

✓

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE IN THE CALUMET-LAURIUM SETTLEMENT
AREA, MICHIGAN: A STUDY OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS FORMS,
REGIONAL BUILDING MATERIALS, SOCIAL HISTORY,
AND PRESERVATION ISSUES

by

EDWARD B. YARBROUGH

A THESIS

Presented to the Interdisciplinary Studies Program: Historic Preservation
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Science

December 1996

"Church Architecture in the Calumet-Laurium Settlement Area, Michigan: A Study of Ethno-Religious Forms, Regional Building Materials, Social History, and Preservation Issues," a thesis prepared by Edward B. Yarbrough in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Science degree in the Interdisciplinary Studies Program: Historic Preservation. This thesis has been approved and accepted by:



Dr. Philip Dole, Chair of the Examining Committee

Heard 2 1995

Date

Committee in charge:

Dr. Philip Dole, Chair
Mr. Ken Guzowski
Mr. Ron Cockrell



Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Edward B. Yarbrough for the degree of Master of Science
in the Interdisciplinary Studies Program: Historic Preservation to be taken December 1996

Title: CHURCH ARCHITECTURE IN THE CALUMET-LAURIUM SETTLEMENT
AREA, MICHIGAN: A STUDY OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS FORMS,
REGIONAL BUILDING MATERIALS, SOCIAL HISTORY,
AND PRESERVATION ISSUES

Approved: _____

Dr. Philip Dole

As a thematic group, the church buildings of the Calumet-Laurium settlement area embody characteristics of regional architecture and symbolic roles as ethnic and denominational forms; their placement and use reflect the dynamic tension between conforming to the structures of humanism or to the example of Jesus Christ, a tension which pervaded nineteenth and twentieth century church doctrines. Although each church building uniquely reflects a combination of influences, they are tied to each other and to residential, commercial, and industrial forms as significant but endangered resources in the once urban landscape.

As resources worthy of preservation, various methods for securing the future of church buildings are recommended. Efforts to preserve church buildings should correspond to their significant interpretive value as embodiments of ethnic, denominational, and regional history. The use, design, location, setting, materials, workmanship, and associations, both historical and spiritual, substantiate the case for their preservation and interpretation.

CURRICULUM VITA

NAME OF AUTHOR: Edward Boyd Yarbrough

PLACE OF BIRTH: San Mateo, California

DATE OF BIRTH: July 9, 1966

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon
University of California, Berkeley
Volkshochschule Charlottenburg, Berlin
L'université de Nanterre, Paris

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Sciences in Historic Preservation, 1996, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts in Classical Architecture, Minor Degree in Classics, 1989,
University of California, Berkeley

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Preservation Planning and Law
Historic Church Architecture
Cultural Geography
Mining History

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Historian, Keweenaw National Historical Park, National Park Service, Michigan,
1994-Present

Historic Landscape Researcher, Yarbrough's Historical Gardening, Ashland,
Oregon, 1991-1992

Assistant Manager, Fine Arts Department, Butterfield & Butterfield Auction House,
San Francisco, California, 1989-1991

AWARDS AND HONORS:

Honors Thesis, 1989, University of California, Berkeley
Special Achievement Award, 1994, Midwest Region, National Park Service

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author cordially thanks Professor Philip Dole for chairing my committee; he directed the transformation of a disjointed and ungrounded paper into a comprehensible work. My other committee members, Mr. Kenneth Guzowski and Mr. Ron Cockrell, very graciously offered clarity and editorial assistance, an offer of time which their careers leave little to spare. Professor Donald Peting and Julie Foster were always quick to help me. My hosts in Eugene during my thesis defence, Jill Crvich and Jonathan Smith, warmly received me when I was the most discouraged.

The staff of the Copper Country Historical Collections, particularly Kay Masters and Erik Nordberg, generously aided my research. To name a few who encouraged me through the process, I thank John and Julia Munson, Alvin Mattila, Lydia McLaren, Lynn Bjorkman, Gordon and Marjorie Mattila, Nathan Juntunen, Pastor Arvo and Ritva Onermaa, Pastor Jay Weidner, Kathryn Eckert, Rev. Robert Langseth, Daryl Laitila, Nancy Fisher, Kim Hoagland, Larry Lankton, Joseph Balachowski, Patrick and Susan Martin, George and Amy Bleekman, Christine Curran, Richa Wilson, Dena Sanford, Don Stevens, Ann Deines, Rev. Cyprian Behrens, Beverly and Lawrence Eaton, Jian Xu, Jean Ellis, Bill Gale, and Joseph Mihal.

DEDICATION

To Yvonne, who lovingly encouraged me and parented with grace while I studied,
to Aili, Katrina, and Andrew, who are full of joy,
to Raymond Yarbrough, who served as the fourth member of my thesis committee, and
to Billie Yarbrough, who tirelessly assisted me through revisions and formatting

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
1. INTRODUCTION	1
II. CHURCH BY CHURCH	4
Introduction	4
St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church, French-Canadian	8
An Architectural Analysis of the Ethnic Embassy and Religious Heritage Center in St. Anne's	11
Calumet Township	21
Anglo-American Protestant Church Buildings	21
The First Methodist Church of Calumet	21
Christ Church Episcopal	25
The Community Church, Congregational-Presbyterian	28
Lutheran Church Buildings	31
Carmel Lutheran Church, Swedish	31
Faith Lutheran Church, Finnish and Swedish	33
First Apostolic Lutheran Church, Finnish	35
Old Apostolic Lutheran Church, Finnish	38
Roman Catholic Church Buildings	39
The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin or St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Italian	39
Village of Calumet	41
Lutheran Church Buildings	41
Free Lutheran Church, Norwegian	41
National Lutheran Church, Finnish	44
Roman Catholic Church Buildings	46
St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Austro-Slovenian (St. Paul the Apostle)	46
St. John the Baptist Roman Catholic Church, Croatian	49
Village of Laurium	51
Lutheran Church Buildings	51
St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, German ..	51
Apostolic Lutheran Church of Laurium, Finnish	54
Anglo-American Protestant Church Buildings	56
Methodist Episcopal Church	56
Finnish Episcopal Church	59
Finnish Methodist Episcopal Church	60
Wesleyan Methodist Church	62
Calumet Township, No Longer Extant Church Buildings	64
Anglo-American Church Buildings	64
The Congregational Society of Calumet	64
Roman Catholic Church Buildings	70
Sacred Heart, The First Roman Catholic Church	70
Village of Calumet, No Longer Extant Church Buildings	74

	Page
Roman Catholic Churches	74
St. Anthony of Padua, The Polish Church	74
Conclusion	76
III. AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT: A CONTEXT FOR ETHNIC AND DENOMINATIONAL EXPRESSION IN HOUSES OF WORSHIP	77
Settlement of European-Americans From the Eastern United States in Michigan's Copper Country	78
National and Regional Settlement of European Immigrants, 1842-1914	81
IV. CORPORATE PATERNALISM AND CHURCHES: A PLANNED LANDSCAPE	111
Cultural Landscape Development and the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company	112
Irresolute Tenets at Church and "Human Engineering" at Calumet & Hecla	122
V. CHURCH PRESERVATION ISSUES IN THE CALUMET-LAURIUM SETTLEMENT AREA	132
Introduction	132
Preservation Issues Specific to Former and Active Houses of Worship	132
Criteria for the Historic Preservation of Church Buildings in the Calumet-Laurium Settlement Area	135
Historic Integrity (Criterion A.)	136
Condition (Criterion B.)	136
Management and Use (Criterion C.)	137
Cultural Landscape (Criterion D.)	137
Shared Uses: Renewal for Ministry and Enhancement for Preservation	138
Employing Financial and Regulatory Strategies for the Preservation of Church Buildings	139
Regulatory Tools	140
Zoning	140
Jurisdiction-Wide Historic Preservation Ordinances	141
Historic District Ordinances	141
Social Impact Ordinances	141
Federal, State, and Local Environmental Laws	142
Financial Tools	142
The Purchase of Easements	143
Contractual Partnerships Between Government, Non-Profits, and Business	143
Revolving Funds	144
Grants	144
Land Cost Subsidies	145
Development Bonuses	145
Transfer of Development Rights	145
Syndication	146
Tax Incentives	146
Covenants Reverting a Property in a Deed	146

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Title	Page
1	Rev. J.R. Boissonnault	150
2	An Historic View of St. Anne's Rectory in Calumet	151
3	South Elevation of St. Anne's Rectory	152
4	Facade of St. Anne's Rectory with the Church in the Background	153
5	The Ethnic Embassy and Religious Heritage Center's First Sign	154
6	St. Anne's French Church, Red Jacket	155
7	Facade of St. Anne's	156
8	North Elevation of St. Anne's	157
9	The Apse and Nave of St. Anne's	158
10	Facade of St. Anne's Church	159
11	A Maple Growing Between the Bell Cast Hoods over the Entryways	160
12	The Baptistry at St. Anne's Church	161
13	Interior of St. Anne's French Church, Red Jacket	162
14	The Methodist Church of Calumet from 1871-1891	163
15	The Methodist Church and a Shafthouse on the Osceola Amygdaloid	164
16	The First Methodist Church, 1893-1955	165
17	Christ Church Episcopal	166
18	Christ Church with the Community Church in the Background	167
19	The Transom Window over the Front Entrance of Christ Church	168
20	Rear View of Christ Church Episcopal.	169
21	East Entrance	170
22	The Transom Window over Front Entrance to the Community Church	171

	Page
23	Facade of the Community Church 172
24	Facade of the Community Church 173
25	East Elevation of the Community Church, a Transept 174
26	Southeast View of the Carmel Lutheran Church 175
27	The Bell Tower of the Carmel Lutheran Church 176
28	Faith Lutheran, Main Entrance 177
29	Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Destroyed by Fire 178
30	A Commemorative Plaque, Faith Lutheran Church 179
31	South Elevation, First Apostolic Lutheran Church 180
32	Old Apostolic Lutheran Church 181
33	St. Mary's Church in Winter 182
34	View of St. Mary's from the Southwest 183
35	St. Mary's Spire 184
36	St. Mary's Nave 185
37	Rear Elevation of St. Mary's 186
38	Eave Return, St. Mary's Church 187
39	Rear View of St. Mary's 188
40	Shrine, St. Mary's Church 189
41	Free Lutheran Church with Scaffolding 190
42	Facade of Free Lutheran Church 191
43	View from Intersection, Free Lutheran Church 192
44	National Lutheran Church, Wisconsin Synod 193
45	St. Joseph's Church, View from Intersection 194
46	East Elevation, St. Joseph's Church 195
47	Rear Elevation, St. Joseph's Church 196

	Page
48	Old St. Joseph's Austrian Church, Destroyed by Fire in 1902 197
49	St. Joseph's Church, View from Village of Calumet Downtown 198
50	St. Joseph's Church Rectory 199
51	St. John the Baptist Church and Rectory 200
52	St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church 201
53	St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, View from the Side 202
54	Apostolic Lutheran Church of Laurium 203
55	United Methodist Church 204
56	Methodist Church and Rectory 205
57	Brick Foundation and Lancet Window 206
58	Cornerstone of the Methodist Church 207
59	Protruding Lancet Volume 208
60	Social Hall, Methodist Church 209
61	Finnish Episcopal Church 210
62	Finnish Episcopal Church 211
63	Finnish Methodist-Episcopal Church 212
64	Wesleyan Methodist Church 213
65	An Historic View of the Miscowaubik Club in Calumet 214
66	Congregational Choir and Interior in Calumet 215
67	Birdseye View of Calumet and Red Jacket 216
68	An Early Class at the Sacred Heart School 217
69	Sacred Heart High School 218
70	The New Sacred Heart Church, Calumet 219
71	St. Anthony's, Polish Church, Red Jacket 220
72	Rev. August Krogulski of St. Anthony's Church 221

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The churches of the Calumet-Laurium settlement area at once reflect the place in which they were built and their symbolic role as ethnic and denominational forms. Although all of the churches reflect the history of ethnicity, class, denomination, and architecture to varying degrees, a particular church may convey one of these aspects of social history with greater clarity. Because the churches' placements were most often determined by the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company and each housed an ethno-religious group's assemblages for worship and other fellowship, they are profoundly significant to understanding ethnography and corporate paternalism in the settlement area.

The churches reflect the history of the people who lived here, amongst the area's many but endangered cultural resources. Certainly they are resources that richly embody the stories of settlement, both American and European, and paternalistic attempts at "human engineering" on the part of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company. This paper collects the architectural histories of these resources in the context of their settlement and corporate paternalistic roles. After a church by church assessment and assertions of the churches' thematic significance to the history and landscape of the settlement area, the preservation of the churches is recommended, drawing special attention to the preservation issues unique to church buildings, their adaptive reuse, and their function as houses of worship. To promote actual preservation, generalized architectural and use patterns are recommended church buildings and criteria are established for prioritizing the use of preservation funds within the thematic grouping.

The churches are viewed from four distinct vantage points: as a thematic inventory, as evidence of settlement patterns, as embodiments of corporate paternalism in an urban

townscape, and as subjects for worthy of preservation. These themes are separated into four chapters, chapters two through five. The purpose for each of the four vantages is affirmed in the following paragraphs.

A collection of church placement, design, construction, and alteration documentation, Chapter II is the thematic inventory of the Calumet-Laurium settlement area. The chapter provides a readily usable document for people interested in the history of a given congregation or church building, as well as the documentation on which collective preservation will be encouraged in the following chapter. To facilitate the accessibility of the information recorded on an individual church without having to roam throughout the document, historical questions are asked of each church, such as 'who was the architect?,' are answered individually under headings like "Christ Church, Episcopal," instead of under a heading like "The Architects of Calumet's Churches." The chapter records the church building as an artifact and the history of the congregation. Each extant church building is assessed for historic integrity, condition, and maintenance.

Both national and regional settlement patterns are illustrated in the significant diversity of local houses of worship, each embodying a point of view. Chapter III seeks primarily to explain what those patterns are and how churches are exemplary of ethnic and denominational settlement patterns. More precise placement of individual churches in the settlement patterns of the Calumet-Laurium area will be addressed within the church inventory. The purpose of this portion of the thesis is to establish the resources' national and regional significance to settlement, immigration, and ethnographic histories.

The fourth chapter establishes the historical context and assigns meaning for the resources. Here, the interaction of churches to the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, and to a lesser extent other mining companies in the settlement area, is analyzed in relation to the settlement area's other cultural resources.

Chapter V, "Church Preservation Issues in the Calumet-Laurium Settlement Area"

serves as an educational tool for those interested in preserving the area's church structures. The reader will be guided through the issues specific to active congregations, adaptively reused church buildings, and the special relationship of historic preservation ordinances to religious properties. Criteria setting preservation priorities serves to aid church property owners, whether the church building is used for worship or adaptively reused. It also assists in discerning the significance of these buildings to the cultural landscape. Optimistically, these factors will guide future funds for church preservation and direct them to the most deserving structures.

SEAN COLTON RIBER
SOUTHWORTH CO. U.S.A.
BOARD STATE BOND

CHAPTER II

CHURCH BY CHURCH

Introduction

As a thematic group, church buildings convey information about the cultural geography of greater Calumet. Architecturally, they display influences of ethnographic preference, of historical design, and denominational identity, while their placement reflects a strong corporate paternalistic hand. Social and historical research of the congregations, with an emphasis on ethnic and denominational identity and their relationship with the mining companies, particularly Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, permits a more accurate reading of the prevailing historical influences on the buildings. As ethnographic forms and as reflections of the values and beliefs of a community, the church buildings often convey information less readily apparent in residential, commercial, or industrial building types of the settlement area. The churches hold unique information about social and architectural history and continue to play an integral role with other features of the townscape.

The former St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church (French-Canadian) is given more detailed documentation because of its new role as the Ethnic Embassy and Religious Heritage Center, now revived as an interpretive facility. The building will undergo stabilization and restoration, while serving a new function as an interpretive center. The documentation of the structure clarifies the missing features of the building, preparing it for an Historic Structures Report, as defined by the National Park Service. As an interpretive document for the Ethnic Embassy and Religious Heritage Center, this paper will serve as a basis for preservation education, for establishing historical contexts, and for architectural

analysis of churches in the Calumet-Laurium settlement area.

Church design in the settlement area was influenced by ethnic building traditions, contemporary trends in American church architecture, regional building materials, and identification with denominational typology. The extent to which these factors affected a church's composition varied widely between individual structures. For example, the Old Apostolic Lutheran Church on Pine Street may reflect in its massing, rural church forms in northern Finland and it is exemplary of Apostolic Lutheran churches throughout the Copper Country in massing, fenestration, and cupola form, which was unfortunately recently removed. It was built by Finnish immigrants who were members of the congregation without the design guidance of an architect or contractor from outside the ethnic cluster. In contrast, St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church was built for a French-Canadian congregation but designed by an English immigrant architect, Demetrius Frederick Charlton, and constructed by American contractors, Pendergast and Clark. The building is English in massing with French embellishments. The absence of church buildings which have subsequently burned down or have otherwise been destroyed condition our accurate understanding of the townscape and the history of ethnicity, so those churches are documented after the extant churches.

Although all of the church buildings reflect the ethnicity, class, denomination, and architectural design to varying degrees, a particular church may strongly convey information about one aspect of social history. There is a perfect example in the ethnographic building tradition of which the Old Apostolic Lutheran Church is a part. The First Apostolic Lutheran Church, also on Pine Street, has a special significance for its association with an historical event. Many of the church's members joined the Western Federation of Miners during the strike of 1913; the memorial services of the members of the congregation killed during the Italian Hall disaster were held there and the funerary procession to the cemetery started at the First Apostolic Lutheran Church. St. Joseph's

Roman Catholic Church (Austro-Slovenian) shows the influences of ethnic identification on the part of the congregation and the architect, Erhard Brielmaier of Milwaukee, in the tall, narrow twin-spires of the church. In contrast, the 1902-1904 building displays architectural history in its Romanesque elements and the history of regional building material usage in its Jacobsville sandstone walls. The historical significance of churches in the Calumet-Laurium settlement area is apparent in material influences on the part of a congregation, architect, or builder, but also because of the role of the building as a center for community activity.

Throughout the settlement area, churches are prominent features. The churches of the Village of Calumet and of Calumet Township are set in an urban landscape. They are most commonly found on the corners of commercial or residential districts, their foundations abutting the sidewalk. In the Village of Calumet and the bordering neighborhoods of Calumet Township, church spires are distinguishing features of the skyline. However, steeples are not prominent on the skyline of the Village of Laurium, although churches remain important streetscape features. In Laurium, the churches are often set along wooded residential streets, set back from sidewalks with lawns and other plantings.

The most expensive church buildings followed the same pattern as commercial buildings, masonry, especially the use of Jacobsville sandstone, held particular value. Three of the four churches built out of Jacobsville sandstone were Roman Catholic: St. Mary's (Italian), St. Anne's (French-Canadian), and St. Joseph's (Austro-Slovenian); the fourth was the Carmel Lutheran Church (Swedish). During the 1890s, the main streets of the Village of Calumet, Fifth and Sixth streets, and of the Village of Laurium, Hecla Street, was the replacement of front-gable or false front frame buildings with masonry commercial blocks, usually of brick with Jacobsville sandstone sills, lintels, and cornices. However, unlike the commercial blocks where all of the most successful businesses built in masonry,

some of the wealthiest congregations, for example the Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians, built architect-designed frame structures. The architectural refinement of these professionally designed structures reflected the high social station and means of the congregations which commissioned the buildings.

Heavy snow loads, freeze and thaw cycles in spring, and some seventy-five years of decline in the economy and in population numbers of the settlement area have accelerated the entropy of cultural resources; these detrimental influences on preservation have been counteracted to some extent by a lack of new development pressures and of funds for renovations and by an intransitory population who have remained tied to residential, commercial, and ecclesiastical buildings, sometimes for generations. The effects of these and other factors on the state of each extant church is assessed from three vantage points: historic integrity, condition, and maintenance. While historic integrity refers to minimal changes and profound alterations to original fabric, condition is concerned with the stability and state of repair of fabric, regardless of the fabric's historiographic place. The use of a building and how it is maintained is most significant in relation to the building's future state of preservation. For example, St Mary's Roman Catholic Church (Italian) was severely remodeled on the interior in the 1960s, just prior to its deconsecration, a compromise of its historic integrity. The Jacobsville sandstone structure has problems with water penetration in the bell tower due to broken out windows, but otherwise it is in stable condition. In terms of maintenance, the church building is owned by a contractor who grew up in the congregation. Locatelli Construction has attended to major repairs as necessary, but the church is presently used for storage of equipment and is unheated. On the other hand, the Apostolic Lutheran Church of Laurium is still used for worship. It has been greatly renovated on the exterior for reasons of energy conservation and to enhance function: new vertical wood siding, thermal panes over the stained-glass, an addition to the rear for offices, an addition to the front as an air-block and foyer; these changes have compromised

historic integrity. However, the church nave and social hall retain their historical features, maintaining the integrity of the interior. The building is in excellent condition and receives regular preventative maintenance.

Each extant church is described as an historic object and according to its historic development. The churches are divided first into two groups, extant churches and missing churches. Within those groups, churches are divided by their placement in one of three jurisdictions: Calumet Township, the Village of Calumet, and the Village of Laurium. Within those contexts, the churches are divided along three denominational lines: Anglo-American protestant, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic. Within this category, the order of placement is determined by the chronology of each congregation's formation.

St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church, French-Canadian (Formerly, St. Louis' Roman Catholic Church, French-Canadian. Currently, The Ethnic Embassy and Religious Heritage Center)

Located on the southwest corner of Fifth and Scott Streets in Newtown, Calumet Township, the church was the last property in the township before one entered the Village of Red Jacket (Calumet). The French-Canadian community within Sacred Heart Church purchased the hall of the St. Patrick's Society in 1883. The society had disbanded in 1874 and since rented out the hall for various public functions. When they offered it for sale in 1883, the French-Canadians bought the building for \$3,500.00 and obtained a lease from the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company for the land.

The Rev. Antoine Vermare was sent by the diocese to lead the congregation in 1883, he took up residence on Sixth Street in the Village of Red Jacket.¹ During the period between 1883 and its dedication on August 1, 1886 by Bishop Vertin, the congregation remodeled the building to an ecclesiastical appearance. Adding a cupola with a steep spire,

¹Rev. Antoine I. Rezek, History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette, p. 281.

which was recorded on landscape photographs of the period, and other changes which were not recorded.

In 1889, Rev. S. Marceau succeeded Vermare and initiated the construction of a rectory on the lot adjacent to the church. It was built at a cost of \$4,000.00.² When a new church was built in 1900, this ornate stick-style residence was sold and moved to a lot one block away on Seventh Street and one lot off of Scott Street.³

When the St. Patrick's Society built the hall, shortly after the establishment of the then separate Calumet and Hecla mining companies, the forest was full of old growth timber of many species, with white pines in abundance. Therefore, it is not surprising that Joseph Gardner, when he advertises the St. Louis' Church for sale in 1901, says, "the building contains many thousands of feet of fine lumber and which is now very valuable and can scarcely be had."⁴ Probably on commission, Gardner was selling the building from across Fifth Street. It was placed next to the brick Union Building, which housed the Merchants and Miners Bank and the Calumet Post Office with fraternal organizations on the second and third floors (hence, Union Building). The congregation used St. Louis', although without a foundation, while their new church, St. Anne's, was built in the location of the old.⁵

When the customary two masses could not long accommodate the congregation, Rev. J. R. Boissonault (Figure 1) proposed the construction of a new church instead of

²Ibid.

³The current owner of the house was told that it was the "original rectory for St. Louis" by an anonymous "old-timer;" the information may or may not be accurate.

⁴"For Sale," an advertisement from a clipping of a local newspaper in the "Churches, Calumet" file at the Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections. Newspaper and page not recorded.

⁵Rev. Antoine I. Rezek, History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette, p. 281.

adding to the present building. Designed in 1900 by the firm of Charlton, Gilbert and Demar, who maintained offices in Hancock, Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette, Michigan, and Milwaukee, the contract stated a cost of \$28,300.00; the architectural firm oversaw the Prendergast & Clarkson construction company under the contract terms.⁶ Whether that cost included the construction of the yellow brick rectory next door is not certain. When the French-Canadian congregation had finished the opulent furnishings and embellishments of the interior, the total cost would be \$43,000.00. At that time, their congregation numbered three hundred seventy-five members, making the average cost per member \$115.00; however, members did not pay equally.

The massing of the rectory is Jacobean but many of the embellishment, most notably the wooden front porch are Gothic (Figures 2, 3, and 4). The rectory has two small transepts that give it something of the appearance of a church itself, however the front porch which wraps around the north side is a residential feature. The interior was made to accommodate more than one reverend and a domestic staff.

In 1918, a booklet speaks of a favor to Rev. Boissonault, under whose administration the church was built and dedicated to St. Anne. It remarks on the church's indebtedness to the saint and an interesting relic, which once was the prize of the congregation:

His Eminence, Cardinal Be'gin, late Archbishop of Quebec, obtained from the Canons of Carcassonne, France, holders of the original relics of St. Anne, mother of the Blessed Virgin, a portion of one of the bones, which in 1908, the Cardinal presented to Fr. Boissonault, part of St. Anne's, Calumet.

That the parish obtained favor of St. Anne was amply demonstrated during the influenza epidemic of 1918. Though many scores died from the dread disease, not a single death occurred in the parish, at that

⁶"Served French folk 65 years (1901-1966): (St. Anne's Church, Calumet)," Ray C. Peterson, Daily Mining Gazette, May 6, 1983.

time numbering in the thousands.⁷

Although the Bishop of Marquette began to recommend the closure of national parishes and consolidation as early as 1949, the final decision by the Bishop to close the national parishes of the French-Canadians, Italians, Croatians, and the Austro-slovenians and create a geographical parish in the Austro-Slovenian church, St. Joseph's, ended the life of St. Anne's as a house of worship. It was purchased by an unscrupulous junk and antiques dealer following the deconsecration until 1994. Then a concerned group of individuals created the idea of an Ethnic Embassy and Religious Heritage Center (Figure 5) and the building was purchased for \$38,000.00 by Calumet Township from the estate of the owner.

Although much stabilization has been done, the project is in its infancy. Because of the significance of this resource to the interpretation of churches in the settlement area, a special architectural study of St. Anne's follows.

An Architectural Analysis of the Ethnic Embassy and Religious Heritage Center in St. Anne's

Like Sacred Heart, St. Anne's was built of fine red sandstone from the Jacobsville quarry. The structure incorporated a prominent bell tower at the corner of its rectangular plan. An overall Gothic style, late French Gothic ornament was generously applied. The bell tower serves as a beacon for the entrance to the village's principle business street, Fifth Street. Today, the tower is the most distinctive reference point of the village center's skyline.

The scale, fine workmanship and materials of St. Anne's bespeaks some prosperity and perhaps even that ethnic pride was expressed in the church building (Figures 6, 7, and

⁷"The Shrine of Good St. Anne," a booklet, 1918. A copy of the booklet is collected in the archives of the Diocese of Marquette.

8). French-Canadians' skills as woodsmen and carpenters made them valued employees of Calumet & Hecla Mining Company. The company's voracious steam engines used wood fuel, the many miles of underground tunnels depended on timbering for support, and the primary building material remained wood.

