and values could have taken place at Fayette as pedestrians ventured outside their own neighborhoods.

As discussed in Chap. 4, Fayette residents also had access to an informal promenade known historically as a "Lover's Lane" (Manning 1982:37). A portion of Sheldon Avenue curves around the peninsula's northernmost shore and provides access to a wooded greenspace that also encompasses the upper-class neighborhood. Going for a walk on this route would have offered temporary respite from the noisy furnace complex and the industrially polluted working-class neighborhood.

Perhaps more significantly for such an act, proponents of practice theory illustrate the importance of creativity and improvisation in individuals' daily practices and emphasize how transgressive those acts can be (e.g., Bourdieu 1977; de Certeau 1984). Drawing directly from linguistic theory, de Certeau (1984:97) compares the act of walking around a city to speaking a language, in what he describes as "pedestrian speech acts." He suggests that:

> The walker transforms each spatial signifier into something else. And if on the one hand he actualizes only a few of the possibilities fixed by the constructed order (he goes only here and not there), on the other hand he increases the number of possibilities (for example, by creating shortcuts and detours) and the prohibitions (for example, he forbids himself to take paths generally considered accessible or even obligatory). He thus makes a selection (de Certeau 1984:98).

"To walk is to lack a place" (de Certeau 1984:103) – this concept is significant for Fayette's built environment, which is so deeply structured by class relations. To walk out of Fayette's working-class neighborhood and to stroll around the upper-class neighborhood was to transgress class boundaries. Even though such a transgression lasted only as long as the walk, perhaps only a few minutes, the symbolically charged meaning might have lingered. Memories become part of landscapes and can be invoked in powerful ways. Choosing to invoke a memory "inverts the schema of the *Panopticon*," because the landscape has meanings alternative to its structure (de Certeau 1984:108; see also Basso 1996). Even while remaining stationary on the landscape, individuals can "find *ways of using* the constraining order of the place…" through improvisation, plurality, and creativity in daily choices (de Certeau 1984:30). Archaeologists rarely acknowledge that individuals had the freedom to interpret the ideologies imposed on the built environment, although some do. For example, Hutson (2002) suggests that people might misread elites' ideology and propaganda in monumental architecture and instead see monuments as products of their own labor or a point of community pride. The challenge for archaeologists in the future will be to find support for these possibilities in historical documentation and the archaeological record.

Summary

Foucault's concept of biopower or "power over life" explains how Fayette's management benefited from techniques of power that reinforced economic and gendered hierarchies. The politics of health paralleled the town's economic hierarchy, as Fayette's poorest workers were disproportionately affected by company policies regarding sanitation and health care. The upper classes invested extensively in medical paraphernalia and medicinal remedies, while the middle and working classes purchased substantially fewer of those items. The working-class neighborhood was adjacent to an industrial waste dump, which encroached upon residents' houses. Legislative documentation, disciplinary institutions, surveillance, and symbolic violence created disciplined subjects, although individuals had the freedom to improvise in their daily practices.

Chapter 7
Social Status and Intersectional Identities: Consumer Behavior, Gender, and Immigration

> *"[Fayette is] rather shut off from the outside world, but we have daily mail in summer, and tri-weekly mail in winter, besides a large number of lovely females the year round"*
>
> (Escanaba Tribune 1876b).
>
> *Louis Follo, a Norwegian immigrant to Fayette "couldn't speak a word of English nor understand it. As the months went by, he began to pick up the language ... "*
>
> (Follo 1961).

Introduction

Previous chapters have discussed models of power that are largely hierarchical, class-based, and generally representative of *power over* others, in contrast with individuals' *power to* make meaningful choices and work toward goals (see Miller and Tilley 1984:5). To a certain extent, this chapter continues to explore class and various mechanisms of oppression, but shifts the focus somewhat to explore ways in which individuals make choices and embody the power to affect their life circumstances (refer to Chap. 3). This work is rooted in the Weberian differentiation between three sources of power: class, status (equated with honor), and political affiliations (Weber 1946a). It is also inspired by practice theory and Bourdieu's work describing social distinction through consumerism and various forms of noneconomic capital (i.e., symbolic capital, cultural capital, social capital; see Chap. 8 for more on noneconomic forms of capital) (Bourdieu 1984, 1993; Jenkins 1992).

Also central to this discussion is the notion that individuals' multifaceted identities figure prominently in power relations. Class cannot be singled out automatically as the most decisive factor in peoples' lives, even in a company town deeply embedded in industrial capitalism. The indecidability of a person's identity allows for multiple factors to be considered collectively in a given set of life circumstances, rather than essentializing factors such as class, ethnicity, or gender. This is a key concept in intersectionality theory, which explores "the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations"

(McCall 2005:1771). This body of theory was developed in sociology and women's studies beginning in the 1960s, particularly in regard to black feminist theory (e.g., Andersen and Collins 2005; Crenshaw 1991). Increasingly in the last decade, archaeologists have applied intersectionality theory to their work, particularly regarding the intersection of gender, race, and other social identities (e.g., Baugher and Spencer-Wood 2010; Conkey 2005; Rotman and Savulis 2003; Voss 2008; White 2009). This line of thinking has the potential to offer archaeologists a way to see beyond rigid social constructions like class, gender, and ethnicity to explore the intricacies of individual identity and decision making. Thus, in addition to class, this chapter explores the relationships between three interrelated expressions of identity: consumer behavior, gender, and nativity. Chapter 8 explores other aspects of identity and agency involving noneconomic capital (social, cultural, and symbolic capital), which were additional factors at play within Fayette's social fields.

Consumer Behavior

In the nineteenth century, the growth of consumerism occurred in tandem with increases in mass-production, as one fueled the other. Consumerism was also enmeshed with a variety of related Victorian ideologies that tied perceptions of gentility with the ownership of fashionable material goods. In this social milieu, individuals could hope to win their neighbors' respect by purchasing items that advertised good taste and cultural knowledge. In his book, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, Levine (1988) suggests that Victorian elites were invested in establishing dichotomies between High Culture and popular culture. He argues that there was a shift from fairly democratic concepts of culture in the early-nineteenth century to hierarchical control of culture in the latter part of the century. Accompanying the shift were new rules for proper behavior, for example, in entertainment venues such as the theatre.

According to Levine, elites' (conscious or subconscious) regulation of these distinctions served the elite hegemony; their quest for cultural hegemony paralleled their quests for social, political, and economic hegemony, as well. Historically, he finds the highbrow/lowbrow distinction was entangled with themes of social evolutionism and cultural nationalism. These compelling arguments share commonalities with works by Bourdieu (1984) on social distinctions and by Elias (2000) on the civilizing effect of manners (refer to Chap. 3). Levine further argues that American elites' desire for hegemony was the primary cause for the development of a cultural hierarchy in America, but the notion of causality is problematic. Levine's critics convincingly argue that the notion of causality in this case is too mechanical; instead, it was the American notion of democracy and individualism that fueled conspicuous consumption in complicated, deep-rooted processes (Handler 1992:822). This latter perspective is also in keeping with Elias' (2000) attention to the long-term development of mannered society since the Middle Ages.

The argument of causality will not be settled here, but it is important to recognize the fact that consumption and socially regulated gentility are nonetheless entangled with power relationships. As discussed in Chap. 3, there is extensive literature regarding the nineteenth-century Victorian emphasis on manners, domesticity, family dining, and health, particularly in regard to consumer behavior (e.g., Blaszczyk 2000; Bushman 1993; Ginger 1965; Majewski and Schiffer 2001; Schlereth 1991; Shackel and Palus 2006; Wright 1980). The motivations behind consumerism were complicated. Genteel consumerism was not always practiced by the wealthy (e.g., Cabak and Groover 2006), nor was it entirely restricted to the white middle class. Archaeological case studies suggest that an array of ethnic groups and economic classes "manipulated the potent symbolic content of these artifacts for their own diverse ends" (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001). Historians of Victorian America emphasize the fervent nature of consumerism of that period, which is reminiscent of Marx's discussion of the fetishism of commodities. Marx suggested that when people no longer recognize commodities as products of their own labor, the result is absurd relationships between things, rather than relationships between people (Marx 1978:320–321). Although relationships surrounding Victorian commodities might seem absurd in retrospect, they were undeniably wrought with individual intentions, personal motivations, and hopeful meanings within social practices.

This section addresses two fields of social practice at Fayette involving consumerism: dining practices and health and hygiene practices. These activities illustrate residents' pursuit of trendy and fashionable items as means of social distinction and power. These activities are particularly interesting ways to explore the roles of status and noneconomic capital, because dining and hygiene were well-documented obsessions among many socially conscious Victorian Americans.

Dining Practices, Genteel Play, and Social Status

Victorian dining fashions and etiquette were generally established by the upper classes and increasingly emulated by middle and working classes in the latter nineteenth century. The so-called "cult of domesticity" emphasized genteel behavior, morality, and upward mobility, and was particularly visible to visiting guests in household dining rooms and parlors (Clark 1986; Fitts 1999; Wall 1999). Many Victorian Americans became skilled strategists in social practices regarding dining. Individuals acquired cultural and social capital, and learned genteel lifeways by participating in community social activities, reading prescriptive guidebooks on domesticity, and observing trends in the media. Children, especially upper- and middle-class girls, were trained in proper techniques of domesticity in the home, as evidenced by the frequency of dolls and miniature tea service and tableware items in artifact collections from this time period; Fayette was no exception (Figs. 7.1 and 7.2).

Either porcelain dolls or miniature ceramics were found in each of the three neighborhoods, with the overwhelming majority of both kinds of items found in the upper-class neighborhood. The upper-class household might have had an interest, as

Fig. 7.1 Miniature tea set in a matching tealeaf pattern, recovered from the superintendent's (upper class) household privy

Fig. 7.2 Doll parts and a porcelain baby chicken head recovered from the superintendent's (upper class) household privy

many Victorian households did, in teaching children genteel social skills through play. This household also had the economic means to actualize that goal. Middle-class and working-class contexts at Fayette yielded significantly fewer of these items, which might be an indicator of economic constraint. Research elsewhere parallels the findings at Fayette, in that even the poorest working-class families acquired at least a few mass-produced toys for their children. For example, Rebecca Yamin's (2002) sociological and archaeological research on working-class households in nineteenth-century New York and New Jersey suggests that working-class play was structured differently than wealthier children's play, and this affects the appearance of the archaeological record. She found that working-class children, who often contributed to their families' economic resources by working at home, frequently took their play to the streets and alleys outside the home; this behavior resulted in toys being lost in those areas, more so than in domestic contexts. By contrast, wealthier children's play was usually controlled and structured by their parents within the home, and hence, their toys would be found within the archaeological record of the household.

Statements about a household's status and its residents' cultural capital were also expressed in assorted gastronomic accoutrements ranging from tableware and tea service to the family's Sunday chicken. If Fayette's class-based comparative frequencies of chicken consumption can be attributed to consumer choice, rather than different depositional contexts, it appears that the upper and middle classes consumed much more chicken than the working class (refer to Chap. 5, Figs. 5.17 and 5.18). This can be accounted for partially in terms of class and economic capital, because chicken was expensive compared to beef and pork. However, class and status probably leveraged one another because of the social status surrounding chicken consumption in this era.[1] For example, one late Victorian novel describes the intangible status that American Victorians attached to chicken (Morris 1902). It chronicles the account of two young women and their household servant who frantically strategize to impress an important gentleman caller with what they perceive as an insufficient quantity of poultry (see text box below). Similarly, Fayette's working class might have possessed sufficient cultural capital (i.e., the knowledge of chicken's significance to society at large) to demonstrate respectability to their neighbors; but they either chose not to purchase it frequently or simply could not afford the economic capital required to actualize their cultural capital.

It is important to note that social manners regarding how meat is presented to guests did not originate in the Victorian period. Explicitly linking power with manners and consumption, sociologist Norbert Elias (2000:101) traces the prescription for serving the best piece of meat to the person of highest rank at least as far back as the seventeenth century.

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[1] The status attached to chicken consumption evidently carried over to the early-twentieth century. For example, Herbert Hoover's 1928 presidential campaign famously promised "A chicken in every pot …" as pledge to ensure prosperity for all Americans.

Excerpt from the Novel *A Pasteboard Crown: A Story of the New York Stage* (Morris 1902:58–60)

To those who have lived in the midst of plenty all their days, this dinner question may seem very amusing or even very absurd, but the genteel poor understand it well. They know the humiliation and torture the sensitive hostess feels in trying to entertain the uninvited stranger within her gates; and here was this great, flaunting, high-feeding old man! There were people to whom the girls could have frankly offered bread and butter and tea, or crackers and cheese and a cup of coffee, but not to this "big animal," as Sybil called him

….

Lena was for broiling their solitary chicken, but a cry of condemnation burst from Dorothy. "Broil it? Never! It must be eked out in some way. Lena, you can fry it – can't you? And make a great deal of cream sauce, and have some diamonds of toast around the edge of the dish to make it look full?"

…

"Oh!" cried Sybil. "Listen, Dorrie, listen! Lena was there not a bit of veal left over from dinner yesterday?"

"Ja!" answered Lena, "but dat goes mit de oder scraps to be chopped for der breakfas'!"

"No, no!" interrupted Sybil, "put them on the platter with the chicken; cover them well with sauce and drop a tiny morsel of parsley on each piece to mark it; and we will coach papa, Dorrie, to help us to the parsley marked portions without letting the old dear know why, and with a little care on our part, no one need guess we are not eating chicken."

In addition to choices in food itself, consumer choices in tablewares and tea service were particularly sensitive indicators of status, respectability, and social distinction, as they were often presented to visiting friends and neighbors in increasingly elaborate dining rituals. These items have been studied elsewhere in terms of class, as well as in cases where the concepts of class and status are used more or less synonymously (e.g., Fitts 1999), but not specifically in terms of status and cultural capital. Ceramic vessel forms are often indicative of dining practices, and therefore, of how closely a household followed and actualized current trends in dining fashion. For example, it is important to note the distinction between the use of soup plates and flat plates. Soup plates, which were similar to flat plates in size but are deeper, were meant to hold simple, single-pot meals and were associated with frugal dining practices. Flat plates were usually accompanied by more complex, and therefore, more expensive and fashionable table settings and matching pieces. Flat ceramics were indicative of more elaborate, multi-dish meals, increasingly common in the Victorian era, especially among the wealthy. Such assemblages were indicative of economic investments, as well as the exercise of cultural capital. Both were necessary to set a genteel Victorian table.

Americans in the latter half of the nineteenth century typically practiced one of three dining styles (Levenstein 1988; Lucas 1994). The *Old English* style continued from the eighteenth-century practice of placing foods directly on the table in large serving vessels. Often these meals consisted of single-dish offerings such as stews. Lacking servants, individual diners would help themselves. By the 1870s, Victorian etiquette books advocated a European style called *à la Russe* as the ideal dining fashion for the wealthy and upwardly mobile. This style called for all food to be served individually, preferably on flat plates and individual small dishes, in several courses. Serving vessels were not presented on the table. The third, *American* style, was a compromise between the other two, depending upon the extent to which a household invested in servants and extra dishes.

The Victorian social pastime of drinking tea increased in popularity and elaboration in this time period, as well. While western tea drinking originated with Great Britain's wealthiest citizens around 1700, consumption of tea was adopted increasingly by other classes throughout the western world within the next two centuries (Emmerson 1992). Hosting a tea service required knowledge of culturally appropriate practices (cultural capital), as well as appropriate material culture, such as tea cups and saucers, spoons, tea pot, creamer, sugar bowl, and so forth.

A brief analysis of selected ceramic forms at Fayette illustrates how class and status intersected in dining practices. The following table and map illustrate varying frequencies of selected ceramics used for tea service and tablewares as recovered from each class-based neighborhood (Table 7.1, Fig. 7.3).

Class and status seem to correlate roughly in terms of tea service items; the higher the class, the higher representation of tea service items, which were meaningful for display of social status. Ownership and use of such items in this era indicate the expenditure of cultural and economic capital, resulting in the acquisition and maintenance of social status. There is a similar trend and implication with frequencies of specialized tablewares, which are indicative of the highly fashionable *à la Russe* dining practice. However, plates and serving vessels indicate an interesting division between class and status indicators. These vessel forms suggest that the upper class practiced dining *à la Russe* (only flat plates and one serving vessel). By contrast, both the middle- and working-class collections emphasized large serving vessels and soup plates, indicating either *American* or *Old English* dining styles. These data are supported by faunal remains, which show that both the middle and working classes consumed a good deal of inexpensive meat that was

Table 7.1 Selected ceramic forms of tea- and tablewares

Selected forms	Working class		Middle class		Upper class	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Large serving bowl/tureen	5	21.7	3	15.8	1	9.1
Flat dinner plate	3	13.0	1	5.3	2	18.2
Soup plate	7	30.4	4	21.1	0	0.0
Tea service (cups and saucers)	4	17.4	5	26.3	4	36.4
Specialized tablewares[a]	4	17.4	6	31.6	4	36.4
	23	100.0	19	100.0	11	100.0

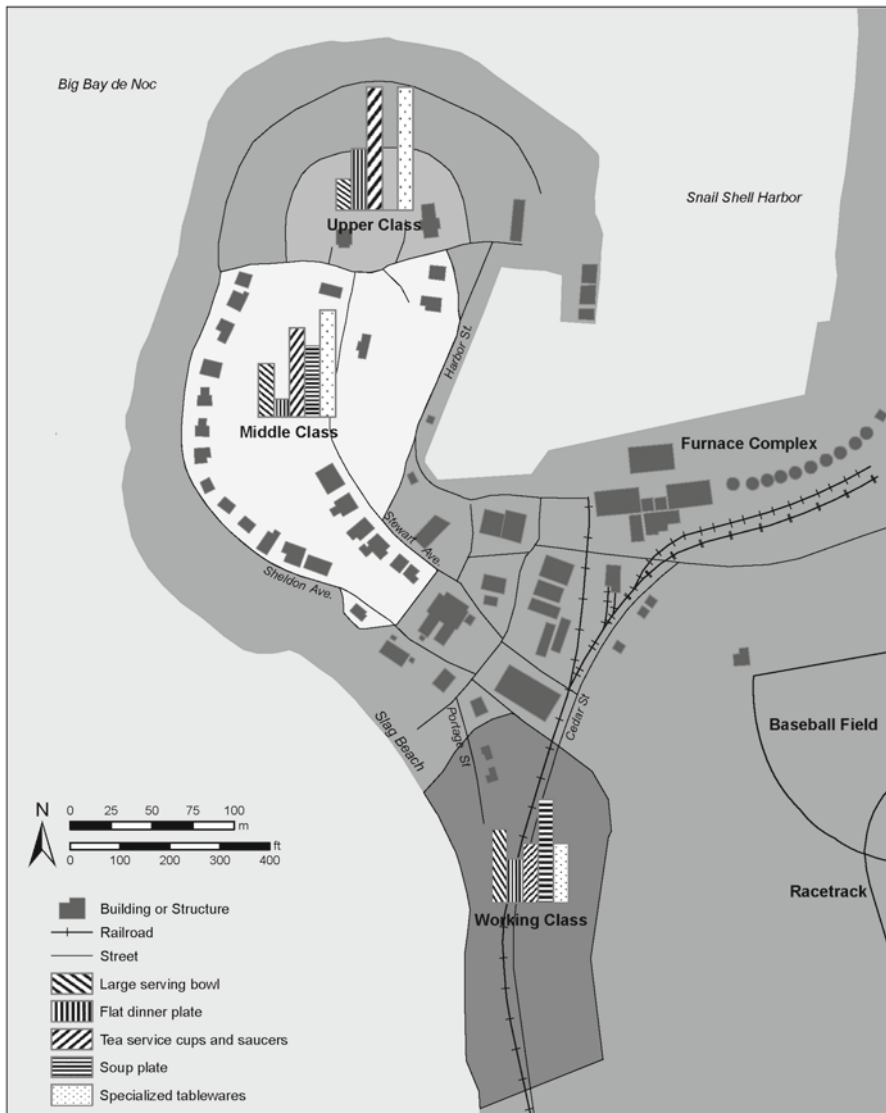[a]Small bowls and dishes, platters, egg cups, lids, etc.

Fig. 7.3 Distribution of teawares and tablewares, by neighborhood

suitable for stews (Chap. 5). The data are also supported by both middle- and working-class collections of flatware, which favored spoons over forks.

In sum, working-class residents at Fayette exercised cultural capital in taking tea and elaborating dining practices to a certain extent, exhibiting a higher status than their class positions might suggest. Middle-class residents' status did not equate exactly with class, as their dining practices indicate a substantially smaller display of cultural capital than the upper class. Middle- and working-class dining practices were quite similar, leaving the upper class to express status in a league of their own.

These findings are in keeping with Bourdieu's (1984) assertion that different forms of capital do not always correspond proportionately to each other.

This pattern is not unlike one observed in a contemporary working-class community in West Virginia (Shackel and Palus 2006). There, excavations comparing working-class table settings to those from a mill owner's household were dissimilar to one another during the years of paternalistic oversight. Later deposits from the turn of the twentieth century appeared more homogenized, as both workers and managers' households purchased increasingly similar collections of ceramics. Shackel and Palus (2006:835) do not attribute the working-class consumerism of mainstream table settings to "obedience to developing consumer ideologies" about manners and mobility. Instead, they cite Paul Mullins' (1999) concept of "purchasing power" and de Certeau's (1984) assertion that less-powerful individuals can appropriate aspects of the dominant culture for their own purposes. Their interpretations parallel interpretations for Fayette. In an environment where social mobility was possible, families strategically and knowledgeably navigated their social milieu with specific goals in mind (see Chap. 8 for more on social mobility at Fayette).

Victorian Health Practices and Medical Fetishism

People of the late-nineteenth century witnessed the development of modern medicine and were "eager to purchase exemption from deadly infectious diseases" (Tomes 1997:535). Home remedies and folk medicines were often replaced by a proliferation of patent and prescription medicines and a variety of "miracle-cures" and cure-alls (Hexhtlinger 1970). Not only did people buy new, nationally advertised cures but they also saw health and general grooming and hygiene practices as a way to mediate their relationships with the environment; it was part of their cognitive understanding of their relationship with their surroundings (Rosenberg 1992). At the very least, it has been said that cleanliness and personal appearance became a fetish of sorts, and that "[n]o bodily process was neglected" (Schlereth 1991:164). The phenomenon was similar to and complementary with the cult of domesticity previously described.

Disease and rates of mortality varied by class in historical America. For example, Schifflett (1996:77–78) describes two diseases primarily associated with upper-class and upwardly mobile middle-class Americans: dyspepsia and neurasthenia. Dyspepsia was a stomach disorder associated with overeating and was treated with a variety of tonics, purgatives, and special diets. Portliness was a sign of high status and respectability in the late Victorian era, with the prime example of President William Howard Taft (weighing over 300 pounds). Neurasthenia was a disorder caused by stress and nervousness and included numerous symptoms such as headache, depression, insomnia, and morbid thoughts. It was treated with patent medicines that had high alcohol contents, such as tonics and stomach bitters (roughly 43% alcohol).

Aside from the usual diseases that were particularly prevalent in urban cities, there were a number of health concerns associated with life in an industrial community. For example, even in modern industrial settings, there seems to be a correlation between increased rates of lung cancer and proximity to industry (Bhopal et al. 1998). It is likely that this was also the case in historical industries, especially

in the metal extraction and refinement industries. Historically, it is also apparent that air pollution in urban industrial centers aggravated the respiratory conditions associated with diphtheria (Schifflett 1996:76).

In their work on nineteenth-century demography of New England mill towns, Hautaniemi and her colleagues (1999) examined the relationships between conditions in the mill towns and infectious respiratory and gastrointestinal diseases. They found that higher periods of crowding in the mill towns correlated with higher mortality due to infectious respiratory diseases. They also found that adults' deaths from infectious gastrointestinal diseases declined after the cities made improvements to water and sewage systems, while infant mortality from such diseases actually increased. This pattern of increased infant mortality corresponds to peak overcrowding in the towns (Hautaniemi et al. 1999), and may also have been due to the socio-economic factors associated with working mothers' poverty.

Working conditions were also frequent causes for illness and mortality. Workers, especially poorer immigrant laborers, toiled in crowded mills and factories, were offered few health benefits, suffered physical injury from powerful machines, and were exposed to highly toxic chemicals. By the mid-nineteenth century, social reformers, professionals, and newly formed labor unions began to challenge such conditions. The first factory inspection departments in the U.S. were established in Massachusetts in 1867, and labor unions were successful in getting new safety laws in the 1870s and 1880s. Especially in New England, new laws were imposed to restrict working hours, regulate employment of women and children, and protect against physical and chemical hazards. New safety laws were enforced in urban industrialized centers, but isolated frontier industries were probably less regulated (Levenstein and Wooding 1998:64).

In spite of late-nineteenth-century industrialists' audible rhetoric about their concern with improving conditions for their employees, archaeological evidence indicates otherwise. Beaudry's (1993) work at the Boott Mills in Lowell, Massachusetts, suggests that corporate rhetoric did not always result in extensive official efforts to improve conditions. The young women working at Lowell, many of whom were poor immigrants, complained that their overcrowded dormitories did not provide adequate ventilation or bathing facilities. And while the company may have had good intentions in whitewashing the buildings frequently, this cosmetic fix resulted in toxic levels of lead in the soil. Documentary and archaeological evidence indicates that Lowell was infested with rats, and abandoned privies were left open in spite of city regulations.

Perhaps it is no surprise, then, that in the face of dangerous working conditions, toxic environments, and spreading diseases, nineteenth-century consumers in industrial communities purchased medicines that were increasingly available on the market. For example, archaeological evidence from a working-class community outside of Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, demonstrates that while working-class families consumed medicines and cosmetics in the mid-nineteenth century, they consumed even higher percentages of them in the early twentieth century (Shackel and Palus 2006).

Archaeological evidence from Fayette also illustrates some residents' rapt attention to their health and hygiene, although this varied by class. In another example of the disparity between class and status, Fayette's upper class apparently consumed many more health, hygiene, and grooming items than either of the other two neighborhoods, whose collections appeared very similar to one another. For example, as discussed in Chaps. 5 and 6 (see Tables 5.10 and 6.2), an analysis of glass bottle and jars indicates that 70% of the identifiable vessels from the upper-class household were related to heath and grooming. By contrast, health and grooming bottles represent only half of the working-class collection and even less of the middle-class assemblage. Of the upper-class collection's artifact categorized as "personal," a full 30% of the artifacts are related to health and hygiene, while the other two classes' collections represented less than 1%. In terms of health and grooming purchases, those two neighborhoods disposed of mostly nonbranded medicinal bottles. The upper-class collection is strikingly different. The superintendent's household collection included numerous nationally advertised medicines specifically for stress and nervousness. Their household disposed of highly specialized health and grooming paraphernalia including numerous imported toothbrushes, elaborate combs, medicine measuring cups, and douche or enema syringes (Figs. 7.4 and 7.5).

In further contrast to the other two neighborhoods, the upper-class collection included other luxury grooming goods that were nationally and internationally advertised as socially distinctive and in good taste. For example, unlike other Fayette assemblages, this collection included several bottles of perfume, such as Okell's Original Mona Bouquet, which was internationally advertised to appeal to
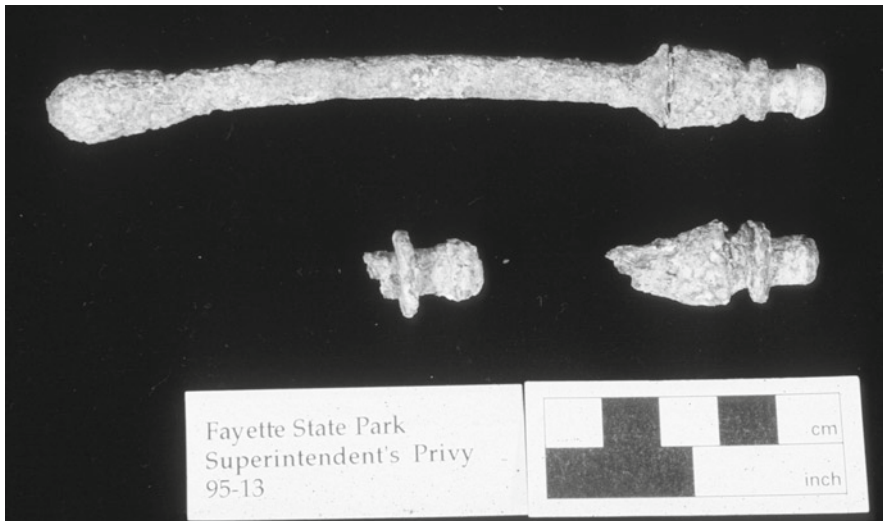

Fig. 7.4 Metal douche or enema syringes recovered from the superintendent's (upper class) household privy
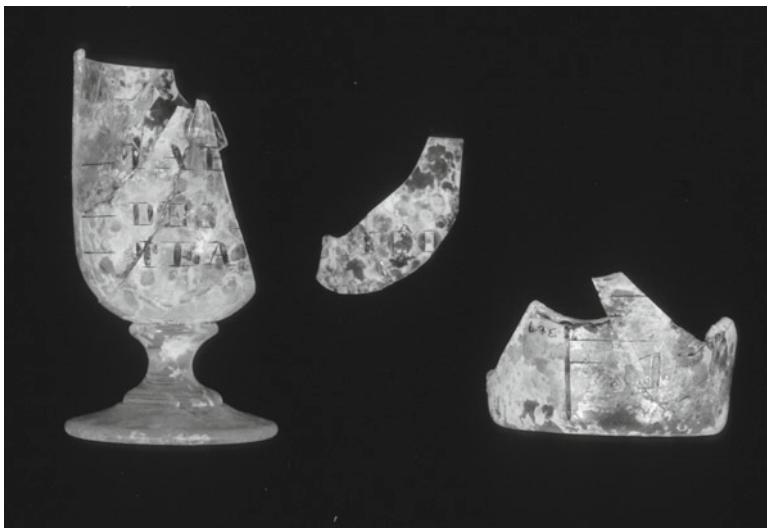
Fig. 7.5 Portions of two glass graduated cups for measuring medicine, recovered from the superintendent's (upper class) household privy. The stemmed cup on the *left* uses teaspoon, desert spoon, and tablespoon measurements

consumers' interest in the "choicest" and most socially "suitable," "acceptable," and "respectable" products (see text box below).

Medical and grooming paraphernalia had meaning beyond the economic capital required to purchase it. In an era that fetishized medical treatments, ownership of specialized medical paraphernalia was a display of cultural capital (culturally legitimized knowledge; see Chap. 8). In this case, cultural capital took the form of legitimate knowledge about science, the human body, and current market trends in medical fashion, so to speak. Cultural capital would have been displayed through the initial purchase of medical technology and its subsequent display to peers. In

Advertisement for Okell's Original Mona Bouquet, 1884

Okell's original Mona Bouquet. Prepared by Jane Okell (widow of the late Joseph Okell), formerly of Strand Street, Douglas, Isle of Man. This delightful perfume combines all the fragrant properties of Mona's choicest flowers; is suitable either for the assembly or the boudoir, and imparts to the handkerchief an exquisite and agreeable odour, 'yielding the very souls of flowers.' This essence is so concentrated that a few drops are equal in strength to half an ounce of lavender or cologne. It is the most acceptable souvenir that can be presented to a friend … Purchasers are requested to ask for 'Okell's Mona Bouquet,' and see that the trade mark, 'Douglas Pier,' is affixed on the outside wrapper of each bottle. … . Sold retail by respectable chemists and perfumers (Okell 1884).

doing so, the owner demonstrated his or her knowledge of health science and the most up-to-date medical practices available in Victorian America. The purchase of trendy medical and grooming paraphernalia, in part, led to the production and reproduction of residents' status positions.

If cultural capital correlated directly with class, one would expect the middle-class collection to include more medical and grooming items than the working-class collection. Instead, those two collections appear very similar, indicating a similar actualization of cultural capital. Collections from these two classes appear more or less the same in terms of material distinction through medically related cultural capi-tal, while the superintendent's upper-class collection surpassed them all.

Gender Identity and Power

Some theorists focus on social categories such as gender to explain that power relations between people are deeply embedded in cultural constructs in addition to economic and political relations. It has been suggested that "gender is a primary field within which or by means of which power is articulated" (Scott 1999:45). Stemming from both neoMarxist and postmodern traditions, gender is now consid-ered a powerful factor within cultural, national, institutional, and interpersonal realms. In studying gender, it is important to consider not only women in relation to men but also how women relate to other women, and men to men. It is also important to examine the intersection of gender with other aspects of identity, such as class, ethnicity, nativity, and age grades.

Bourdieu's (2001:23) work on gender points to the masculine/feminine opposition as a *"naturalized social construction"* that exists only relationally, as the construction of one gender cannot exist without the other. This leads to the formation of gendered habitus, which are central to daily practices. In a dichotomy in which society requires men to dominate and women to submit, both genders are trapped by what Marcel Mauss would have called "collective expectations" and Max Weber would have described as "objective potentialities" (Bourdieu's (2001:49, 57). Gender is inextricably bound up in honor, status, and social distinction.

From another perspective, many Marxist feminist histories emphasize women's exploitation under capitalism, fit women into existing historical categories, explain women's contributions to the economy in terms of *re*production, and tell her-stories (rather than histories) of female agency and consciousness in labor history (Scott 1999:18–21). Other scholars question the social construction of gender, itself, in a continuing exploration of the intersection between class and gender. Some research demonstrates that gender construction and relations between genders constitute power relationships separate (and yet inextricable) from capitalism. For example, Barrett (1988:157) emphasizes the construction of ideology and gendered work, and attributes women's relegation to part-time and home-work to their responsibility for childcare. She concludes that gender inequality predates the development of capitalism and was then exacerbated by capitalism (Barrett 1988:165, 254). Similarly, Scott (1999:64) cites data from working-class movements to explain that

the gendered language of class in the nineteenth century "placed women (and children) in auxiliary positions." Thus, gender inequality and the exploitation of women during industrialization appear to be a result of cultural and social processes of division and definition, rather than political or economic developments.

As with women, the construction of manliness was embedded in the rhetoric of class and moral imperatives, which for men included self-mastery, respectability, and duty; these criteria often provided justification for divisions between race, class, and immigrant status (Kaster 2001:47). In an act of double consciousness, nineteenth-century workingmen might derive powerful identities through work (e.g., by publicly demonstrating skill, strength, knowledge, supervisory power, etc.), but were also exploited and emasculated by other men because of hierarchical relationships in the workplace (Kaster 2001:50). In a similar catch-22, working men's identities were initially as producers, and then in the nineteenth century as consumers, as well; at that point, they were defined and trapped by expectations to excel at both (Kaster 2001:56). In contrast to Bourdieu's notion that masculinity and femininity are defined in opposition to one another, it has been suggested that working men in the history of American industrialization defined masculinity in relation to each other, in constant, competitive one-upmanship (Kaster 2001:34; Kimmel 1996:7).