To serve the tastes of its French-Canadian parishioners, many of the church's details are derived from the flamboyant or rayonnant style of the late Gothic period in France. However, the lightness associated with that style, such as Rouen Cathedral, is never achieved. Aspects of the style are particularly pronounced on the tower and three-bay porch of the church, although the huge rosette, stained-glass window and the lacy fretwork in stone which accompany these features was never designed for St. Anne's.

Rectangular in overall plan, with enclosed apse at the sanctuary's south end, the tower is in three stages surrounded by two rows of Gothic turrets, the four inner turrets around the octagonal top stage of the tower and the eight shorter turrets paired over corner buttresses. These eight turrets were shorted due to safety concerns following the church's deconsecration in 1966.

The high foundation sandstone is cut into rectangular and square blocks, hammer dressed, and laid randomly. As in the late Roman period and revived in the Renaissance, stone surrounds of windows, piers and the water table were smoothly finished; intermediate stones were at the edge and hammer dressed toward the center in the rustic style. The water table slopes approximately five feet on the east elevation from the facade (north elevation) down Fifth Street.

Above the water table, the walls are built of the same sandstone and treated in the same manner as the foundation. The piers or pier buttresses are placed between the windows of the long walls of the nave and on the front of the church, between the doors. There are also pier buttresses on the lower two stages of the tower. The exterior walls of the apse are now covered with red asphalt siding, the same brick-red hue as the

sandstone.⁸

The walls are load bearing masonry, thickened regularly with pier buttresses on the nave, facade and tower. In the basement, iron columns run along the long axis, carrying beams which in turn help to carry the nave floor.

There are two porches on the south wall of the nave. One gives access to the ambulatory behind the apse. It was covered by a simple frame gable and faces the rectory. The second porch is a frame entryway with double wood doors with glass panels in the top half which lead down to the basement meeting rooms.

The entry porch on the facade, the west elevation, of the building extended the full width of the building (Figures 10 and 11). At the front of the porch are open square railing extending in front of the two supports dividing the three arched entries and defining the primary central entrance. The facade's entries on either side of the primary entry are reached from intermediate landings reached from the center steps or from short flights at the sides of the porch.⁹ The three entries share four door jambs of smooth sandstone; each entry is hooded by individual shallow gable in the bell cast French manner. The double doors and larger series of lancet arches under the central entry gable helped establish the primary entry. The double doors of the main entrance and single paneled oak doors of the side entrances have stained glass overlights with panes in Gothic lozenge and triangular forms. Together the double doors form a lancet arch. The doors on either side are in the form of a lancet arch.

The north and east elevations have no doors. However, in addition to the doorways mentioned on the south elevation of the church, an underground passageway lead from the rectory to the basement of the church.

⁸Kevin Harrington, "Photo Data Book for St. Anne's Church," (Historic American Building Survey, August 1975) unpublished notes, p. 2.

⁹Ibid.

On the facade, three stained-glass windows were set above the primary entrance in the gable and one above each secondary entrance. Lighting the nave, the north and south elevations have seven large lancet arched windows each. The stained-glass is protected by fiberglass panels. Directly below these windows are the squat windows of the raised basement; they are same with as the stained glass lance windows and were later replaced with glass blocks. These windows light the basement and the original glass has been replaced by glass blocks.

On the south elevation, a semi-hexagonal bay extends, a small stained glass lancet window is placed on each of the three plains (Figure 12). On the semi-circular apse, east elevation, a clear glass window at the center of the curve lights the ambulatory. Above and on the north and south sides of the curved apse were ten stained glass windows; they were removed and not replaced. These windows once lit the sanctuary in two groups of five, positioned horizontally in relation to each other.¹⁰

The nave has a gable roof and a smaller gable surrounds the heptagonal apse. A hipped roof wraps around three sides of the apse walls, covering the ambulatory. A steep octagonal roof tops the bell tower; a series of raised Gothic trefoils lined the ridges of the tower roof and a large trefoil ornament was at the peak. Now a cross surmounts the peak.

The cornice consists of simple ogee curves and the eaves are boxed to minimize horizontal effect.

The three stage bell tower is rectilinear at the lower two stages and becomes octagonal at the top stage, the belfry. The belfry was open with louvers to deflect rain and direct sound waves earthward. Now the belfry is open to the elements and the bell lies on the belfry floor after a botched attempt to remove it. Two pier buttresses rise up each of the two elevations of the tower near the corners and are capped with stones sloping away

¹⁰Ibid, p. 4.

from the structure. Round turrets with conical tin caps rise off the corners of the tower at the base of the third or belfry stage of the tower. The turrets rise above the eaves of the tower but below its pointed terminus.

The baptistery is at the north end of the west elevation a semi-hexagonal one story bay with hipped roof extends from the main rectangular volume. The tripartite roof is covered with asphalt shingles.

The basement was divided into several rooms serving various functions. There was a large and a small parish meeting hall, a kitchen, two toilets and a furnace room with a coal storage room connected.¹¹ The meeting halls flank either side of the hall at the base of a stairwell. Almost all of these basement rooms were destroyed when the wall were remove in the 1980s. The stairwell rose to double doors at the exterior, on the west elevation of the church.

The front doors were fashioned from oak, rectangular panels set in pairs. They form the lower half of the doors and lancet arches crest the panels on the doors' upper halves. These doors are double hinged to permit swinging in either direction. Three vestibules are just inside each entrance. The center vestibule is 6' X 12' and the vestibules on either side are 6' X 6'. Over the vestibules and extending approximately twenty feet into the nave is the choir loft or gallery. It is reached by a stair in the northeast corner of the nave. At the south end of the nave three steps, running the full width of the nave, lead to the altar rail. About one third of the altar rail remains. Beyond the rail was the sanctuary; the altar was remove with deconsecration in 1966. The freestanding pulpit remains along the north nave wall, where the steps lead up to the altar rail. Behind the altar rail on the sides are two side altars.

Behind the apse, and accessible by two doors in the apse, is an ambulatory. It

¹¹Ibid.

surrounds the sanctuary and completes the rectangular plan of the building. The spaces were probably used for vestries.

There is a steep ladder from the choir loft up to one stage of the bell tower. In the southwest corner of the building in the ambulatory, a narrow flight of stairs descends to the basement. Broad, steep stairs descend from the double doors on the west elevation down to the basement.

Maple hardwood floors are unfinished and probably are continuous on the main floor. However, linoleum covers the sanctuary floors and the nave where the pews, now gone, were situated.

In the sanctuary, nave and choir loft, a board and batten wainscoting with rail rise to about 5' and were originally stained varnished but have been painted over. Above, the walls and ceilings are plaster painted and stenciled. In the basement, plaster walls and ceilings were painted with stenciling in the meeting rooms at about shoulder height.¹²

After the church was deconsecrated and sold to a private individual, much of the interior furnishings were removed. These included the pews, main altar and organ. Currently, the church exhibits stenciled and painted wall decorations of at least four campaigns; the last major stenciling was done under Rev. Dion, who personally paid for the work.¹³ Probably the oldest period is the stenciling in the sanctuary. When the altar was removed following deconsecration of the church, stenciling was revealed where the altar had covered the wall. The stencil is of latticed fences and floral patterns in green, mauve, pink and gold. Gold fleur de lys are highlighted. The wainscoting here was stained a red mahogany color. Wooden engaged colonnettes which cover the inside corners of each of the seven plains of the apse are encircled with rope moldings where the

¹²Ibid, p. 6.

¹³Andrew Grgurich, interview with the author, 1995.

altar had been.¹⁴

Covering this decoration, the sanctuary walls were painted a pale blue with white engaged colonnettes, cornice and vault ribs. Geometric and floral elements border the wall panels. In the center of two of the panels large leaves entwine gold flowers; the colors of these decorations are blue, gray, red, beige and gold. On the ceiling of the apse, borders are treated similarly to the walls below. In the five center panels of the ceiling (seven total) symbols of the Eucharist are placed in the center of each. At the peak of the ceiling there are geometrically stylized sunburst in blue, green, red and gold.

A third decorative scheme is on the intrados, a large lancet arch defining the division between the nave and the sanctuary. This decorative scheme extends onto the piers supporting the arch. There is stenciling in a pattern painted with mauve, red, brown and gold.

Yet another scheme using different elements is on the south wall to either side of the opening into the sanctuary. Here there are two secondary altars. One is dedicated to St. Mary on the north; the other to St. John the Baptist is on the south wall. The wall surfaces above these altars are painted a different hue of pastel blue than in the apse. Here the borders are stenciled in gold and a darker blue. Centered on the walls and above their respective altars, "M" for St. Mary and "SJB" for St. John the Baptist are painted with embellishments.

The two altars are virtually identical (Figure 13). They differed only in their dedicatory inscriptions and the subjects of their plaster of Paris statues¹⁵, now gone, in the central niches of each altar. The St. Mary altar showed a Mary, Queen of Heaven holding the Christ child who reached towards his mother. On the other altar St. John the Baptist

¹⁴Kevin Harrington, "Photo Data Book for St. Anne's Church," p. 6.

¹⁵Ibid, p. 7.

held the Christ child who in turn is making a gesture of blessing with his right hand and holds an orb with surmounting cross in his left hand. The altars themselves are of wood painted white in a highly decorated concoction of flamboyant arches, finials with many croquettes, and floral elements. Some of the design is rather elementary or primitive. Some of the moldings appear to be machine carved. However the floral infill elements especially show some very fine handling of the material. Covered with ribbing and trefoils, these altars are Gothic.

There were two altar rails separating the nave from the sanctuary. The first from the nave was of plastic made to look like blond wood with marble panels;¹⁶ this one was completely removed. The next, older, is of wood, painted white with an open arcade of lancet arches with raised wooden crosses painted gold in each spandrel. The hinged double gates once allowed passage through the center of the rails. About one third of this rail remains.

The pulpit, freestanding along the north wall, just in front of the altar dedicated to St. Mary, is white painted wood of an elaborate Gothic style, like the altars. The floral carving here is of even better quality than on the side altars; the grapes and oak leaves with acorns are especially fine. The moldings are usually classically derived types such as egg and dart or bead and reel.

Even the decorations attached to the wall of the nave between the stained glass windows were removed. There were a crucifix and a series of high relief plaster tabernacles depicting the stages of the cross. The frames for these scenes were white and in a floral Gothic manner. The scenes in the tabernacles were colored with pale blues, reds, browns, gold and white.¹⁷

¹⁶Ibid, p. 8.

¹⁷Ibid.

Between the windows and beginning at a point about even with the springing points of the windows' lancet arches, there are floral capital blocks from which rise plaster fan vaults. They form pointed arches over the windows, and seemingly carry the cornice of the ceiling above. The cornice regularly breaks forward to form impost blocks which seem to receive the force of the wooden ceiling ribs. Just below these blocks are cherub heads. Spaced regularly along the cornice are rosettes painted gold. All the wall and ceiling surfaces of the nave are covered with still another stencil series around the borders in red, blue, gold and gray.

The ceiling itself is a simple pointed vault with cross vaults between the ribs. Whether these units are structural is questionable. In the panels of the cross vaults there are portraits of saints with their attributes. Seven in all as in the stained-glass windows below, the images are arranged as follows:

	Altar (East)
<u>East wall:</u>	<u>West wall:</u>
St. Peter with key	Bearded saint with sword (Paul?)
Long hair, clean shaven Saint with book and chalice (? Christ)	Bearded Saint with cat-of-nine-tails (? (passion))
Saint with crosscut saw (? patron of forester)	Bearded Saint with crossed sticks (it does not seem to be a cross)
Bearded Saint with violin	Bearded Saint with square
Bearded bishop Saint	Bearded Saint with (?) club
Saint with sword (? Paul)	Bearded Saint with (?)
Woman Saint seated at a keyboard instrument	Priest Saint at an altar with lilies on it

There are seven stained glass windows on either side wall of the nave. They are all of the same general pattern, varying only slightly in the use of color. The six windows

closest to the altar are dedicated to various early Christian persons or events. At the center of these windows is set a round piece of galls approximately 8" in diameter with the name of the person or event inscribed. Often there is a brief legend. These dedications follow as well as the names of the donors of the windows, also inscribed:

Altar (East)

East wall:

St. Mark

given by J. E. Crepeau,
Chas. Caron, S. Galarneau

Ave Maria

given by Paul Primeau, fils
Paul Primeau, Jos. Primeau

St. Matthew

given by Alex Ethier

Christ, Crown of Thorns

given by Jos. Desjardins

A lily in a field

given by Vital Bleau, fils

St. Paul

given by Jos. Ouellette,
Jos. Chatet

no dedication

West wall:

St. Peter

given by Dr. A. Labarge, Frs.
Vallieres, W. Vallieres

St. Maria

given by J. D. Desjardins, Jos.
S. Desjardins, Amedee
Desjardins

St. Luke

given by Louis Ethier, Frs
Denomme, Bapt. Ethier

A Veronica

no donor

A cross in a crown floating in clouds

given by La Famille Jos. Trudel

Adelard Goulette, Camille

Bleau

St. John

given by P. Lapointe, Will
Plouffe, Naz. Othotte

no dedication

given by Zeph. Ethier

given by Elz. Bertrand, Jos.

A. Marien, Frs. Ethier

Asselin, O. J. Dufault

The church faces north, placing the altar in the south end. Along the east wall runs Fifth Street, the major street of the village with side streets to the north and south. The former rectory is on the lot to the west of the Church and on the lots at the west end of the block are commercial structures. To the south of St. Anne's are the Communit Church (Congregational Presbyterian) and the Christ Church Episcopal just beyond, both face east onto Fifth Street. The landscape around St. Anne's is a hard urban area except for the lawn in front of the rectory to the west of the Church. Visually St. Anne's tower defines the southern terminus of Fifth Street.

Calumet Township

Anglo-American Protestant Church Buildings

First Methodist Church

Description

Built in 1955, the First Methodist Church is built of an orange-yellow brick. Rectilinear in plan, a vestibule protrudes from the front gable. The gables are steeply pitched and rise above the roof line in the Jacobean style. The Gothic embellishments include small lancet windows along the nave and a large lancet arches above the double front doors. The raised basement's windows are as large as the nave windows but are not crowned with arches; the nave and basement windows are aligned.

Historic Context

The Methodists were the first congregation to organize and build in Calumet. In

this respect, the history of church construction in Calumet follows the pattern of nearly every substantial mining location in the Copper Country. The largest ethnic group in the copper country, from the period of active mining in the mid to late 1840s until the decline of the copper industry in the early twentieth century was Cornish. Cornwall, England, particularly the miners of the shire, are, like their ethnic cousins the Welsh, almost exclusively Methodists.

The reformation movement of John and Charles Wesley began within the Church of England at Oxford University in 1729. The movement was influenced by the writings of Martin Luther, particularly his Preface to the Epistle of Romans. They sought to revive the Holy Spirit in the formal and often perfunctory liturgy of the state church. They also directed their evangelization to the poor and disadvantaged, which soon brought the Wesleys to the mining districts, including the islands' most ancient copper and tin mines in Cornwall. Centered on the concept of "justification by faith," Methodism spread throughout the British Isles, in Prague and the vicinity, and throughout Scandinavia. This evangelical and pietistic movement brought adherents from the Church of England and Lutheranism

Cornishmen were among the first employed by the company in 1866. Methodists met in the Calumet Schoolhouse until 1868. In that year, Rev. Gorden of the Methodist Church of Hancock conducted services.

In Calumet, the First United Methodist Church was an ethnic immigrant congregation. This set them apart from the other English-speaking protestant churches. However, unlike the Scandinavian and German Lutherans who suffered derogatory stereotyping and prejudice, the Cornish Methodists could have easily integrated, as the Scottish immigrants did, into American congregations. It appears that as individuals, the Cornish chose to perpetuate their ethnic character because it had long served as a ticket to

employment in the district.¹⁸ When Methodists came from Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland, they were outfitted with their own churches, separate from the Cornish congregation.

The first building cost \$4000.00 and was dedicated in 1869 (Figure 14).¹⁹ The earliest Methodist churches in America, like their English antecedents, were humble meeting houses. Like the early Congregational churches in New England, the Methodists never flaunted bell towers. By the mid-nineteenth century, Methodism had left "meanness" and piety, as had the Congregationalist and Presbyterian reformers. The First United Methodist Church mirrored in frame construction the grand masonry structure of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church of Saratoga, New York. Built in 1858, that church had the corner bell tower with a smaller tower flanking the other corner of the front gable, the same form as Calumet's first Methodist church. The church in Calumet was the very model of gothic-revival. It may have been built on a design provided by the Methodist Board of Church Extension. Seven years later, in 1876, the national body commenced a concerted campaign to provide architectural plans to pioneer churches.²⁰

The company gave the congregation a lot on which to build a church. It was on the newly named Church Street between Calumet Avenue and Rockland Street. At that time, Rockland Street and not Calumet Avenue, was the primary route through the new settlement. Rockland Street is the portion of the Civil War era Military Road which Edwin

¹⁸Ronald M. James, "Defining the Group: Nineteenth Century Cornish on the North American Mining Frontier," *Cornish Studies: Two*, Edited by Philip Payton, Second Series (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994) p. 32. Ronald M. James is the State Historic Preservation Officer of Nevada.

¹⁹Ray C. Peterson, "First United Methodist Church, Calumet," *Daily Mining Gazette* (September 3, 1982).

²⁰Board of Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church, "Sample Pages of Catalogue of Architectural Plans for Churches and Parsonages for the Year 1884" (Philadelphia, n.d.) pp. 1-2.

J. Hulburt was surveying when he discovered the Calumet conglomerate lode. The lot was not deeded to the church. Like all the other churches built on Calumet & Hecla land, free ground leases were given the congregation for construction. Whether the church received anything like the \$1,500.00 given by the company to the Congregationalist church's construction, which was the second protestant church in Calumet, is not known.

The Rev. S. W. LaDu of Hancock became the first minister. In 1871, the church was moved across Calumet Avenue. Although many have attributed this move to the opening of Osceola amygdaloid lode, Calumet & Hecla did not begin to exploit this lode until after 1900.²¹ Calumet & Hecla did sink a shaft in the first location of the church. Perhaps the move was connected with the establishment of Calumet Avenue, and not Rockland Street, as the main thoroughfare of the settlement. Whatever the reason, the wealth of the church permitted the move and renovations including enlargements in 1873 and 1879.²²

In 1892, the original church was demolished and a new much larger church begun (Figures 15 and 16). The new church, dedicated in 1893 by the Rev. H. E. Wolfe, was a massive decorative half-timber and stucco structure on substantial Jacobsville sandstone foundations. Tucked alongside the intersection of the nave and transept, a heavy square bell tower was set.

On May 15, 1953, lightning struck the tower and the church burned to the ground. The present church was dedicated on May 1, 1955. It is constructed of a yellow brick and the lancet arches of the Gothic and the gable-end cornice rising above the roof in the Jacobean style.

²¹Larry Lankton, Cradle to Grave, p. 251.

²²Ray C. Peterson, "First United Methodist Church, Calumet," Daily Mining Gazette (December 3, 1982).

Historic Integrity

The church retains its original appearance with not apparent changes. The building appears to be about thirty years earlier than it is due to a very traditional design.

Condition

The church was built of brick in 1955 and still appears to be in relatively good condition. The roof is in good repair.

Maintenance

The congregation is small for the capacity of the building and declining attendance has meant that the pastor must be shared with another Methodist congregation. No pressing repair needs are apparent.

Christ Church Episcopal

Description

The church was built in the style of early rural English churches and designed by an architect of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company who was a founding member of the congregation, Charles W. Whiting (Figures 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21). Christ Church Episcopal was sheathed in shingles instead of being built of stone like its English antecedents. The foundation is of rusticated Jacobsville sandstone and the shingles flare out to form a water table just above the foundation. The dark brown shingles with thin

surrounds around the fenestration accentuated the pastoral effect of the church. A simple rectangular plan, the nave has six tall double-lancet windows down each side, two double-lancet windows and wheel window on the front gable, and three lancet windows on the rear gable end. Two projections telescope out from the center of the facade down to the double entry doors. The projections have the effect of lending human scale to the romantic, country church design. Along the south elevation toward the rear of the church, another hooded entry with Gothic arch leads to the raised basement. On the ridge of the steeply pitched gable roof, a Celtic cross in the Gothic taste was erected in copper. Though modest at first appearance, Christ Church Episcopal is an architect designed structure with rich varnished interior detail.

Historical Context

Built in 1893, Christ Church is the oldest church building in continuous use by the same congregation in Calumet. Charles W. Whiting was the architect of Christ Church and he, Josiah Hall, and George Jacka formed the building committee. The vestry formed on January 9, 1893 with the following members: Captain Josiah Hall, H. S. Colton, Dr. H. Pomeroy, Laroy S. Grove, C. W. Whiting, George Jacka, George Unsworth, Charles Perry, George Wilson, and Thomas Gribble. Captain Hall and Mr. Whiting held prominent positions at Calumet & Hecla, while John Daniell, Superintendent of both the Osceola and Tamarack mining companies soon joined the congregation.

Like many members of the congregation, Daniell was not born into the Episcopal denomination. Going to work in the mines of St. Ives, Cornwall beginning at age eleven, Daniell was probably a Methodist by birth.²³ One of the wealthiest men in the settlement

²³Paul T. Steele, Tamarack Town: Mines, People, Memories (Calumet: Paul Steele, 1982) p. 43.

area, his daughter Clara Daniell married the Rev. Joseph Ten Broeck who lead the congregation from 1901 to 1920.²⁴

Another wealthy member of the congregation was Mollie Ulseth, daughter of the Norwegian Lutheran contractor, proprietor of Edward Ulseth Lumber Company. Mollie Ulseth was organist at Christ Church Episcopal for thirty-two years. Her father had been sent for in Norway by the Norwegian Free Lutheran Church when they built their church in 1898.

Like Episcopal churches throughout the nation, the congregation was full of converts from many nationalities and denominational backgrounds who had become successful in business. As early as the 1890s, Finnish, Swedish, Norwegian, German, French, Italian, and Slovenian names began to appear in communicant lists.

Historic Integrity

The exterior and interior of Christ Church Episcopal retain a high degree of historic integrity. The only alteration is minor; clear fiberglass has been added as protection over the stained-glass window above the altar and a row of vertically hung lights shines on that window to illuminate it when viewed from within.

Condition

Christ Church is in a good state of repair. Wood trim is adequately protected by paint and the shingle sheathing appears to be free of serious rot and splitting. The roof is sound and the sandstone foundation is not in need of repointing. No repairs for stabilization or signs of deferred maintenance are apparent.

²⁴“The Fiftieth Anniversary of Christ Church Episcopal, 1893-1941,” a booklet.

Maintenance

Christ Church Episcopal is maintained by a small congregation comprised primarily of senior citizens. There is no minister stationed at the church, but they support a visiting minister. The building receives regular maintenance through volunteer efforts of a few members for smaller projects and the financial support of members for larger projects such as furnace work or roof repair. Because the building receives regular maintenance, no large repairs are pending. However, this condition could be easily reversed if the painting of wood trim and staining of shingle sheathing was neglected, a real danger if the congregation continues to dwindle at its current rate. Because of its steep pitch, maintenance of the roof is rarely required.

Community Church, Congregational-Presbyterian

Description

Built for a Presbyterian congregation, the Community Church is a large church with corner tower and prominent transepts (Figures 22, 23, 24, and 25). The transepts create a square plan in the nave. The sandstone foundations rise well above grade permitting vertical four-over-four windows to light the church's basement social hall. The frame structure above is clad in shingles and the front gable and the gable of each transept is centered by a large lancet window. Two smaller lancet windows are on either side of the central window on the transepts. A primary entrance projects from the base of the tower, the door recessed in a lancet arch; a secondary entrance at the other end of the front gable leads down a half-story to the social hall.

Historic Context

In the summer of 1891, a Presbyterian congregation formed meeting at Calumet

School Hall, the "Little Red Jacket Church," the International Order of Odd Fellows Hall, and the Calumet Theatre (Opera House). The names of the congregation are almost all Scottish in the "Minutes of Session." The record begins by explaining that though the Presbyterians and Congregationalists agreed before the Civil War to divide the mining regions into separate missionary fields, the Congregationalists given the Copper Country and the Presbyterians the Iron Country, the number of Presbyterians in Calumet by 1891 called for the formation of a Presbyterian congregation. In July of 1892, Dr. Daniel D. Stalker came to serve the congregation of sixty families.²⁵

On February 25, 1894, the church was dedicated, "it is our earnest prayer that our new church which is a credit to the congregation and an ornament to the city will be a great blessing to the community."²⁶ The church remained very concerned about missionary work. The Women's Missionary Society organized the mailing of clothing and money to missions and the Ladies Aid Society "undertook the furnishing of the new church."²⁷

In 1900, a Sunday school for Chinese members of the community was begun. Perhaps this mission was directed by a former missionary to China. This mission was considered quite successful.²⁸

In 1907, the church bought a pipe organ and Rev. F. P. Patrona became minister of the church. The reverend began an active mission to the Italian members of the community which resulted in many new Italian members. Rev. Patrona remained with the church until 1917. The Presbyterian church became the worship space of the Congregationalists after

²⁵"Minutes of Session," Presbyterian Church, pp. 1-3.

²⁶Ibid, p. 10,

²⁷"75th Anniversary, United Presbyterian Church of Calumet, Michigan," a booklet, p. 1.

²⁸Ibid.

the Congregational Church of Calumet burned in 1949.²⁹

Historic Integrity

Many minor alterations to the exterior of the Community Church compromise its historic integrity. On the second stage of the three-stage bell tower a pair of lancet windows have been boarded up and painted over. New doors replace the originals in both the main entrance and the entrance to the social hall. A large Gothic finial made of tin over wood which once topped the tower's pinnacle was removed but is stored in the building. The windows have been replaced by fiberglass for their protection, however the fiberglass is discolored either by dirt or oxidation.

Condition

The shingle work of the church is in need of repainting. Other signs of disrepair are not apparent.

Maintenance

The Community Church is an active congregation with part-time pastoral leadership. The congregation of Congregationalist and Presbyterian members is of moderate size but struggles to meet financial requirements for pastoral leadership and needed building repairs. Also heating the nave, which has an unusually high nave, is costly, and the congregation conducts worship services in the social hall during the winter to reduce heating expenses.

²⁹Ibid, p. 2.

Lutheran Church Buildings

Carmel Lutheran Church, Swedish

Description

The Carmel Lutheran Church is the only protestant church building made of Jacobsville sandstone. It has highly symmetrical, a narrow bell tower with steep spire is front and center on the gable (Figure 26). A flight of steps, which have since been foreshortened to serve as a truck loading ramp when the building was used for storage, lead up from Sixth Street to the entrance through the tower. Above the lancet doorway is a slightly narrower lancet window on the second stage of the tower and a pair of narrow lancet windows front the third stage of the tower (Figure 27). Flared eaves atop the square tower angle into an octagonal spire which culminates in a cross.

The heavy-set appearance of the masonry building is enhanced by a slightly battered bell tower and wall and pinched narrow lancet windows around the nave; one is set on either side of the bell tower on the facade, two on the back gable end, and six along each side of the nave. The raised basement is completely above grade on the east side of the church, and a door provides access directly into the basement floor. The basement windows are aligned with the lancet windows above, emphasizing that this is a masonry structure with substantial wall loads.