Archaeologists have applied a variety of theoretical approaches to the study of gender. For example, Lawrence's (1998) work on gender and community structure on Australian colonial goldfields challenges the traditional notion of mining as an "exotic male domain," and finds that women's work financially supported their husbands and families when mining ventures were unprofitable. She finds that women were more than appendages to the mining process as they have been portrayed in history; instead, they were active agents who enabled it. In the past decade, other archaeologists have developed a dynamic research agenda exploring the intersection of landscapes and gender. Rotman and Savulis' (2003) book, *Shared Spaces and Divided Places: Material Dimensions of Gender Relations and the American Historical Landscape* discusses both hierarchical and cooperative power relationships in gendered landscapes, including plantation communities, industrial workshops, and playgrounds. Baugher and Spencer-Wood's (2010) *Archaeology and Preservation of Gendered Landscapes* builds on that work, examining not only hierarchical relationships but also heterarchical forms of power and the intersection of gender with class and ethnicity. There has also been increasing attention to the archaeology of specifically gendered spaces (e.g., Rotman 2009).

Working Women and Men

Occupations are often gendered, and gendered divisions in workplaces typically result in similarly divided spaces (Baugher and Spencer-Wood 2010; Rotman and Savulis 2003). In nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century industrial settings, women sometimes worked in industrial tasks, though usually separate from men's tasks (see Grier and Mercier 2006; Oberdeck 2001). When women worked in industry, often it was in gendered industries such as clothing, fabric, and lace mills (e.g., Gray and

Loftus 1999; Mrozowski, et al. 1996). Frequently, though, women's work was often restricted to the domestic sphere (both metaphorically and spatially) and was unpaid, while men's wage-labor took place in industrial realms (e.g., Nash 1993; Shackel 1996:2). This was also the case at Fayette.

Women's Work at Fayette

According to historical documents, most women's work at Fayette took place in the home and was usually unpaid. There were 371 residents of Fayette listed in the 1880 U.S. census (Department of the Interior 1880). Of those, 146 were females; 81 were adults (age 17 and over) and 65 were children (ages 16 and under). No female was listed as a head of household; all females were listed in relation to a male head of household. All female children were categorized as either daughters or granddaughters. All girls between the ages of 12 and 16 were listed as "at home" or "at school." For younger girls, that column was left blank.

Of the adult women who lived in a neighborhood and who can be assigned to a certain class (*n*=71) (i.e., excluding Hill Street residents and those living in the hotel), most were wives of the heads of household, and most of their occupations were listed as "keeping house." Being a "Wife" and "keeping house" as an occupation were more or less synonymous according to the census. One woman was listed as "Mother" whose occupation was "home here." Three women were listed as "Sister," with occupations of "sewing," "house keeper," and "keeping house." Five women in the community were listed as "servant," both in terms of their occupation and their relationship to the heads of household (Table 7.2).

The census would suggest that only eight women in these neighborhoods held a "Profession, Occupation, or Trade" that might have earned monetary income other than perhaps a household allowance: the five servants, the house keeper, the school teacher, and the woman occupied in sewing. While these few women held minimal job titles, most women were identified by the descriptor, "keeping house," which denied them the dignity of a job title. This indignity is reminiscent of Sennet and

Table 7.2 Adult Women's occupations as listed in the 1880 census

"Profession, occupation, or trade"	Upper class	Middle class	Working class	Total	Relationship to head of household
"Home here"	–	1	–	1	"Mother"
"House keeper"	1	–	–	1	"Sister"
"keeping house"	2	27	32	61	All listed as "Wife" but one working-class woman whose relationship is left blank
"School teacher"	–	1	–	1	"Sister"
"Servant"	–	5	–	5	"servant"
"Sewing"	–	1	–	1	"Sister"
None listed	–	1	–	1	"Wife"
Total	3	36	32	71	

Cobb's (1993) observation that lacking a respectable job title is one of the "hidden injury of class." In this case of course, it is a hidden injury of gender.

The 1880 census provides an incomplete picture of women's work and their contributions to household incomes; other historical documents indicate that some women in the community ran boarding houses, cleaned company offices, or worked as prostitutes. The census' structure defined men's roles by their occupations and the work they did. By contrast, the census primarily defined women by their relationships to the men, and women's work outside the home was only a secondary category often not recognized or recorded.

The Jackson Iron Company very rarely employed women, and their employment was not formalized. Women do not appear at all on the remaining examples of company payrolls, except for one woman listed as a cashier in the company store (i.e., Jackson Iron Company 1886; Jackson Iron Company 1887; Jackson Iron Company 1888–1891). Apparently they were not considered as formal company employees due to the irregularity of the jobs for which they were hired. Women occasionally did work for the company, though only on a task-by-task basis. Their work was recorded in the company's daily cash books, along with assorted rents collected on buildings and small monies paid out. For example, on two separate occasions in 1886, the company paid Mrs. Aug. Spawn $3.00 for cleaning the town's musical hall (Jackson Iron Company 1879–1892). Aug. Spawn, presumably her husband or son, was working as a coal forker for $1.75 a day in 1886 (Jackson Iron Company 1888–1891). This fairly low-paying position suggests that women who did task work were generating important supplements to their families' working-class incomes.

Other women at Fayette were trained as midwives and teachers, both of which were considered respectable occupations. Fayette's long-term physician, Dr. Bellows, trained at least one woman in midwifery; midwife Isabelle Gray was a widely known healer who mixed poultices with a cast-iron mortar and pestle (Gray 1961; Lang 1961) (see Chap. 8 for more on Isabelle Gray). Women and men both taught school at Fayette; almost always the women were unmarried, as indicated by newspaper accounts, school records, and the U.S. census (e.g., Fayette Board of School Inspectors various years; *The Mining Journal* 1883). Teaching school was probably perceived as a respectable occupation particularly for young women prior to entering marriage.

Other women at Fayette worked as prostitutes at one of several brothels on the outskirts of town. The most locally famous brothel was Summer's place, which has been described elsewhere for its involvement in mob violence (see Chap. 4). A former resident of Fayette reported that after an angry mob burned down Summer's brothel, three of the women working there eventually settled down and "led a way of life acceptable to the community in later years" (Winters 1961). "Jeanie" and "Lil" each married local men, and Sarah Clark, also known as "Fatty" Plant, opened a candy shop and either married or lived in a common law marriage. Although working as a prostitute was certainly not a respectable or high status occupation at Fayette, it did not preclude these women from marrying and being perceived as "acceptable" afterward.

Although the U.S. census and the Jackson Iron Company records rarely acknowledged women's work, married women, in particular, significantly contributed to their families' incomes, social status, and upward mobility. Nowhere is this

clearer than in cases where families took in boarders and women surely bore the burden of extra domestic work. Taking in boarders for extra income was a fairly common strategy in nineteenth-century America and specifically in company towns (e.g., LeeDecker, et al. 1987:238; Saitta 2007). According to the 1880 U.S. census, there were five households at Fayette where the number of boarders met or exceeded the number of family members under the same roof. Four such households were located in the middle-class neighborhood, where rent was higher than in the working-class neighborhood, but houses were larger and might accommodate more people. In three out of four such cases, the heads of household worked in a working-class occupation, even though their families could afford to live in the middle-class neighborhood. The most reasonable explanation for this trend is that women's work overseeing boarders made it possible for their families to live in a wealthier and higher-status neighborhood. Many women in the middle- and working-class neighborhoods took in one or more boarders and many probably also did undocumented, part-time work such as sewing, cleaning, and washing to supplement their families' income in an attempt to improve their life circumstances.

Men's Work at Fayette

There were 225 males listed in the 1880 census, representing about 61% of the town's population. There were 67 heads of household in the community, all of whom were male. All other males were listed by their relationships to the head of household. There were 62 male boarders in town, probably reflecting the fact that industrial work often employed a disproportionate number of single males. Other males were related to the heads of household by blood or marriage (e.g., son, brother, brother-in-law, father) with the exception of one individual listed as "Husband." This appears to be the case of two married couples living in the same house.

Eighty-two males in the community were children, ages 16 and under. All male children lived at home. Most male children between the ages of 10 and 16 were listed as "at home" or "at school." However, the division between childhood and adulthood seems to have been more blurred with males than females in this community. While females did not marry or move outside the home before age 17, several males took on more adult roles at earlier ages. Of the eight males at Fayette between the ages of 14 and 16, only half of them were listed as "at home" or "at school." Of the other four, two were laborers, one was a "Clerk in store" and one was "keeping house." The latter position is interesting, because this 14-year-old boy was the only male in the entire community whose occupation was described as "keeping house." Economics and household life cycle probably played a role in this boy's unusual occupation. He lived on Cedar Street in the working-class neighborhood with his two older (working) brothers and his father, who was either widowed or divorced. There were no females in the house to fill the gendered role of keeping house. Perhaps his young age indicated a somewhat liminal position and allowed for a certain flexibility in otherwise fixed gender roles.

All adult males ($n = 143$) in the town, as well as several older male children, were employed in an occupation that earned monetary income. This figure of 100% male

employment is in stark contrast to only 11% of adult women who were employed in an occupation other than keeping house. Again, the census emphasized the importance of men's paid work and downplayed or disregarded women's work, which was often not paid. Men were employed in a wide variety of industrial and nonindustrial positions, such as laborers, skilled tradesmen, seafarers, clerks, engineers, and so forth; none were employed as servants. As further evidence that men's identities were closely entwined with and largely defined by their work (see Kaster 2001), men were occasionally nicknamed according to their occupations. For example, one man, who was also a musician, was known as "Cinder Cart" John (*Mining Journal* 1880b). Another local figure known as "Pig Iron" Fred Hinks worked at the furnace for several years before becoming disabled from loading iron onto boats; afterward, he operated a tavern outside of town (Elliott n.d.; Gray 1961). It is ironic that "Pig Iron" Fred was nicknamed for the industrial product that was Fayette's raison d'être, and the very thing that crippled him for life (see Chap 8 for more on "Pig Iron" Fred).

Gender in Local Narratives

Cultural geographers have observed that American historical narratives often exclude women's contributions to household (re)production, boarding, gardens, dairying and so forth, especially in rural and frontier landscapes (Kay 1991). Indeed, Fayette women and men were treated very differently by the press and in local narratives, and this varied by class, as well. Women were rarely mentioned in much detail in Fayette's gossip columns of local newspapers. They were generally discussed in a flattering, if patronizing light. One news report commodified women in an advertisement of Fayette's many attractions, reporting, "we are rather shut off from the outside world, but we have daily mail in summer, and tri-weekly mail in winter, besides a large number of lovely females the year round" (*Escanaba Tribune* 1876b). Most often, middle- and upper-class women were mentioned in the news for traveling to the larger regional centers with their husbands to pay social calls and take in entertainment. Middle- and upper-class men were mentioned in similar contexts, but discussed more extensively, and sometimes controversially, in terms of business and participation in politics and voluntary associations. The social capital afforded by having one's name mentioned favorably in the newspaper was largely reserved for the upper and middle classes. Working-class names of either gender were not usually mentioned unless associated with some form of scandal, such as the event described in the text box below.

May Dress, who allegedly left her husband to become a prostitute, was not alive to tell her side of the story (*Mining Journal* 1879b). While her husband's account might be accurate, one can equally imagine this as a smear campaign against a woman fleeing domestic violence or seeking a separation. She is described as coming from "respected parents." If the media could not blame her perceived misbehavior on her class or status, they blamed it on her failure to act in accordance with the standards of her gender. According to Victorian social standards, middle-class women in this era were not

From the *Mining Journal*, 21 June 1879

The name of the lewd wife and mother drowned with her two children and "Buckskin Jim" and two Frenchmen, by the upsetting of a sailboat off Fayette week before last, has transpired to be Mrs. May Dress, [sic] her husband Edward Dress, of Peshtigo, arrived in town last Saturday and gave the reporter the following particulars: Mary Dress was his lawful wife. They had lived together on a farm in Peshtigo 14 years, 10 years of which time were lived happily by both, but the remaining 4 years were spent in misery by him, owing to his knowledge of his wife's unfaithfulness. About a month ago his wife ran away from him, going to Fayette and entering a low house of prostitution there. Hearing of her whereabouts a short while afterward he followed her and brought her home, she promising that if he would forgive her for the past she would be faithful and living [sic] to him forevermore. He promised and all went well for a week or two, when one morning she said "Edward, I am going to see my parents at Birch Creek and will take the children with me." "Alright, Mary," he replied, "the trip will do you and the children good." She and the children thereupon started and no more was heard of them by the husband and father until the news of their drowning was telegraphed to him from Escanaba by a friend. Grief stricken for the loss of his children, a beautiful daughter of 10 and a brighteyed boy of 8 years of age, he arrived in Escanaba as reported and at once instituted a search for the recovery of the bodies, which was unsuccessful, he being obliged to return home without even a relic of them, and almost heartbroken. "I don't care for her" he said to the reported [sic], meaning his wild wife, "further than I would rather she had lived, but my children, oh, my children!" and the strong man burst into tears and sobs. Edward Dress is a well-to do farmer of Peshtigo, and it is said by those who know that he was always a loving husband and father. Both he and his wife, the drowned women [sic], came from highly respected parents. The only cause given for her wicked course, other than her being the possessor of a strong, vile passion, is that she was a little flightly [sic], and fell an easy prey to unprincipled men. The bodies of her and her children have not as yet been recovered and probably never will be (*Mining Journal* 1879b).

allowed to be strong or passionate in their daily practices. They were not encouraged to separate themselves from their husbands for whatever reason. Their socially prescribed role was to maintain domestic morality as part of the cult of domesticity.

In contrast to notions of women as the keepers of domestic morality, certain middle-class men at Fayette appointed themselves the keepers of community morality. Such was the case with the Summers incident described in this chapter and in Chap. 4, in which a number of middle-class men engaged in mob violence against a man accused of holding a woman against her will and forcing her to work as a

prostitute. They subsequently burned down his tavern/brothel (also known as "the ranch") and beat him severely. Although other taverns and brothels on the outskirts of town were well patronized and operated fairly peacefully, the mob chose this incident to act upon and the media fully approved it. One news article reported, "From Fayette we have news that the men who were instrumental in cleaning out 'the ranch' the other night were the best citizens of the place and mean business" (*Schoolcraft County Pioneer* 1880). In this case, manly, physical violence generated social capital (valued relations with others), and social capital legitimized violence.

In keeping with Kaster's (2001) take on American workingmen's masculinity, there was a class division in what it meant to be a man at Fayette. Middle-class men at Fayette at least gave the appearance of keeping their noses clean and made certain the rest of town did, as well. Working-class men, who were perhaps not as invested in Victorian moral ideals and the status they entailed, were more inclined to engage publicly in alcohol-fueled violence. These incidents were often treated with humor, unless they got out of hand by middle-class Victorian standards, as did the Summers incident. For example, the story below describes with great amusement how a drunken working-class man was stabbed (see text box below).

Escanaba Iron Port, 30 September 1882

Since my last letter we have had a genuine stabbing affray and we enjoyed it immensely … . The announcement was as follows:

A team was driven frantically up, to the doctors office, and a big tall woodsman was handed in for repairs. He had been stabbed in the breast, directly over the heart and the crowd supposed that a cadaver would be lugged out in about 10 minutes. In less than that time the very man comes out as, "where is the rooster that cut me? If I can get my hands on him I'll lam eighteen times of tapioca pudding out of him". This interspersed [sic] with ample ecclesiastical references satisfied the crowd that the funeral would not occur on that day, anyway … . The man who did the cutting inquired around a while for someone to arrest him, but not being successful he went away … . The trouble was booze (*Escanaba Iron Port* 1882).

Historical-period photographs of Fayette residents also show a clear division in how men and women were portrayed to others. Both sexes frequently appeared in family and individual portraits. Otherwise, men were photographed in relation either to their work or to their participation in peer groups. Work photos were usually group events, and men were often depicted holding the tools of their particular trade or task (Fig. 7.6). This again supports the notion that men and masculinity were defined by work itself (e.g., Kaster 2001). Men were also photographed in relation to their participation in voluntary associations, such as Fayette's baseball team. This reflected the exercise of social capital (valued relations with others)

Fig. 7.6 Fayette furnace workers, circa 1867–1891. Photo provided courtesy of the Michigan Historical Museum

that might have led to advancement in work (economic class) and social status. By contrast, women were photographed almost entirely in one of three scenarios: individually, in family portraits, or in largely gendered community activities such as school picnics (Fig. 7.7). The latter type of activity was also an exercise of social and perhaps cultural capital that would have affected their status within the community (see Chap. 8 for more on peer relationships and social capital).

Ethnicity and Immigration

Ethnicity and nativity are categories that are often essentialized and oversimplified, as scholars attempt to typify immigrants' experiences in coming to America. Conversely, individual identities (to which ethnicity and nativity contribute) are sometimes downplayed as impeding factors in the historical formation of working-class consciousness. Yet, these are critical aspects of individuals' identities, which had tremendous variation and meaning as they intersected with class, race, nationality, gender, education, age, work experience, and other factors.

For these reasons, it is difficult to offer a simple narrative of nineteenth-century immigration to the United States. Instead, it is helpful to explore several themes related to ethnicity and immigration in working American communities. For example, one study of nineteenth-century European immigrants in Rhode Island emphasizes the importance of understanding both productive labor and reproductive labor in immigrant households (Lamphere 1987). It is necessary to evaluate, not only the husbands' work but also contributions by wives, daughters, and sons to immigrants'

household economies. In Lamphere's (1987) case study, immigrant families typically strategized their moves to America with specific goals in mind, often moving to connect with extended family members who were already living there. Various ethnic groups had different goals; some tended to stay in the U.S. for generations, while others met a certain goal and then returned to Europe. Immigrant groups often lived in ethnically segregated neighborhoods but worked in ethnically diverse workplaces. Some ethnic groups were higher in the labor hierarchy than others and earned higher wages as a result. Men's wage labor typically earned the most income in each family, but women's work was widely variable depending on household development cycle and the ethnic group's place in the labor hierarchy. Ethnic groups that were higher in the labor hierarchy often did not send mothers to work in the wage economy. By contrast, mothers in the most disadvantaged ethnic groups worked for wages, and needed to earn income and care for young children simultaneously (e.g., by taking in boarders) (Gjerde 1988:544–545; Lamphere 1987).

Nativity of Fayette Residents

There are numerous parallels between Fayette and the research discussed above. Although all of Fayette's residents were described as "white" in the 1880 census, there was tremendous diversity in residents' birthplaces and presumably in their

Table 7.3 Nativity of Fayette residents in 1880 (excluding hotel, Hill Street, and one adult whose birthplace is not listed)

	U.S.	Canada	Great Britain and Ireland	Continental Europe
Percent of residents ($n=322$)	46%	19%	7%	28%
Percent of adult residents only ($n=194$)	24%	28%	12%	37%

perceived ethnicities (Table 7.3) (Department of the Interior 1880). Nearly half of Fayette's population was born in the United States, but that number is reduced by half again when children are excluded from the count. Many of Fayette's residents were families, and many who immigrated to the U.S. had several children born in America. Many residents were born in Canada (19% of all residents, and 28% of adults); presumably its proximity to Fayette was one reason for such a high representation. Large numbers of residents were born in Continental Europe (28% of all residents, and 37% of adults). A wide variety of European countries were listed (and occasionally misspelled) in the 1880 census including Austria, Belgium, Bohemia, Casline, Denmark, Elzas (Alsace), France, Germany, Hanover (part of Germany), Holland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Prussia, Sweden, and Wurtenburg (Wurttemburg, part of Germany). Smaller numbers of Fayette residents were born in Great Britain and Ireland (7% of all residents, and 12% of adults). Artifacts excavated from the working-class neighborhood, in particular, suggest the diversity at Fayette. Some artifacts found in the laborers' neighborhood might have been heirlooms or keepsakes from the Old World, such as coins from France and Luxembourg (Fig. 7.8), tobacco pipes from Holland, and a stein painted with German wording (Martin 1987a). Wording on the stein reads "Der Hausfrau …" which translates as "The Housewife …"

Many immigrant groups worked throughout the labor hierarchy and lived in each of the class-based neighborhoods at Fayette. For instance, Canadian immigrants lived in upper-, middle-, and working-class neighborhoods. Many Canadian-born men worked in low-paying occupations such as laborers and teamsters, but others worked in skilled trades and in upper management. In fact, the company's highest-ranking official in residence, the superintendent, was born in Canada. Canadian-born women of all classes were usually described as "keeping house" in the census, although two were listed as "house keeper" and "sewing," who might have earned wages. Interestingly, both of these women were unmarried and living in the upper- and middle-class neighborhoods, and each was a sister-in-law to the heads of household. Many nationalities at Fayette had similar distributions of jobs throughout the labor hierarchy, but there were exceptions. Most English-born employees had higher-paying jobs such as foreman, merchant, and sailor. Other groups, especially those born in Ireland, often worked in lower-paying positions such as laborers, teamsters, and household servants. Several Irish-born women at Fayette lived in the middle-class neighborhood; often they were either servants or wives of American-born men in skilled trades or supervisory positions. Apparently, Irish-born residents were subject to a certain amount of ridicule within the community. In 1881 at a Masquerade Ball given by the Fayette Brass Band, two of Fayette' most respected

Fig. 7.8 Coins excavated from a working-class household. An 1861 five centime coin reading "NAPOLEON III EMPEREUR 1861" (*left*). An 1865 ten centime coin, reading "GRAND DUCHE DE LUXEMBOURG" (*right*). Photo courtesy of Patrick Martin

citizens "made good Irishmen," alongside others dressed as a treasonous Mary Queen of Scots, a fortune teller, and "a poor old organ grinder" (*Escanaba Iron Port* 1881). Ridicule of the Irish as apelike drunks was commonplace in America and England during the Victorian period; their frequent caricature was tied to pseudo-Darwinian science as well as religious and political conflicts (Wohl 1990).

Although Fayette residents did not live in ethnically segregated neighborhoods, there are some trends regarding nativity and residence within the community (Table 7.4) For this study, adults' birthplaces were divided into four categories, including the U.S., Canada, British Isles, and Continental Europe (including the Scandinavian Peninsula). The middle-class neighborhood showed the most even diversity, which included all nativity categories and ranged from 18% born in the British Isles to 30% born in the United States. By contrast, the fact that all adults living in the upper-class neighborhood were born in either the U.S. or Canada suggests there was some relationship between nativity and class position. American- and Canadian-born employees might have had certain advantages in the corporate hierarchy, perhaps from having lived in the region for a longer time, or from nepotism (this was clearly the case among some Fayette residents), or from having a firm grasp of the English language (although perhaps not in the case of French-Canadians). The advantage of being American and Canadian born in the class hierarchy was tentatively identified as a trend when looking only at the relationship between nativity and occupation, but the trend became much more apparent when

Table 7.4 Nativity of adults in each neighborhood (excluding hotel, Hill Street, and one adult whose birthplace is not listed)

Birthplace	Upper class	Middle class	Working class
United States	40% ($n=2$)	30% ($n=29$)	16% ($n=15$)
Canada	60% ($n=3$)	27% ($n=26$)	27% ($n=25$)
British Isles	0	18% ($n=17$)	6% ($n=6$)
Continental Europe	0	25% ($n=24$)	51% ($n=47$)
Total residents	100% ($n=5$)	100% ($n=96$)	100% ($n=93$)

looking at the intersection of nativity, class, and the built environment. Another trend appears in the working-class neighborhood, which hosted a variety of immigrant groups. Interestingly, over 50% of adults living in the working-class neighborhood were born in Continental Europe, which is a substantially higher figure than other groups in the neighborhoods. The correlation between being born in Europe and then living in Fayette's working-class neighborhood might be related to Continental Europeans' being nonnative English speakers. Speaking little or no English certainly affected employees' abilities to do certain jobs effectively. Indeed, as one of the immigrants' stories presented below will demonstrate, language was a permeable barrier through which some employees worked to transgress.

Intersectionality and Mobility in Immigrants' Narratives

The stories of Fayette's foreign-born residents highlight the intersectionality of immigration, class and gender, and illustrate the permeability of epistemological categories such as class. For instance, Louis Follo was a Norwegian immigrant who began his company career as a gang laborer who laid railroad tracks. At the time, Follo:

> couldn't speak a word of English nor understand it. As the months went by, he began to pick up the language but on his first day on the job the foremen [sic] asked him to go get a pick-axe. Not understanding a word of the order, Louis could tell by the foreman's gester [sic] he was "to get something" and started down the track, picking up the first implement he came to and bringing it back to the foreman. It turned out to be the pick-axe – and the foreman said, "well, you sure learned English fast"! This was all translated to Louis by fellow workers. (Follo 1961)

Follo later worked as a locomotive fireman, and by 1887, he had acquired the training and company connections to secure work as a skilled machinist (Follo 1961; Jackson Iron Company 1887). He presumably learned English on his rise through the ranks, as he was frequently described as socializing with other middle-class citizens at Fayette who did not speak his native tongue (see Chap. 8 for a discussion of networking opportunities and social capital).

Another Fayette immigration narrative, the Vermeerch family's story, illustrates the complex intersection of gender, class, and immigration, and demonstrates the difficulty in assigning families to a single class position. The family is not listed

in the 1880 U.S. census, so it is not possible to tell the location of their home (and presumed class position) at Fayette. Leon Vermeerch emigrated from Belgium ahead of his family to work at Fayette (Garden Peninsula Historical Society 1982). In the mid-1880s, he appears in Fayette's payroll records in working-class positions, earning $1.50 daily (Jackson Iron Company 1886, 1887). This was one of Fayette's lowest-paying salaries (refer to Chap. 4). However, his wife, Jeanette, was reportedly "from a well-to-do family that lived on the border between Belgium and France" (Garden Peninsula Historical Society 1982). The discrepancy between Old World and New World socioeconomic status was common among immigrants to America. Leon eventually sent for his wife, Jeanette, and their seven children. According to local history, "when they arrived in the Fayette Harbor, each of Leon's five daughters were [sic] introduced and each told of their special abilities. Needless to say, the young males were there to be introduced and all the girls were soon married" (Garden Peninsula Historical Society 1982:270). As discussed earlier in this chapter, Fayette's demographics as an industrial community included a disproportionate number of single males, and single women were viewed as commodities of sorts. Undoubtedly, the Vermeerch's daughters had quite a different immigration experience than did the family's two sons, whose fate once reaching the harbor was not recorded. One of the married daughters, Leontine Vermeerch Louis, is pictured in Fig. 7.7.

As a third example of immigrants' socioeconomic mobility and strategizing, George and Julia Talbot immigrated to the U.S. from Canada (Department of the Interior 1880). Julia Talbot's occupation is listed as "keeping house" in the 1880 census. No doubt she was busy raising her nine children and hosting a boarder. As discussed earlier, taking in boarders was a common strategy among poorer working-class families for earning extra income and gaining housing choices. George Talbot's occupation is reported as "carpenter" in the census, but in his children's birth records he is sometimes listed as "laborer," typically a much lower paying job (e.g., Delta County 1883, 1885). The Talbot family illustrates the difficulty in assigning families to a single class position. On the one hand, at least periodically George Talbot worked as a carpenter, a skilled position that earned more than a laborer. Both parents could read and write; their children attended school and were visible in community events and newspaper reports (see Chap. 8). One might interpret the Talbots as a middle-class family by Victorian American standards. On the other hand, however, George Talbot sometimes earned only a laborer's salary. He and Julia had numerous mouths to feed, and they lived on Cedar Street in Fayette's poorest neighborhood. It is likely that their residence on Cedar Street resulted, not from a fixed class position, but from their daily strategies of domestic (re)production and household life cycle (for an archaeological discussion of household life cycle, see Rotman 2005).

It would appear that Fayette's immigrant residents had certain freedoms to navigate the class hierarchy, and at least some of them were successful in doing so. This is not necessarily the story of many immigrants in the United States, and it is interesting to question why so many of Fayette's foreign-born fared better than other immigrants to America. Fayette's paternalistic management style probably

contributed to this trend; the company paid comparatively high wages, provided housing suitable for families, and offered relatively stable employment in an isolated area (refer to Chap. 4). The ethnic make-up of Fayette's workforce probably also contributed to residents' upward mobility. Economic studies of late-nineteenth-century immigrant workers in Michigan concluded that immigrants from Northern and Western Europe faced significantly less wage and occupational discrimination than did their counterparts from Central and Eastern Europe (Hannon 1978, 1982b). If this trend also held at Fayette, where most European immigrants came from Northern and Western Europe, they were probably given opportunities to acquire new skills and secure promotions. Research also shows that in late-nineteenth-century Michigan, immigrant workers faced less occupational discrimination in small towns than they did in bigger cities (Hannon 1982a). Historical documentation at Fayette certainly reflects these processes, resulting in the fact that many of Fayette's foreign-born residents became landowners after the shutdown of furnace in 1891.

Summary

In spite of the pervasive class hierarchy, Fayette residents maintained the power to enact change and shape their lifeways in meaningful ways. For example, the upper class displayed distinction in their consumption of fashionable medical and grooming paraphernalia, which required both economic and cultural capital. By contrast, although the middle-class housing resembled the upper-class neighborhood, middle-class consumption of beef, tablewares, and flatware more closely resembled those of the working class. The reasons for such a trend are unclear, but certainly involved households' strategic decision-making regarding economic expenditure and socially meaningful consumerism. These findings run parallel with Weber's (1946a) differentiation between economic class and social status, and Bourdieu's (1984) assertion that different forms of capital do not correspond proportionately to each other. There were also notable social differences between and within genders in terms of occupation, portrayal in local narratives, and photography, indicating that neither gender nor class was a single deciding factor in an individual's life circumstances or status. With similar complexity, immigrants' experiences at Fayette were widely variable as their nativity intersected with class, gender, household development cycle, and the built environment. For example, although many immigrants were quite poor, some foreign-born residents occupied high positions on the corporate ladder and lived in the upper- and middle-class neighborhoods. Even some of the lowest-paid immigrants eventually became landowners and accrued social capital within the community (see Chap. 8 for more on social capital). It has proven difficult to assign some households to a fixed class position, because of their social and economic mobility.

Chapter 8
Symbolic, Cultural, and Social Capital

*Fayette boys made a noble effort some time ago to organize
a brass band, and their efforts were crowned with success*

(Schoolcraft County Pioneer 1881b).

*These women [midwives] – or anyone – with a slight
knowledge of healing or medicine were looked upon with
respect*

(Tatrow 1982).

Sir, I am a poor man, and I take your paper, and I can read it, too…

(Escanaba Tribune 1870).

Introduction

Economic capital (e.g., wealth and property) is highly prized in many societies, especially capitalistic societies such as the United States. It would be misleading to downplay how important economic capital has been in the history of class struggles, inequality, and power relations. And yet, people are empowered by more than just money and property ownership; economic capital and class position are not the only means of acquiring and experiencing power. In fact, often the exercise of other kinds of power can lead to economic opportunities, and vice versa.

In their daily lives, individuals and groups negotiate different forms of power within social fields in strategized attempts to gain different forms of capital. Pierre Bourdieu proposed that four kinds of capital are at stake in a society: "economic capital, social capital (various kinds of valued relations with significant others), cultural capital (primarily legitimate knowledge of one kind or another), and symbolic capital (prestige and social honor)" (Jenkins 1992:85) (refer to Chap. 3). Economic capital at Fayette has been discussed in previous chapters in terms of class relations, allocation of domestic space, pay rates, consumer patterns, access to healthcare, and so forth.

A second form of capital, symbolic capital, is equated with honor and prestige. For example, Bourdieu uses symbolic capital to show how domination and power are played out in everyday verbal challenges. He explains that the process of challenges

is driven by people's sense of honor, which is derived from interactions with peer groups from an early age. A person in a dominant position of power who is offended by a less dominant person can let the less dominant person off the hook and capitalize on it later (Bourdieu 1977:14, 15).

> A skilled strategist can turn a capital of provocations received or conflicts suspended, with the potential ripostes, vengeances, or conflicts it contains, into an instrument of power, by reserving the capacity to reopen or cease hostilities in his own good time (Bourdieu 1977:15).

This is a form of symbolic capital that an already dominant person might use to reproduce his or her own power; the less dominant person's cooperation is necessary. Symbolic capital sometimes works to the advantage of dominant individuals and groups, usually in situations where the dominant are in a position to control ideologies, for example, surrounding symbolically-charged monumental architecture, built environments, and prestige goods (for archaeological examples, see Inomata 2001; Leone 1984) (cf. Hutson 2002:66). At Fayette, the company superintendent was afforded symbolic capital by occupying the largest house in the community, a hill-top edifice that locals referred to as the "White House" with weighty political symbolism (Manning 1982:42) (see Chap. 4).

The third type of capital, cultural capital, is often entwined with education, cultural literacy, and conspicuous consumption. Bourdieu's (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* details how powerful groups use legitimized cultural tastes to mark, maintain, and mask social boundaries (Jenkins 1992:137–138). Similarly, Elias (2000) found that power relationships were entangled with social manners that were established by the upper classes. He argued that in societies with complex hierarchies, it is not enough to rule by violence; more subtle power is needed. Thus, a "strict code of manners" … "is an instrument of prestige, but it is also … an instrument of power" (Elias 2000:431). At Fayette, cultural capital might have taken take the form of knowledge about current trends in fashion and medicine, as discussed in the previous chapter. In addition, people might have gained cultural capital among peers by attending school, learning to read, or by studying etiquette and so-called cultural literacy.

The fourth type of capital is social capital, which hinges on meaningful relationships with other people. Sociologist Brisson (2009:168) describes the distinctions made between different kinds of social capital. For example, there are differences between bonding social capital (intracommunity relationships) and bridging social capital (extracommunity relationships). There are also differences between formal social capital (developed through organizational relationships) and informal social capital. Similarly, open networks allow members to enter easily, while closed networks are less accessible and have permanent memberships. Some kinds of social capital use social support for "getting by" and maintaining the status quo, while other kinds of social capital are used for "getting ahead" and using social leverage to advance an economic goal (for example see Briggs 1998; Brisson 2009:168).

Different forms of social capital are available in different types of networks and organizations, with variable resulting opportunities. For example, a study of social capital and religious involvement in modern America shows a positive relationship between participating in a religious congregation and having friendships with elected

officials, corporate employers, and wealthy individuals participating in that same congregation; such friendships represent status-bridging social capital (Wuthnow 2002). This kind of capital can translate into increased social status and a variety of opportunities for the individual. Similarly, it has been suggested that in working environments, an individual's ability to acquire new skills and innovate is directly related to the person's network connections and social capital in the workplace (van der Sluis 2009).