Historic Context

The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Carmel Congregation in Calumet was organized on March 24, 1877. Until Swedish population numbers became sufficient, the Swedes worshiped with the Finns and Norwegians at Trinitatis or Trinity Church. The church was named for both the Holy Trinity and the union of the three ethnic groups into one

congregation. The desire to worship in the Swedish language at a different time from the Finns with whom they shared a church evolved into a desire for their own church building and in 1897 the Jacobsville sandstone structure was built for only \$9,860.00. With the formation of the Suomi Synod in 1890, the Finnish majority of Trinity strengthened ties with other Finnish congregations in the Copper Country, perhaps further straining relations between the ethnic groups. For in 1898, the Norwegians also broke off from the predominantly Finnish congregation to form the Free Lutheran Church in the Village of Calumet.

According to the Emigrantinstitut in Växjö, Sweden³⁰ and correspondence between Rev. Robert V. Langseth, pastor of Faith Lutheran Church, Calumet and Rev. Arnie Nielson, pastor of a Lutheran church in Atvidaberg, Sweden, southern Swedes came primarily from declining lumber and mining industries around Atvidaberg to Michigan's copper country. In 1964, the Swedes and Finns reunited in the Suomi Synod to form Faith Lutheran Church in Calumet.

Historic Integrity

The Carmel Lutheran Church is changed from its appearance upon completion in 1897 in three significant ways. Two alterations are architectural, the removal of the lower front steps and the covering of the windows with corrugated, opaque fiberglass. The construction of Sixth Street Extension from where Sixth Street once ended at the Carmel Lutheran Church to Calumet Avenue (US-41) created a primary approach to the church which did not exist until the 1970s.

³⁰Emigrantinstitut, "Papers, 1869-1932," N.D. This collection of letters and other immigrant papers is in folder Bz5310 of the Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Library, University of Michigan.

Condition

The church is maintained in fair condition. Although the asphalt roofing appears to be very old and has suffered wind damage, the high pitch of the spire and main roof have prevented major leaks. The fenestration is stable due to the non-contributing fiberglass panels which cover windows on the main floor. Windows on the basement floor are in need of painting to prevent further damage to wood sashes, mullions, and surrounds.

Maintenance

The church is currently used as a copper artist's workspace and residence. Only the basement floor is used for this purpose; the main floor is used for storage and is otherwise not inhabited. The main church building is unheated.

Faith Lutheran Church, Finnish and Swedish

Description

Built of brick in 1930, Faith Lutheran Church is not immediately distinguishable as an historic church because of a substantial addition to the facade and the removal of the main tower in 1973 (Figure 28). Five lancet windows from the 1930 structure line each side of the nave. The brick structure is built on a raised concrete foundation. The frontal addition houses classrooms, a pastoral office, a conference room, an administrative office and the foyer.

Historic Context

What Faith Lutheran is lacking in historic integrity as a building it does not lack in historical significance. The first church building to house the Scandinavian Lutherans in greater Calumet was Trinitas or Trinity Church built in 1876 on Mine Street. The First

Methodist Church and Trinity stood only a few lots from each other but fronted different streets. Built in 1879, the rectory of Trinity Church still stands on Mine Street; many of the windows have been replaced by vinyl windows without regard for the original window sizes and an attached garage undermined the early house's integrity. The church was named for the three ethnic groups which formed the congregation, the Finns, Swedes, and Norwegians and for the Holy Trinity.³¹

After the formation of the Suomi Synod in 1890, the Swedes and the Norwegians broke with the Finnish congregation to build their own church buildings in 1897 and 1898, respectively. The first meeting to form the Suomi Synod occurred at Trinity Church in 1890; following the rejection of the constitution by some 500 members of the congregation, Rev. W. Eloheimo excommunicated the 500 individuals. They formed the Northern Lutheran Church, then called the 'Kansallisseurakunta' which meant the "people's church." Previous to the congregation's formation, the Laestadian or Apostolic Lutheran Finns broke off from the Lutheran church associated with the national denominations of Scandinavia. Their secession occurred at the church on Quincy Hill above Hancock in 1872. This reformation or revivalist movement and the Northern Lutheran Church created ethnically Finnish congregations besides the Suomi Synod.

The remaining congregation built Bethlehem Lutheran Church (Figure 29). It was much larger than Trinity and was constructed during 1891 and 1892 on Agent Street, a block away from the original structure. The current church was built following a fire in January of 1930 which destroyed Bethlehem Lutheran Church (Finnish) and the new church was dedicated as Faith Lutheran Church.

When Faith Lutheran Church and the Carmel Lutheran Church merged in 1964, the latter housed a small congregation and abandoned their building for Faith's building.

³¹"Concerning a Centennial," Faith Lutheran Church, June 27, 1976 (a pamphlet).

Historic Integrity

Faith Lutheran Church's exterior has lost much of its historic appearance due to a large 1973 addition to the facade and the removal of the church's tower to make room for the addition. Once in the nave, the stained-glass windows, gallery, and chancery are original to the 1930 building.

Condition

The church building is generally in excellent condition, but is in need of repairs due to small pellet holes in the stained-glass windows.

Maintenance

The church has a large active congregation and conducts preventative as well as pressing repairs. The church is financially well endowed and does not appear to be threatened by future disuse.

First Apostolic Lutheran Church, Finnish

Description

The earliest Apostolic or Laestadian church in Calumet, the First Apostolic Lutheran Church is a large structure set on high ground above Pine Street (Figure 31). It is typical of other Apostolic Lutheran churches in the Copper Country, for example the Old Apostolic Lutheran Church of Calumet, the Apostolic Lutheran Church of South Range, and the Apostolic Lutheran Church of Toivola, in that it has not tower, but unlike these example it never had a bell cupola on the ridge top. Also the plan of the church is larger and more complicated than that of the rectangular plan of other churches built by Laestadian congregations.

The church has tall narrow windows with Romanesque arches. The three arches of the original portico were surmounted by a formidable cornice and a pediment over the central arch. The portico was removed when a large international-style foyer was added to the building's facade. Secondary porches to doors on the facade-sides of the transepts had turned-posts and have since been removed. On either side of the entrance were four-pane oval-shaped windows and above the portico a large Palladian window with a stained-glass rosette filled the central window. These fenestration features were obscured when the new addition was added. To the back of the church a sensitive addition with fenestration matching that of the original building houses classrooms and offices.

Historic Context

The first Finnish Lutheran congregation in the United States was created in 1871 on Quincy Hill above Hancock, about 10 miles south of Calumet. This congregation was a Apostolic break-off from a Norwegian Lutheran congregation. In Calumet, the Apostolic adherents were still members of Trinity Church in the 1870s. When exactly they broke off and the date of the First Apostolic Lutheran Church building's construction are not know.

However in 1890, Pastor Arthur Leopold Heideman came to lead the Apostolic congregation, which by then had built a church. Pastor A. L. Heideman and his son Pastor Paul Heideman lead the First Apostolic Lutheran Church from 1890 through 1973. The next split in the Apostolic Lutheran Church occurred in 1900, following the death of Johanni Raattamaa in 1899. Because the most orthodox followers of Laestadius believed that forgiveness came only by confession to God of sins through another Christian, two Laestadian church in argued over who should receive the leadership mantel of Pastor Raattamaa. Allegiances formed within Pastor Heideman's congregation between the "old" and the "first" apostolics. Shortly thereafter, a group left to form the Old Apostolic Lutheran Church across the street from the First Apostolic Lutheran Church.

In 1908, a final break within the Apostolic churches in the Copper Country occurred when Pastor Heideman decided to lead his church out of the "Big Meeting," a tent revival within the Laestadian movement which served as the only unifying meeting between congregations.

Historic Integrity

Generally, the historic integrity of the church building is greatly compromised. The gable of the ca. 1890 church building is just visible above the international-style addition to the facade of the First Apostolic Lutheran Church. However, the side elevations retain their original composition although the church is sided with vinyl and vinyl storm windows cover the original windows. A sensitively designed pear addition distorts the original design of the building by its presence but retains roof and window forms consistent with the original building.

Condition

The building does not appear to have pressing repair needs and receives regular maintenance.

Maintenance

Actively used for worship, the First Apostolic Lutheran Church has a large congregation with membership spanning all ages. The congregation is very capable of maintaining the building and is known to receive volunteer labor to address repairs rather than paying from church funds.

Old Apostolic Lutheran Church, Finnish

Description

The Old Apostolic Lutheran Church is typical of Apostolic Lutheran church forms in the Copper Country (Figure 32). Rectilinear in plan, the building once had a small cupola atop the ridge over the front gable, since removed. The church has tall narrow lancet windows separated by relatively large expanses of wall along the side of the nave. Built on land which slopes away from the Pine Street, the church's raised basement becomes increasingly exposed toward the rear of the lot.

An insensitive concrete block addition was added to the south side of the nave in order to provide additional seating for the growing congregation.

Historic Context

Following the death of Apostolic leader Johanni Raattamaa in Finland, two factions of Apostolics argued over who were the true disciples of the leader. A conflict in Finland, one group called themselves the "Old" Apostolic Lutherans and the other the "First" Apostolic Lutherans. This conflict in the old country was carried over to the, then Apostolic Lutheran Church of Calumet, now the First Apostolic Lutheran Church. A group following the "Old" group in Finland broke off from the congregation to form the Old Apostolic Lutheran Church on Pine Street across from the "First" church.

Ultimately, the Old Apostolic Lutheran Church congregation outgrew their church even with the addition and build a much larger facility in Hancock in the early 1990s.

Historic Integrity

Three significant factors alter the early appearance of the church: the removal of the cupola; the addition to the south of the nave; the placement of broad aluminum siding over

the original weatherboard.

Condition

The Old Apostolic Lutheran Church is in excellent condition.

Maintenance

In 1995, the church building was bought for offices. The new company has done a great deal of renovation work to the addition and restoration work to the ca. 1900 church. The building receive regular maintenance and is efficiently used with even the basement social hall rented to a cottage-industry.

Roman Catholic Church Buildings

The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin or St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Italian

Description

Built of Jacobsville sandstone, the Italian church has an imposing central tower protruding from the center of the front gable (Figures 33 and 34). The gable is further dissolved by a false front with a broad cornice that obscures the eaves of the gable. This feature is reminiscent of the false fronts on churches in northern Italy. The tall spire has a triangular dormer window on each of its four sides (Figure 35). Sharp cornices divide each of the three stages of the tower.

Along the nave are lancet windows and, on each side, an engaged octagonal tower; the cornice of the towers continues the cornice of the boxed eaves. One tower is the baptistery, the other a shrine. The rear elevation has a brick chimney embedded in the sandstone walls and the gable is defined by eave returns (Figures 36, 37, 38, 39, and 40).

Historic Context

At first worshipping at Sacred Heart, Italian immigrants petitioned the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company for building lots as early as 1893. Because the Italians had walked out when ten men were killed in the Whiting shaft on a Sunday, the Feast of the Blessed Virgin, the mining company refused to give the congregation a building site. A building project for which the \$4,000.00 had already been collected. The money was returned to subscribers.

The current church was built on two lots and with \$2,000.00 given the congregation by the mining company. The lots are on Portland Street, some five blocks from the commercial center of the Village of Calumet. It was consecrated on October 12, 1897 by Bishop Vertin.

Historic Integrity

The exterior of St. Mary's Church retains its original textures and massing. The only significant change to the exterior is the replacement of the original wood doors with doors of glass incased in aluminum.

The interior was remodeled in the 1960s shortly before the church was deconsecrated in 1966.

Condition

Currently, the church is in stable condition. Some of the sandstone shows efflorescence and the wood and tin work is in need of paint. At least one broken window in a dormer window on the spire permits moisture to enter the tower. This could cause rot and structural deterioration if not attended to.

Maintenance

The church is owned by a local contractor, a former member of the congregation, who uses the building for storage. How the building is maintained is not known to the author, but the building is clearly in need of routine maintenance in order to prevent destabilization.

Village of Calumet

Lutheran Church Buildings

Free Lutheran Church, Norwegian

Description

Built on the corner of Elm and Seventh streets, the Free Lutheran Church bears a remarkable resemblance in massing and detail to the Northern Lutheran Church one block away on Elm and Eighth streets. Only the use of lancet rather than Romanesque arches for fenestration on the Free Lutheran Church significantly contrasts the designs of the buildings (Figures 41, 42, and 43). Built in 1898, by Norwegian builders Edward Ulseth and Mr. Brevik, the church is a weatherboard sheathed building. The corner tower opens to a long set of stairs down to the sidewalk on Seventh Street. A small tower rises up what used to be one-third of the bell tower's height. The third and top stage of the tower and the tower's spire were removed in the 1970s for fear that lightning would ignite the structure. The gable ends the transepts and the south, front gable of the nave house large lancet windows. The building surmounts a raised sandstone foundation inset with full size windows to light the social hall beneath the church proper. Fish-scale imbrication sheaths the top of the south gable end.

To the north, a parsonage is attached to the church by an enclosed walk. This

house is also clad in weatherboard and has a pronounced pendant in the front gable, a popular Norwegian embellishment.

Historic Context

The Norwegian immigrant congregation who commissioned the Free Lutheran Church, also called the Free Maranatha Lutheran Church, had worshipped at Trinity Church and, after 1892, Bethlehem Church with Lutheran Finns and Swedes. After the congregation sent for two builders from Norway, Mr. Ulseth and Mr. Brevik, building was commenced on the church in 1898.

However, the Free Lutheran Church congregation became different than the congregation which it had left in more than just the language used for services. The adjective "free" was chosen to define the organization of the church. Unlike most churches which are either owned or operated or both owned and operated by a instituted church body comprised of several congregations, the Free Lutheran Church followed in a Norwegian "low church" tradition in which members of the congregation legally owned the church property and elected a board of trustees to govern and a pastor to instruct. In matters of Lutheran doctrine and in governance the Free Lutheran Church and other Norwegian Maranatha churches nationally, are closely akin to the Apostolic Lutheran Church (Finnish) or Swedish pietistic church movements.

The shared ownership by members of the congregation provided the means for preserving the building when the Village of Calumet Council proposed the property's sale to Calumet Electronics in 1984. A group of local preservationists petitioned the then elderly members of the congregation to accept volunteer restoration work and avoid condemnation of the property by the village. The group has since stabilized the building

and generated work for restoration. For fear of wind or lightning damage,³² the steeple was removed in the 1960s, leaving only the first and second stages of the bell tower.

Historic Integrity

Besides the removal of the third stage of the bell tower, the Free Lutheran Church and its attached rectory are in a remarkably unchanged state. The poor condition of the church building was beginning to undermine the historic integrity of the church as weatherboard began to fall off.

Condition

In poor condition, the Free Lutheran Church appears to be in some peril. However with a sound diamond shingle, Asbestos tile roof and funds set aside for stabilization, the future of the church is relatively secure. On the rectory and beginning on the south side of the church, weatherboard is being replaced or reattached where necessary and painted.

Maintenance

In the hands of a preservation non-profit dedicated solely to the preservation of the Free Lutheran Church, the church building is being slowly restored with funds raised privately. The rectory was sold separately to Joseph Mihal, an active community preservationist, who has been painstakingly restoring the interior and exterior of his house and informing the board of the preservation non-profit about pressing maintenance needs on the church building. Mr. Mihal and contractors under his supervision have worked to repair the roof and siding.

³² Information from Dorothy Perkins, granddaughter of Edward Ulseth, with the author.

National Lutheran Church, Finnish

Description

Built in 1890, the church is a frame structure, originally sheathed in weatherboard with scale imbrication in decorative panels, now covered in white vinyl siding (Figure 44). The church is raised on the high foundation, typically of building construction in this climate of much snowfall. The foundations are constructed of Jacobsville sandstone. The front gable and side transepts have large Romanesque-style stained-glass windows. The rectory is attached to the church on south side.

Historic Context

At Trinity Church in 1890, Lutheran clergy from throughout the Copper Country met to draw up a constitution for the Suomi Synod. When 500 members of Trinity Church, a majority, refused to join the synod because they believed it gave the clergy too much power, Rev. W. Eloheimo excommunicated the 500 dissenters. The excommunicated group formed the 'Kansallisseurakunta,' meaning the "people's church" or "national church." They collectively bought half interest in the Trinity Church building, sharing it with the Suomi Synod congregation. When the Suomi Synod left the building in 1892 to fill the newly completed Bethlehem Lutheran Church building, the National Lutheran Church congregation had exclusive use of the first Lutheran church building in Calumet; it had been built in 1876. From 1890 to 1896, Pastor Arthur L. Heideman from the Apostolic Lutheran Church on Pine Street, now called the First Apostolic Lutheran Church, ministered to the new National Lutheran Church congregation.

Despite the church building's remarkable similarity to the Free Lutheran Church (Norwegian) built by Ulseth and Brevik, the Northern Lutheran Church and parsonage were built by the B. Holmstrom Construction Company of the Village of Red Jacket, now

called Calumet, and completed for \$7,490.00. Built in 1900, the church building was completed one year after the parsonage.³³ F. Barney Homstrom's company also built the Calumet Theatre and remodeled the Village Hall in 1900.

Ten of the seventy-two people killed in the Italian Hall tragedy were members of the National Lutheran Church, seven of them children.

Historic Integrity

Like the Free Lutheran Church, the steeple and third stage of the bell tower were removed in 1981.³⁴ The attached rectory has vinyl windows of a different size than the original wooden windows. A series of sidings cover the weatherboard of the structure. The current white vinyl siding covers T-111 panels on the bell tower and possibly asphalt shingles on the nave. The attached rectory's exterior is consistent with the church building.

Condition

The National Lutheran Church is in good condition; no needed repairs are apparent.

Maintenance

Actively used as a place of worship, the church building has houses a large congregation. The pastor still uses the rectory as a residence and the first floor as an office. The church is heated and receives janitorial attention.

³³ Pastor Richard Voswinkel, The Story of God's Grace in Our Midst: National Lutheran Church 1890-1990 (Calumet: National Lutheran Church, 1990) p. 35.

³⁴ "This is the Church, and Here's the Steeple....," Daily Mining Gazette, July 11, 1981.

Roman Catholic Church Buildings

St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Austro-Slovenian (St. Paul the Apostle)

Description

St. Joseph's Church, now called St. Paul the Apostle, with its towering twin spires is a classic Austrian church of the Romanesque Style, with the Richardonian embellishments which were so popular in the Great Lakes Region at the turn-of-the-century (Figure 45). Built of Jacobsville sandstone with hammer-dressed blocks framed with smooth and molded courses, the massive church is an imposing structure from the many angles and the great distances from which it can be viewed. The square-plan towers are built in four stages, each level slightly narrower than the one beneath. The third stages are louvered belfries and the fourth stages are gables centered by round recesses with four spire-capped turrets, one at each corner. The round recesses look as though they were intended to contain clock faces. The steeples are very tall and narrow, each surmounted by a cross.

Large Romanesque-windows line the sides of the nave and pierce the second stage of the towers (Figure 46). Five line the nave, then the prominent transept windows, followed by a sixth window behind each transept. At the top of the each gable, that of the transepts and of the facade is an oculus. Below the oculi are huge stained-glass windows. From the rear elevation, a semi-conical roof is set on the hip roof over the apse. A large furnace chimney is on the rear corner of the church away from the street (Figure 47).

In 1938, when the church required re-roofing, the entire building including the spires were sheathed in copper. It was the only roof of its kind in the Copper Country. Subsequently the roof has been replaced.

The church is located on Eighth at Oak Street. A park, now a parking lot, separates

the rear of the church from one of the Village of Calumet's primary ports-of-entry in the historic period, the Mineral Range Railroad Depot. The church is located between the depot and the commercial center of the village.

Historic Context

The Austro-Slovenian population of Calumet which attended mass at the old frame Sacred Heart Church had reached sufficient numbers in 1888 that the Diocese of Marquette sent Rev. Joseph Zalokar to minister to them. In 1889, the Austro-Slovenians ask for and receive building land and start-up construction funds from Calumet & Hecla Mining Company. President Alexander Agassiz donated the two lots where the present church stands and \$2,000.00 for construction. In the church's golden jubilee booklet, it is recorded that \$6,000.00 was raised by members who "carefully laid aside the money that must be his share towards increasing the fund."³⁵ The structural frame of the first church was up when gale force winds severely damaged the project. However, the financial damage did not prevent the congregation from erecting a \$30,000.00 church building in 1890 which was dedicated by Bishop Vertin on November 29 of that year (Figure 48). In 1892, a Slovenian and increasingly Croatian congregation numbered 1,260 members.³⁶ The frame church was destroyed by fire on December 8, 1902 shortly after mass; the cause of the fire is unknown.

In January of 1903, a building committee was formed from the church trustees: John Vertin, President; John Sustarich, Vice President; Peter Ruppe, Treasurer; Paul Schneller, Secretary; Markus Sterk, Assistant Secretary. At that meeting a before any architectural submission had been submitted, the parishioners present resolved that the new

³⁵ Golden Jubilee Souvenir of the St. Joseph's Church (Calumet: St. Joseph's Church, 1940) p. 8.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 15.

church would be built of Jacobsville sandstone. By this time the other three sandstone churches had been completed. In April of 1903, several architectural submissions were presented and the current structure was chosen. The bishop and the treasurer were against the plans because of the cost, according to the golden jubilee booklet of 1940.

The structure without interior decoration cost \$46,600.00. It was voted that each family must pay \$85.00 and every single man \$50.00. On June 18, 1903, work began and on August 18, a cornerstone was laid bearing the inscription, "let this church be a monument of our Spiritual Endeavor; and let our posterity view it as an emblem symbolizing the 'Freedom Of Worship.'"³⁷

The young men of the St. Aloysius Society raised \$4,000.00 for the pipe organ by giving dances, picnics, and plays. Just before lent in 1904, the basement was ready for services. The bells for the new church were blessed in 1905. The paintings of the nave and chancel took three years to complete. Like St. Anne's, the wealthier members of the congregation bought the stained-glass windows; the three largest were purchased by the lodges of St. Joseph and of St. Peter. The windows were installed by the Ford Bothers Glass Studio of Minneapolis. On June 8, 1908 the church was dedicated by Bishop Eis following much fanfare (Figure 49).³⁸

In 1928, the ethnically Polish national parish of St. Anthony of Padua was dissolved and its remaining members joined St. Joseph's. That year, a brick rectory with Bungalow features was built next door to the church for \$20,000.00 (Figure 50).

In 1966, the national parish of St. Joseph's was dissolved along with the national parishes of St. Anne's (French-Canadian), St. John the Baptist (Croatian), and St. Mary's (Italian) and a geographically defined parish called St. Paul the Apostle raise up from the

³⁷ Ibid, p. 22.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 34.

four parishes and housed at the former St. Joseph's.

Historic Integrity

The exterior of St. Paul the Apostle is little changed from its appearance in 1908. A contemporary covered walk between the church and the rectory, glass block basement windows, and front doors of steel, glass, and plastic are the only significant alteration to the exterior. On the interior, the quarter-sphere of the apse retains the original fresco; well-executed though contemporary stenciling covers the rich painting which originally decorated the nave. The standing lanterns which once interspersed and lit the pews have been replaced by hanging lights and fans hang from the ceiling.

Condition

St. Paul the Apostle is in good condition. The church is very expensive to heat and, because of its scale and the value of the materials used to construct it, could present expensive repairs in the future.

Maintenance

St. Paul the Apostle has an active and large congregation. If the church were to experience a significant decline in membership, the high cost of upkeep for the church might prove impossible. This is the greatest risk to the future of the church.

St. John the Baptist Roman Catholic Church, Croatian

Description

The current church was built in 1941 (Figure 51). Built of brick, the Croatian congregation followed a strongly ethnic model. The bell tower is set atop the front gable

and very slightly protruded forward on false brackets. Immediately below the bell tower a cross surmounts the checkered shield of white and red bricks, the symbol of Croatia. On the facade the only stained-glass are two small oculi, one on each side of the entry porch. Centered below these are four-over-four double hung sash windows with relieved brick arches above.

The double door entrance is covered by a minimalist Romanesque arch and porch, which do not protrude out far enough from the building to actually provide shelter. The nave widens behind the main facade.

To the east of the church is the rectory which was built about the time of the original church building in 1892. The Queen Anne style rectory has decorative imbrication and is set far back on its lot. The rectory is now sheathed in aluminum siding with wide relief.

Historic Context

The Croatian originally worshiped with the Slovenians at St. Joseph's church. They were ministered to by Rev. Polic at the St. Joseph's Church, a Croatian reverend. He accompanied the Croatians to their two lots in the Village of Calumet.

On land owned by Calumet & Hecla Mining Company in the village across from the Polish church, the Croatians built, probably with some start-up funds from the mining company. That church was destroyed by fire in 1940 and replaced by the current church building.

Historic Integrity

St. John the Baptist has seen few changes to its 1941 exterior, however the interior is greatly changed due to the removal of all furnishings and its poor condition. The 1892 rectory, however, has been changed in exterior appearance by post-1950 siding.

Condition

The condition of St. John the Baptist is stable, in terms of the exterior shell, but the interior has been poorly kept by the electronics company which used to occupy it or the village which has used it as storage. The rectory suffers due to water in the basement. The moisture has caused the buckling of hardwood floors and possibly damage to the foundation.

Maintenance

The church was stabilized by the regular maintenance of the Village of Calumet and has been recently sold to a moving and storage company. St. John the Baptist has little chance of being kept up to a high standard of maintenance on the interior as long as it is used as storage space. However, the shell has been and will probably continue to be kept in stable condition to protect items stored.

Village of Laurium

Lutheran Church Buildings

St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, German

Description

St. Paul's church resembles two other church buildings in the settlement area in massing plan and fenestration, the Northern Lutheran Church, Wisconsin Synod (Finnish) and the Free Lutheran Church (Norwegian). The front entrance is through the tall corner tower and, like the Free Lutheran Church, a large lancet window is set in the front gable (Figure 52 and 53). Two small gables project out from the entrance to shelter the stairs

leading to the entrance from the elements. Near the top of the front gable, an oculus enhances its similarity to the two other churches which stand in the Village of Calumet. The church was probably built by Edward Ulseth, a Norwegian immigrant and prominent local builder and lumberyard owner.

The transepts project only slightly from the sides of the nave. However the survival of the top, the third stage of the bell tower with its pair of louvered lancet openings on each side and its spire make it unique amongst the three churches. Originally sheathed in 4"-reveal weatherboard, the church is now sided with a wider aluminum siding ca. 1960. The church sits on a raised basement made of Jacobsville sandstone.

Historical Context

Known also as the German Lutheran church, the parish was organized in 1879. The congregation met in homes until they leased a lot from Calumet & Hecla Mining Company on Scott Street in Newtown in 1881. Like other congregations, the German Lutherans probably received start-up money from the company, but this is not recorded. St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church, French-Canadian, down the Scott Street from the first St. Paul's, was also a frame structure. Both had cupolas centered above the facades. The churches were often photographed from above, from the roof of the settlement's large commercial structure of brick, the Union Building. In 1899, St. Paul's was "asked to vacate the company lot."³⁹

In 1899, the developers of the Village of Laurium and its sponsor, the Laurium Mining Company, were at odds with Calumet & Hecla on many fronts.⁴⁰ Two of St

³⁹Clarence Monette, Laurium Michigan's Early Days (Lake Linden, Michigan: Clarence Monette, 1986) vol. 27 of local history series, p. 60.