Importantly, sociologists have looked to social capital as a means for the less wealthy to access economic and political opportunities, mobility, and power (Brisson 2009; Putnam 2001, 2002; Wuthnow 2002). This has significant implications for upward mobility and class relations, because different forms of capital might be transformed and exchanged as actions unfold over time (Bourdieu 1977:183). Social capital from participating in peer groups, cultural capital from education, and symbolic capital available from becoming a US citizen, for instance, eventually might be transformed in subsequent generations giving educated, well respected families more access to economic opportunities.

As discussed in previous chapters, Fayette residents' class positions did not directly correspond with their individual social status and respectability. Hierarchical, class-based relationships among Fayette's residents were sometimes at odds with more heterarchical, peer relationships. Hierarchical power and class relations are often visualized as a vertically arranged pyramid, with small numbers of the powerful upper-class at the top, and large numbers of the less powerful lower-class at the bottom. In contrast, heterarchical power might be envisioned as numerous, interrelated groups arranged horizontally, side-by side as they interact with one another. In the Weberian tradition of examining multiple sources of power, some archaeologists examine heterarchical power relationships simultaneously with hierarchical ones, recognizing that peer relations within complex societies are inevitably complicated (e.g., Crumley 1987; Ehrenreich et al. 1995; Joyce and Hendon 2000). Some use an adaptation of the Weberian tradition, such as Mann's (1986) sources of social power (i.e., economic, political, cultural, and military power networks). For example, in historical archaeology, Hardesty (1998) investigated power networks in ephemeral mining towns that were indicative of heterarchical power structures within the communities.

In some sense, all of the groups discussed in this chapter and the previous one (e.g., consumer groups, genders, ethnicities) indicate the presence of peer-based, heterachical relationships at Fayette. For example, aspects of a person's identity as British, as male, or as the purchaser of new-fangled toothbrushes at the company store probably opened the doors for certain conversations, camaraderie, or one-upmanship. Such cultural capital could have publicly bolstered the person's social status and further increased the person's cultural capital. Not belonging to these groups was a form of exclusion that surely had social effects among one's peer networks (e.g., being female, being Irish, or lacking the latest medical knowledge).

This is what makes voluntary organizations particularly interesting; membership was organized and intentional. Voluntary organizations are civic and religious assemblages of individuals with common interests. Membership is limited by those interests, as well as other factors such as gender and class. These organizations are undeniably embedded in hierarchical class relationships, but they also have important implications for heterarchical relationships among peers and individuals' access to

different forms of capital. This chapter explores different forms of noneconomic capital within voluntary organizations and less formal peer groups, as well as authority maintained by individuals.

At Fayette, social, cultural, and symbolic capital among wealthier citizens was better documented than the accomplishments of the poor. Newspaper reporting usually focused on a few well-known names from the top of the political hierarchy in the community, such as the superintendent, doctor, and foremen. There is a strong correlation between a Fayette citizen's wealth and frequency of being mentioned in the papers for paying social calls to nearby towns, participating in civic organizations, and the like. Surely, this is a bias of local reporters who likely rubbed elbows with Fayette's wealthier citizens. Undoubtedly, others in the community banded together around similar interests but went without as much public notice. Poor people of Fayette did interesting things, too, but mostly gained nonwritten distinction through word of mouth, storytelling, and local gossip. Thus, it has been important in this study to search for evidence of noneconomic capital, not just in newspapers, but also in oral histories, photographs, and artifacts.

Work-Related Voluntary Organizations

As discussed in Chap. 2, Fayette ceased to operate before the beginning of the Progressive Era of American history. Elsewhere and in later years, American industrial communities would struggle to unionize and strike to reform working conditions (e.g., McGuire 2008; Saitta 2007). However, Fayette's history as a working community largely preceded those changes, and no evidence has been found to indicate any such reform movements at Fayette, with the possible exception of a conflict over a local election described in Chap. 4. Yet, some voluntary organizations at Fayette were structured around work, offering opportunities for employees to socialize and gain social capital through meaningful relationships with others.

Independent Order of Odd Fellows

Fayette hosted a chapter of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (also known as I.O.O.F. or simply, Odd Fellows). The Odd Fellows was one of several mutual benefit societies that became increasingly popular in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in America and elsewhere. Mutual benefit societies such as the Odd Fellows were fraternal orders steeped in ritualized meetings, ceremonies, and regalia. They were important social institutions during a transitional time in American history. As Glenn (2001:639) notes,

> the language of fraternalism was a source of identity for members during a period of transition from small-town agrarian life to large town or city industrial production. For many displaced farmers and immigrants who had moved to these urban centers during the industrial revolution, friendly societies served to reconstitute the *gemeinschaft* communities they left behind by creating a sense of kinship between brother members.

Such societies also offered health and life insurance benefits for workers in an era when commercial insurance companies primarily targeted wealthier clients. Even if immigrants and minorities could afford insurance, they were often discriminated against and denied coverage (Glenn 2000, 2001:638). Being accepted into a mutual benefit society led to more than insurance; they also provided important social and political networking opportunities, as well as increased social status. Power relationships surrounding these institutions hinged on inclusion, exclusion, and social capital.

Fayette's chapter of Odd Fellows illustrates the complex intersection of hierarchical and heterarchical power at Fayette (see "Text Box" below). On the one hand, the hierarchy of an 1880 Odd Fellows trade parade is readily visible in one newspaper description (*Mining Journal* 1880b). The highest ranking company officials are named first, along with unnamed, uniformed Odd Fellows and a single musician known as "Cinder Cart" John. They are followed by representatives of the skilled trades, and lastly by the coal kiln workers. It largely appears as a hierarchical parade. On the other hand, the parade is also a celebration of masculine work, prosperity, and camaraderie among fellow workers and society members. The Odd Fellows wore uniforms in a very public display indicating that they are all members of the same fraternal group, even though they are from mixed economic classes. The article concludes that the "Odd Fellows deserve praise" for providing good entertainment (*Mining Journal* 1880b). The implication is that there was a certain amount of social and symbolic capital within the community for being a member of this group.

Mining Journal, July 17, 1880

The Odd Fellows did themselves proud in getting up and following out their 5th of July programme [sic]. When they announced by posters "the finest programme ever attended on Big Bay de Noc", no one supposed they would be able to make so complete a demonstration with so little that savored of failure…. "Honor to whom honor is due", Marshall [Superintendent] J. B. Kitchen and [Supervisor] T. J. Streeter formed the procession into line about ten o'clock, and after parading the streets for a short time proceeded to the beautiful driving park. "Cinder Cart" John was the only musician, but he is used to going it alone. The procession consisted of the Odd fellows in uniform and on foot, while the various trades and professions were represented by the portly form of Mr. Pinchin… paymaster, and J. W. Stradda, clerk, writing at their desks…; then followed by a miniature store…; the harness shop in full operation; butcher shop with butchers killing and cutting up a calf; machine shop, with employees hard at work; blacksmith shop complete with anvils, and smith hard at work; carpenter and paint shops; and last a coal kiln. After the parade, the sports began, and the forenoon was devoted to jumping and foot races of all kinds. The trotting began at 2 P. M. and was quite exciting…. In the evening the grand open air dance came off, and it was a splendid success, over a hundred and fifty tickets being sold. The music was the best we have ever had. The Odd Fellows deserve praise (*Mining Journal* 1880b).

Fayette Agricultural Society

Membership in Fayette's chapter of the Odd Fellows seems to have been closely entangled with the corporate hierarchy. Other voluntary organizations revolving around work might have provided networking opportunities with variable ties to the company, as well. For example, the Fayette Agricultural Society was formed in the mid-1880s by Henry Bebeau, a contractor who provided charcoal to the Jackson Iron Company (Friggens 1973:64; Jackson Iron Company 1877; *Mining Journal* 1885). As the company cleared land for the production of charcoal, land was available for agriculture increasingly in the 1880s. Bebeau and wealthy company employees established "magnificent" farms for miles around Fayette, where the soil was reported to be "excellent and the local market good with shipping points quite accessible" (*Mining Journal* 1880a). It is unknown whether the company promoted local agriculture. Elsewhere in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company actively promoted agriculture on its cutover lands in hopes of "lower food prices, reduced pressures on mining wages, and a more stable work force [e.g., for part-time employees]" (Reynolds 2006:89). The Jackson Iron Company could have made similar arrangements at Fayette. In any case, although the agricultural society's membership overlapped with the company hierarchy, membership in such a society undoubtedly offered an alternative network of social and economic relations than those experienced as a company employee. For example, the society's plan to sponsor a county fair (Friggens 1973:64; *Mining Journal* 1885) would have created opportunities for local contests, market venues, and entrepreneurial activities open to local citizens of various economic means. One local newspaper observed, "Within the past five years this locality has emerged from a howling wilderness into a splendid rural district with evidences of thrift and enterprise everywhere" (*Mining Journal* 1880a). While many of these opportunities were probably accessible only to the wealthy, surely the developing agricultural economy and its social milieu offered the middle and working classes some alternatives to the company power networks.

Entertainment Organizations

Other peer groups were organized around entertainment, which offered a variety of informal networking opportunities and were sources of both social and cultural capital.

Horse Racing and Baseball

Horseracing at Fayette was likely one of the local organizations that brought distinction to several citizens, albeit, only the wealthiest ones according to historical records. The town of Fayette had its own racetrack, which was overlapped by a

baseball field. Though no known historical documents indicate who built the recreation area, archaeologist John Halsey believes that contemporary newspaper articles suggest that it was constructed in the late 1870s under the watch of J. B. Kitchen, Fayette's superintendent. Halsey (1999a:1) suggests that "Kitchen was the only person at the site with authority to construct the track and one of the few with sufficient funds to own horses, although Dr. Curtis Bellows, the company-employed town doctor, may occasionally have provided some competition." While horseracing provided distinction for the winning horses' owners, it was also discussed in social circles outside of Fayette and was a point of pride for many in the community. Local newspapers praised Fayette's racehorses, proclaiming, "It is pretty hard to beat Fayette for fast horses" (*Schoolcraft County Pioneer* 1882b). One can imagine Fayette's superintendent, teamsters, and stable hands sharing conversation about Fayette's fine horses. In a small community, this would have offered opportunities for informal social capital and bridging across class divisions.

There is slim archaeological evidence for the racetrack and baseball field, which overlap each other (Halsey 1999a, b; Mead and Halsey 1999). Test excavations at the track revealed that the original builders removed loose rocks and stumps and dragged the ground surface. In some areas, bedrock lies just below ground surface, which would have resulted in a slick, uneven track when muddy. The archaeologists did not find any material evidence of the baseball field, though such a feature might not have impacted the landscape much beyond spectators' refuse.

Baseball was a popular pastime at Fayette and offered networking opportunities to Fayette's citizens. In the early years, the team included older, well-established employees such as the company's master mechanic, hotel keeper, and either a foreman or the town superintendent himself (no first names are listed, and the two were brothers) (*Escanaba Tribune* 1874). However, in later years it might eventually have become a game for young men early in their careers with the company (Fig. 8.1).

Fayette Coronet Band

There is further indication for social mobility and networking in the story of Fayette's Coronet Band, also sometimes called the Fayette Brass Band (*Escanaba Iron Port* 1881) (Fig. 8.2). The band frequently rented the town hall to put on shows and host balls, which were well attended by residents of Fayette and surrounding towns. One New Year's Eve ball was reported in local news and "crowned with success," and the members of the band were listed by name (*Schoolcraft County Pioneer* 1881b). Members included a number of Fayette's high-ranking employees, such as the hotel keeper, company book keeper, and master machinist. However, the band also included a number of immigrants, at least one of whom had worked his way up the corporate ladder since arriving at Fayette. One example is Louis Follo (also spelled Folli), a Norwegian immigrant who arrived at Fayette neither speaking

Fig. 8.1 Fayette baseball team, circa 1900. Photo provided courtesy of the Michigan Historical Museum

Fig. 8.2 Antone Beneshek, who emigrated from Bohemia, in Fayette Coronet Band uniform, circa 1881–1891. Note the initials "F.C.B." on the musician's cap. Photo provided courtesy of the Michigan Historical Museum

nor understanding English; he began his company career as a gang laborer who laid railroad tracks, and later worked as a locomotive fireman (Follo 1961). By 1887, he had acquired the training and company connections to secure work as a skilled machinist (Jackson Iron Company 1887) (refer to Chap. 7). One can imagine that Louis Follo used his musical abilities to gain respect and attention within the community. In participating in the band, he also gained networking opportunities with powerful company officials with whom he shared a common interest. With this and other community activities, Follo eventually climbed the corporate ladder and converted social capital into economic opportunities. This hypothetical scenario is similar to the study discussed earlier that demonstrated a connection between social capital and the acquisition of new skills in working environments (van der Sluis 2009).

There must have been other Fayette citizens besides Louis Follo who were not official members of the band, but had musical talents that garnered distinction and social capital in more informal venues. In fact, archaeological excavations of just two houses in the working-class neighborhood recovered parts of numerous musical instruments. One house's assemblage included a harmonica part and a piece of an accordion or concertina (Martin 1987a:19). Another working class house's yard midden included brass tubing from a wind instrument (top left, Fig. 8.3); a cast white metal mouthpiece from a wind instrument (bottom left); harmonica parts (center); keys from an instrument such as a saxophone (bottom center); and a reed-holder portion of a double-reed instrument such as an oboe,
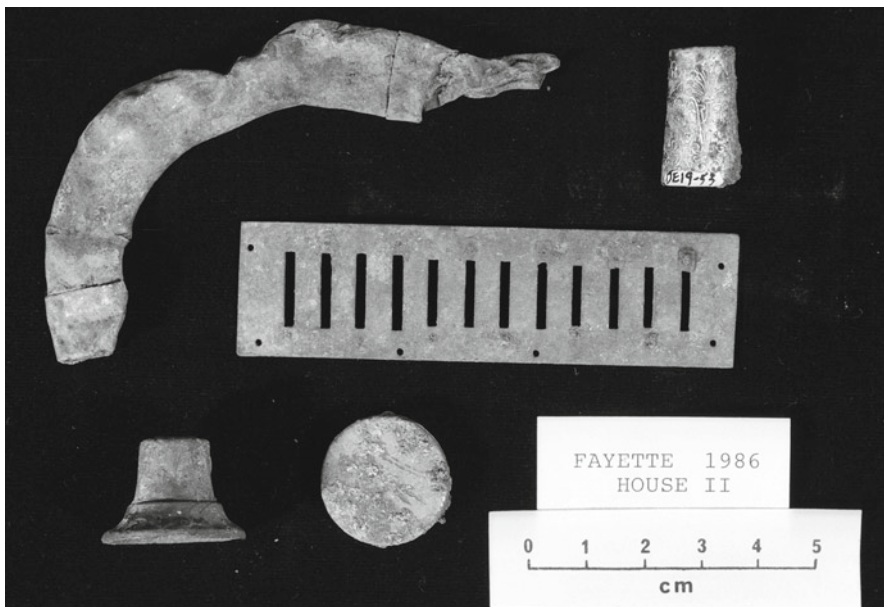
Fig. 8.3 Musical instrument parts recovered from one working-class household. Photo courtesy of Patrick Martin

engraved with musical lyres (top right, Fig. 8.3) (Martin 1987a:56). This large selection of instrument parts suggests that music was an integral part of life in the laborers' neighborhood. A poor, working-class immigrant with musical abilities and an instrument might have gained entrance to otherwise inaccessible dances, parlors, and celebrations. In addition, music provided a venue to demonstrate one's cultural capital, by displaying knowledge of well respected or trendy musical arrangements for the delight of listeners and fellow players. In a small, working community, even briefly interacting with company officials through musical performances might have led to promotions, better working conditions, and increased respect.

Religious Congregations and Genteel Socializing

Some peer groups might not have been organized under formal banners, but were nonetheless groups of people with common interests and values. Membership in these groups often cross-cut hierarchical power structures in town, creating heterarcical power dynamics that afforded opportunities to accrue noneconomic capital.

Religious Congregations

Religious groups were active at Fayette from its earliest years, although very few religious artifacts have been recovered from Fayette's household assemblages. They include several rosary beads from a middle-class household (Cowie 1996:48), and from a working-class household, a plated sheet-tin object with a six-pointed star, possibly a Star of David (Martin 1987a:48).

The documentary record offers a more elaborate testament to Fayette's religious involvement. Historian Friggens (1973:57–59) provides an overview of Fayette's religious services, which included Roman Catholic, Methodist, and Congregational denominations. As soon as the town was established, Catholic priests began visiting Fayette, holding services in residents' homes. A Catholic church was built in 1876, burned 3 years later, and was rebuilt soon after. A Congregational Church was founded much later, in 1887; services and Sunday school were held in the town hall. A Methodist minister from nearby Escanaba regularly traveled to Fayette by boat, horseback, and stage, depending on the season. In addition, the evangelical preacher Captain Bundy carried the gospel by boat, under a banner reading "Glad Tidings" (Friggens 1973:59). It is unclear whether the company funded any religious services.

The fact that Fayette citizens were so active in a variety of religious congregations suggests that residents had choices in religious practice. They might have chosen one group or another based partly on with whom they wished to associate.

Table 8.1 Selected occupations and pay rates for individuals paying church dues to an unnamed church in 1887 (Anonymous 1887; Jackson Iron Company 1887)

Name	Occupation	Rate
William Pinchen	Book Keeper	$100.00 per month (salaried)
Andrew Reid	Store Keeper	$83.33 per month (salaried)
Olle Follo	Assistant Store Keeper	$20.00 per month (salaried)
Louis Follo	Machinist	$1.80 per day (part-time/daily)
Ed Bassler	Locomotive	$1.75 per day (part-time/daily)
James Munro	Blacksmith	$1.65 per day (part-time/daily)
Jos Kee	Teamster	$1.60 per day (part-time/daily)
John Lempke	Laborer	$1.50 per day (part-time/daily)
William Kiln [or Kihn]	Cinder	$1.05 per day (part-time/daily)

Documentary records indicate that religious participation cross-cut class lines. For instance, one document lists church dues paid by Fayette residents to an unnamed church (Anonymous 1887). When this list is cross-referenced with payroll records from the same year (Jackson Iron Company 1887), it is apparent that some of Fayette's highest-paid employees attended the same church as some of the lowest-paid laborers in the community (Table 8.1). For example, William Pinchen, a company book keeper who later became the superintendent, attended alongside John Lempke and William Kiln, two working-class employees (see also Chap. 4 for a discussion of class, job titles, and pay rates).

In a large community, members of different economic classes might not have interacted regularly in church, but in a small, isolated setting such as Fayette, regular interaction at church would have been the norm. These connections generated social capital and offered opportunities for advancement within the company. Note that Louis Follo, the Norwegian immigrant who worked his way up Fayette's hierarchy (discussed earlier in this chapter), attended this church. One wonders if Louis Follo's religious participation contributed to his social capital and mobility at Fayette. Sociological studies of modern America indicate that religious involvement is, in fact, highly correlated with status-bridging social capital (e.g., having friendships with elected officials, corporate employers and wealthy individuals participating in that same congregation) (Wuthnow 2002).

Socializing in the Home

In the second half of the nineteenth century, many Victorian Americans became skilled strategists in social practices surrounding genteel dining and tea drinking in the home. In participating in these activities, individuals acquired and demonstrated cultural and social capital, as well as the honor and prestige associated with symbolic capital. As discussed in Chaps. 2 and 7, it was not until the nineteenth century that the middle classes emerged and actively pursued a genteel lifestyle (Bushman 1993; Howe 1976). Many individuals strove to present an outward, refined

appearance, and they rejected the rude, the coarse, and the unfashionable. Notions of gentility suggested that even the poorest citizens "could become middle class by disciplining themselves and adopting a few outward forms of genteel living" (Bushman 1993:xv–xvii). Victorian culture specifically called attention to social manners, strategic consumerism, domesticity, and family dining (e.g., Blaszczyk 2000; Bushman 1993; Ginger 1965; Majewski and Schiffer 2001; Schlereth 1991; Shackel and Palus 2006; Wright 1980). The Victorian "cult of domesticity" emphasized genteel behavior, morality, and upward mobility, and was particularly visible to visiting guests in the household (Clark 1986; Fitts 1999; Wall 1999). Dining rooms and parlors became locales for reinforcing and negotiating power hierarchies. For example, inviting a business associate to dinner involved numerous conscious and subconscious decisions about how to best present the family's household and furnishings, their dining style, the manners used at the table, the appropriateness of conversation, and the gentility of their children. As described in the previous chapter, sociologist Elias (2000:101) explicitly links power with dining manners, citing for example, a Western prescription for serving the best piece of meat to the person of highest rank. In short, and to use Bourdieu's (1984, 1993) terminology, dining rooms and parlors were fields of struggles over power.

The previous chapter discusses some of these issues in regard to consumerism at Fayette. For example, presenting a respectable tea service to household visitors was a meaningful display of social status and cultural capital (in this case, knowledge of culturally appropriate practices). By the nineteenth century, afternoon tea in the western world had become a "social institution" that caused a "leveling down" among people who were knowledgeable of prescribed manners; as such, wealthier people "were less worried about losing their dignity by associating with their social inferiors once they were confident that the latter would behave themselves properly" (Emmerson 1992:13). Hosts might welcome nearly anyone who could act like a lady or gentleman, dress appropriately, play cards, and follow proper procedures for a tea service.

The archaeological record at Fayette suggests that the upper, middle, and working classes all invested in tea service items, and presumably invested in the meaning behind the cultural practice. However, this field of struggle at Fayette was constrained by economic capital. In terms of tea service, the higher the household's class position, the higher the representation of tea service items in household's artifact assemblage. Working-class households did not invest as much in tea service items as the other classes either by choice or from lack of sufficient economic resources.

Socializing in the home also required a sufficient amount of domestic space, preferably space set aside specifically for household visitors. Working-class practices were constrained in this regard, as well. As discussed in Chap. 5, employees rented housing from the company, and the size of housing rented depended largely on employees' income and household life cycle. Upper-class residents lived in the largest houses with the most windows, doors, architectural elaboration, and specialized rooms (Table 8.2). For example, rooms in the superintendent's house included a parlor, dining room, library, kitchen, maid's room, pantry, storeroom, five bedrooms,

Table 8.2 Architectural summary for upper-, middle-, and working-class housing

Neighborhood	Average number of residents per household[*]	Average total square footage[a]	Average square footage per resident	Parlor
Upper class	3.5	2,358[b]	674	Yes[b]
Middle class	5.1	1,462[b]	287	Yes[b]
Working class	5.2	841[c]	162	Unlikely[c]

Note: Table excludes the hotel and Hill Street, whose exact location is uncertain

[*] Data were derived from the 1880 census

[a] Total square footage includes livable space, basements, cellars, lean-to additions, etc.

[b] Data were derived from blueprint drawings on file at Fayette State Historic Park

[c] Data were derived from photographic and archaeological evidence (Martin 1987a)

and a large cellar (SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996:39). Middle-class employees lived in substantially smaller and simpler frame houses with fewer windows and doors. Houses in this neighborhood usually had a kitchen, two or more sleeping rooms, and a room that could have functioned as a parlor (SSOE and Quinn Evans Architects 1996:37–38). Working-class residents lived in another part of town, in very crowded log cabins with few window and doors. Working-class floorplans probably did not have enough square footage for a parlor, especially considering the high population density in Fayette's working-class households.

Having separate public and private areas within the household was a Victorian ideal with roots in the Georgian order (see Baxter 2002:22–23; Deetz 1977:92–117; Rotman and Nassaney 1997). Architectural ideals trended toward distinct private and individual spaces, with rooms designated for specific functions. Preferably, houses had parlors designated for receiving visitors, rather than having visitors enter directly into private living spaces.

At Fayette, both the middle- and upper-class floorplans provided a separation of public and private space within households (refer to Figs. 5.10, 5.11, 5.15, and 5.16 in Chap. 5). Residents who had parlors and formal dining rooms could receive important associates and community members, thereby using their domestic space (a product of their economic capital) to garner noneconomic forms of capital. In contrast, the class system at Fayette did not allow for the working classes to have separate public and private spaces within their homes (refer to Figs. 5.7 and 5.8 in Chap. 5). The working-class houses had very little square footage compared to the number of occupants. Except for the kitchen, most rooms were probably used for bedrooms. It is highly improbably that occupants would have made the spatial sacrifice required to have a designated parlor for receiving visitors or a dining room to present a sophisticated meal. Working-class households' agency in competing for noneconomic capital in the domestic arena was certainly constrained by their living quarters. In spite of the spatial constraints, however, at least some working-class households used specialized tablewares and tea service items (hallmarks of Victorian genteel social practices) as described in the previous chapter and Chap. 5.

Education and Literacy

Education and literacy create an inclusive group of peers who might share scholarly values and related cultural capital. Although Fayette's literate citizens were not formally organized as such, simply being able to read and write gave people important common ground for social and cultural interactions, such as those surrounding written work instructions, newspaper stories, catalog shopping, books, and scholastic work. In addition, literacy is a prime example of how cultural capital was converted to economic capital among workers in nineteenth-century America. For instance, one study shows that in 1867 Pennsylvania, literate workers earned one-and-one-half times what illiterate workers earned; well-educated workers earned twice as much as those who could read only a little (Murray 2004:774; Soltow and Stevens 1980:126, 179).

Literacy in the Fayette region was of concern, and questions of literacy among the poor occasionally entered into political debates. In 1870, one local newspaper published a series of letters to the editor over a heated political election in the town of Escanaba, located across the bay from Fayette. One letter was allegedly written by the election's looser, who claimed that poor people in the region could not read; but another angry respondent refuted that claim, writing:

> Editor Tribune: – The last Escanaba Tribune that came out last week, has a letter in it from somebody called "True Reasons." Sir, I never wrote a piece in the paper before, and I don't know that you will print this one, but maybe you will…. Sir, I know … who wrote that piece…. He says all the poor folks in this town can't read. Sir, I am a poor man, and I take your paper, and I can read it, too; and I don't steal country orders either. He needent [sic] think just because he ain't a poor man, that he knows so much more than anybody else. … I guess folks ain't forgot, yet, when he was a poor man, and got his living by using a shovel like some of the rest of us – it ain't long ago either. … I hope you will excuse me for writing this long letter, but I was mad when I read that piece. …
> P.S. If I have spelled any words wrong, please spell them right (*Escanaba Tribune* 1870).

When the letter's author stated, "Sir, I am a poor man, and I take your paper, and I can read it, too…" (*Escanaba Tribune* 1870), he was claiming cultural capital and the power and respect associated with it. In publically demonstrating his ability to read and write, he also displayed legitimate knowledge that was recognized and valued by mainstream Victorian America. He refused the suggestion that a poor laborer might not also be educated and knowledgeable about important political matters. In writing the letter and having it published, he was empowered by his cultural capital. He also demanded the honor and prestige (symbolic capital) of being an educated man on par with the rest of the paper's readership. Although this was the action of one man, he was also writing on behalf of other working-class citizens who earned their living with a shovel. While Fayette never had widely publicized disputes surrounding class-relations, one can envision the potential use of literacy in developing class-consciousness and serving as a foundation for collective action in other working communities.

Many of Fayette's citizens were literate. According to the 1880 US census, Fayette's adults (who were all described as white in terms of race) were nearly as

literate as the national average for other white, adult Americans that year; Fayette's literacy rate was 79%, while the national average was 81.6% (Department of the Interior 1880; Goldin 2009). Not surprisingly, Fayette's wealthier citizens were more literate than the poor ones; literacy rates correlated with the neighborhoods' class standing (Table 8.3; Fig. 8.4). The literacy rates were as follows: upper class (100%), middle class (92%), and working class (64%).

Although Fayette's working class fell below the national average for literacy, archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that education was valued and pursued by Fayette's working class. Excavations of working class households recovered numerous graphite pencils and writing slate fragments (Cowie 1996; Martin 1987a), many of which probably resulted from children attending Fayette's school. In addition, one working-class household also yielded fragments of a metal plate decorated with the alphabet (Fig. 8.5). A similar assemblage (pencils, slates, and an alphabet plate) was found at an early-twentieth century African–American household in Maryland; archaeologists interpreted the artifacts as tools for teaching reading at home (Uunila 2005). Such an explanation is plausible in Fayette's working-class neighborhood, as well, where numerous immigrants sought more prosperous lives for their children. Parents' efforts to bring educational materials into the home were probably not wasted. It has been demonstrated that cross-culturally and in different time periods, there is "intrinsic advantage in growing up around books," and presumably other educational materials; children raised with books in the home get more education than their bookless peers, independent from their parents' class, education, and occupation (Evans et al. 2010:171, 189). Being immersed in "scholarly culture" (akin to Bourdieu's habitus; see Chap. 3) provides young people with a cognitive toolkit, a sense of inclusion in educated society, and an interest in learning, all of which pay off later in school (Evans et al. 2010). Subsequently, early exposure to educational materials and scholarly culture would lead to better education, and eventually to better job opportunities as adults.

Understandably, much has been made of the power networks surrounding disciplinary institutions such as schools (e.g., Foucault 1977a). Indeed, Fayette's children attended a district school in a building owned by the company that employed their parents, and the company's upper management dominated the school board (Fayette Board of School Inspectors various years; Jackson Iron Company 1879–1892) (refer to Chap. 4). Fayette students were subjects of both the company and the school district, and children of working-class immigrants were constrained within the structural power relationships of their class positions. However, we can

Table 8.3 Literacy of adults (age 17 and older) in Fayette's upper-, middle-, and working-class neighborhoods (based on date from Department of the Interior 1880)

	Upper class		Middle class		Working class	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Can read and write	5	100	89	92	55	64
Cannot read, cannot write, or both	0	0	8	8	31	36

Refer to Chap. 4 for a discussion of how economic classes were defined for this study
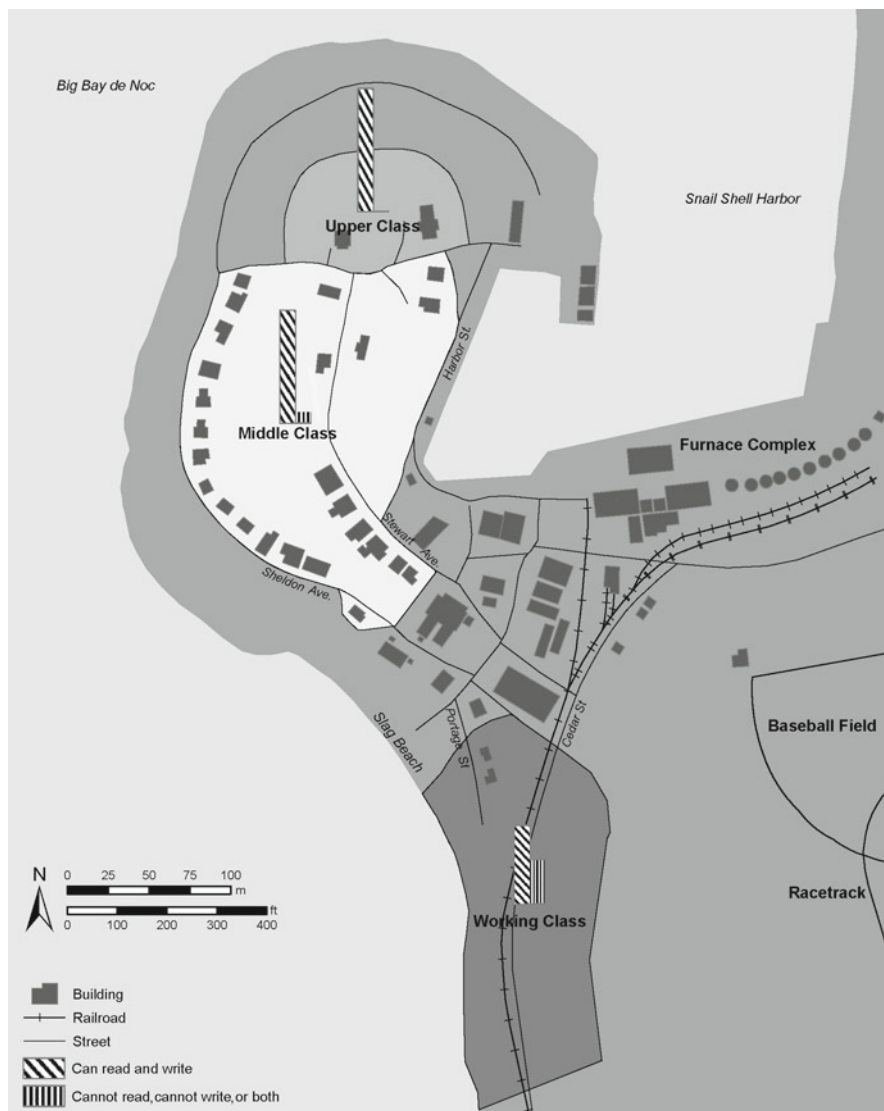
Fig. 8.4 Map of literacy rates in each class-based neighborhood

still envision them as having certain freedoms in their daily lives. They had the freedom to improvise individual choices regarding attendance, public behavior, scholastic performance, and participation in scholarly culture.

Some children at Fayette excelled in school, regardless of their class positions. One outstanding student was Agness "Aggie" Talbot, daughter of Canadian immigrants living on Cedar Street, the poorest neighborhood in town. In an 1886 Fayette

Fig. 8.5 Metal alphabet plate fragment recovered from a working-class household's yard midden

school report, which was published in the regional newspaper, Aggie was praised for being "highest in deportment" (*Escanaba Iron Port* 1886b). High marks in deportment indicate good conduct and public behavior, which were valued assets in genteel Victorian America. Aggie and her brother August were also praised in regional news for providing Christmas entertainment in Fayette's Music Hall; Aggie sang "Hanging Up the Baby's Stocking" and August delivered a formal speech to the Christmas tree "in quite an oratorical manner" (*Escanaba Iron Port* 1886c). Several of the Talbot children were listed repeatedly in school reports as being "neither absent nor tardy" (e.g., *Escanaba Iron Port* 1885, 1886a). Good behavior, regular attendance, and mannered public performances demonstrated to citizens of this small community that the Talbot children, though poor, were still respectable, educated and genteel. The public nature of demonstrating and reporting their scholastic accomplishments would have exhibited their cultural capital (legitimate knowledge) and symbolic capital (honor and prestige). Their parents, who could also read and write, would have also benefited from their children's noneconomic capital, as their children's achievements reflected on them.

Parents' participation in school functions might have garnered similar benefits as attending church, although little documentary evidence is available at Fayette. A photo of a Fayette school picnic reminds us that adults, especially women, were often involved in school functions (Fig. 8.6). As with church and entertainment organizations, adults who participated in school functions could interact across class boundaries, publically leverage social status, and build social capital. Contributing to the education of the town's children might also have created a stage for displaying cultural capital (e.g., literacy, knowledge of scholarly subjects, and genteel cultural values).