⁴⁰The Laurium Mining Company was owned by the same consortium of investors as the Osceola, Tamarack, Centennial, Wolverine, and Kearsarge mining companies. These investors, known as the Bigelow-Lewisohn group, had virtually surrounded the wealthy Calumet &

Paul's most prominent members, Ernst Bollman and Paul Roehm, jointly financed and built, respectively, much of the Village of Laurium, including at least the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth additions.⁴¹ During the 1890s, the church was given two lots at the corner of Tamarack and Second streets in Ernst Bollman's Sixth Addition to the Village of Laurium. Here, the congregation built a parsonage with the intent of building a church on the neighboring lot.

The cornerstone of the church was laid in June of 1899, and the frame structure was dedicated on the Sunday before Christmas of that year. The massing, fenestration, and belltower of St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, resemble those of two churches built by Edward Ulseth in the Village of Red Jacket, the Norwegian Free Lutheran Church and the National Lutheran Church. As a Norwegian Lutheran, Ulseth may have built St. Paul's since Paul Roehm, also a contractor and member of the German Lutheran congregation, specialized in masonry construction. In 1902, Ernst Bollman bought a pipe organ for the frame church and two years later the church purchased a carved altar and pulpit.⁴²

Hecla Mining Company with the various properties listed above. Like Calumet & Hecla, this consortium was controlled by Bostonian investors, however these were lead by Horatio and Albert S. Bigelow. Created in 1873, the Osceola Mining Company was the third or fourth most profitable mine in the district. These companies initiated court proceedings against Calumet & Hecla over at least two issues. Created in 1878, the Tamarack Mining Company claimed that Calumet & Hecla had mined onto their property from the Red Jacket Shaft. They were unable to substantiate that claim because Calumet & Hecla promptly flooded the evidence, the diggings in that portion of the mine. In 1911, the Osceola and Tamarack mining companies resisted hostile takeover by Calumet & Hecla in an anti-trust suit. They won this time, preventing their consolidation with Calumet & Hecla, majority stock holders, until 1923. The Village of Laurium capitalized on the great success of Calumet & Hecla, providing housing upon which one could build on one's own land, an opportunity which was rare in the Village of Red Jacket that had become densely developed by the 1890s and impossible in Calumet & Hecla's leased out township land. This must have increased tensions between the litigious companies.

⁴¹Deed Book of 1899, Houghton County Records Collection, p. 349.

⁴²"Welcome to the Village of Laurium's 75th Anniversary, 1889-1964," a booklet, p. 5.

Although a parochial school had been provided for children in the church building since 1881, when the Scott Street church was built, the church commissioned a two story school building on First Street near Hecla Street in 1908. Located two blocks from the church, the building was used until 1929 when it was sold to the Village of Laurium and subsequently used to house Veterans of Foreign Wars functions.⁴³ Both the former parochial school and the church building maintain their early appearance.

Apostolic Lutheran Church of Laurium, Finnish

Built in the late 1890s for the Swedish Mission Church of Laurium, the church building was sold in 1929, as copper prices plunged and huge lay-offs occurred (Figure 54). The ethnically Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Church of Laurium, serving members from Calumet and Laurium, bought the structure. The purchase occurred on October 10 and the dedication on November 2, 1929.⁴⁴

Located on the corner of Third and Tamarack streets, a squat, tower with a steep spire corners the building toward the intersection. The tower and gables were embellished with alternate bands of imbrication in fish-scale, diamond and octagonal forms. The basilica plan has small transepts projecting no more than two-feet from the nave. An unusual plan, seating and the gallery formed a quarter circle facing an altar in the northeast corner of the nave. The organ was originally placed in the gallery, but was moved to near the altar during remodeling in 1980-1981.

The church has had a history of pastors serving for long periods. The three who have served are Pastor John Oberg (1929-1942), Pastor W. A. Karvonen (1942-1983), and current Pastor Rodney Johnson (since 1983). Congregation member, Russell Lepisto

⁴³“Welcome to the Village of Laurium’s 80th Anniversary, 1889-1969,” a booklet, p. 8.

⁴⁴“Apostolic Lutherans to Dedicate New Church,” Daily Mining Gazette, November 2, 1929.

of Bootjack near Lake Linden directed the renovations of 1980-1981 which were designed to half energy expenditures, enhance accessibility, and provide additional Sunday School classrooms. A large vestibule with restrooms, cedar vertical siding, and thermal panes greatly changed the appearance of the building but avoided the removal of major features or the abandonment of the historic church for a new sanctuary building, the alternative before the church Board of Trustees.⁴⁵

The original parsonage built to the rear of the church was demolished, and as an addition to the church pastoral offices built onto the lot where the church had stood.

In the late 1940s, the mansion of John Daniell, superintendent of the Osceola and the Tamarack mining companies and founder of the Tamarack Mining Company, built on Pewabic and Third streets was given to the church as a home for the elders. The house saw major additions in 1953 and in 1983. The building was converted to apartments in the late 1970s when another facility for elders was built, the current Stillwaters. The church sold the apartment building in 1994.

Historic Integrity

The church retains its original massing but is compromised by two later building materials. The broad aluminum sheathing and the concrete block of the base of the most extended telescoping entrance are incongruous with late-nineteenth century weatherboard and with the sandstone foundations of the raised basement.

Condition

The Apostolic Lutheran Church of Laurium is in an excellent state of repair.

⁴⁵Clarence Monette, Laurium, Michigan's Early Days (Lake Linden, Michigan: Clarence Monette, 1986) p. 64.

Maintenance

The congregation actively uses the church for worship and appears to avoid the dangers of deferred maintenance. Unfortunately, some of the maintenance has led to historically inappropriate changes.

Anglo-American Protestant Church Buildings

Methodist Episcopal Church

Description

Church member A. H. Rickman served as general contractor on the project of what was to become one of the most fanciful church designs in the settlement area (Figure 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, and 60). The corner stone was laid on June 8. By August of 1902, the building's high brick foundation, framing, plaster, and stucco were completed. Built in the Shingle style, prominent gable ends with low eaves were covered with shingles and cut away with lancet arches, in the front gable the lancet arch is filled with a stained-glass window, and on the prominent north transept, the gable's lancet arch is a protruding element with a wheel window. Around the building lancet arches, usually filled with windows, alternately protrude or recess to form a complex surface. The asymmetry of the building is heightened by varying scales for elements, particularly lancet forms. Between the nave and south transept a squat tower had a steep spire. At the intersect of nave and transept an unusual octagonal tower surrounded with tall lancet windows and rising to an octagonal spire was the most prominent feature of the volume. This entire tower and the spire of the corner tower were removed in 1968.

Historic Context

As tensions between the Bigelow and Lewisohn mines and Calumet & Hecla grew in the 1890s, a large group of primarily Cornish miners for the Osceola, Tamarack, and other mines broke away from the First Methodist Church of Calumet. Beginning with the first meeting of the society of Laurium Methodist Episcopalians on October 16, 1898, the congregation met at Munro Hall above a restaurant and saloon. By December 31, 1898, the membership was seventy-five and two hundred and fifty-three students were enrolled in Sunday School.⁴⁶

Unlike the leased property on which the Calumet church was built, the Laurium congregation purchased a lot on Kearsarge Street between Third and Fourth streets in November of 1899 for \$2,000.00. In the summer of 1899, the congregation began to meet in the Laurium Village Hall on Hecla Street.⁴⁷ Not until 1902 in June did church construction begin.

Rickman subcontracted Carlton Hardware Company for the heating plant and Manitowoc Seating Company of Wisconsin for the pews.⁴⁸ Four hundred people were accommodated by the oak pews.

Construction cost was \$14,000.00 and on October 19, 1902, the building was dedicated by a famous Methodist speaker from Buffalo, New York, J. W. Powell. At that time the congregation numbered one hundred fifty-five with four hundred children in Sunday School, a small congregation for such an expensive edifice. This may attest to the general wealth of a congregation where many members, being Cornish, held skilled or

⁴⁶"Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Laurium," December 31, 1898.

⁴⁷"Welcome to the Village of Laurium's 75th Anniversary," a booklet, p. 9.

⁴⁸"Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Laurium," Treasurer's Report, December 31, 1902.

managerial positions in the mines. Upon completion of the church the congregation doubled in size.⁴⁹

In 1906, Mrs. C. E. Moyle gave the church an organ which was dedicated on March 4. On July 11, 1906 the church bought the neighboring lot from Albert Buneufant for \$2,850.00.⁵⁰ Seating for an additional six hundred was created with the addition built on the new lot and dedicated on July 18, 1909. The cost for the renovation was nearly \$10,000.00.⁵¹

The church changed names twice in this century in response to national mergers of branches of the reformed or Methodist denominations. In 1936, the Methodist Episcopal Church of Laurium became the First Methodist Church of Laurium after the union of the three denominations, the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (divided shortly before the Civil War), and the Methodist Protestant Church. The Dutch reformed church called the Evangelical United Brethren merged with the First Methodists in 1968 and the church was renamed the First United Methodist Church of Laurium.⁵²

Historic Integrity

The removal of the octagonal central tower, which sat on the intersections of the nave and the transepts, and of the spire of the corner tower severely undermine an understanding of the original massing of the church. Otherwise the textures and

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Evening Journal, Calumet, July 12, 1906.

⁵¹Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Laurium," Treasurer's Report, December 31, 1909.

⁵²Frank S. Mead, revised by Samuel S. Hill, Handbook of Denominations in the United States (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995) pp. 197-199.

architectural embellishments of the building are original.

Condition

Currently the building is in need of paint and some repointing of brick to insure its longevity.

Maintenance

The active congregation cannot afford a full-time pastor, but shares one with the Methodist congregation in Hancock. Although the church is greatly reduced from membership when the church was built, major repairs have not gone unattended. The church struggles to finance such maintenance as its current need for paint and to a lesser extent repointing. Also the size of the nave requires that they use the basement social hall for services in the winter in order to reduce heating bills.

Finnish Episcopal Church

A year before the Finnish Methodist Episcopalians built on Lake Linden Avenue, the Finnish Episcopalians, also a missionary church, bought the deconsecrated Episcopal Church at Cliff Mine, some 12 miles north, in order to move it to their lot on Lake Linden Avenue in the Florida Location (Figures 61 and 62).⁵³ The Florida Location is an unincorporated addition of the Osceola Mining Company bordering the Village of Laurium. Built perhaps as early as the 1850s, the structure was placed on a raised, mine-rock basement and extensively remodeled in 1914. The foundation was laid by Charles Johnson, a local contractor, and measured 40 X 32'.

The church was a substantial structure built of hewn pine posts and beams. The

⁵³A "location" is a mine settlement, used especially to describe small developments around a mine.

double doors of the entrance sit high above the street and the tall windows of the nave have prominent crown moldings.

When the church was disbanded and when the Jehovah Witnesses bought the structure is not recorded. Currently, the structure has a high degree of integrity but is in great danger of being "salvaged," like the house next door.

Historic Integrity

The Finnish Episcopal Church retains a high degree of historic integrity from its 1908 and 1914 renovations following its move to Florida Location from the Cliff Mine Location.

Condition

The building is in a very bad state of repair. With windows falling out of rotten mullions, a very poor wooden shingle roof that needs replacement, the need of paint, and without heat, the building is the most threatened church building in the settlement area.

Maintenance

The building shows no signs of having been maintained for quite some time. In 1995, the house next door, possibly the rectory for the church, was dismantled for materials and the church may be in the same danger. In an area with especially low real estate value, the church stands little chance of attracting an investor who would rehabilitate the structure.

Finnish Methodist Episcopal Church

Established in 1915⁵⁴ as a missionary church, no denominational differences stood between this church and the Methodist Episcopal Church of Laurium but a language and ethnic differences were considered sufficient for separate houses of worship (Figure 63). The building was completed before Christmas of 1916, although Rev. K. A. Nurmi began services in the building by early November.⁵⁵

The frugality and piety of the structure makes it comparable to Finnish Apostolic Lutheran church forms in the area. At 32 X 44', the single story church with a raised basement level housed a small congregation, the nave seating one hundred. The double-lancet form with lozenge between, popular in ecclesiastical Gothic windows, is simplified on this church with sharp angles where the true lancet's curvilinear element would be. The lozenge is stylized into a diamond separated by mullions on the upper sash of the double hung windows. One such window is on the facade with three down each side.

The Finnish Methodist Episcopal Church sold the building to the congregation of the Lake Linden Avenue Gospel Hall in 1951. Perhaps assimilation, including the use of English, brought the decision to merge with the then First Methodist Church of Laurium. The new congregation occupying the church was a pentecostal, non-denominational body emphasizing the interpretation and preaching of the Holy Bible by the laity. Three individuals shared in leading most services.⁵⁶

⁵⁴Clarence Monette, *Laurium, Michigan's Early Days* (Lake Linden, Michigan: Clarence Monette, 1986) p. 70.

⁵⁵Keweenaw Miner, Calumet, November 4, 1916.

⁵⁶Daily Mining Gazette, Houghton, August 19, 1983.

Historic Integrity

The Finnish Methodist-Episcopal Church retains its original massing and fenestration with the exceptions of the front doors, which were replaced. The covering of the original siding, probably weatherboard, with asbestos or asphalt shingles presents the most significant change to the building.

Condition

The wood surrounds of the fenestration is in need of paint and the roof of asphalt shingle appears to be quite old.

Maintenance

The building appears to be abandoned and is endangered by vandals and the eventual penetration of water through the older roof and unmaintained windows. Also, if the building is unheated, the low pitched roof is susceptible to damage and even collapse under snow load.

Wesleyan Methodist Church

On Iroquois and Fifth streets, the construction date of the church by the Wesleyan Methodists is not recorded (Figure 64). This denomination broke off from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1843 in opposition to the church's weak stance against slavery, one before the entire church in the north broke from the south. Since the Wesley Brothers began their ministry to the poor of England, the Methodists were among the first to denounce slavery in America. However the Wesleyan Methodists did not reunite with the northern Methodist body over numerous other issues such as drinking, smoking, and the

belief in "absolute sanctification."⁵⁷

An African missionary, Martha Ramsey, bought the church building from the Wesleyans in 1943. Returning to Africa after World War II, ministry began in the church under the pastorate of Aaron W. Peterson from Marquette. Evangelical ministers from throughout the Lake Superior region came to the churches dedication on February 13, 1945. The church had been extensively remodeled by the new owner before the dedication.⁵⁸

In 1971-1972, a major remodeling including the construction of a nursery, pastor's study, and new entrance in a 20 X 24' addition was accomplished. Under Pastor Kenneth Toth the church was renamed the Northwoods Christian Assembly on September 20, 1985.⁵⁹ The congregation built a much larger church one mile south of Calumet on US-41 in 1992.

Historic Integrity

The former Wesleyan Church possesses very little of its original character. The recessed front entrance has been covered over flush with the walls, the original siding, probably weatherboard, is sheathed in asphalt shingles, the nave windows are covered with vinyl storm-windows, and a cement block addition was added to the rear of the church. This addition now serves to the main entrance of the former church.

⁵⁷Franck S. Mead, revised by Samuel S. Hill, Handbook of Denominations in the United States (Nashville: Abingdon Press, Tenth Edition, 1995) pp. 302-303.

⁵⁸Clarence Monette, Laurium, Michigan's Early Days, p. 72.

⁵⁹Daily Mining Gazette, Houghton, September 20, 1985.

Condition

The building is in relatively good condition with no signs of eminent repair needs.

Maintenance

As a day care facility for seniors, the former church is run as a small business with the nave used as the main community room. Meals are served in the former nave.

Calumet Township, No Longer Extant Church Buildings

Anglo-American Church Buildings

The Congregational Society of Calumet

Description

Asymmetrical in plan, the entrance was through the side tower. Unlike the stick style Congregational Church of Lake Linden of 1886, this 1874 structure maintained a quintessentially New England Congregational tower form, with a sharply pitched spire on flared eaves over the belltower. A large rosette window fronted the gable end facing Calumet Avenue (Figures 65 and 66).

Historic Context

Calumet, Mich;
May 15th, 1873;

The citizens of Calumet who were favorably disposed towards the organization of a Congregational Society at Calumet, Houghton County, Michigan met at the schoolhouse for the purpose of taking steps as they deemed necessary in the premises.

On motion - Jas. N. Wright was chosen Chairman and P. H. Swift Secty. The Chairman stated to those present the object which had called them together, after which James Wright addressed the meeting.

On motion of Jno. Duncan, Jas.

N. Wright and E. T. Curtiss were chosen as a committee to procure stated preaching and also a suitable room or place in which to hold divine service.

On motion of J. M. Streeter, John

Duncan and Thos. Hoatson were chosen as a committee on finance and instructed to ascertain what amount could be raised by subscription for the purpose of erecting a Church Edifice and salary for a minister.

On motion of E. T. Curtiss,

meeting adjourned. - P. N. Swift, Secty. (Minutes of the Congregational Church of Calumet, May 15, 1873-December 16, 1895)

Then Superintendent of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, James N. Wright was the first Chairman of the Congregational Society of Calumet. From the church's committee of finance, Thomas Hoatson was to be Wright's successor as Superintendent of Calumet & Hecla.

Then President of Calumet & Hecla, Alexander Agassiz, the company's Chairman of the Board Quincy Shaw (Agassiz's brother-in-law), Henry Lee Higginson, and other primary investors were Congregationalists and alumni of the nation's premier Congregationalist university, Harvard. They were members, however, in Boston. Agassiz attended services in Calumet but retained his Boston membership.

That the finance committee had few obstacles in raising the money necessary to erect the church is attested by its speedy construction, expensive furnishings, and debt-free dedication, despite the fact that it had only eleven charter members from four families. By July 27, 1873, the society held its first service with the Rev. William W. Curtis, who had just graduated from the Chicago Theological Seminary. On July 30, 1873, the society invited him to minister at the annual pay of \$1,500.00.⁶⁰

The church was given a lot by the company on the corner of Red Jacket Road and Calumet Avenue, adjacent to the headquarters and pay office of the mining company. On July 30, 1873, the minutes record:

⁶⁰"Local Church to Observe Centennial," Daily Mining Gazette, Houghton, Michigan, October 26, 1973. "Minutes of the Congregational Church of Calumet, May 15, 1873-December 16, 1895," pp. 3-5.

Plans of several church Buildings, designed by a Boston architect were exhibited. On motion, it was resolved to proceed immediately to the erection of a church and Mr. J. N. Wright, Mr. Jno. Duncan and Mr. Duncan McDonald were appointed a "Building Committee" with full power to accept or reject plans, award contracts for the building of a Church.

Unfortunately, the name of the architect is never mentioned, although the names of every builder and craftsman besides is recorded by Thomas Hoatson, Treasurer. He also records "subscriptions" to the building fund, December 31, 1874.

Building Fund		
DN	CN	
To Cash received from per - sub.	4,496.96	
" Calumet & Hecla Mg. Co. sub.	1,500.00	
" Balance due Treasurer		189.00
By Paid Philbrick & Moxon for building Church		
2,176.71		
By Paid E. Cooke & Co. for windows	287.15	
By Paid MRRR for		
4.50		
By Paid Moralee & Olds for Battens		162.50
By Paid Moralee & Olds for Mouldings	13.40	
By Paid A. H. Andrews & Co. for Pew Trimmings		150.00
By Paid A. H. Andrews & Co. for Pulpit Table & Chairs		195.00
By Paid A. H. Andrews & Co. for Recitation Seats		77.50
By Paid Holmes & Andrews for ventilator & furnace registers		
108.05		
By Paid A. S. Hamilton for painting		493.12
By Paid Polishing Seat arms		
15.00		
By Paid Jacob Geiger for building basement of; foundation walls and plastering		
470.20		
By Paid Same for chimnies & furnace		73.80
By Paid Wm. Davy for excavating cellar	92.25	
By Paid Lyon & Dolf bill of Hardware & Materials		150.15
By Paid Lyon & Dolf Material & work on furnaces		203.13
By Paid Cal & Hec Mg. Co. on construction materials		1,500.00
<hr/>		
\$6,185.96 = \$6,185.96		
Memoranda		
Total cost of Church Edifice		\$8,601.30
Subscriptions paid		

the First Congregational Church of Lake Linden, Calumet & Hecla's mill town four miles to the southeast. The Calumet Congregational Society or Church, the terms have been used interchangeably in the minutes and other records, was rededicated on Sunday, February 6, 1887 with the daughters of two founding members playing the new organ, Miss Harriet N. Wright and Miss Nellie Duncan.

Many protestants who had attended the Congregational church, instead of the Methodist Episcopal Church, left to organize their own congregations in 1888. Closely linked in doctrine, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists had divided the Upper Peninsula mission field into the iron districts and the copper district. The Congregationalists were to have the copper district with its intensive New England settlement, and the Presbyterians to have the iron country.⁶² The Episcopalians also withdrew to hold their own services in 1888 and the "Baptists were agitating for their own church."⁶³ These denominations would wait for a minimum of five years to receive their lots from the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company. Whether this was due to a lack of building funds on the part of those denominations or resistance to the establishments of additional denominations on the part of the company is uncertain. What is certain is that "the church leaders of the day were somewhat disturbed by this trend, but the continued growth of the community permitted the church to replace members who withdrew to form other denominations."⁶⁴ These church leaders were also the most influential members of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, Superintendent Thomas Hoatson, Captain Duncan etc... The first of these denominations to build was the Episcopal congregation in 1893,

⁶²Frank S. Mead, revised by Samuel S. Hill, Handbook of Denominations in the United States (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995 Tenth Edition) pp. 246-248.

⁶³"Local church to observe centennial," p. 5.

⁶⁴Ibid.

closely followed by the Presbyterians in 1894.

In 1896, a parsonage was built at 136 Calumet Avenue. In that year the congregation included 79 members and, in 1897, the membership grew to 346. The doctrinal and historical connections of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians had allowed for the exchange of pastors as early as the eighteenth century. So in 1921, when the Congregational Society of Calumet turned to the United Presbyterian Church of Calumet for ministry when their congregation had greatly diminished following the fall in copper prices after World War I, the Presbyterians obliged. In 1930, the Congregationalist church again hired a minister of their own.

In the last year of World War II, the church began a capital campaign to improve their facilities. Then Rev. Glenn Utterback explained why:

The church building of seventy years ago will meet many of the needs of the present-day, but its facilities are not adequate for every need, especially that anticipated for the post-war period.

...Tomorrow, with our boys and girls returning from the armed services, will offer many opportunities to the church that is prepared to meet the challenge.

Our community with some twenty-six old churches (only a few less than the maximum number ever present), must have a few progressive congregations that are prepared to endure, and ready to serve the community for years to come. Modern, liberal and democratic methods must be applied to churches as to all business practices - and "our Father's business" should be a leader.⁶⁵

He hoped to equip the facilities by the 75th anniversary of the church. Whether these interior renovations were accomplished has been lost to the record.

One week after the 75th anniversary, then Rev. Melvin R. Fenner, resigned and the congregation again began to share the Presbyterian minister. On January 30, 1949, new officers were elected and that night the church burned to the ground. The minutes and other important documents survived, though many with considerable smoke and water

⁶⁵Rev. Glenn L. Utterback, "Planning Today to Meet The Opportunities of Tomorrow," (The First Congregational Church, 1945) pp. 2-3.

damage.

It was natural for the two congregations to merge to form the Federated Presbyterian-Congregational Church since they already shared the Presbyterian minister. On March 21, 1971, their merger became complete under the auspices of only the Presbyterian national organization. They adopted the name "Community Church of Calumet (Congregational-Presbyterian)."

Roman Catholic Church Buildings

Sacred Heart, The First Roman Catholic Church

The second congregation to form in Calumet (Figures 67, 68, 69, and 70) followed close on the heels of the Methodists. On October 18, 1868, Rev. Edward Jacker visited Calumet and performed the first Catholic baptism there. Before winter started, Rev. Jacker returned to Marquette leaving Calumet and "charging the priests of Hancock with its care."⁶⁶ In 1869, he returned to serve the Irish and German congregation.

...Upon his return he found the bulk of the people in Red Jacket where land could be bought out-right from E. J. Hulbert (the founder of the Calumet and the Hecla Mining companies and of the Portland and Scott companies, on which the Village of Red Jacket, later known as Calumet, was built) who had disposed of the Red Jacket mine to the Calumet and Hecla. Although offered an elegant site, where the present city hall stands, Father Jacker followed the inducement held out to him by Capt. John C. Ryan of the then Hecla Company. With his aid he obtained, according to the practice of the company, a lease upon a site and there commenced the building of a frame church 40 X 90' in size with the customary addition for residence, at a cost of about four thousand dollars. The rectory was built later by Father Brown (He served the congregation from October 10, 1874 to October 24, 1875).⁶⁷

Although Rev. Rezek refers to the lease on a lot from the Hecla Mining Company as the practice of the company, Sacred Heart was the second church to receive that

⁶⁶Rev. Antoine Ivan Rezek, History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette (Chicago: M. A. Donohue & Co., 1907) p. 276.

⁶⁷Rezek, History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette, pp. 276-277.

beneficence. Between 1869 and 1900, the average time spent by a priest serving the congregation was about one year. Captain John C. Ryan and Edward F. Cuddihy and probably their wives instigated the move toward founding a Roman Catholic church in Calumet.

The first Sacred Heart church building was frame, clapboard clad. Its few embellishments and modest scale attest to the youth of the mining settlement when it was constructed. The building had eave returns, semi-circular arches over the entrance and windows, and an oculus. Atop the ridge above the front gable was a small cupola belltower with a squat bell-cast roof and a tall cross.

In 1887, Monsignor M. Faust first made plans to institute a parochial school. In both the "Sacred Heart Golden Jubilee" (p. 7), printed in 1918 and in Rev. Rezek's History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette (p. 279), a great resistance is referred to regarding the purchase of lots for the school; twenty lots were desired but something other than money prevented more than eight lots from being purchased. Whether Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, the other two national parishes, which by then had been formed in Calumet, or the Bishop of Marquette who presented the roadblock was not recorded. That the opposition came from the mining company may be evidenced by the location of the school four years later when the effort was resumed. In 1891, Rev. Peter Welling purchased two lots for \$2,500.00 in Laurium, land platted and sold by the Laurium Mining Company. The negligible copper mining success of the Laurium Mining Company, a holding of the Lewisohn & Bigelow cartel who controlled the Osceola, Tamarack, Centennial, and other neighboring mining companies, was overshadowed by their real estate acumen. The Village of Laurium, incorporated in 1895, developed as a bedroom community and secondary commercial center, dependent on the housing needs of the mining companies. The lots for Sacred Heart School were located in Laurium where it is closest to Sacred Heart Church, which was on Calumet & Hecla mine property. To

expand on the speculation of Calumet & Hecla's resistance to a parochial school, the cause may have been their fear of losing students from the many public schools which they had built and were leasing back to the school district; if so their fear was well founded, in the first week the parochial school enrolled 375 pupils.