Fig. 8.6 Fayette and South River Schools picnic, circa 1895. Photo provided courtesy of the Michigan Historical Museum

Traditional and Charismatic Authority of Individuals

In addition to participating in influential social networks, individuals were empowered by their own unique skills and attributes, as well as the authority and distinction that accompanied them. Two examples stand out in Fayette's history: "Grandma" Isabelle Gray and "Pig Iron" Fred Hinks.

Although historic documents have not recorded the accomplishments of "Grandma" Isabelle Gray, oral history indicates her important role as a doctor and healer throughout Fayette and surrounding regions. Gray had no formal medical training, but was instead considered a "practical doctor" who used home remedies (Elliott and Elliott 1960). She was descended from Mary Elizabeth LeQuea, who was herself thought to be descended from Chippewa Indians. As a young woman, LeQuea sought out a Chippewa medicine man who taught her to identify and prepare local plants for medicinal uses. This medical knowledge was passed through generations of women in the family, including "Grandma" Isabelle Gray, and these women were highly respected in the region (Tatrow 1982). Isabelle Gray practiced medicine in the area from at least the 1860s through the 1880s and was frequently called into neighboring towns for emergency medical care. For example, she treated countless people in the diphtheria epidemic of 1881, traveling "from one family to another as fast as she could" (Tatrow 1982:105). Her skills, knowledge, and reputation contributed to her status and social capital for decades throughout the region.

Her influence as a reputable healer, descended literally and metaphorically from a Native American culture, was based in what sociologist Max Weber might have classified as traditional authority (based on beliefs in following authority derived from long-standing traditions) (Weber 1993) (see also Chap. 3).

Similarly, "Pig Iron" Fred Hinks (sometimes spelled Hink) had a regional reputation that was earned, not by his economic class, but by social distinction and authority apart from the company bureaucracy. Hinks was a poor immigrant from Prussia, who became a naturalized US citizen in 1871 (State of Michigan 1871). His nickname is derived from pig iron, the heavy bars of iron that were produced in the Fayette furnaces. His occupation as a laborer was one of the lowest-paid positions in the company (see Chap. 4). Yet, next to the company administrators, Hinks became one of the most well-documented individuals at Fayette, particularly in oral histories and newspaper accounts. For example,

> Pig Iron Fred could do the work of two men because he could carry two pigs at a time (Laux 1961).

> He was a stout man [sic] Oh my gosh he was big (Hazen 1986).

> His voice was low and sweet and his hand as free and open as ever. Everybody's friend is Fred (*Escanaba Iron Port* 1886d).

> Fred Hink received a new phaeton [carriage] from Chicago, and now is driving around like a lord (*Schoolcraft County Pioneer* 1882c).

Hinks acquired popularity and social capital, apparently from a variety of visceral sources such as his strength, appearance, voice, and general demeanor. In short, he possessed a certain intangible presence that Weber might have classified as charismatic authority (based on devotion to an extraordinary or heroic individual, Weber 1993) (see also Chap. 3). In spite of his modest beginnings as a poor laborer, Hinks became a leading citizen at Fayette. As described in Chap. 4, Hinks was among the community leaders who engaged in the Summers vigilante-justice incident, alongside some of Fayette's wealthiest citizens and high-ranking company officials. When Hinks was crippled from loading pig iron, he opened a boarding house and tavern on the outskirts of town. He also became a landowner, and after the furnace closed, he donated land to establish a community cemetery named for himself (Anonymous 1978). The cemetery is roughly one mile outside of Fayette and is still in use today. Hinks' story is also one of the reciprocal leveraging of class and status in nineteenth-century America. He used social distinction to improve his class position, and his new wealth (particularly in the establishment of the cemetery) helped secure his recognition in the future.

Summary

Citizens of Fayette made use of noneconomic capital (social, cultural, and symbolic capital) in fields of social production at work, within households, in community organizations, and through the media. They participated in both hierarchical and heterarchical power networks. Fayette residents attended church, participated in

sports and bands, and hosted neighbors and associates in their parlors and dining rooms. In doing so, they gained social capital by having valued relationships with important community members. Social capital could be exchanged for economic opportunities, and a number of well-connected workers climbed the corporate hierarchy. Even some of the poorest citizens displayed cultural capital in demonstrating their literacy and the gentility of their children. Symbolic capital, honor, and prestige were available to those who displayed impressive homes, genteel behavior, or outstanding personal qualities.

Chapter 9
Conclusion: Power and Industrial Capitalism, Past and Present

This volume is a picture from life, as recently seen by the author.... May it awaken an interest in behalf of that important part of our country, and especially in its moral and religious wants! – from an 1870 evangelical novel based on the Fayette community

(Langille [1870] 2001: preface).

Introduction

There is a growing interest in historical archaeology to bridge the gap between archaeology and anthropology, and to simultaneously link past and present power relationships engendered by capitalism (e.g., Orser 2001; Paynter 2000; Saitta 2007; Wurst 2006). Anthropologists and archaeologists working at industrial sites are well positioned to study socioeconomic power and industrial capitalism, whether they approach their work with Marxian, postmodern, feminist, intersectional identity, practice, or other theories. Those working at industrial sites are increasingly interested in doing social archaeology and contributing to other disciplines' goals of developing global contexts, remembering community heritage, and addressing the significance of identity in laboring communities (Casella and Symonds 2005; Shackel 2004; Silliman 2006:166). Moreover, it has been vividly demonstrated that archaeology is inherently political, and that archaeology can challenge society regarding today's power relations stemming from historical antecedents (Hamilakis and Duke 2008; McGuire 2008).

Research at Fayette contributes to these goals, while integrating a variety of theoretical approaches including class, hegemony, biopower, intersectional identities, and noneconomic capital. The goal in combining these diverse ideas is to explore the plurality of power relationships in past contexts of industrial capitalism with reference to the present. The notion of pluralistic power encompasses both productive and oppressive forms of power, and acknowledges that nuanced and multifaceted power relations exist in combination with binary dynamics such as domination and resistance.

Hierarchical Power and Class

Fayette's class system was typical of many company towns, and the manifestation of class here is generally representative of industrial capitalism, past and present, in America and elsewhere. The repercussions of hierarchical class structures have been well documented in many parts of the world engaged in industrial capitalism, not just in nineteenth-century America (e.g., Archer and Blau 1993; Hardesty 1994; Nassaney and Abel 2000; Shackel and Palus 2006; Wall 1999), but also in numerous modern contexts including Great Britain (Parker 1986), India (Panjwani 1984), Malaysia (Ong 1987; Scott 1998), Bolivia (Nash 1993), South Africa (Carstens 2001), and the United States (Yates 2007). Depending upon specific regional, social, and historical circumstances, past and present trends in class systems generally include variations on class divisions that are visible in occupations and the resulting pay scales, economically segregated neighborhoods, housing, and consumer behavior, among other factors. Understanding class at Fayette reminds us how much or how little has changed in some of the same phenomena in today's world economy.

A hierarchical class system was clearly in place at Fayette. Class divisions are visible in the patterning of material culture, architecture, pay rates, and access to sanitation. The upper class lived in a topographically elevated part of town, in spacious framed residences with numerous doors and windows. They consumed expensive meats, fruits, glass, and ceramic products, and imported paraphernalia related to health and grooming. In contrast, working-class families generally lived in a separate part of town, in cramped log cabins. They consumed significantly less-expensive and less-diverse foods, cheaper glass and ceramic items, and comparatively fewer medicinal products, presumably from local markets. The middle class, as its descriptor would imply, was literally and metaphorically somewhere in between. Middle-class housing more closely resembled upper-class housing than working-class housing in style, size, and location, which was probably an intentional company strategy to entice and retain skilled tradesmen in this remote region. In spite of this outward appearance maintained by the company, middle-class consumer patterns do not approach the economic expenditure of the upper class. In some instances, as in the case of beef consumption, middle-class purchases more closely resembled that of the working-class reliance on inexpensive cuts. Furthermore, the middle-class collection was the only one to include canning jars, reflecting an initial outlay of economic capital to purchase the jars, and a perceived need and/or desire to conserve finances in the household economy. These choices reflect a combination of economic freedom and constraint that is an earmark of middle-class lifeways.

Several features maintained permeable boundaries between the classes. Topography, industrial features such as railroad tracks, domestic architectural differences, occupational titles, and pay scales illustrated divisions within the class hierarchy to residents. In keeping with the Weberian notion of closure (Weber 1946a), the Jackson Iron Company maintained certain perceived boundaries that hinged on exclusion and marked social categories. For example, closure by exclusion occurred through the company's ownership of property and housing (see Marx 1978), employees' varied

levels of education (see Weber 1946a), and individuals' and families' consumer behavior (see Bourdieu 1984), each of which was integral to residents' class positions. Some scholars might classify each of these behaviors as domination (e.g., Miller et al. 1989). However, in elaborating on current research on the American class system in historical archaeology (e.g., McGuire and Reckner 2002; Saitta 2007), work here suggests that Fayette's class structure had more complex underpinnings than a binary opposition between domination and resistance. For example, closure by exclusion at Fayette is more thoroughly explained, not simply as domination by the upper class, but by various technologies of power (e.g., Foucault 1977a), by improvisation and creativity in daily practice (Bourdieu 1977; de Certeau 1984), and by Gramsci's understanding of the hegemonic "organization of consent" (Simon 1991:22), all of which are addressed further in this chapter.

Perhaps the most significant finding at Fayette specifically regarding class is that class positions at Fayette were fluid, and upward mobility was possible. Although Fayette's working class suffered more than its share of indignities, environmental classism, and poverty, there were examples of actual upward mobility in the workplace and within living arrangements. For example, families of men in working-class positions could live in the middle-class neighborhood if the woman of the house took in boarders. In addition, because social status and economic class leveraged one another, families capitalized on social relations and distinction by consuming socially meaningful goods and by maneuvering within social networks to improve their chances for job opportunities and mobility (for the latter, see section "Non-Economic Capital," below). Many of Fayette's working-class employees and their children eventually achieved upward mobility, becoming educated, socially "acceptable," and propertied as they skillfully navigated America's class system.

In contrast, recent research on class in the United States today suggests that the divisions between classes in the US have become much more fixed than in the past, a trend that has intensified within the past two decades (Yates 2007). Today, the middle class is shrinking and most of the nation's wealth is in the hands of a few (Perleman 2007). The effects of this power imbalance were horrifically illustrated, for example, in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, when New Orleans' most impoverished citizens were left largely to fend for themselves (Lavelle and Feagin 2007). Fayette is one of the many comparative examples available for those studying past and present class relations, as a case in which the nineteenth-century middle class was actually growing, rather than shrinking (for a similar nineteenth-century trend in English company towns, see Revill 2001).

Paternalism, Resistance, and Hegemony

Corporate paternalism is analogous to the relationship between a male parent and a child, and hinges on what Weber (1993) described as patriarchal authority. It is important to study corporate paternalism, past and present, because paternalistic practices survive and even thrive today, particularly in developing nations in the

throes of transnational and multinational capitalism (for example, see a fascinating discussion of neopaternalism in late-twentieth-century South African wine farms in Ewert and Hamman 1999). Today, there are numerous company towns engaging in various paternalistic practices, ranging on a continuum from "open" to "closed" towns (for a discussion of this distinction, see Crawford 1986). Closed towns are entirely owned and operated by companies, and are exemplified by extremely restrictive practices, as in Kleinsee, South Africa, a diamond mining community under the strict control of De Beers (Carstens 2001). In open towns, which are comparatively much less restrictive, employees still find themselves subject to companies' control over their work and domestic lives, albeit, through more subtle means. For example, even in the open towns of Morenci and Bisbee, Arizona, the Phelps Dodge company crushed union activities in 1983 (Kingsolver 1996; Roseblum 1998).

Fayette was entirely owned and operated by the Jackson Iron Company, and can be classified as an open town. If its employees could afford to financially, they could come and go as they chose, shop outside the community, and use US currency (as opposed to company issued scrip). Employees in open towns here and elsewhere often ventured outside of town to patronize noncompany businesses such as stores, taverns, and brothels. This was also the case in other open company towns, for example, in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century American West (Hardesty 1998) and twentieth-century South America (Vergara 2003) (for a parallel military example in nineteenth-century Argentina, see Romero 2002). Historical archaeologists often interpret this practice as resistance to surveillance or an opposition to corporate hegemony, but it might also be interpreted simply as a creative strategy in employees' daily practices (e.g., Bourdieu 1977; de Certeau 1984) to achieve some goal that may or may not have been in reaction to company power.

In any case, the Jackson Iron Company's methods of controlling employees were, indeed, subtle and hegemonic, which required the organization of employees' consent and often resulted in the delegation of power. For example, employment contracts sometimes required not only an employee's obedience to the company, but also that the employee enforce his family's obedience, furthering the company's paternalistic hierarchy. Hegemony was also achieved through politics. Fayette's citizens willingly elected company managers to government offices during much of the town's history. Accusations of corporate political "bulldozing" (or what might be described as attempts to dominate) did not appear until the town's industry began to decline economically. Additionally, as was typical in many nineteenth-century company towns, the company sought to improve their employees' morality through green engineering and the prohibition of alcohol (see Greenwood 1998; Malone 1998; Malone and Parrott 1998; Mrozowski et al. 1996). These hegemonic practices are prime examples of Gramsci's observation that American industrialists required a "new type of man" whose morality might improve rationalized production (Gramsci 1971a:286). Paternalistic practices such as these also speak to Foucault's (2007) interests in productivity and the security of populations, as described in the next section on biopower.

Hegemony was also a powerful factor at Fayette because of corporate paternalism's similarities with the symbolic capital involved in gift-giving. Symbolic capital can be used to gain power, as the repercussions of gift-giving unfolded over time; it creates obligation on the part of the receiver and also creates status and further symbolic capital on the part of the giver (Bourdieu 1984:6, 171) (for ethnographic work on gift-giving in nonindustrial contexts, see Godelier 1999; Mauss 1990). On the one hand, corporate practices at Fayette appear benevolent, as the company provides employees with nationally competitive wages and access to medical care. They encouraged socially acceptable forms of entertainment (e.g., baseball team, band, and parades), and may have set aside greenspaces for promenades. On the other hand, company benefits were not free and clear, and Fayette's citizens found their livelihoods and families subject to the company because of what they received as benefits. Certain employees received more benefits than others, and as discussed above, employees who voted against company officials in public elections were sometimes dismissed. Most employees were probably aware that company benefits came with strings attached.

James Scott questions why people in subordinate positions submit to power at all; he suggests that today in the United States, explanations are given in terms of community power, democracy, and political processes, while in Europe, people's quiescence is explained in Gramsciian terms of hegemony (Scott 1990:71). However, the explanation of hegemony (in combination with the symbolic power of gift-giving) also works quite well in the nineteenth-century US, particularly in regard to paternalistic practices and company towns, where the democratic process is not what it appeared to be. Furthermore, the company's hegemony was bolstered at Fayette because its interests paralleled other hegemonic and perhaps ideological Victorian and Protestant movements advertised through religious institutions, the local press, and daily interactions with fellow citizens.

Power and the Body

Understandably, archaeologists have paid a great deal of attention to class relations in the archaeology of industrial communities, but there has been less attention to how power is perceived at the individual level. Looking at power from the perspective of the human body is one way to explore how individuals experience power, which eventually feeds into class relations. For example, Foucault describes a concept he calls biopower or "power over life" that originated at least as early as the eighteenth century, as workers' physical capacities were adjusted to the mechanisms of production in various disciplinary institutions (Foucault 1984e:261–263). This concept also articulates well with Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence, and Foucault's discussion of hygiene as a privilege in society. Numerous techniques of biopower can be observed at Fayette, which, in comparison with modern techniques, show how much or how little has changed in the last few centuries.

For example, Fayette's management, paired with middle-class citizens' adherence to Victorian and Protestant ideals, regulated employees' personal lives by prohibiting the sale of alcohol and restricting sexual activity. Even today it is not uncommon for corporations to take an interest in their employee's sexual lives. Modern companies continue to regulate workers' sexuality under the guise of benevolence, for example, giving Australian male coal miners lessons in foreplay and menopause in a direct effort to improve morale and increase productivity at work (*BBC News* 2007).

Citizens within industrial capitalism are also subject to extensive documentary procedures, and Fayette was no exception. Although not all documents disempowered Fayette's working people, the Jackson Iron Company was clearly in a position to use data from the US census and company records to maintain and reproduce the corporate hierarchy. Likewise, today's US census is intended to function as a tool to distribute resources equitably, but there are concerns that it is highly problematic and for example, reinforces inequalities in class and race through the ideology of linguistic superiority (Zentella et al. 2007). At Fayette, the job titles listed in the US census and company documentation also maintained corporate hierarchy by giving some employees the respectability of proper job titles (e.g., superintendent, foreman, master machinist), and classifying others only by generic categories (e.g., works in furnace or chopping wood). This can be interpreted as a kind of symbolic violence imposed on working-class people, which is a trend that continues in the United States today in what has been called one of the "hidden injuries of class" (Sennett and Cobb 1993).

Furthermore, symbolic violence on the landscape has been widespread both geographically and chronologically in industrial capitalism. At Fayette, working-class employees experienced it as they walked past the jail twice everyday to work from their comparatively poor accommodations, reinforcing to the town, their neighbors, and themselves their proper places within the company hierarchy through their daily practices. In other symbolically violent arrangements, working-class housing was located adjacent to the industrial waste dump known as Slag Beach, and the built environment was arranged so that employees labored under the watchful eye of management.