As soon as the fall of 1891, the high-style school building was complete. Six years before the construction of the new Sacred Heart Church, the school was a more impressive edifice with brackets under boxed eaves and a substantial front gable protruding from the hip-roofed main volume. A new clergy of Franciscan Fathers from Cincinnati, Ohio, led by Rev. Peter Welling, had led the project.⁶⁸ The choice of a Cincinnati architect, Pickett, to design the 1897 church, may have been a result of his acquaintance with the Franciscan Order in Cincinnati.⁶⁹ The architect of the school may also have been Pickett. The School Sisters of Notre Dame from Milwaukee assumed primary responsibility for teaching at the school. Their convent was completed and dedicated on September 14, 1891. Mrs. P. Ruppe, Sr., whose husband owned the Bosch Brewery and First National Bank, Mrs. Catherine Foley, and Mrs. J. V. Gaul were major financial contributors to school and convent construction.

Sacred Heart was the "parent of five other churches."⁷⁰ Rev. Rezek's reference to the six parishes in Calumet by 1907 shows how Sacred Heart was the first church attended by non-English speaking Catholic immigrants until such time as the Bishop of Marquette took to create a national parish to suit an ethnic groups of growing numbers. Parishes are usually geographical demarcations of the church which a Catholic should attend if he

⁶⁸"Sacred Heart Golden Jubilee, 1868-1918" (Calumet, 1918) p. 7.

⁶⁹"Architectural drawing for Sacred Heart Church by Pickett, 1897, Calumet," Archives of the Diocese of Marquette.

⁷⁰Rev. Antoine I. Rezek, History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette, p. 278.

resides within a certain district. National parishes are also geographically determined. However, they overlap to serve different ethnic groups within a single geographical area; the reason for national parishes is most commonly tied to language differences by the Roman Catholic Church, but additional pressures for separation probably originate with the desire to cleave to ethnic identity in a new land.

It was in 1897, after the other five national parishes had been formed and their new congregations taken up services in their own churches, that Sacred Heart was built as the grandest edifice in the Calumet-Laurium settlement area. Sacred Heart was designed by Pickett in a Gothic style. Reminiscent of Irish churches, with a prominent corner tower, corner buttresses on the tower and buttresses down the nave, and a steep spire over broadly flaring eaves. With two transepts the church plan is a Latin cross. The seating capacity was 1,200 and the gallery held up to 100 singers and an organ with two manuals, besides two octaves of pedals and thirty stops. The organ cost \$4,000.00 and was built by Schuelke of Milwaukee. Amongst the depictions of the tall Gothic windows were "two patrons of the sons and daughters of Erin, St. Patrick and St. Bridget" and St. Francis of Assisi, founder of the Franciscan Order.⁷¹ Four 3-foot high, solid marble holy water fonts stood behind the last row of pews. Within the rows of pews large electric chandeliers with several lights stood under a ceiling with a remarkable span of 56 feet. Massive beams pierced by decorative fretwork supported the roof and frescoes between the beams adorned the ceiling. The church was 132 feet long.

In 1902, under Rev. Sigismund another school building was erected for an enrollment averaging 800. Built as Sacred Heart High School, the building had a four-story central tower and ionic columns around its porch.

In 1907, the congregation had 1,700 members. That year, on the other side of the

⁷¹"Sacred Heart Golden Jubilee, 1868-1918," p. 19.

original school from the high school, the west side, a convent and grade school of castement block was built with a large "Sister's Chapel."⁷² The community room was outfitted by John D. Ryan, President of what was then the world's most productive mining company, Rockefeller's Anaconda Mining Company of Butte, Montana. He was also the son of Captain John C. Ryan of Calumet & Hecla in whose house the first Catholic service in Calumet was held in 1868.

Village of Calumet, No Longer Extant Church Buildings

Roman Catholic Church Buildings

St. Anthony of Padua, The Polish Church

A committee of Polish immigrants who attended Sacred Heart Church met with President Alexander Agassiz, Calumet & Hecla Mining Company. He gave a lease to two lots and \$600.00 in the Village of Red Jacket (Calumet). The company had maintained ownership of a number of lots on 7th and 8th streets between Oak and Elm streets. On November 5, 1882, the church was dedicated by Bishop Vertin (Figure 71). A 75 X 41' frame structure had been erected with a sacristy and rooms at the rear for the priest, Rev. Fabian Pawlar.

In 1874, eight years before the dedication, Bishop Mrak had promised, "I have written for a Polish priest and he will shortly arrive here. I intend to leave him here for the Polish and German Catholics."⁷³ Although he came in the person of Rev. Pawlar, the church had a series of reverends who stayed for a short time. In Rev. Rezek's history of the diocese, he clearly insinuates that an administrator of non-Polish nationality resulted in

⁷²"Sacred Heart Golden Jubilee, 1868-1918," p. 28.

⁷³Rev. Antoine I. Rezek, History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette, p. 282.

“rancorous disorders.”⁷⁴

From 1888 to 1892 and 1895 to 1897 the church was lead by the popular Rev. August Krogulski (Figure 72). In 1889, the church built Rev. Krogulski a frame rectory. Under Rev. Papon, two important additions were made to the church to accommodate a fast growing congregation. In 1892, the nave was extended by 25 feet and an addition of 42 X 22' was built for a Polish parochial school. Bishop Vertin, a Slovenian immigrant, rededicated the church on November 27, 1892. The renovations cost \$12,000.00. By 1907, the school had eighty pupils and the St. Anthony of Padua Church was free of debt.

Sometime between 1907 and 1913, the church had a new rectory and convent built. The rectory was of cast-cement block, rusticated, with hip roof and front dormer in the foursquare style. The convent was built of brick with brick posts for the front porch, a raised cross of brick centered on the front of the second story, and an engaged dormer, also on the facade. Decorated with oak surrounds, French doors, and an oak panelled open staircase, the convent had a room with extra attic insulation for mother superior, three other bedrooms, and one maid's room with a separate stairway to the kitchen. The nuns taught at the parochial school.

During the Strike of 1913-1914, Polish immigrants left the settlement in large numbers.⁷⁵ By 1920, the church was deconsecrated and demolished along with the school, the rectory sold as a private residence, and the convent sold to Faith Lutheran Church to serve as a rectory. Faith Lutheran Church sold the rectory to a private party in the 1980s.

⁷⁴Rev. Antoine I. Rezek, History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette, (Chicago, Donohue & Co., 1907) p. 282.

⁷⁵Arthur W. Thurner, Calumet Copper and People: History of a Mining Community, 1864-1970 (Hancock, Michigan: Arthur Thurner, Fifth Impression, 1990) p. 23.

Conclusion

As a thematic group, the churches of the Calumet-Laurium settlement area are a critical element to any legitimate interpretation of the urban landscape as a whole. The churches are united by their function as houses of worship in which ethnic and denominational affiliations were fostered. However, they differ widely from one another not only in the specific ethno-religious community which they served but also to the degree that that community, that denominational body, a stylistic convention, an architect, or the builders materially affected the composition of a church building. For instance, even among churches formed by immigrant groups, church buildings range from essentially ethnic compositions, tied to the architectural traditions of their homeland, to churches designed by an architect from outside the congregation's ethnic group. The latter type is often more closely associated with contemporaneous American forms than the building traditions of the congregation. Among churches built by American settlers from the East Coast, churches ranged from forms strongly influenced by national denominational models to buildings exemplary of American architectural design of the period.

Because of the Keweenaw Peninsula's fine Jacobsville sandstone, masonry church buildings take advantage of a uniquely regional building material, whereas the frame churches are materially undifferentiated from national and European forms. A less apparent but widely used regional building material is basalt, a waste rock from mining in the district, which was laid as rubble with heavy mortaring for foundations.

The churches at once reflect the place in which they were built and their symbolic role as ethnic and denominational forms. Although each church embodies unique circumstances in this dynamic tension, they are tied to each other and to residential, commercial, and industrial forms as significant but endangered resources in the once urban landscape of the Calumet-Laurium settlement area.

CHAPTER III

AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT: A CONTEXT FOR ETHNIC AND
DENOMINATIONAL EXPRESSION IN HOUSES OF WORSHIP

The churches of the Village of Calumet, Calumet Township, and the Village of Laurium testify to ethno-religious clusters. They exemplify the policy of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company toward religious institutions, and they reflect a cultural past rooted in faith. In 1866, Americans of European origin and European immigrants began building the Calumet-Laurium settlement area according to their cultural knowledge of the building arts, both technical and symbolic. That expression was constrained by regional building resources, and local influences, political and economic, beyond their ethnic cluster. The built environment of the settlement area continues to be a most valuable cultural reflection of a time and a people. In other words, it is an ethnographic record.

The effects of the strong tie of ethnicity to denomination in the case of most European immigrants and the diversity of denominations within protestant America created two distinct influences on the church architecture in the Calumet-Laurium settlement area. On the one hand, European immigrants tended to build in the settlement area using vernacular building traditions, reflecting visions of churches in the "old country." Their buildings conceded to local regionalism primarily in the form of the building materials used. Church buildings with primarily American congregations were more apt to reflect contemporary architectural design rather than the more purely vernacular forms of their immigrant neighbors. American architectural forms and building technologies were borrowed, in part, from European models and combined variously in the designs of American architects, as privately commissioned by a congregation or as translated by a local contractor from an architectural catalog. Where the American church buildings

reflected denominational tastes, greater originality of design, and fanciful architectural elements from various traditions, the immigrant church buildings celebrated heritage, at once religious and ethnic.

Settlement of European-Americans From the Eastern United States in Michigan's Copper Country

Preceding the opening of the Keweenaw to settlement by treaty in 1842, a century of westward movement and settlement from New England to the Great Lakes occurred. A trail of vernacular New England house and barn types and other cultural material, points to a predominantly New England origin for settlers, even in lakeside New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.⁷⁶ By the end of the eighteenth century much of upstate New York had been settled by New Englanders. By 1810, lakeside Pennsylvania and Ohio hosted significant enough settlement to heighten American and colonial Canadian tensions. Although the Northwest Territory had been ceded to the United States following the Treaty of Paris in 1783, British military presence was still strong in Michigan at Michilimackinac and Detroit. This presence was removed during the War of 1812. During the 1820s and '30s southeastern Michigan became the head of the settlement wave from New England. Adequate population numbers, a relinquishing of claims to the Toledo Strip to Ohio, and the acceptance of the Upper Peninsula were conditions under which Michigan achieved statehood in 1837.

Following the War of 1812, territorial governor Lewis Cass and Henry Schoolcraft wasted little time in exploring the rich mineral deposits of copper in the region of Lake Superior. In 1820, they returned to urge federal government extraction of copper in the region. The government did conclude a treaty with the Ojibwa in 1826 opening the region

⁷⁶Virginia and Lee McAlester, A Field Guide to American Houses (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992) pp. 78-80.

to further government explorations for copper. In 1831, Schoolcraft and the geologist Douglass Houghton revisited the district. But it was not until Houghton's 1840 visit that the newly appointed state geologist guardedly encouraged the extraction of copper from Keweenaw deposits. His report spurred the federal government to open the district to settlement with the Treaty of La Pointe with the Ojibwa in 1842.

Following 1842, American settlement in the district was characterized by their relationship to the district's other early settlers, the Cornish. Many Cornishmen came to the district armed with a state-of-the-art knowledge of underground mining which Americans almost universally lacked. In Larry Lankton's Cradle to Grave, he neatly summarizes the earliest American settlement in the Keweenaw:

The Americans, who tended to come from New England or New York, did not rise to the top on the basis of their practical knowledge of underground mining techniques. Instead, companies tapped them because of their business acumen, their experience with surface technologies, or prior to 1860, their familiarity with the Keweenaw's geology.

Some participants in the early geological surveys of the Lake district were not content just to discover and study its minerals. They wanted to profit from them. Two notable examples of the "geologist-entrepreneur" type were Columbus Christopher Douglas and Samuel Worth Hill. Both men, when in their late twenties or early thirties, assisted Douglas Houghton in his surveys of the Keweenaw, and both stayed in the region for 20 years after the mining boom began. Over that time, Douglas and Hill actively formed, directed, or supervised fledgling mines in Houghton, Ontonagon, and Keweenaw counties, and on Isle Royale.⁷⁷

It is significant to add that Americans, rather than Europeans, were the ones most often hired as managers to represent the interests of mine investors from the East Coast; this was primarily due to a powerful motivator, shared cultural identity. That is to say, shared values and loyalties between investors and managers established a trust between those parties. Investors interested in profit, but distanced by many miles from their investments, either sent out American emissaries from their locales, places like Boston or

⁷⁷Larry Lankton, Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death in the Lake Superior Copper Mines (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) p. 60.

Detroit, or came to the Keweenaw themselves to oversee operations. Shared cultural traits and values amongst Americans included social institutions of government and commerce, language, and religion. Despite their lack of mining experience, Americans brought a combination of East Coast cultural associations to their employers and the community. Their collectively diverse knowledge of American trades and commerce combined with ethnic and denominational ties positioned American settlers in the Keweenaw to leading roles in the mining business and other trades.

The need for workers with diverse areas of expertise became acute around the time of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company's formation. By the outbreak of the American Civil War, mines worked by a few prospectors had given way to increasingly sophisticated mining complexes with extensive surface operations. At the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, established as four mine properties in 1866 and consolidated in 1871, many Americans from points east worked as managers, geologists, in surface shops, or on railroads. The more successful mines, of which Calumet & Hecla soon ranked first, were surrounded by large residential and commercial developments. Here, Americans opened adjunct businesses, such as dry goods stores or blacksmith shops. However, European immigrants also found opportunities in these endeavors. Within the community of Americans in the settlement area, denominational affiliation seems often to have determined business associations, unions in marriage, and other important social contracts, taking precedence over social associations based on national identity.

That shared denominational affiliations held precedent even over such fundamental cultural commonalities as ethnicity and nationality is borne out in the case of on-site management at the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company. There, Anglo-American investors, a first generation Swiss investor and manager, and a string of first generation Scottish managers shared Congregationalism rather than strong ethnic or national bonds.

That Americans who settled in the Keweenaw affiliated themselves socially and in

business more along denominational than ethnic bounds is blurred by the strong correlation of ethnicity to denomination and by members of the population who had no denominational affiliation. However, the prominent role of denomination in determining association is not surprising considering the diversity of beliefs within the largest protestant ethnic clusters in America. For example, Scottish-Americans in New England were found as members in any of the following congregations: Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Episcopal, or Roman Catholic (in the case of Scottish Highlanders).

In contrast, the tie of ethnicity, culture, and a denominational affiliation amongst European immigrants, especially those from the Continent, reflects the unity of church and state in nineteenth and early twentieth century Europe. In the case of the Roman Catholic Church's Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette (now the Diocese of Marquette) of which the settlement area was a part, parish boundaries were not geographical but national. Five "National Parishes" were "raised up" by the Bishop of Marquette between 1869 and 1897 based on ethnic and language differences.⁷⁸ Two geographic parish boundaries were established in 1966 long after language differences were gone, though ethnic identity remained.

National and Regional Settlement of European Immigrants, 1842-1914

The strong tie of ethnicity to denominational affiliation was uniquely tied to the history of European immigration to the Calumet-Laurium area and not to a dichotomy of Roman Catholic versus protestant groups. To understand the relevance of ethnic expression in religious architecture, one must look to the history of immigrating groups, for example Scandinavian and northern German Lutherans, Roman Catholics from the Continent and Ireland, or Methodist-Episcopals from Cornwall, England. Understanding

⁷⁸Rev. Antoine Ivan Rezek, History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette, (Chicago: M. A. Donohue & Co., 1907) pp. 276-277.

immigration history involves a knowledge of ethnic groups and their relationship to two places, the point of departure and of arrival, in other words, their emigration and their immigration.

Nearly forty million people came to America from Europe during the period of 1842 to 1914. In 1842, Michigan's Copper Country was opened by treaty to non-aboriginal settlement and by 1914 immigration ceased with the declaration of war. Following World War I, employment opportunities in the district began a nearly century-long decline tied to economic devolution of the mining industry. The profound contribution of this extended immigration to the development of American culture is elusive outside of the context of such places as the Keweenaw. Ethnic settlement patterns in an urban and industrial center, as Calumet became in the late nineteenth century, are visible in the distinctive churches built during this period. The church structures built by and for European immigrants graphically reflect immigrant settlement patterns nationally with a clarity that remains unobscured by significant landscape development after the end of the large European immigration wave in 1914. However, the churches of European immigrants most authentically embody ethnic building traditions.

The fundamental questions of why such unprecedented multitudes came to America and the identity of those who left Europe have spurred many divergent theories. Oscar Handlin portrayed desperate people leaving an impoverished world and arriving in urban America barely clinging to existence. Handlin's immigrants were tradition-bound peasants who did not flee until their world had been destroyed by the forces of industrialization and commercial agriculture which drove them off the land. Handlin's views were embellished by the work of Brinley Thomas who saw immigrants as "victims" crossing the Atlantic only in response to the flow of capital. Investment in the American economy led to expanded job opportunities which in turn stimulated a westward flow of migrants.

The assault on the early interpretations of immigrant origins and objectives took two

distinctly different forms. One line of scholarship maintained that immigrants were certainly poor but luckily possessed strong cultural traits which continued to shape their behavior and objectives in America; immigrant life was far from the disorganized struggle portrayed by Handlin. More recently a widespread image of immigrants as modern achievers intent upon social advancement and self improvement has occupied historical attention. In this view the process of industrialization and agricultural change in Europe was not conceived as a threat to peasants and their culture. The new view saw peasants emancipated by the transformation of their rural homelands. They quickly seized upon new opportunities to climb higher in the social structure by moving to America. Timothy Smith, a leading spokesman of this school, even saw in the pervasive religious intensification among immigrants an inherent attempt to mobilize themselves on an ethno-religious basis to seek social and political advancement. This purely materialistic explanation of ethnic community building and, especially of the role of religious faith, is more revealing of Brinley Thomas' belief and values than those of immigrants. To some extent scholarly studies of social mobility have produced some evidence of immigrant gains in America and have consequently reinforced the impression of the aspiring immigrant.⁷⁹

At the center of this dispute is a precise understanding of the world the emigrant left. Most historians would agree that vast changes were affecting the immigrant homelands in Europe. But divergent opinions emerge in our understanding of how emigrants responded to these changes and how that response influenced the decision to emigrate. Some would describe the response as a desperate abandonment of a declining rural order; others would emphasize a determined attempt to preserve traditional life in the face of increasing change. Still others would argue that the response of old world peasants to encroaching modernization was a decision to instantly accept the promises of a new

⁷⁹Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, (Boston: Little Brown, 1951), pp. 21-37.

order and pursue that dream. It is the intent of this chapter to clear a path through the maze of conflicting interpretations of scholarly research and provide a clearer picture of the events taking place in rural Europe in the century of massive emigration after 1840. Explanations will show how those events shaped the nature of immigration during the period of greatest settlement in the Calumet-Laurium area.

If immigrants were entirely drawn by the promise of America or merely driven away from homelands of poverty, then we could expect to see them coming from nearly every region of Europe where economic conditions compared unfavorably with those in the United States. A growing body of historical information, however, suggests that emigration was usually restricted to specific counties or locales and was not a random movement following the direction of capital investment.

The evidence on regional-specific emigrant streams, including economic commonalities between old and new world settlement areas, comes from a wide array of European countries. In western Europe, Scotland was a good case in point. Areas of severe economic depression, such as the Highlands, did not participate in the exodus as much as the Lowlands. Generally, Lowland emigration outnumbered the Highland exodus by a ratio of 17 to 1. In fact, five extended families from the lead mining town of Wanlockhead, Scotland immigrated in 1853 to the mining districts of Ontario (i.e. Bruce Mines) and thence to Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Exemplifying a regional immigration with specific economic prospects, Thomas Hoatson worked eleven years for the Montreal Mining Company in Bruce Mines, Ontario and became agent. He then moved to the Quincy Mining Company, Michigan in 1865, thence to the Ridge Mine in Greenland, Michigan, and became superintendent of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company in 1870, a position which he held until his death in 1897. Hoatson was a founding member of the Calumet Congregational Church. In fact, Thomas Hoatson not only followed a career path to Calumet, but also joined a company directed by Bostonians of his own religious faith,

Congregationalist.

The First Congregational Church of Lake Linden, C & H's mill town, was built for a largely Scottish congregation of company officials and local businessmen. Although a religion of a minority in Scotland, that minority was centered around a mining district in the Lowlands. In America, Scottish Congregationalists found employment in a company controlled by Bostonians, many of whom had left Scotland or England in the seventeenth century for New England.

Designed by Holabird and Roche of Chicago and built in 1887, the First Congregationalist Church of Lake Linden is a beautifully detailed example of Stick style architecture. Located at the south end of town, in an area that escaped a disastrous summer fire in 1887, the church faces a Cornish Methodist Church of similar vintage to the east. Late nineteenth century company housing, moved from an earlier site farther north in Lake Linden, borders the church on the west; behind the church and across M-26 is the Houghton County Historical Museum, the former Calumet and Hecla Mining Company office building on Torch Lake. The office building and the church are now owned by the Houghton County Historical Society, which is a cooperating site of Keweenaw National Historical Park.

The First Congregational Church's pump organ, still functional, came from the earlier Calumet Congregation Church. Lake Linden developed as a thriving town, milling Hecla Mining Company ore beginning in 1868 and ore from Calumet & Hecla Mining Company after 1871. Churches, such as the First Congregational Church, represented the developing relationship between industry and social life, and the strong identity of immigrant groups. Construction of the First Congregational Church was meticulously planned and supervised by a building committee which represented the Scottish congregation, composed of mill workers, company officials and local businessmen. Together with the Cornish Methodist Church across the street, these churches formed a

community hub, surrounded by the houses of prominent citizens, mill workers and the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company mill buildings. The First Congregational Church is a carefully crafted symbol of the prosperity and determination that immigrant families incorporated into the physical environment where they worshipped.

The First Congregational Church was formed in 1882 by a small group of Scots who met at the home of Allen McIntyre in Lake Linden. Calumet and Hecla later provided access to a number of temporary buildings, but as the congregation grew and periodically was forced to change its headquarters, its members decided in 1886 to build their own church. A wave of prosperity peaked at the same time, because a new smelting operation had opened in the Village. A building committee composed of Allen McIntyre, who was a service boss for Calumet and Hecla, two mining captains, a railroad line supervisor, and a local businessman procured drawings from a now famous architectural firm, Holabird and Roche of Chicago, and supervised the drawing-up of a contract with Houghton contractors, Emery and McCurdy. The agreement made in August, 1886 called for foundation and walls to be completed according to highly detailed specifications, with high grade materials supplied by the committee. The agreed-upon cost was \$8,325, \$6,325 to be paid upon completion of the building, and the final \$2,000 to be paid one year later with 7% interest, provided the committee found no need to make alterations. In comparison, a new Catholic Church built in 1883 to serve a largely French Canadian congregation and nearly half the population of Lake Linden, was constructed by the minister and volunteer laborers without benefit of contractor or architect. Subsequently, the church was replaced by a larger architect designed church.

Nationally, movement from nearby England and Wales was not as intense as that from Scotland but still displayed some regional variations. However, in the Copper Country where the nation's first significant hardrock mining occurred, skilled Cornish miners left the declining returns of mines in Cornwall for American prospects. The process

of immigration of skilled miners was accelerated by recruiting efforts by mining companies of the Copper Country in Cornwall. The Cornish came in such numbers that they quickly became and remained the single largest ethnic group in the mining district through at least 1914.

These skilled miners were predominantly Methodist Episcopal and often built the first churches in mining communities. At the Central Mine, a town grew and prospered. Houses were built, numbering one hundred and thirty in 1880, with a need for more. The miners benefits increased, and in 1868, as noted by Charles Petrie in his annual report, a church building was begun for the predominantly Cornish work force. Completed in 1869, the Central Mine Methodist Episcopal Church averaged two hundred and eight in attendance during the period of the mine's major operations, never falling below one hundred and eighty two.

Completed in 1869, the Central Mine Methodist Episcopal Church was a joint effort between the Central Mining Company and the miners, whose services were contributed during their free moments. Simple in structure, the edifice is frame, resting upon a rubble stone foundation. The building is one story, with a castellated two-story tower, ten feet square. The tower also serves as an entryway. Some repairs were made in the summer of 1879 but few changes have taken place since that time. The church became the center for local activities, both religious and secular.

Celebrations involved the entire town. On the Fourth of July, a picnic was sponsored with funds collected by the members of the church. Candy was distributed to the children, the Central Cornet Band played, and refreshments were consumed at the chosen picnic site. Of even more significance to the people of Central was the Christmas service held in the church sanctuary. Cornish carols were sung by the choir and, at a prearranged signal, Santa Claus descended from a trap door in the center of the ceiling and began to distribute the gifts that were strung across the width of the room. Occasionally

other programs were given by the church at the school hall, primarily for fund-raising purposes.

Scottish Congregationalist and Cornish immigration to the copper mining district of Michigan clearly show economic considerations in the decision to emigrate. Skills relative to resource base, played a role in the regions which were the sources of emigration and destinations chosen by immigrants within the United States. Agricultural counties near London had their emigrants absorbed by that city but in rural areas farther away, such as Sussex, emigration rates to America were very high. Few English farmers are recorded as pursuing that livelihood in the Keweenaw's short growing season and rocky soils. However, Finnish immigrants pursued homesteading and farming on the Keweenaw Peninsula, as is discussed later in this chapter. The soil and growing season of the Keweenaw required a skill familiar to many Finns, whereas hard-rock mining was a resource base for which many Cornishmen were skilled.

Even in Ireland, whose emigrants at times came closest to matching a flight from poverty model, emigration was least likely to occur from the poorest and most densely populated counties in the west and considerably more likely to take place from regions with slightly better economic conditions, such as Ulster, Leinster, and Connaught. Even during the 1846–1854 famine emigration, the heaviest flows were more from the central and eastern mountains than from the impoverished west.⁸⁰

German emigration also displayed some of the regional variation characteristic of other lands. In its early phases it centered in the southwest, especially during the heavy years of the 1850s. Twenty years later it emanated primarily from the eastern and northeastern regions. The early dominance of the southwest took place especially in Baden and Wurttemberg where growing numbers of weavers went bankrupt and farming land was

⁸⁰Maldwyn A. Jones, "The Background to Emigration from Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century," *Perspectives in American History*, VII (1973), pp. 47, 83.

increasingly subdivided.⁸¹ Although the probability that emigration of Germans from mining districts in the German states, such as Bohemia and the Ruhr Valley, to the Copper Country has not been studied to the extent that Cornish or Finnish immigration patterns have, the large representation of Germans in pre-Civil War graves in Keweenaw County indicates that perhaps skilled German miners did immigrate with the intention to settle the new mining district.

Also in Sweden, a regional structure was evident with direct correlations existing between high emigration rates, distance from large cities, and small amounts of arable land. Southern Sweden was strongly represented as was the city of Stockholm. It was rural Jonkoping County that supplied large numbers of newcomers to Chicago between 1860 and 1880: in regions adjacent to Stockholm, Uppsala, and Gothenburg emigration levels were very low.

Neighboring Finland did not differ greatly from Swedish patterns in national trends, with emigration strongest from the rural provinces of Lapland, Kuopio, Turku, Oulu, and Pori. From the late 1880s to 1914, the Copper Country lead the nation in the settlement of these rural emigrants. However, in the Copper Country, with the largest population of ethnic Finns outside of Europe, immigration began, like the Scottish, Cornish, and possibly the German immigration, with the settlement of skilled mining laborers. Amongst the Finns, this process was begun by the Mining Emigrant Aid Association. One member of the association, the Quincy Mining Company (Annual Report, 1863), spent \$15,000 "for the purpose of bringing over from Norway and Sweden a hardy and industrious class of miners and laborers, which it is hoped will be successful, and form a nucleus for the gradual introduction of a permanent population sufficient to

⁸¹Mack Walker, Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885, (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 44-47.

develop the resources of the country."⁸² In the copper mines along the Arctic Ocean coast of Norway, the recruiters found mostly ethnic Finns. Finnmark, the northernmost province of Norway, is populated primarily by Finns who came as laborers in the eighteenth century from northern Sweden and Finland. The Finns of Finnmark, Norway began a stream of Finns from neighboring Vaasa Province, Sweden and Lapland, Finland that would profoundly affect the ethno-religious representation of Finns in the Copper Country of Michigan. It was in these provinces where the evangelical movement of Pastor Laestadius began from whence the Apostolic Lutheran Church of America would be formed.

Many Finnish institutions dot the cultural landscape of the Keweenaw. The strong ethnic association of these collectives shows the desire of Finnish immigrants to retain their cultural heritage and implies economic grounds for immigration. For instance, the Kaleva Temple, a sandstone commercial block on Highway M-26, also known as Trimountain Avenue, is central to the Village of South Range's downtown. A slightly projecting midsection extends vertically through the facade elevation, framing on the first floor a staircase entrance to the second story and on the second, a stone panel inscribed "Kaleva Temple". A knobbed cornice cap with pedimented peak, and inscribed with the construction completion date of 1910, tops the center projection. Three store fronts take up the first floor. Standing in the midst of a commercial center that developed shortly after the turn of the century to meet the needs of surrounding copper mining communities, the building continues to bear its original spatial relationship to other community structures. During that period, a half dozen communities thrived in a line from north to south in the South Range, a major copper-bearing portion of the Keweenaw. These mining communities were geographically centered by the Village of South Range, which, like the

⁸²Lankton, Larry D. and Charles K. Hyde, Old Reliable: An Illustrated History of the Quincy Mining Company, (The Quincy Mine Hoist Association, 1982), pp. 17-18.

Village of Red Jacket, was an island of parceled ownership in a sea of corporate owned lands. The South Range district was dominated by the Paine-Stanton consortium.

The Kaleva Temple originally housed offices and a Finnish secret society called the Knights of Kaleva. An ambitious businessman initiated construction of the commercial block in 1907 or 1908. Unable to complete the project, he sold the property to the Kalevan Retaret, a Finnish society, which finished it in 1910. A period of resurgent mining interest and increased immigration generated a need for new commercial space for the ethnic social halls so important to newly arrived immigrants in an area represented by dozens of nationalities.⁸³ According to the Daily Mining Gazette, "this uncompleted building had come in for more discussion and more attempted changes in ownership than any other in the village".⁸⁴ The newspaper cited harsh winters and sluggish real estate ventures throughout the village as responsible for the slow growth, but predicted an upturn in the trend. In 1909, rumors stated that an Italian society would purchase the sandstone building. But a Finnish group, the Knights of Kaleva, eventually purchased it and marked its move to new quarters in March, 1910 with a "monster celebration."⁸⁵

In the period 1907–1910, South Range continually stressed its development potential and its favorable business climate. "The day of going out of town and shopping has passed and in the future the outsider can come to this village and purchase the articles which are in such demand..." So heralded the Daily Mining Gazette in 1907. The Kaleva Temple housed, besides the Knights of Kaleva and later the Sons of Italy; a dentist's

⁸³Puotinen, Arthur, Finnish Radicals and Religion in Midwestern Mining Towns 1865–1914, Chicago: 1973, p. 146.

⁸⁴"Much Building Planned During Coming Summer," Daily Mining Gazette, Houghton: April 17, 1909, p. 12.

⁸⁵"Monster Celebration is Planned by Kalevas," Daily Mining Gazette, Houghton: March 11, 1910, p. 12.

office, a theatre with arched, lighted entrance; a restaurant; a hardware store; and the justice of the peace. It held the U.S. Post Office from 1915–1977.

Ethnic labor forces predominated in each of those communities. But while South Range prided itself as a progressive center harboring "no exclusively foreign neighborhoods...unlike other mining towns," its businesses did cater to a strongly Finnish and Italian population base. Finnish storefront signs, as well as the inscription "Kaleva Temple," made the building attractive to Finnish customers. Ethnic halls played an important social roll throughout the copper mining region. Originally located in frame structures or "temples" that, at times, doubled as churches and temperance society quarters, they often appeared in multi-purpose buildings such as the one in South Range by 1910.

The Knights of Kaleva was a secret Finnish-American order modeled after globalist societies such as the Masons, but adapted to Finnish culture. It originated in Montana in 1898 and by 1909 there were thirty lodges in the U.S. with three thousand members. Five of these lodges made up of three hundred to three-hundred-fifty members were located in Houghton county.

Ethnic societies provided the immigrant social and cultural security by providing him an arena in which to meet with others of his national heritage. Social gatherings, traditional performances, literary recitations were the typical mechanisms used. The Knights of Kaleva stressed preservation of the Finnish literary tradition. They voiced no aggressive opinions and sought few new members. As the original members died, the organization faded away; and only one or two former Knights of Kaleva remain in the area. As the 1900s progressed, ethnic societies increasingly vocalized their discontent with labor conditions and tight-reined company control.

In Denmark, emigrants came largely from the southern portion of the country especially the island of Bornholm. Even among the Dutch, whose rates of emigration were

comparatively low, regional differences were marked.⁸⁶

The eastern part of the European continent proved no exception to the pattern of regional variation. Austria-Hungary, which was a hardy producer of emigrants, sent very few from Lower and Upper Austria. But in Galicia and Bukovina emigration to America was very heavy. Croatia and mountainous Slovenia was the point of relatively few immigrants to the United States generally, but they represented the two most numerous ethnic groups from Austria-Hungary. As relatively late immigrants, the Slovenians had a profound effect on the availability of manual labor at Calumet & Hecla Consolidated Copper Company. The concentrated settlement of Slovenians in Calumet made them the largest foreign-born population in the early twentieth century. The rate from Lower Carniola was twice the rate for the whole of Slovenia. Lika-Krbava stood out as a heavy center of Croatian emigration. In Hungary, the inclination to emigrate was greater in the northeast than in districts close to Budapest. Most of the Magyar emigration, in fact, flowed from counties north of the Tisza River, many of which now lie in Slovakia or the Ukraine. Galicia had the highest rates of people leaving in both relative and absolute terms with fully 10 percent of the population emigrating between 1880 and 1910.⁸⁷ Congress Poland revealed emigration to be highest from certain districts such as Kalisz, Kielce, and Piotrkow.

In Italy the rate of emigration in the 1880s was 0.6 percent per 1,000 population, but it was 2 percent from Lucca and 2.2 percent from Palermo.⁸⁸ The specialized economy of the Copper Country again significantly determined the regional draw in the motherland.

⁸⁶Struve Lindmark, Swedish America, 1914-1932, (Uppsala, 1971), pp. 17-27.

⁸⁷Tibor Kolossa, "The Social Structure of the Peasant Class in Austria-Hungary: Statistical Sources and Methods of Research," East European Quarterly, (1979), III, pp. 430-32.

⁸⁸Chmelar, "The Austrian Emigration, 1900-1914," pp. 333-34.

Professor Russell Magnaghi found that 80% of Italian settlers in Houghton and Keweenaw Counties were from the Piedmont, Italy's chief mining district, 10% from Tuscany, 5% from Lombardy, and 5% from other provinces.⁸⁹

Emigrants not only came from specific regions but generally emanated from a particular position in the European social structure. Indications exist that those departing were not coming from the depths of their respective society but occupied positions somewhere in the middle to lower middle levels of their homeland's social structure. It was seldom the poorest who left; they could rarely afford it. In Italy the average yearly wages in Abruzzi and Molise and Calabria were well above those in Tuscany and Lombardy and yet the emigration was considerably heavier from the former provinces than the latter. In the Irish counties of Tipperary, Waterford, and Kilkenny, where rates of poverty and landlessness were highest, emigration was weakest. Even in such emigration centers as Galicia, more departed from the western areas even though its per capita income was among the highest.⁹⁰

Germany was a clear case of emigrants originating from lower-middle levels of rural society. In the 1830-1845 period in southwestern Germany mostly small farmers and independent artisans, and skilled laborers left. Lower orders of farmhands and apprentices were unable to muster sufficient resources to cross the Atlantic and large estate owners enjoyed a measure of economic stability. As northeastern Germany replaced the southwest as a leading center of emigration by 1853, a greater proportion of those departing were individuals from lower social categories, especially those not tied to property or family. However, those in the most dreadful economic state appear to have been unable to

⁸⁹Magnaghi, Russell M., *Miners, Merchants, and Midwives*, (Belle Fontaine Press, 1987), p. 10.

⁹⁰Barton, *Peasants and Strangers*, p. 30.

emigrate.⁹¹

The structure of emigration from Great Britain exhibited remarkable similarities to the German pattern. During the three decades prior to the 1850s, the lower middle class landowners and artisans from rural regions were most likely to leave. The recruiters from the Copper Country did a great deal to eliminate the financial obstacle of crossing the Atlantic for Cornish miners. These men were skilled laborers who generally quit a job to immigrate or who opted for richer mining prospects in Michigan. In Wales, prior to 1850, it was also small farmers and laborers who had not yet reached the "stage of destitution" who generally departed. As time passed after the 1850s, the social status of most emigrants declined somewhat into the ranks of the landless but not the most impoverished. Those in the highest levels of society, of course, seldom left at all.⁹²

Throughout much of the rest of Europe the trend continued wherever and whenever emigration took place. Sweden witnessed the movement of small farmers and skilled workers, especially lumbermen who saw their forest holdings being absorbed by timber companies.⁹³ In the southern end of the Copper Country, like the mill town of L'Anse, where rich and varied forest products were harvested, Swedish institutions such as the Runeberg Hall, ethnic bars, and churches of the pious movement formed. These institutions were destinations for Swedes seeking cultural reaffirmation.

While the numbers of landless and day laborers composed larger portions of the exodus from eastern Europe than in the western countries, the movement still consisted largely of the middle and lower-middle peasants. In northern Hungary and Slovakia small

⁹¹Walker, Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885, pp. 163-66.

⁹²Conway, The Welsh Emigration to the United States, pp. 200-210.

⁹³Beijbom, Swedes in Chicago: A Demographic and Social Study of the 1816-1880 Immigration, pp. 39, 167.

land holders departed along with day laborers, miners, and cotters. In Croatia almost one-half of those leaving were independent farmers. Skilled workers actually predominated in Bohemia. Even among east European Jews evidence exists that those in the lowest stratum of society were too poor to emigrate. In Galicia the poorest Jews took road-building jobs and transported wood because they could not afford to leave. In Poland many moved to urban factory jobs.⁹⁴ Finally, as suggested above, in Italy as well, those with a "stake in society" were more likely to leave than day laborers. In one study of Sicilian passports between 1901 and 1914, 54 percent of departing males were in skilled trades or mercantile operations.⁹⁵

The evidence that emigrants were coming primarily from the lower-middle ranges of society is strengthened by scattered indications that those leaving tended to be more literate than those who moved only short distances or did not move at all. Among Swedes the greater the illiteracy, the shorter the distance the migrant moved. In Hungary 41 percent of the entire population was illiterate and yet among Slovaks who emigrated the rate was only 22 percent and only 11.4 percent among departing Magyars. Studies of Irish newcomers to Canada confirm the trend. While about 54 percent of the inhabitants of Ireland in the 1840s could neither read nor write, the figure was only 20 percent in a Canadian sample of 1861.⁹⁶

If emigrants were leaving specific regions, particular social categories, and bringing labor skills relevant to the economy of a region in America, they must have been sharing a

⁹⁴Barton, Peasants and Strangers, pp. 36-39.

⁹⁵John W. Briggs, An Italian Passage: Immigrants to Three American Cities, 1890-1930, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 2-12.

⁹⁶Barbara A. Anderson, "Internal Migration in Modernizing Society: The Case of Late Nineteenth Century European Russia," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton Univ., 1973), pp. 35-38.

common experience which caused them to consider emigration as an alternative life course. The tendency, especially by American scholars, to deal with the entire process of immigration in separate units such as the ethnic group, however, has obscured important features which most emigrants faced at one time or another that lent a degree of similarity to the entire experience. A survey of the regions of high emigration underscores that commonality shaped the experience of most American immigrants during the time that the Copper Country was settled. Most significantly, the commonalities of emigrants from Europe show highly regional patterns and a persistent consideration on the part of the immigrant to the economic prospects at their intended destination. This latter point is made especially clear in the Copper Country by the relationship of mining districts in Europe losing workers to the mines of Michigan from 1842 to 1914. Although mining skills were a valuable product in the Copper Country when many mining districts in Europe were in economic decline, it would overly simplify the economies of the Copper Country and of the European regions of greatest immigration to the Copper Country to argue that all or even most immigrants came with mining skills.

During the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, both continents were in a state of profound upheaval. As industrialization proceeded across Europe internal demands increased in particularly fertile areas to maximize the efficiency of agricultural production in order to take advantage of the demands of growing urban markets. For commercial agriculture to succeed, however, land owners needed greater tracts of land, sufficient capital, improved technology, and better methods of crop and livestock production. In their pursuit of increased land holdings and improved rates of productivity, the landed elites began to drive small owners and landless but aspiring farmers from their regions. Indeed, much of the impetus for the emancipation of serfs stemmed from these large owners who saw the traditional array of peasant-noble rights and obligations as an obstacle to improved agriculture. Not surprisingly,

emancipation seldom led to the destruction of large estates even where widespread parcelization of land took place. In Hungary, after emancipation, 53 percent of the land remained in the hands of large owners. By 1900 only 30 percent of the Hungarian peasantry owned enough land to assure an independent existence.⁹⁷ In Prussia after emancipation, large owners were so successful in acquiring estates sufficient for commercial production that fully 80 percent of the agricultural population of Prussia were wage earners working for large estates or migrating to industrial jobs in Silesia.⁹⁸ Italian peasants fared little better as agriculture became increasingly commercial throughout the nineteenth century. An 1806 law encouraged the division of public lands among serfs but it was rarely enforced. In a familiar pattern, groups of large estate owners, possessing greater leverage with the state, were able to expand, while small independent owners and the "contadini" obtained inferior land because they lacked capital needed for improvements or sold out to wealthier owners altogether. In Sicily a preoccupation with the export of wheat benefitted large owners but made it difficult for smaller holdings to survive.⁹⁹ Finland, where land was traditionally divided among sons, reduced many farms into unprofitable parcels.

Because commercial agriculture could only proceed in fertile areas it was inevitable that small and aspiring holders who could not gain adequate land in such regions would emigrate. Thus, newcomers to America were most likely to come from fertile areas such as the Scottish lowlands and vast grain producing regions such as East Elbia in Germany, the Tiza plain in Hungary, Lower Carniola, and Sicily. In Romania emigrants tended to come

⁹⁷Jerome Blum, The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1978), pp. 113, 376-404.

⁹⁸Kieniewics, The Emancipation of the Polish Peasantry, pp. 190-94.

⁹⁹Jane Schneider and Peter Schneider, Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily, (New York: Academic Press, 1976), pp. 4-8, 115-25.

from fertile plains rather than mountainous areas, and in the Balkans where the land was either mountainous or underdeveloped agriculturally, emigration rates were always comparatively low. Serbs who came to America for instance originated from farming areas of Croatia and not Serbia proper.¹⁰⁰

In some respects Ireland's agricultural history would appear to stand as an exception to the rest of Europe. Due to political domination by England, Irish agriculture was not entirely free to modernize. Large amounts of land were in the hands of middlemen who subdivided their plots and rented or sold for short term gains. By the 1840s about one-half the holdings in Ireland were below the minimum needed to maintain a sufficient income—usually about five acres. Even the process of agricultural improvement and consolidation which occurred in Germany and Austria-Hungary, for instance, was generally retarded. Some commercialization did take place but not on a scale with other countries. In fact, the British Corn Laws in the 1840s which ended preferential treatment for Irish grain in British markets resulted in a decrease in the amount of tilled land in Ireland. A consequence of less land in tillage was a drop in the demand for rural labor. When this decline combined with the over-division of Irish holdings and the fact that domestic industrial development was severely arrested by Britain and a lack of domestic coal and iron, the rural Irish were ready for emigration. The potato famine only accelerated a process which would have taken place anyhow.¹⁰¹

In nearby Great Britain, agricultural development was much closer to that of the rest of Europe rather than Ireland, with a steady movement taking place toward holdings large enough to make scientific farming practicable. New techniques improved agricultural efficiency to the point where the demand for agricultural labor was decreased. In the

¹⁰⁰Kollman and Marschalck, German Emigration to the United States, pp. 526-27.

¹⁰¹Oliver MacDonagh, "The Irish Famine Emigration to the United States," Perspectives in American History, X (1976), pp. 358-78.

lowlands of Scotland the process was particularly pronounced. Improvements were introduced into Scottish agriculture almost continuously after 1775. The acreage under plow was always being extended and the yield per acre doubled during the nineteenth century. Livestock yielded a much larger proportion of farm income. Whereas small families had viewed five to fifteen acres as a desirable minimum for survival, profit-oriented commercial farmers now sought at least seventy acres and some reached six-hundred acres and did not hesitate to evict tenants to obtain it. On these larger tracts gradually appeared the use of more than one plow team and even threshing machines.

Individuals living in fertile areas and facing the introduction of commercial agriculture had several options. They could retaliate against the forces of modernization and change and attempt to retain their traditional patterns of life, including farming for self-sufficiency rather than profit. Some could attempt to adjust to new conditions and gain the necessary expertise and capital to launch commercial agricultural ventures of their own. Finally, migration to a nearby industrial area or abroad was a possibility. All three options were actually chosen at one time or another. Whatever alternative was selected, however, it was usually carefully considered. Indeed, emigration may have been weighed more fully as a choice than all others.¹⁰²

Without question the response of rural dwellers could frequently be reactionary and something less than realistic. As peasant society produced more and more for a national and export economy, it became more intimately aware not only of alternative economic futures but also of the outlines of its unique past. Historians who have emphasized the upward aspirations of peasants in lands undergoing transition have overlooked the point that they were equally as likely to rivet their attention upon the glories of the past and a

¹⁰²Jones, The Background to Emigration from Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century, p. 8.

heritage which now seemed threatened and in need of enrichment.¹⁰³

In Hungarian villages the complexity of the peasant response to the urban industrial system can be seen most clearly. Growing trade contacts brought new goods to villages, for instance, and peasants began to decorate their homes with greater variety. In fact, interest in decorative arts actually intensified. Yet costumes continued to be made in a common peasant fashion ignoring differences in social rank and strata. Despite growing differences in economic functions, the desire to retain a "peasant way of life" was widespread. In fact, most "peasant styles" of dress, as they are known in the twentieth century, appeared precisely when peasants began to interact increasingly with urban people. Peasants—and the nationalist leaders who discovered them by the late nineteenth century—began to drift away from an earlier trend of adopting the music and language of the upper-classes and initiated a quest for a more authentic and peasant-based folk. In everyday life, trends toward patterns of the gentry now gave way to "peasant" look.¹⁰⁴

The pattern was repeated elsewhere in Europe. In Vierlanden near Hamburg, rural folk art began to grow more "rustic" and manifest an anti-urban bias.¹⁰⁵ In Moravia and Slovakia, folk costumes became more elaborate and colorful in a defiant gesture toward urban functionalism. This self-awareness was especially marked in towns near expanding cities such as Bratislava and Brno. Ornamentation on costumes increased. On hunting costumes, so many decorations were added that men could no longer hunt in them. Specific occupational groups began to elaborate on their traditional costume design. Millers in Moravia, for instance, wore close-fitting blue breeches. Even religious and ethnic

¹⁰³Benkhart, Religion, Family and Community Among Hungarians Migrating to American Cities, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰⁴Thomas Hofer, Changes in the Style of Folk Art and Various Branches of Folklore in Hungary During the Nineteenth Century—An Interpretation, pp. 154-56.

¹⁰⁵Ulrich Bauche, Land tischler, Tischlerwerk and Intarsienkunst in den Vierlanden, (Hamburg, 1965), *passim*.

attachments were expressed more strongly in dress, especially among minorities such as Germans in Czech-dominated villages or Slovaks in Magyar towns. Italian village peasants sought a mythical past without exploitative landlords and hungry mouths to feed. In the village of Nissoria a movement was begun to change the patron saint of eight centuries from one who had been identified with petty nobility to St. Joseph, who was seen as a special protector of laborers. Elsewhere revolts against church authorities who sought to switch festivals from traditional dates of celebration occurred.¹⁰⁶

In many instances the flourishing of peasant art, culture, and costume by the late nineteenth century was not simply an expression of growing peasant self-awareness; it also represented a growing integration into the national state especially in areas such as Germany, Italy, and Hungary. Rising elites who saw their futures tied to the state sought to exploit traditional peasant cultures in strengthening their particular conception of nationalism. Dance masters and composers in Budapest, for instance, sought peasant dance and musical forms as a basis for mobilizing nationalist sentiment and in the process hoped to draw peasants into their movement. In fact, nationalist sentiment was becoming so strong in Hungary that the Hungarian government did not become very concerned about emigration until Magyars—who took longer to move away from their psychological moorings than other groups—began to leave.¹⁰⁷

But the image of the reactionary peasant must not be carried too far. More common was a much more pragmatic and calculating reaction on the part of peasants; emigration was a concept derived from this prevailing pragmatism. In many areas large numbers of agricultural workers and other toilers formed organizations to further the aims of workers

¹⁰⁶Petr Bogatyrev, The Function of Folk Costume in Moravian Slovakia, (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), pp. 46-56.

¹⁰⁷Hofer, Changes in the Style of Folk Art and Various Branches of Folklore in Hungary During the Nineteenth Century, Puskas, Kivandorlo Magyarok Az Egyesult Allamokba, 1880-1940, pp. 46-77.

and provide for a modest amount of economic security. In Bosnia-Herzegovina the Association of Skilled Workers and Day Laborers was formed. Mutual-aid societies proliferated in the pre-migration world. After emancipation, peasants were often forced to make redemptive payments, improve their farms, and buy or rent land. Drawn increasingly into a cash economy, peasants lacked the qualifications and connections to acquire much capital on their own and thus founded credit unions and cooperatives. By 1914 in Denmark most of the rural population belonged to one of these associations. Germany had over 1,000 credit groups by 1883 and over 23,000 by 1910. Hungary had 2,830 credit associations in 1903. In Slovenia peasant loan cooperations had 165,000 members by 1910 and attempted to generate not only funds for capitalistic development but consciously sought to prevent the acquisition of Slovenian real estate by non-Slovene capital as well.¹⁰⁸

In Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, and elsewhere increased drinking, wife-beating, and sexual offenses were reported as older institutions and mores were challenged. But such "breakdown" was not normal. Among the South Slavs, for instance, a peasant movement led by Anton and Stjepan Radic sought to restore the interdependence of the rapidly disappearing *zadruga* with newly established cooperatives. The fact that they also sought to preserve peasant architecture, folk dances, and costumes did not mean they were totally unaware of new economic demands.¹⁰⁹ In Russian Poland the peasant bank had loaned enough money by 1901 to enable peasants to acquire five percent of the entire amount of land owned by the peasant class. In Romania even shepherds formed mutual

¹⁰⁸Peter Sugar, Industrialization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1875-1918, (Seattle, Univ. of Washington Press, 1963).

¹⁰⁹Dinko Tomasic, "Personality Development in the *Zadruga* Society", Psychiatry, V (May, 1948), pp. 229-61.

benefit societies which offered loans and death benefits by the 1890s.¹¹⁰

Jews in eastern Europe, increasingly restricted in their economic activities and prevented from attending many universities, sought learning and economic equality with non-Jews. Some Jewish leaders called for adaptation through a modernization of Jewish customs. Young Jews were attracted to Vilna and other cities where they studied religion less and the gospel of socialism more in an attempt to improve the lot of the working classes.¹¹¹

Realistic attempts to deal with a new economic order not only characterized the activities of those who remained in the homeland and sought to adjust, but also those who decided upon emigration. Italians, for instance, were especially adept at considering the implications of moving. Emigration was heavy in rainy years which usually led to poor harvests. A warm spring which boded well for the winter wheat crop kept many in their villages. They knew an abundant harvest could lead to greater farm employment at home. In the 1880s the residents of one village learned that Pennsylvania coal miners were getting nearly two dollars a day and quickly estimated that in two years they could save enough to return to Italy and purchase sufficient land to support a family. Even among those who stayed, the dream of returning home to establish independent farms persisted.¹¹²

Some sociologists have described peasants as inhabitants of a culture of poverty which favored immediate gratification over forced savings. But no such culture characterized most emigrants to America who were making realistic decisions about familial and individual survival.

¹¹⁰Wladyslaw Rusinski, "The Role of the Peasantry of Poznan in the Formation of the Non-Agricultural Labor Market," *East European Quarterly*, III, (1970), pp. 509-24.

¹¹¹Rischin, *The Promised City*, pp. 35-42.

¹¹²Rudolph Bell, *Fate and Honor, Family and Village*, (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1974), pp 179-88.

The theme of peasant realism is underscored significantly when one considers that in every area of heavy emigration people were leaving in the midst of a labor shortage on nearby large estates. But calculating peasants knew that work on these estates was only seasonal and still not as well paying as industrial pursuits. Often labor had to be imported into these regions at the very time individuals were moving somewhere else. Scotland was a good example of an area where agricultural wages were rising because large owners had to bid higher for the local supply of workers which was shrinking. Large farms in Scotland began to import Irish laborers.¹¹³ In Elbia large landowners lobbied for policies which would lead to a large supply of cheap labor. In Austria-Hungary, estate owners were continually complaining about a dearth of labor even though their own practices of adopting more machinery and devoting more land to commercial crops were driving away the native supply of toilers. One great estate owner in Bukovina complained that all his peasants had emigrated and "we sit here completely without workers and must spend a lot of money to bring people from Russia and Rumania." Indeed, labor shortages prevailed in Bohemia, Moravia, and Upper and Lower Austria.¹¹⁴

Those that could work, of course, often benefitted from the wage increase. In Germany between 1850 and 1913 the wages of agricultural labor rose 127 percent even as thousands emigrated. In Kalisz, Suwalki, and Plock, three centers of Polish emigration to America, wage scales rose continuously for men and women. In Kalisz the scale for a day's wage was double that for the rest of the country. A Polish village study found that in the village of Maszkienice the day's wage for a field worker increased 80 percent and that

¹¹³Blum, The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe, P. 439.