Fayette resided in an interesting place along the development of surveillance technologies. Foucault's ideas in *Discipline and Punish* highlighted eighteenth-century disciplinary surveillance within strictly bounded space such as prisons (Foucault 1977a). His later work and that of Anthony Giddens examined similar technologies of power in later centuries in unbounded contexts, and disciplinary technologies expanded to include information gathering and mapping, particularly in colonial contexts and the formation of modern states (Foucault 2007; Giddens 1987; Hannah 1997:177; see also Scott 1998). Technologies of surveillance and information gathering at Fayette included each of these techniques. The case study at Fayette foreshadows the development of what some have called modern "societies of control," in which enclosure is no longer necessary to power, and control is less bounded; such techniques point toward a future involving electronic surveillance collars, pass cards, helicopters, and hidden cameras for control

(Deleuze 1992; Hannah 1997:179). Indeed, today it is not unheard of for employees' own bodies to be implanted with microchips to ensure the security of their companies, and critics are worried that someday the technology will be extended to prisoners, parolees, illegal immigrants, and eventually everyone else (Lewan 2007). In fact, some have suggested that recent social and technological trends described as "peep culture," indicate that increased surveillance is not only acceptable, but even desirable to many citizens (Niedzviecki 2009).

This brings us to another of Foucault's questions regarding power, particularly productive power (Foucault 2007), that is, how organizations might secure the working population against factors that might hinder production, without compromising production with too many restrictions. Currently, organizations throughout the world struggle to secure populations against terrorist attacks, international disease transmission, and tainted food imports. With modern trade patterns and transnational capitalism, the paper trail of accountability is lost, and there is a struggle to solve these problems without walling off entire countries and ceasing the circulation of people and commodities. This was essentially Foucault's challenge. How do we secure the working population without shutting down production? How might the wielding of power lead to positive, productive results?

At Fayette, the answer seems to have lain in an exploitive, hierarchical solution, although it is highly improbable that Jackson Iron Company officials thought in these terms. For example, the company invested just enough in health care to arrange for the presence of a town doctor, so that all employees could, in theory, have medical care. However, because of the company's hierarchical pay scale, refusal to pay for medical services directly, and unsubsidized foodstuffs, some employees could afford better nutrition, health care, and sanitation than others. Poorer employees who lived in the most polluted neighborhood could afford less healthy diets and fewer medicines than their wealthier counterparts. The company made an economic decision that secured their most important labor force (e.g., skilled tradesmen and supervisors), who would be more difficult to replace than those working in unskilled positions. There was a similar pattern in the company's disposal of industrial waste. Removing waste from the site would have been expensive, hindering profits. Instead, the waste was dumped adjacent to the working-class neighborhood, in an obvious case of environmental classism.

In many ways, the company's solution to balancing security with production was to make the working class expendable. No doubt, this is a common solution even today. For example, the US environmental justice movement has demonstrated that the American working class is repeatedly subjected to environmental classism, both in company towns and in larger urban centers, and the economics of industrial capitalism are largely to blame (Hansen 2002; Loh and Sugerman-Brozan 2002; Solecki 1996).

Yet, in spite of the symbolic violence against Fayette's employees, there was still the potential for improvisation and certain freedoms in their daily practices. While most of Fayette's poorest workers could not afford to move away from Slag Beach, a few did, through creative strategies in household production or by the conversion of noneconomic capital into economic capital (see below). They also

could transgress class boundaries in their daily movements on the landscape, perhaps choosing one route over another, walking to other neighborhoods, or physically avoiding messages of symbolic violence embedded in landscape (e.g., the jail). Even temporary avoidance of symbolic violence or physical transgressions of class divisions on the landscape can have lingering effects in memory. In this way, the landscape takes on meanings other than those imposed by the company. Thus, choosing to invoke a memory "inverts the schema of the *Panopticon*" (de Certeau 1984:108; see also Basso 1996).

Social Status and Intersectional Identities

As discussed above in regard to corporate hegemony, pressure to behave in accordance with certain standards came from multiple directions at Fayette, and certainly must elsewhere. For example, in studying class relations in modern Bali, anthropologist Michael Peletz finds that the Balinese are much more concerned with powerful hierarchies in kinship and social relations than with class hierarchies. Under the watchful eye of others, the Balinese feel constant anxiety and vulnerability in this regard. He critiques the Marxist assumption "that class is somehow the most essential, natural, or unfetishized of all social groupings, and that class interests are thus the most important or rational of all social interests" (Peletz 1995:362). Instead, he asserts that "we must seriously consider culturally specific (as well as generalized) forms of submission, humiliation, and degradation that are not tied to class-based… hierarchies…" (Peletz 1995:362). This important point is reminiscent of sociologist Elias' (2000), assertion that processes of shame and repugnance have developed in the Western world and promoted standards for "civilized" behaviors to which every member of society is subject.

Research at Fayette demonstrates that simply looking at a binary opposition between domination by corporations and resistance by workers generates an incomplete understanding of power. Class should not be essentialized, because class cross-cuts other aspects of identity and intersects with personal decision making. Therefore, it cannot be considered the single most influential factor in a person's life circumstances. Meaning is created in everyday practices, as various social structures and habitus are (re)generated in different contexts (Bourdieu 1984, 1993, 2001; de Certeau 1984). Within social fields, people negotiate identities composed of multiple, intersecting social constructs such as class, ethnicity, and gender. We must also consider the Weberian distinction between economic class and social status (Weber 1946a). Status is an estimation of a person's honor and respectability, which does not necessarily equate with that person's class position.

For example, consumer behavior was a vehicle for Fayette's residents to express identities and status somewhat apart from their class positions. Working-class residents exhibited a higher status than their class positions might suggest, in taking tea and elaborating dining practices to a certain extent (exercising cultural capital). Middle-class residents' status did not equate exactly with class either, as their

dining practices and purchases of medical paraphernalia indicate significantly less expenditure of cultural capital than the upper class. In contrast, the upper class consumed dramatically more specialized tableware and medical and grooming paraphernalia, which indicates their social distinction through meaningful consumerism and expenditure of cultural capital. Consumer patterns particularly among the upper class represented an actualization of late-nineteenth-century American ideals as part of the Victorian cult of domesticity. Lest we assume such trends belong to a quaint and curious era in history, note the popular media's recent dubbing of the New York bourgeoisie as "The New Victorians" (Ratner 2007). In theory, the ideals of these 20-somethings stem from the cultural and economic age of excessive spending in the last couple decades; they have been groomed by their baby-boomer parents to achieve success. The New Victorians expound upon the pragmatic virtues of hard work, monogamy, and dining in, and they are reportedly obsessed with bathroom renovations and maternity-style blouses (Ratner 2007). In those social circles, the expenditure of cultural and social capital on specific items brings more status than the economic capital invested. Such consumer behaviors would have been widespread 150 years ago. In fact, they may be common to the boom and bust cycles typical within industrial capitalism, appearing toward the end of bouts with excessive spending, as in the late Victorian period, the Great Depression, and the recession in the late 2000s.

In observing this trend, it is tempting to fault capitalism for the adverse effects of mass consumerism. Likewise, some authors critique the notion that consumerism by working- and middle-class families was not really powerful; they suggest that families who purchased up-and-coming styles but still lived like the working class were merely appropriating power that was not really theirs (Ewen 1999; Wurst and McGuire 1999). Indeed, one cannot and should not deny the injustices, disparities, harsh realities faced by working and middling peoples who had too few economic resources. Purchasing fashionable items would not increase their economic capital or directly translate into a better class position; owning expensive items only gives the illusion of wealth. However, we should not envision working people as perpetual victims, held down by their lack of economic power, forever burdened by their inability or unwillingness to take ownership of the industries in which they labor. On the contrary, there can be great power in creating the illusion of wealth. Following de Certeau, Shackel and Palus (2006:835) suggested we might consider the freedom in "renting" rather than owning. In this and other ways, people might benefit from other, noneconomic kinds of power. The appropriation of socially meaningful consumer goods, although not an exercise of economic power, is instead an exercise of agency, improvisation, and at least some degree of freedom.

In regard to gender at Fayette, social differences between and within genders indicate that neither gender nor class was a single deciding factor in an individual's life circumstances or status, and certain broad trends in the social construction of gender can be seen. Men's work was celebrated extensively through photographs and documentation. Masculinity was constructed largely in reference to industrial work, competition with other men, and maintenance of community values. In contrast, femininity was constructed through the Victorian cult of domesticity and

maintenance of family values. Even though women's work was quite diverse and often enabled their family's upward class mobility, it went largely undocumented. Women sometimes acted outside of Victorian feminine ideals, for example, leaving their husbands or working as prostitutes, with varying degrees of public acceptance. Household consumer choices, which were largely considered the female domain, did not always parallel a family's class position; for example, middle class consumer patterns at Fayette's closely resembled those of the working class. Rather than interpreting these observations as resistance to male domination or as a result of inadequate economic resources, deviations from the perceived norm might be described instead as a negotiation of dominant ideals or a calculated response to a family's household life cycle, balancing "family needs and desires with the demands of the larger culture" (Rotman 2005:31; for a similar discussion on household life-cycle in modern Taiwan see, Greenhalgh 1985).

Immigrants at Fayette also had diverse experiences, as their identities intersected with nativity, class, gender, and household development cycle. Fayette's foreign-born residents were Canadian and European and all were categorized as "white" in the documentary record. Male and female immigrants had varying experiences. Young, foreign-born men were seen as reinforcements for the workforce, while newly arrived young women were sometimes commodified and married off quickly after their arrival. In keeping with nation-wide trends, some groups such as the English consistently occupied high-paying positions, while others such as the Irish did not. Many of Fayette's employees were Canadians who occupied positions ranging widely from the lowest-paying jobs in town to the very highest, including the company superintendent. But overall, immigrants at Fayette worked in lower-paying, more dangerous jobs than their American-born counterparts in the community. Likewise, this is a trend that continues in America today. A recent study shows that immigrants in the US today are more likely to be employed in dangerous jobs than US-born workers; at least part of the discrepancy is due to immigrants' (on average) lower English-language abilities and level of education (Orrenius and Zavodny 2009).

However, returning to the question of economic mobility, it is evident that Fayette's foreign-born probably had more mobility than we might think. Some immigrants, such as Norwegian Louis Follo, came to Fayette speaking little English but learned quickly. Even some of the lowest-paid immigrants eventually accrued social capital within the community, moved up the corporate ladder, and became landowners after Fayette's operations were shut down. It has proven difficult to assign some of Fayette's households to a fixed class position because of their social and economic mobility.

Noneconomic Capital

In addition to economic capital, noneconomic capital was at stake in Fayette's various fields of social production such as workplaces, household dinner tables, marketplaces, and newspapers. Social capital was available in valued relationships

with others that might eventually translate into networking opportunities. Cultural capital involved displaying publically legitimized knowledge regarding manners and education, while symbolic capital hinged on prestige, honor, and respectability (Bourdieu 1977, 1984, 1993; Jenkins 1992:85). Noneconomic capital has similarities with Weber's (1993) descriptions of charismatic and traditional authority.

In some cases, these kinds of authority and capital existed outside of Fayette's economic hierarchy, and therefore, are less visible in the historical record. For example, there is a strong correlation between a Fayette citizen's wealth and frequency of being mentioned in the papers. Thus, it is largely left to the historical imagination to envision the respect people had for "Pig Iron" Fred Hinks, who reportedly could lift two bars of pig iron at a time; or for "Grandma" Isabelle Gray, a respected healer; or for the now-forgotten musicians who deposited musical artifacts in Fayette's poorest neighborhood.

Yet, these individuals and countless others skillfully navigated Fayette's social system by exercising authority and acquiring various forms of noneconomic capital. Noneconomic capital was critical for Fayette's citizens who sought to maneuver within or outside of the class system. For example, social capital can translate into increased social status and a variety of opportunities. In sociological studies of modern working environments, it has been shown that an individual's ability to acquire new skills and innovate is directly related to the person's network connections and social capital (van der Sluis 2009). It has been repeatedly observed that social capital is particularly important to the less wealthy, who can use it to access economic and political opportunities, mobility, and power (Brisson 2009; Putnam 2001, 2002; Wuthnow 2002). This has significant implications for upward mobility and class relations, because different forms of capital might be transformed and exchanged as actions unfold over time (Bourdieu 1977:183).

Fayette hosted a number of voluntary organizations that offered opportunities for acquiring social, cultural, and symbolic capital. Fayette's work-related voluntary organizations such as the Odd Fellows and the Agricultural Society roughly paralleled the company hierarchy. But poorer residents could join and acquire noneconomic capital through social networking and the prestige of membership. Involvement in horseracing and baseball offered bonding social capital, which was similar to modern sporting culture in which blue-collar workers and C.E.O.s alike rally around a common sports team. Members of Fayette's Coronet Band included a number of Fayette's high-ranking employees, as well as a number of immigrants, at least one of whom had worked his way up the corporate ladder since arriving at Fayette. Music was probably an important means of accessing noneconomic capital, especially for Fayette's poorest citizens. Archaeological evidence shows a wealth of musical instrument parts recovered from working-class households.

Religious participation at Fayette also cross-cut class lines, and the town had several locations for religious practices. This observation is significant for Fayette's class relations, because of the social capital available in religious participation. A study of social capital and religious involvement in modern America shows a positive relationship between participating in a religious congregation and having friendships with influential individuals participating in that same congregation

(Wuthnow 2002). Undoubtedly, Fayette's poorer citizens who attended the same small church as higher-ranking officials gained social capital that might have translated into economic opportunities later.

Both social and cultural capital were available to families, especially women, who could host dinner in their dining rooms and tea in their parlors. In this case, class and status leveraged one another, because Fayette's poorer residents did not have sufficient income or space in their homes to host guests according to middle-class Victorian standards. Wealthier citizens lived in larger houses with parlors and dining rooms, and they could afford to purchase culturally appropriate tea- and tablewares.

In contrast, the cultural capital afforded by education and literacy required less economic outlay, and was probably more accessible to Fayette's working class. Indeed, it has been noted that literacy "is inextricably linked to notions of progress. Its measurement in the nineteenth century was a means by which societies began to calibrate their advance, and … command of the basic skills of written communication is still seen as central to economic growth" (Vincent 2003:405). In the Victorian era, it was certainly part of the ambiguous concept known as the American Dream, and was a means of accessing cultural capital. Various data point to the importance of education among Fayette's working-class residents. Historical documents indicate that Fayette's poorest children attended district school and some excelled, regardless of their poverty. One working-class adult wrote to the local paper, demanding the respect to which he felt entitled for his literacy. In addition, the archaeological record shows that at least some of Fayette's poorest residents assembled the requisite accouterments for reading and writing, as demonstrated by the presents of pencils, slates, and fragments of an alphabet plate. This is significant, because cross-cultural research shows there is "intrinsic advantage in growing up around books," and presumably other educational materials; being immersed in "scholarly culture" pays off later in school (Evans et al. 2010:171, 189). Acquiring this kind of cultural capital as a child eventually would lead to better education, and potentially to better job opportunities as adults.

Some powerful forms of social capital that paid off for Fayette's citizens might be disappearing today. For example, in contrast to nineteenth-century America, modern American social networks seem to be eroding. In his vividly titled book, *Bowling Alone*, sociologist Robert Putman demonstrates a dramatic decrease in today's social networks such as bowling leagues, PTA meetings, and trade unions. The loss of opportunities for social capital is particularly detrimental to the working classes (Putnam 2001, 2002). There is likely a link between the erosion of social capital today and decreased class mobility discussed earlier.

Conclusions

Although Fayette's residents were constrained by structured habitus and by class-based, cultural, and gendered hierarchies, they still had the creativity and freedom to improvise individual choices in a manner that illustrates the plurality of power, perhaps more so than resistance to its effects (see de Certeau 1984:30).

It is not always necessary for anthropologists to choose between paradigms, for example, interpreting Fayette's residents as either completely dominated by the class system or fully free to do as they wished. Rather, power relationships within industrial capitalism reflect constrained agency, which acknowledges that individuals have agency to make choices within enduring organizational structures (see Wicks 1998).

Furthermore, power consists of more than monetary reward and material possessions. Recall Weber's assertion that,

> Economically conditioned power is not, of course, identical with 'power' as such…. On the contrary, the emergence of economic power may be the consequence of power existing on other grounds. Man does not strive for power only in order to enrich himself economically. Power, including economic power, may be valued 'for its own sake.' Very frequently the striving for power is also conditioned by the social 'honor' it entails (Weber 1946a:180).

In fact, social-psychological and neurological studies have shown that the same area of the brain is activated when a person receives either monetary rewards or social ones. The latter type of reward might be the perception of a person's own good reputation among others, resulting, for example, from acts of altruism (Izuma et al. 2008). The fact that social and monetary rewards activate the same part of the brain could mean that motivations for money and social respect are similar, too. This raises interesting questions about people's motivations and willingness to exert power and live with its effects in certain constraining situations, and we should consider this in our future research.

In conclusion, examining power and the body, intersectional identities, and the power afforded by noneconomic capital is important. Those laboring within past and present contexts of industrial capitalism have certainly been oppressed and dominated in various contexts, and we should strive to illuminate those stories. At the same time, we should also highlight their skillful improvisation in everyday practices and the creative strategies they employed to achieve significant goals. These struggles involved many different manifestations of power, and similar struggles continue today.

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