¹¹⁴Gray, Scottish Emigration: The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands, pp. 156-57.

of threshers 125 percent between 1899 and 1911.¹¹⁵ The point was that emigrants were consciously rejecting abundant work opportunities on nearby estates in order to get longer term, higher paying positions in the industrial economy. This was done, however, not to simply pursue "a better life" in America but usually to gain resources sufficient for meeting the economic realities of their places and times; more income promised an ability to purchase the greater amounts of land needed to survive in commercial agriculture.

Two final factors seem to strengthen the impression of the emigrant as rational rather than disillusioned or aspiring. In nearly every instance where emigration emerged, and due in part to the labor shortages it created, some attempt was made by local governments to arrest the tide. Decisions had to be made consciously in the face of existing regulations and prohibitions. Furthermore, tremendous amounts of emigrants moved only on a temporary basis and returned whenever they could to launch their own agricultural endeavors.

Since emigration in one sense represented a loss of an essentially young and productive sector of the population, governments in the emigrants' homeland often opposed the exodus. Italian Catholic publications publicly censured those who left for neglecting their duties to their families and their land. In Great Britain mercantilists opposed emigrant departures because they felt it was a drain upon national strength. The conservative gentry in Russian Poland were unreservedly opposed to peasants leaving since they wanted to retain a surplus labor supply in rural areas. In Galicia the Austrian government supported the gentry's opposition to emigration. In 1868 the Galician Sejm abolished restraints on the free disposition of land in part to prevent peasants from sinking into a landless proletariat which might be more inclined to leave. The minority which

¹¹⁵Blum, The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe, p. 439.

correctly argued that parcelization would actually encourage emigration was ignored.¹¹⁶

But homeland governments did not persist in attempting to prohibit something as uncontrollable as massive population movements. They often saw benefits to be derived from the emigration of their citizens and sometimes moved to encourage it. As the nineteenth century progressed in Great Britain mercantilists gradually dropped their earlier opposition and began to see emigration as an outlet for overpopulation, a means of reducing the burden of caring for the poor (even though the poorest seldom emigrated), and a safety valve for popular discontent. Emigration was also viewed as a safety valve by some in Austria and Denmark and as a means to help liquidate debts and tax liabilities since migrants sent money home. Despite opposition from the landed gentry and even the military establishment who feared a loss of manpower, commercial transportation interests often stood to profit from migration streams. Social liberals even argued on behalf of the peasant's right to emigrate to improve his standard of living.¹¹⁷ Understandably, when governments realized they could not totally control the exodus and that they were often caught between opposite political factions they moved to regulate the process in order to avoid a loss of influence altogether. Thus, the Croatia government established a foundation to which all emigrants paid a fee before they left. Collected funds were used to assist penniless Croats in America to return home. Various emigrant aid societies were established by concerned governments and citizens. The Polish Emigration Society, headquartered in Cracow in 1907, sought primarily to assist all Poles in need beyond the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Hungary sought to profit from the emigrant traffic by contracting with the Cunard shipping lines to pick up emigrants at the port of

¹¹⁶Cinèl, The Seasonal Emigration of Italians in the Nineteenth Century: From Internal to International Destinations, p. 47.

¹¹⁷Jones, The Background to Emigration from Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 8-9.

Fiume. The advantage for Hungary would be that her emigrants would avoid German ports and keep expenditures within the economy of the empire.¹¹⁸

No aspect of the entire immigration process revealed so much about the predisposition to use industrial wages to improve or maintain status in the rural world as did the act of return migration. Because everyone did not or was unable to return did not mean that nearly everyone originally held such a hope. The only major exceptions seem to have been those who had worked as craftsmen or those who ventured to America before 1860 with sufficient capital to initiate farming enterprises in the new world. Even among Jews, long thought to be among the most permanent of newcomers, recent evidence suggests a return rate of about 20 percent. While estimates vary, return rates usually ranged from 25 to 60 percent, although most records on immigration are somewhat imprecise. Hvidt found about 30 percent of the Danes returning, and the German figure was between 35 and 40 percent. About four of every ten Greeks returned and the Polish figure was only slightly below that. The most likely of all to return were those from central and southern Italy (56 percent) and northeast Hungary. Magyar rates have been estimated at 64 percent and those of Slovaks at 59 percent.¹¹⁹

Like emigration itself, however, the return movement was diverse and composed of various sectors of immigrant society, and it was stimulated by several motives. Finnish farmers with wives, and presumably with more of a chance to sustain themselves in farming, were considerably more likely to return than landless laborers. A sample of returning Finns listed homesickness and family obligations such as farm responsibilities as the leading factors. Unemployment was always a significant but not a primary cause of

¹¹⁸Chmelar, The Austrian Emigration, p. 335.

¹¹⁹Hvidt, Flight to America, p. 187.

return, although a sharp upturn in the return of Finns and others was noticed after 1929.¹²⁰ Furthermore, the Hungarian government supported an extensive program of "American Action," which used financial inducements to gain control over immigrant churches and newspapers in America in order to maintain a desire on the part of emigrants to return with their American earnings and blunt disaffection from the cause of Hungarian nationalism. Their efforts were rewarded: one study of a Hungarian village found more than 50 percent of those who had gone to America to have returned within three to five years. Even among those who stayed, many continued to buy land in Hungary. "We'll only stay in America and work hard until we have [enough money for] twenty acres, and then we'll go home," one Hungarian recalled.¹²¹ In Italy remigration was less frequent in the north than in the south. While southerners tended to return to their villages seasonally or within three to five years, those in the north often stayed away longer and did not necessarily return to the villages they left. In part this can be attributed to the fact that more land was available for sale in the south than in the north. Where emigrants left regions of large holdings where parcelization was not as extensive, return migration rates were generally lower. This was not only true for northern Italy but for similar regions such as Austria and Prussia.¹²²

European immigrants to industrial America have acquired numerous labels. But a close analysis of their backgrounds suggest that previous descriptions of impoverished peasants fleeing the ruins of agricultural Europe or eager entrepreneurs seeking to exploit the riches of a new urban-industrial order are somewhat less than accurate. Emigrants did not flee randomly but considered carefully options available to them in fluid economic

¹²⁰Virtanen, Settlement or Return: Finnish Emigrants in the International Overseas Return Migration Movement, pp. 93, 108, 175-76.

¹²¹Puskas, "The Conflicts of Adaptation of the Hungarian Emigrants in America," unpublished paper presented to U.S.-Hungarian Conference on Industrialization, Budapest, Aug. 23-25, 1982, pp. 3-5.

¹²²Cinel, From Italy to San Francisco, pp. 57, 65-83.

circumstances. Most were confronted with the challenge of commercial agriculture. Where this challenge was absent few emigrants to America could be found.

Coming from the middle to lower-middle sectors of their homeland's social structure, emigrants were seldom the poorest. Carefully weighing the advantages of overseas work against the demands for labor on local estates, they decided that they could maximize their income in the short run through emigration to areas which paid industrial wages. But their decision did not mean they sought dramatic improvement in their lives; nor did it mean they were abandoning an older form of life. The intensification of traditional religious and cultural values in their homeland and even in immigrant communities, like those of the Copper Country, served as powerful reminders that many steadfastly rejected change. But emigrants wanted the best of both worlds. Life on the land was still desirable, but new economic realities could not be ignored. Credit associations and agricultural improvement societies all underscore the duality of peasant thought and the central fact that emigrants moved to modern America generally to return with accumulated wages to resume life where they had left it in their changing homelands. Immigrants were pragmatic people without grand illusions. In America as in Europe, they took what was available. There were those who continually tried to manipulate immigrants—corporate paternalists, humanists, labor leaders, socialist, and other proselytizers. The faith and cultural commonalities within immigrant groups, served to support some in their resistance to manipulation and to strengthen their original objectives in the Calumet-Laurium settlement area.

CHAPTER IV

CORPORATE PATERNALISM AND CHURCHES: A PLANNED LANDSCAPE

And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. (Holy Bible, Gospel of Matthew 16:18, King James Version)

'Hecla,' Hekla Fjall in Icelandic, is the largest and most destructive volcano in Iceland. 'Hekla' meant 'gates of hell' to the island's Scandinavian settlers who named it. Why the incorporators of what quickly became the nation's most productive copper mine adopted the name for one of their two mines is lost to the record. What seems more certain is that the investors and managers in the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company had expectations for how churches would serve their plans for the mining settlement. Their plans for the role of churches in a stable and malleable workforce found fulfillment on one level but established adversaries on another. That churches prevailed against Calumet & Hecla, of course, has spiritual as well as material dimensions; there is the spiritual church, referred to above in Matthew's Gospel, and there are church buildings. In terms of the landscape, church buildings have survived materially and as institutions far better than the remains of what was once called the "Copper Giant," where the closure of the mine and systematic demolition awaited most of the industrial complex. To understand how churches played a role in Calumet & Hecla's brand of corporate paternalism, it is necessary to see how the company's management planned churches and other developments, to see the cultural landscape of the Calumet-Laurium settlement area as a loosely-knit whole, and to examine the era in terms of the dichotomy in church life of humanist-genteel aspirations on the one hand and Biblical teachings on the other.

Following a description of the cultural landscape of the settlement area, with attention to how it was built and how it was used, this chapter presents a spiritual conflict between the materialist construct of humanism and the teachings of the Holy Bible. The

precept is that this conflict is embodied in church architect, particularly in the material differences of "high church" and "low church."

Cultural Landscape Development and the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company

Creating and, then, managing a labor force was approached in hundreds of ways by hundreds of companies during the history of the Keweenaw. Most mining companies struggled fruitlessly to prosper in the district; often the cause was a lack of infrastructure rather than of copper. However, certain regional management patterns arose due largely to the initial remoteness and the challenging winter climate, and, subsequently, to the faithful investment of capital into mine infrastructure, a necessary component of a prosperous mine. Things like rails, engines, and buildings were a part of that infrastructure, but the most difficult to maintain was a stable and stationary workforce. Calumet & Hecla went to great lengths to establish a rooted and stable community with "community minded" institutions.

Calumet, as it is generally referred to, is comprised of Calumet Township, the Village of Laurium, and the Village of Calumet. These properties were designated Calumet, Laurium, and Red Jacket in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with Calumet signifying a belt of land containing the industrial structures and company housing owned by Calumet & Hecla Mining Company and Laurium and Red Jacket signifying commercial and residential villages on land set aside by Calumet & Hecla and Laurium mining companies, for subdivision and sale. To many visiting in the historic period, Calumet meant the mining locations of Calumet, Hecla, and South Hecla, although the word "location" was really a misnomer, that name being generally applied to smaller mines or those just starting; while Red Jacket (renamed Calumet in 1929) was a city with the architecture, commerce, and corporate hierarchy reminiscent of an industrial city in New England. It was these two jurisdictions, Calumet Township and the Village of Red Jacket,

over which the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company exerted the greatest control. In the township, the company was the monolithic employer-landlord; in the village, the company exerted economic influence over businesses and consistent, strong representation in government.

The following U. S. Census information reflects the growth and decline of population numbers from 1890 to 1970:

YEAR	VILLAGE OF CALUMET	VILLAGE OF LAURIUM	CALUMET TOWNSHIP
1890	3,073	1,159	12,529
1900	4,668	5,643	25,991
1910	4,211	8,537	32,845
1920	2,390	6,696	22,369
1930	1,557	4,916	16,033
1940	1,460	3,929	13,362
1950	1,256	3,211	10,283
1960	1,139	3,058	9,192
1970	1,007	2,868	8,271

123

The organization of the Calumet & Hecla mines in 1871 was preceded by the Calumet Mining Company, the Hecla Mining Company, and the smaller tracts known as the Scott and Portland properties; the surface lands of these latter two tracts were platted as the Village of Red Jacket. The Calumet Mining Company property was first worked in 1865 and the Hecla and South Hecla later that year. Previous to the companies' 1871 consolidation, stockholders received \$850,000.00 in dividends, a payment that would be dwarfed by the earnings of the following decades.¹²⁴

¹²³U. S. Census Summary Reports, Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Collections, microfilm.

¹²⁴Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, "Annual Report to the Board of Directors," 1871.

Before 1923 when widespread consolidation under Calumet & Hecla of mining companies throughout northern Houghton County and Keweenaw County occurred, the mines of the company covered a stretch of over two miles, reaching from the Centennial boundary on the north, to the Osceola on the south. Efficient extraction of copper from the fabulously rich Calumet conglomerate lode resulted in the development of a two mile stretch with substantial industrial structures. The built environment of this corridor is characterized by the generous use of mine rock, sandstone and brick for such things as warehouses, machine shops, and offices interspersed by tall frame shafthouses and unclad timber and steel structures associated with head frame, rail and hoisting operations. Open spaces were left between buildings in a conscious effort to prevent the spread of fire, while Mine Street and narrow gauge rails permitted transport. Significant open spaces with such divergent purposes as storing lumber for underground hanging wall support, to the Agassiz Park designed by Warren Manning of Massachusetts for recreation by residents, lent the corridor its air of industrial expediency intermingled with the architecture and landscape of affluent eastern management.

Beneath the Village of Red Jacket (Calumet) and Calumet Township are over one hundred miles of "streets" or levels opened up for the removal of the copper contents of the conglomerate rock. By 1918, over 935,000,000 feet of timber had been sent underground to support the hanging wall which provided for the safety of the miners and continued access to the ever deeper copper-rich vein.¹²⁵ In addition to timber, rock pillars were left and an increasing number of steel pillars were placed as the cost of timber increased against that of I-beams.

In 1916 fifty years after its establishment, the company owned and rented 804 houses to its employees and 1,000 employees owned houses on company land. All 1,804

¹²⁵Walter Harvey Weed, ed., The Mines Handbook, New York: W. H. Weed, 1920.

were piped with Lake Superior water pumped up from the Calumet Waterworks, provided with garbage removal, and had their taxes paid by the company. The company then charged rent covering those expenses. Like the deductions taken from miners' meager salaries to pay for medical coverage at the company hospital, company executives viewed the fact that they did not profit off these particular services but merely broke even as a generous public benefit. Unlike the cheaply constructed houses typical of many mining communities, the frame structures, which quickly replaced many of the hewn log saltbox type houses of the early settlement, were well and solidly built. The many extant examples of pre-1920 company-built houses reflect a consciousness of climatic demands; from double pane windows to high pitched gable roofs which shed snow and shed it to the sides rather than over the front and rear entries, the houses respond to regional requirements. Company housing stock also reflects the New England, particularly Massachusetts, taste. The housing for managers reflected the conservative restrained style of the upper middle class housing in the northeast and laborers' housing borrowed from vernacular New England forms. Although company architecture responded to national trends in taste, the rhythmic facades and repetition of form belie corporate planning. In contrast, the villages of Laurium and Calumet (Red Jacket) have the variegated architectural styles so representative of late nineteenth and early twentieth century streetscapes in the northern United States. On the outskirts of Calumet, European vernacular housing and landscapes were built. Much of Swedetown, for instance, encompasses Finnish vernacular houses, outbuildings, and gardens on lots leased from Calumet & Hecla.

Corporate paternalism or welfare capitalism in Calumet went beyond housing. Calumet & Hecla built twenty-three schools¹²⁶, a hospital, a bath house, a library, as many

¹²⁶Western Upper Peninsula Planning and Development Regional Commission (WUPPDR), "Calumet Village, Laurium Village, Calumet Township Historic and Architectural Survey: Survey Report" (unfinished manuscript).

as thirty churches, fire departments, and even an opera house. The bath house, or "natatorium" was built fronting on Calumet Avenue (US-41) shortly before the great strike of 1913 at a cost of \$50,000.00. Service was free except for a charge of two and one half cents per towel for men, no fee for women or children.

In 1904 the company started a pension fund, and pensions ranging from \$9.00 to \$38.00 per month were paid to those who had been in the employ of the company for twenty years or more. Additional contributions to the general welfare of the community included the donation of land often sweetened with a financial contribution for church construction, company construction of schools in Calumet Township which were leased back to the Board of Education, and the liberal contributions of cash and a nominal lease payment to the Board of Education for land used for school construction in the Village of Calumet (Red Jacket). In Calumet township there was no city, town or village organization, the only local government being a township board composed of a supervisor, clerk, and two justices of the peace. The Calumet & Hecla police force saw little criminal enforcement work, perhaps because transgression might mean unemployment as well as time in the clink. However, they were the largest police force in the Upper Peninsula in the early twentieth century.¹²⁷

With the early establishment of Red Jacket and later and to a much lesser extent Laurium, as centers of commerce or as corporate "concession" districts, the company permitted only two general stores in Calumet Township. The company president Alexander Agassiz's policy of prohibiting business houses on township property following his appointment in 1871 profoundly affected the dense urban growth of Red Jacket and lead to the creation of two villages, Calumet (Red Jacket) and Laurium, on either side of the township's center, the industrial core. The two general stores were established before the

¹²⁷Jack Foster, former police chief/director of security for Calumet & Hecla Consolidated Copper Company, personal conversation with the author.

Calumet and Hecla mines had consolidated in 1871 at a time when the remote region required all mines to supply their workforce with provisions for sale. The old Calumet store, which stood near the Calumet Methodist Episcopal Church on Calumet Avenue, and the Hecla store which stood near the Hecla machine shop on Mine Street were remnants of Calumet & Hecla's organization before they became a name nationally associated with copper wealth and, in some circles, with corporate paternalism. The Calumet store burned down in the early 1890s and was not rebuilt; the Hecla store was removed after the retirement of its proprietor, Charles Briggs.

Other business establishments were developed in Calumet Township, although their location in the township was temporary. A butcher's shop stood near the rear of what became the central employment office of the company but was later moved to Hecla Street, Laurium. The Merchant and Miners Bank was opened on Mine Street and the Post Office with Michigan Range Telegraph Company in the rear operated between Calumet and Hecla Mines until 1888 when all were moved to the Union Building where Red Jacket Road becomes 5th Street.¹²⁸

The earliest congregations to form and build, built in Calumet Township. Built in this order, the Methodist-Episcopal, Congregationalist, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Carmel Lutheran churches were accompanied by schools as institutions independent from the company but placed through the planned corporate community. The few other institutions which managed to stay in the township despite their independence from direct managerial control by Calumet & Hecla had divergent but important benefits to the company. The Calumet Hotel, the Miscowaubik Club, and the armory were permitted sites intimate with the corporate heart of the township near Red Jacket Road. The old Calumet Hotel was dismantled in sections in the late 1870s and

¹²⁸Sanborn & Ferris Insurance Map, "Red Jacket, 1889."

reused for company housing. On the same site on Calumet Avenue the new Calumet Hotel was immediately built.

The Miscowaubik Club was instigated by Alexander Agassiz, President of Calumet & Hecla Mining Company from 1871 to his death in 1910. The features, constitution, and by-laws of the club were modelled after The Tennis and Racquet Club of Boston, Massachusetts where President Agassiz was also a member. On January 28, 1903 a meeting to organize the club was held at the company main offices (C & H Mine Office) and the company's Vice President and General Manager James MacNaughton was elected chairman. The former residence of Chief Mining Captain Thomas Hoatson, which is adjacent to the company mine office and built about 1875, was modified to accommodate the club. Club facilities included a bowling alley, squash courts, a billiard room, tennis courts, golf, dressing rooms, and private dining rooms. The club also nourished the existing economic and political power structure in the community with company officials first and then successful businessmen filling the ranks of the all male club.

Company A Engineers, Michigan National Guard was stationed at Calumet and was formerly Calumet Light Guard, Company B, Second Battalion, Michigan State Troops, which was organized in October 1880 and mustered in August, 1881. The first armory was built in 1880 next to Christ Church Episcopal and was torn down after the construction of a new armory on Mine Street in 1903. In back of the company library which fronted Red Jacket Road opposite President Agassiz's residence, the new armory had an imposing facade of clear red sandstone, a rusticated stone and arched entry, and boxed and bracketed eaves below a hipped roof. A three-sided bay protruded above the entry and extended into a three-sided dormer which appeared like a turret and was crowned by a flag pole. Extending to the rear was a long marshalling arena overarched with steel trusses and sheathed in corrugated iron.

Calumet & Hecla built the armory in 1903 at a cost of \$33,398.66 and rented it to

the state for 3% of that cost per annum. Perhaps the expenditure was viewed as necessary after labor strife in the district in the 1890s. In any case, its location in the center of company grounds and near the clearing where Michigan National Guards pitched their tents to quell the strike of 1913 proved valuable for management. The armory was also the point of departure for troops in the first and second world wars. The ice arena built in 1914 of similar steel construction but without the grand facade would later replace the 1903 structure and is now the Calumet armory.

Greater Calumet supported six fire departments, four at mining locations, Calumet, Hecla, South Hecla, and at the company's subsidiary Tamarack Mining Company and two on the company's leased grounds in the Villages of Calumet (Red Jacket) and Laurium. With these departments working in tandem few fires spread in Calumet and the company which owned most of the real estate was protected against catastrophic loss.

Another organization sponsored by the company was the "Blind Miners of Calumet." The company was only rarely willing to accept liability for injuries incurred by miners and never provided "charity" without some return. Men blinded usually by explosives and left unemployed were evidence of poor paternal care so a little factory for the manufacture of brooms was sponsored. In the "Calumet & Hecla Semi-Centennial Edition of the Keweenaw Miner" published in 1916 the Calumet & Hecla view of this charitable organization was summed up, "this little industry will attain large proportions in time, taking in all who have had the misfortune of losing their eyesight, as the number of accidents which result in blindness is happily -- through the efforts of the "Safety First" organization and the increased care exercised by the men themselves -- decreased." The statement shows the "large proportions" of the population blinded by mining accidents and regurgitates the company stance, recorded in company accident and court records, that the carelessness of victims or their co-workers were to blame for nearly all injuries. Neither improved working conditions nor the more cautious judgement of managers are identified

with the decrease in accidents but the "Safety First" program which was based on the assumption that employee negligence causes accidents.

Labor management strife began early at Calumet & Hecla. In 1872, a strike broke out despite the management's anticipation of strike and conciliatory moves to prevent it. The company was unable to avoid the strike and this event colored President Agassiz's reaction toward labor demands. An uncompromising stance toward strikers, the engendering of labor dependency on the company, and the establishment of a stable hierarchy within the community aided Agassiz in maintaining a relatively complacent workforce during his presidency, 1871-1910. This period marked Calumet & Hecla's international leadership with a handful of other copper commodity giants. During this period President Alexander Agassiz created a highly developed paternalistic role for the company; his well-tutored general manager, James MacNaughton, helped perpetuate paternalistic policy well into the twentieth century.

However, in 1913 President Alexander Agassiz's nephew and successor President Quincy Shaw (Jr.) and son Vice President Rodolphe L. Agassiz both of whom resided in Boston and general manager James MacNaughton were unable to prevent the upsurge of worker's demands for the right to unionize, for shorter hours, for higher pay, and for safer working conditions. Uncompromising corporate policy and long-brewing labor resentment resulted in one of the most bitter and violent strikes in American history. Instigated at Calumet & Hecla, the strike quickly spread throughout Michigan's copper district. After a year characterized by violent attacks on non-striking workers, scabs, and company property and followed by the deaths of strikers, desperate poverty, and abuse by "company thugs," the strike ended without corporate concession but with unprecedented tragedy.

On Christmas Eve 1913, the families of many strikers gathered at the Italian Hall on the corner of 7th and Elm Streets. There were immigrants from Finland, Italy, and Slovenia (Austro-Hungaria), families with men and boys who held many of the most

laborious and poorly paid positions underground. On the second floor of the Societa Mutua Beneficenza Italiana, Western Federation of Miners (WFM) union membership was checked and merrymakers proceeded upstairs. In the midst of the chaotic activities someone yelled fire and panic ensued. Throngs rushed down the stairs to the double doors which opened inward and became crushed or suffocated. Most exterior doors open inward due to the snowfall, which could prevent the opening of a door outward. Of the seventy-three dead, fifty-nine were children aged two through sixteen, eleven women, and nine men. The adults were immigrants and the children mostly U.S.-born citizens of immigrant parents. Three victims were Italian, children, twenty-three were Slovenian or Croatian, and the other thirty-six were Finnish.¹²⁹

Known as the Italian Hall Tragedy, the event brought the strike to an abrupt end. Most blamed the WFM for raising the level of anti-company paranoia to such a height; many of the survivors stated that they believed the firemen were trying to kill them and continued to hurl themselves on the pile of humanity long after the rescuers had come up another stairway to remove bodies from the top. Two causes have been identified as the cause of the panic. Strike leader Annie Clemenc claimed that a company thug had yelled fire but changed her story under oath. Many people were fainting that evening and historian Dr. Arthur Thurner postulates that a Croatian or Slovenian immigrant may have heard a call for water and confused it for the Slavic word for fire, watra.¹³⁰ Whatever the cause, the event abruptly ended the strike.

The company did not tie the many benefits that it offered to employees in the years immediately following to the strike to concessions (i.e. construction of the \$50,000.00 bathhouse in 1914, the construction of an ice arena, reduced hours, and pay hikes) but the

¹²⁹Arthur W. Thurner, Rebels on the Range: The Michigan Copper Miners' Strike of 1913-1914 (Lake Linden, Michigan: John H. Forster Press, 1984) p. 151.

¹³⁰Ibid, p. 151.

Company would not recognize any union until the 1930s. However, Calumet & Hecla moderated the arrogance with which they had previously practiced corporate paternalism in the settlement, a settlement that had the largest population of any urban area in Michigan's Upper Peninsula.

Irresolute Tenets at Church and "Human Engineering" at Calumet & Hecla

Because material culture is the remains of human activity and embodies information about values, customs, and beliefs, the churches of the Calumet-Laurium settlement area contain information about those who built and used the buildings. Two of the most profound agents affecting the composition of church buildings were the most influential planners of the landscape (i.e. Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, Laurium Mining Company...) and the congregations who commissioned their construction. The former were particularly determinate in the placement of the churches in the landscape; the later projected their group identity (i.e. ethnic and doctrinal identities) in architectural forms. This section seeks to understand both influences in terms of a larger cultural context. The context is, in fact, a larger cultural conflict in the time of the churches construction in the landscape, the paradigms of humanism and Biblical theology.

The three dialectics of materialism which infiltrated Biblical interpretations and church life were capitalism, Marxism, and humanism. By the end of the nineteenth century, Marxism found an increasingly large following amongst students and workers and expressed itself most clearly in unions. With equal attention to the distribution of wealth, capitalism found an even more popular following. As in economic theory, the famed evolutionary theorist Louis Agassiz, Calumet & Hecla President Alexander Agassiz's father, saw capitalism's judicious selection reflected in nature. Both beliefs found their more philosophical basis in humanism. Humanism transformed the Roman Catholic and

protestant churches.

At once, humanism professed the self-generation of man and return to nothingness in evolution and his preeminent and intrinsic dignity in life. Where humanism and Biblical teaching both looked to disorganized matter (the combination of atoms to homo sapiens of evolutionary theory or the 'clay' in God's hands of Genesis) as the origin of the species, the agents of the organization differed. The Biblical explanation describes an omniscient, omnipresent God; the humanist believes in a force toward organization described by Hegel in his essay, "Reason in History:"

Matter possesses gravity by virtue of its tendency toward a central point; it is essentially composite, consisting of parts that exclude each other. It seeks its unity...¹³¹

The contradiction of the two beliefs, humanism's belief in the intrinsic dignity of man as matter in progression toward "the" ideal and the Holy Bible's teaching of the extrinsic dignity of humans as made in the image of God by God, presented itself differently within the communities of church-goers.

As the elite and educated congregations integrated humanism into sermons, doctrinal conflicts necessarily arose. When fundamental conflicts required resolution, many churches, which had looked to the Bible for doctrinal guidance, made provisions for humanist theory at the expense of Biblical authority. For instance, as early as 1819 William Ellery Channing of Boston preached his famous Baltimore sermon which concluded, "these are the church - men made better, made holy, virtuous by his religion - men who, hoping in his promises, keeps his commands."¹³² As this leader of Unitarianism within the Congregationalist church preached humanity's holiness, most

¹³¹G. W. F. Hegel, "Reason in History," The Nature of Historic Inquiry (San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970, translated by Robert S. Hartman, edited by Leonard M. Marsak) p. 91.

¹³²Frank S. Mead, revised by Samuel S. Hill, Handbook, of Denominations in the United States (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995) p. 285.

congregations brought materialistic dialectics, especially capitalism and evolutionary theory, into the way they understood reality but not as wholly into church doctrine, as the Unitarians. Except for those who denounced the teachings of the humanism, like the “low church” or Bible-based churches, or professed enlightenment beyond the Bible, like the Unitarians, most Christians did not see philosophical conflict. However, the irresolute tenets of these congregations expressed themselves in church architecture. The growing influence of humanism in church doctrine found an expression in refinement. Humanist civility was embodied in personal refinement, as well as the refinement of church architecture.

Humanism’s profession of the inherent dignity of mankind and his enlightened progression manifested itself in refinement, in the art of becoming polite, and in surrounding oneself with beautiful things. Richard L. Bushman summarizes the transformation of protestant religious architecture in America in the mid-nineteenth century:

The addition of towers and steeples, the embellishment of interior decoration, the reorientation of the axis came with the improvement of economic conditions and the elevation of general culture. Churches with a “comelier aspect” were signs of progress in society and in religion.¹³³

That these were prosperous, middle class American aspirations toward refinement

is reflected in the fact that architectural embellishment of Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and even Baptist churches looked increasingly like the latest designs for the Church of England and, in turn, the Episcopal denomination. The aspirations to refinement in Episcopal, Roman Catholic, and European state branches of the Lutheran church were not a departure from their past. Humanism pointed to the “most evolved” cultures; Anglo-Americans and English immigrants found stately English architecture as exemplary of refinement. Or they looked to Greek and Roman antecedents. Other European immigrants also looked to their homeland for ecclesiastical examples. Many followed current Baroque

¹³³Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, Inc., 1992) p. 348. Bushman is Gouvenour Morris Professor of History at Columbia University.

or Gothic revivals of the Roman Catholic Church to mimic.

However, the growing philosophical schism between the refinement of parishioners, including their church buildings, and of the life of poverty portrayed by Christ and His disciples, troubled some Christians.

And when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied; Then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God. (Holy Bible, Deuteronomy 18:13,14 King James Version)

But for the majority, the aspirations to gentility and civility were more reasonable than the Biblical example of poverty. Especially with the growing underclass of industrial America, the river of conformity had taken a romantic turn toward refinement.¹³⁴ The meeting of two great cultural streams, that of Bible-based protestantism and materialism expressed in Renaissance civility, clashed in churches, mostly without resolution.

To the profit-minded managers of Calumet & Hecla, the civilizing properties of church institutions, whether the established high churches or the aspiring reformed churches, held the allure in their plans for paternalistic governance. The township and villages' steepled skyline encouraged the settlement of family men, dependable workers. Along with the company's many schools, the churches of the Calumet-Laurium settlement area helped people raise civilized children in a reasonably refined and educated society. Genteel aspirations were a confirmation of the existing order. God had placed the mining managers on top because they were the best evolved, the best educated, the most civilized. The marriage of a Biblical and humanist world view, that of the Godhead (Biblical) to a world view of spiritual hierarchy reflected in human station on earth (humanist) gave provident meaning to the status quo. Of course, the executives of Calumet & Hecla did not manufacture the marriage of these contradictory principals for their own uses; they merely

¹³⁴Holy Bible, Exodus 23:11; Deuteronomy 15:7; Psalms 41:1; 82:3; Proverbs 19:17; 21:13 "Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard"; Jeremiah 22:16; Matthew 19:21; Galatians 2:10.

straddled two paradigms, like most of their employees.

Both unions and industrialists harkened to the same humanist ideals of the intrinsic dignity of man, the one through the more democratic distribution of goods, the other through the other various striving for greater civility and order.¹³⁵ The dualities of union and manager, of liberal and conservative, and of genteel Christian and socialistic atheist masked the growing influence of a single expression in American culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, humanism.¹³⁶ Biblical teachings about the intrinsic dignity of man, that man is made clean or lent dignity through the Christ or Messiah's sacrifice wherein his restoration to the image of God is accomplished, is fundamentally different from the humanist model.

However, the introduction of humanist civility into church teachings differed in the churches greatly between denominations and even between individual congregations. Though the teachings of many churches sought to integrate humanism and the Gospel, the basic tenets were irreconcilable. Churches became, in a sense, instruments of Hegel's matter approaching idealism. The "Gospel of Wealth" which the Episcopal church of the late-nineteenth century has been accused of teaching, reflects the dialects of "social Darwinism" and capitalism integrated into sermons. That this and other examples of the civilizing effects of churches were noted by mine managers can be revealed in some writings, despite their care to guard paternalism's machinations from the public scrutiny,

¹³⁵On the part of many community leaders who were Masons, the ritualistic apotheosis of Freemasonry mimicked the self-made man's ascension to Divinity. In the Union Hall, built in 1888, the Freemasons of Calumet had their meeting facilities. From the second to third floor a shaft was built; the interior was painted black and a black ladder was surmounted in a fraternal ritual of progression symbolizing the ascension by one's own power to immortality.

¹³⁶Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences* (1817) Introduction. Karl Marx, *Das Kapital* (London, 3 vol., 1867-1894). Both the Marxist "dialectical materialism" and the capitalist "social Darwinism" stem from the Hegelian dialectic that human reason is a part of a universal guiding progression toward perfection. This self-deliverance contradicts the Judeo-Christian belief in a Messianic salvation

especially that of the unions.

In an article for the Engineering and Mining Journal in 1911, C. T. Rice, the editor of the mining company financed paper The Daily Mining Gazette, unabashedly exposed the role of corporate paternalism in the plans of mining companies in the Copper Country to other industry managers who subscribed to the magazine:

It is the kind of paternalism that kills unionism and in one generation builds out of foreigners, ignorant of Anglo-Saxon institutions, citizens that any community can be proud of.¹³⁷

At first from Rice's statement, the part for churches, like other company supported or founded institutions, seems to be ambiguous. For immigrants, churches were the most peopled ethnic institutions, centers where foreign languages and customs saw continuance in America. This disservice to homogeneity, however, may have been outweighed in the eyes of the company by the cross-cultural civilizing effects of religion.

At the nearby Quincy Mining Company, President W. R. Todd wrote from New York headquarters to his agent, Charles Lawton:

We believe that Rev. Father Krone may prove a desirable resident and may be of some value to us in cases of misunderstanding with our men, and if he can do as he writes, "train the minds and hearts in the fear of God and in respect for authority, law and order" he should prove a good man to keep among us.¹³⁸

Indeed, mine managers made no bones about the role they saw for religion in their communication with other managers. In 1929, R.L. Agassiz, President of the Calumet & Hecla Consolidated Copper Company (as it was renamed in 1923) and son of President Alexander Agassiz (president from 1871 until his death in 1910), spoke revealingly to colleagues at the Mining and Metallurgical Society of America. Here is a rare glimpse into

¹³⁷C. T. Rice, "Labor Conditions at Calumet & Hecla," Engineering and Mining Journal (1911) No. 92, December 23, p. 1235. Quoted by Arnold Alanen, "The Planning of Company Communities in the Lake Superior Mining Region," APA Journal, 45:July 1979, p. 264.

¹³⁸WRT to CL, 6 June 1913. Quoted by Larry Lankton, Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) p. 177.

the economic rationale for corporate paternalism; due the ease with which Agassiz throughout the speech describes the civility which managers sought to promote in the settlement, it is quoted in its entirety:

Human Engineering at the Calumet and Hecla

by R. L. Agassiz, President Calumet & Hecla Cons. Copper Co.

When my father went up to Michigan in 1867 to live, Calumet and Houghton were very primitive places; it was a long way from the outside world for practically five months in the winter. The railroad went as far as Green Bay and from there it was several days by truck to the mine of the company, so the company was forced to do almost everything. And what we have done is in an effort to keep the men happy and contented and prevent their leaving the district, because now we are close to Detroit, and it is a great temptation for them to go there and get higher wages, but of course their living expenses are much higher, so that a great many who go over there often drift back again.

We have built houses, in the early days, for a majority of our employees, and we rent those houses on the basis of about a dollar per month per room, so that a married man gets a very comfortable six-room house with a good cellar and running water, and his garbage and his ashes taken away, for about \$6.00 per month. Then, a great many years ago, when our mines had upwards of 1000 employees they were encouraged to build their houses on company land, and we charged these men \$5.00 a year, which included a water supply; we made an agreement with them that any time within the next 20 years we would take back their houses at an appraised valuation: The company would appoint an appraiser, and if they did not agree an independent arbiter was called in. That insured the men against loss in case he lost his job or wanted to leave the company.

We built schools for the children of the district, and kept pace with the growth, so that now we own quite a number of schools, including a large high school with a manual training and domestic service department. These we rent to the district at quite a nominal rent, about 2 percent on the investment. In addition, we have night schools for foreigners who want to learn the language, because we have a great many foreigners there, with domestic service branches for women, old and young, who want to take advantage of them. We have given sites, and contributed money, to upwards of 20 churches of various creeds. We built and provided a free library to the community, and we have established branches of the library at out plant in Lake Linden, which has upwards of 50,000 volumes.

We have built and operate a public bath house where we have showers and tubs and swimming pools, free to all the community, except there is a charge of two or three cents for the use of towels. Then we built an armory for the local company of State Militia. Of course, after the war, that was disbanded, and it is now used for the Reserve Officers and for general community purposes.

In the long winters up there, skating out of doors is practically impossible; so we built a coliseum where we have a seating capacity of about 1200; they take a great interest in professional hockey and have a team that plays in various places throughout the west; and the return games are

played in the coliseum; it is used for ordinary skating in the afternoons and evenings. In connection with that, there is a dance hall.

We have built lawn tennis courts both at Lake Linden and Houghton, and we have a modernly equipped hospital where we have 11 surgeons and physicians and half a dozen pharmacists, and I think six nurses. In addition to this we have a branch dispensary at both our mine and our stamp mills at Lake Linden. The men pay \$1.50 a month, which includes medical and surgical service to them and the dependent members of their family, as well as dressings and such things as that.

Then many years ago, we started an aid fund. The men who earned more than \$30.00 a month, contributed 50 cents a month, the men who earned less contributed 25 cents a month; and whatever the men contributed each month was doubled by the company, and out of that, if the man was either sick or injured, he received \$25.00 a month for a period of 8 months. Since the State passed the compulsory accident law, we have given up contributing to that aid fund; but it still goes on and is paying the benefits of \$37.50 a month, I think, but that is entirely for sickness. If one of our employees dies, his widow is allowed to remain on in the company house indefinitely, until such time as the younger members of the family have become earners, and have been able to support these widows and their families. And in addition to that, the company pays \$250.00 towards the funeral expenses of any man.

We have not a regular established pension fund, because our mine is a more or less short lived one, and we were afraid that we might get into a situation where we would go bankrupt; but we have paid pensions for the past 20 years, and a man to be entitled to a pension must work 20 years and be 60 years old, but his retirement is dependent upon the ruling of the management; he does not automatically retire, and his pension is based on his average wage for the past 10 years: he gets one percent of his average wage multiplied by the number of years of service.

In 1919 we took out group insurance for all our employees, and every employee who had been with us more than 6 months was insured for \$1000; and every new employee automatically became insured as soon as he had worked 6 months, and this is increased \$100 a year until it gets up to \$1500, which is the maximum. If a man is pensioned off, his insurance remains in force until his death or unless in the meanwhile he takes service with somebody else.

We have a safety first department, and we find the men have been very much interested in it, and are the best supporters of it, and they are the first to report that another man is careless.

Mr. Crane spoke of wages. All our work is on contract, so that the good men are able to earn very good wages indeed. In 1916, we had the 50th celebration of the founding of the mine, and we gave medals at that time indicating the periods of service. We gave bronze medals to men who had been in our employ between 20 and 30 years, and there were 824 who received these; 386 received silver medals for service of between 30 and 40 years; and at that time we had 5000 employees, but of course 40 years before that we had only a very small percentage of that number, so that we

felt that our service record was a very good one.¹³⁹

This transcription of Rodolphe L. Agassiz's speech to the society includes churches amongst other tools useful in "human engineering." Churches had clearly become an important instrument for the mining company in its cause to manipulate its employees.

That this role for churches was far from Biblical teaching is shown in the many places in the Holy Bible. Throughout the Holy Bible such oppressors are condemned. For instance, Psalm 72, verse 4 states, "He (God) shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor." In James 5, verses 1 through 7, profiteering and manipulation of the poor is condemned in no uncertain terms:

Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you.

Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth eaten.

Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days.

Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.

Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter.

Ye have condemned and killed the just; and he doth not resist you. Be patient therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain. (King James Version)

¹³⁹R. L. Agassiz, "Human Engineering at the Calumet & Hecla," Mining and Metallurgical Society of America (Vol. XXII, No. 1, January 1929, Bull. 198) pp. 17-19.

Although raised in Congregationalist churches, the managers of Calumet & Hecla did not see themselves as wicked rich men warned of God's judgement. Their personal gain was a blessing, a side-effect of the civility and refinement which they provided for their workers and the community in which they lived. They just happened to be the cream which floated to the top of the "social Darwinist" pool.

CHAPTER V

CHURCH PRESERVATION ISSUES IN THE CALUMET-LAURIUM SETTLEMENT AREA

Introduction

Architectural preservation issues uniquely tied to church buildings are, for the most part, special challenges. However, establishing criteria sensitive to the special role of houses of worship, enhancing uses and ministry in churches, employing regulatory and financial preservation means, placing church buildings on the National Register of Historic Places have the potential to counteract the threat to the settlement area's several and endangered churches. At present, whether financial challenges to preservation are connected with declining congregation membership, long deferred maintenance resulting in expensive and urgent repairs, or pressures for renovation to increase energy efficiency, church buildings offer substantial obstacles. However, substantial masonry construction has done much to extend the life of some otherwise neglected church buildings. This advantage, unfortunately, does not extend to the settlement area's more numerous frame churches. Additional preservation methods must be found.

Preservation Issues Specific to Former and Active Houses of Worship

The preservation of church buildings no longer used for worship, though free from the funding difficulties tied to a congregation, are usually the most endangered structures. Whether vacant, used for storage, insensitively reused, or facing demolition by current owners, these structures are handicapped by their special religious meaning to the community and the obstacles of scale and expense facing any large structure. Because of

their historical role as places of worship, the community may be hostile to even sensitive adaptive reuse as an affront to the building's sacred function.

Vacant buildings and church buildings used for storage are most vulnerable to deferred maintenance including damage from water penetration through the roof and broken windows, snowload collapse, and vandalism. They are also most likely to be condemned by local government due to owner negligence or demolished by an owner for new development.

These churches are often stripped of significant furnishings and architectural features as a result of their devaluation. Offering added offence to former members of the congregation and church administrators, the remaining church body or archdiocese may be reluctant to allow a building, once used as a sanctuary, to fall into secular uses. This sequence of events had led many church bodies to demolish their historic church buildings, whether the church has closed or moved to a new church building.

The preservation of church buildings still used for worship offers various challenges, each connected to the values and objectives of the congregation. Active congregations will modify a church building to suit their changing requirements. Suggestions for mitigating an historically inappropriate renovation, which an addition or weatherization project might present, must be addressed in light of the interests driving the change.

Remodeling performed to improve energy efficiency may be driven by fiscal constraints. Concern for handicapped members of the congregation and for compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act may spur access modifications. Growing congregations may require enlarged sanctuaries, nurseries, and classrooms; perhaps their alternative to renovation would be to sell the building and build anew. These projects should be lent professional historic preservation mitigation advice but can and should rarely be prevented from going forward.

Congregations with decreasing membership are often unable or unwilling to spend money on pressing maintenance requirements. These congregations are often made up of an increasingly high proportion of senior citizens on fixed incomes who may be unable to afford expensive repairs for a church building constructed to house a much larger congregation. Although these congregations are usually the most aware of the embodiment of history in their church building, some may not see the urgency of maintaining a building for a congregation which is "dying out." Grant money for church preservation should most often be directed to these church buildings; when a clear desire for preservation by the membership and an established financial need is so apparent, preservation funds are particularly well directed to these churches. Because a slowly declining membership roll has prevented the expenditure of monies on remodeling in deference to needed repairs, these structures are more likely to maintain a higher degree of historic integrity than their wealthier, growing congregations. Today in the Calumet-Laurium settlement area, the "high churches" are most often found in these circumstances while the Bible-based "low churches" tend to have stable and growing congregations.

Congregations with active missions and other outreach programs may be confronted with a conflict as to whether funds should be spent on the building, the vessel of the ministry, or on the ministry itself. Deferred maintenance may lead to the ministry's move to new facilities rather than to repair of the historic fabric. These churches can be approached about preservation issues by presenting a solution to that conflict. Evangelical ministries should be lauded for their active role but reminded that structural maintenance is wise stewardship for one of the ministry's tools, their worship space.

Priorities for the preservation of religious structures should be determined by a set criteria that are clear but flexible enough to respond to the changing circumstances of a church building whether occupied by a congregation or in the hands of another party. Criteria balance issues of integrity, current management, condition, and significance to

Calumet's National Historic Landmark designation and the townscape of the settlement area in its entirety.

These criteria are established with applications for grant money in mind. Although the interests of former houses of worship have no special protection under the law from regulation, it should be noted that these criteria are not intended to circumvent the strong constitutional¹⁴⁰ and case law history¹⁴¹ preventing the suppression of worship. Unlawfully applied historic district ordinances can and have been used to enforce conformity that unduly burdens the church body financially, undermining its financial backing of ministry.

Criteria for the Historic Preservation of Church Buildings in the
Calumet-Laurium Settlement Area

The historical significance of a church building is a subjective and changing

¹⁴⁰The Constitution of the United States of American, Amendment I reads, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging freedom of speech,..."

¹⁴¹Although case law has strongly resisted the abridgement of freedom of religious expression throughout the history of American government, the 103rd Congress' First Session clearly re-established that message with Public Law 103-141 (107 STAT 1488), also known as the "Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993." Section 2. reads:

(a) FINDINGS - The Congress finds that --

- (1) the framers of the Constitution, recognizing free exercise of religion as an unalienable right, secured its protection in the First Amendment to the Constitution;
- (2) laws "neutral" toward religion may burden religious exercise as surely as laws intended to interfere with religious exercise;
- (3) governments should not substantially burden religious exercise without compelling justification;...

The case of *St. Bartholomew's Church v. City of New York* (1990) though decided in part based on the Landmark Preservation Law's neutral regulation, a basis overturned by the Religious Freedom Act of 1993, did find in favor of the City of New York because:

5. Eminent Domain 2(5)

...law did not prevent church from continuing existing charitable and religious activities even if regulation froze church's property in existing use and prevented expansion; any deprivation of commercial value was not taking as long as continued use for present activities was viable.

This church had sought to sell its parish hall, located next to the church on some of the most valuable property in Manhattan, to a developer in order to expand their charitable activities.

qualification so the criteria are not meant to be rigid but to encourage critical thinking in the application of preservation funds and in the regulation of church buildings no longer used for religious purposes where an historic district ordinance is in place.

Criteria:

Historic Integrity (Criterion A.)

Historic integrity is an assessment of the degree of change that a cultural resource such as a church has undergone since its period of greatest significance. When that period is depends on the subjectivity of time into hierarchical categories. Keweenaw National Historical Park and the Calumet Historical Landmark District nomination focused on period of 1864, when mining began on the Calumet conglomerate lode, to either the end of World War I or World War II, when dropping copper prices in 1919 and 1945 precipitated sudden declines in population numbers. Historic integrity is neutral to judgements about historical events associated with a resource. However, the structure's architectural merit, for example high style or vernacular forms, and condition, as long as historical features are not missing due to a poor condition, do not affect assessments of historic integrity.

Condition (Criterion B.)

Condition assessment can be used to argue the necessity for restoration of a resource. However, a church in poor condition might either be a priority project deserving preservation funding based on eminent structural failure and danger of demolition or might be considered undeserving based on historic integrity, current management of the property, or sheer expense. But condition becomes especially decisive when basic stabilization repairs are sought and financial need is demonstrated.

Management and Use (Criterion C.)

Of course, no preservation project will be successful without a demonstration by the current steward of the property that they value preservation of their building and will make it an important part of their ongoing management plan. Also, active congregations should have precedent over church building owners no longer using their buildings for worship because of the importance of historic use. The resource has additional value in the historic interpretation of the landscape when its original function is maintained.

Cultural Landscape (Criterion D.)

Just as judgements concerning historic integrity require the subjectivity of time, deciding which resources are most essential to the maintenance of an historic landscape necessitates a hierarchy in space. The placement of historic churches in relation to each other, to residential, commercial, and industrial architecture, to objects, to open spaces, to street and sidewalk surfaces, and to plantings are among the all-inclusive miasma of elements comprising a cultural landscape. However, this assessment is at once the most vague and the most important in determining the direction of preservation funding.

Places from which people most often view the Calumet-Laurium settlement area and the buildings which they see can work as a guide for prioritizing the significance of a church building in the landscape. For example, the high spires of St. Paul-the-Apostle (formerly St. Joseph's Austro-Slovenian) Church, of St. Mary's Church (Italian), St. Anne's Church (French-Canadian) St. Paul's Lutheran Church (German, Missouri Synod) lend them prominence. Also, the placement of Christ Church (Episcopal), the Community Church (Congregational-Presbyterian), the Swedish Carmel Church, or St. Anne's in a group at the main approaches to the Village of Calumet (Red Jacket) make them central to the historic appearance of the Calumet National Historic Landmark.

Not just physical prominence but historic significance can play a role in subjectification of a church's role in the cultural landscape. For instance, the Old Apostolic Church and the First Apostolic Church on Pine Street reflect a history of doctrinal splits in the Finnish Lutheran community.

Just as space and time cannot be conceived of as separate, the cultural landscape aids the spectator in understanding some aspect of the past. Determining the value of a church building relative to the larger cultural landscape is an exercise in balancing the relative importance of a given part to the whole.

Shared Uses: Renewal for Ministry and Enhancement for Preservation

Increasing the intensity of a building's use can reflect a congregation's commitment to their mission and the community while enhancing the efficiency of building maintenance, for example heating, janitorial services, and security; increased uses tend to create a forum for increasing membership in the congregation and funding.

Human service programs, such as senior meals in the social hall, counseling facilities for married couples or drug and alcohol abuse, housing pregnancy services, and shelters for the abused, are amongst a myriad of community needs intimately related to Christian ministry and potentially housed in churches and related structures.

Through case studies by the National Trust for Historic Preservation in Chicago,¹⁴² the marriage of human services programs and a preservation plan for a church building has lead to increased membership and, in turn, the funding to enhance outreach, repairs, and ongoing maintenance. Understanding the pattern of use, assessing a congregation's mission, and researching community needs are where shared use should begin.

¹⁴² "Conservation of Urban Religious Properties," Information (Chicago: National Trust for Historic Preservation, Information Series No. 47, 1990).

Current patterns of use go beyond the scheduled use by the congregation for services. An assessment ideally documents when a building is available, what spaces in the church and ancillary buildings are suitable, and how the amenities and limitations of those spaces can be used. In the Calumet-Laurium settlement area, most churches have two places for assembly, the nave and a social hall in a raised basement. For many reasons the nave will be an inappropriate place for human service programs, however, social halls often have dining furniture, a kitchen, and bathrooms and some connect with Sunday school classrooms.

When a congregation assesses its mission relative to outreach services, members and the pastor should have a clear vision of how they will decide on a cooperating service organization and if they are in agreement with the philosophy and methods of that organization; self-assessment is equally important for congregations considering starting their own human services programs. In both cases, the assessment must involve a financial analysis of the impacts, both positive and negative that increased use will have.

For preservation, the careful implementation of human services programs falls into the important question of how successfully a building is maintained and used. Increased use is strongly tied to the preventative maintenance of buildings. Those congregations which have shrunk in membership as the settlement area's population numbers have decreased are the ideal candidates for exploring shared use of their historic church building.

Employing Financial and Regulatory Strategies for the Preservation of Church Buildings

Like other cultural resources, the preservation of the churches of the Calumet-Laurium settlement area will be enhanced by two means, financial and regulatory. From historic district ordinances to land cost subsidies, there are tools for local, state, and federal government involvement or private interests, such as the Ethnic Embassy and Religious Heritage Center. For Calumet Township, the Village of Calumet, and the Village of

Laurium's regulatory or legal tools include zoning, jurisdiction-wide historic preservation ordinances, historic district ordinances, and social impact ordinances. These local governmental bodies, state, and federal government may be regulated environmental laws which provide for cultural resources. Financial tools tend to be far more creative and positive than regulatory means to preservation; however, financial tools are often created in response to legal requirements. The purchase of easements, covenants reverting a property in a deed, tax incentives, syndication, transfer of development rights, development bonuses, land cost subsidies, grants, revolving funds, and contractual partnerships between government, non-profits, or business are all financial tools which most often come into play where some degree of regulation, particularly historic district ordinances, are active.

The following summaries of regulatory and financial tools are not legal advice. The implementation of these preservation tools should be taken under legal advice.

Regulatory Tools

Unlike financial tools, regulatory tools are in the hands of government exclusively and affect broader contexts than the church buildings as a thematic group. However, the strong establishment of the churches' collective and individual historic significance substantiates the protection of church buildings under preservation law.

Zoning

Zoning goes beyond simple mandates for use such as industrial, commercial, and single-family residential; historic preservation classification within zoning helps prevent the conflict of zoning permitting with jurisdiction-wide historic preservation ordinances or with district-specific ordinances. Because zoning in Calumet Township and the Village of Calumet date from the time when Calumet & Hecla Mining Company wielded great control

over local planning, zoning should be reconfigured in these jurisdictions to coordinate with preservation planning. In the Village of Laurium the need is still greater because no zoning ordinances exist.

Jurisdiction-Wide Historic Preservation Ordinances

Directed by an Historic Preservation Commission, preservation planning in a certified local government's jurisdiction includes the designation of individual structures or districts according to criteria established in an ordinance (Section 101[c] of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966). This level of regulation covers the entire jurisdiction of a local government and the often more potent historic district ordinances are subdivisions within a jurisdiction. Historic preservation commissions tend to be established in jurisdictions with greater resources than the three jurisdictions in the Calumet-Laurium settlement area.

Historic District Ordinances

Historic district ordinances can be the most effectual regulatory tools for preservation. Defined by specific boundaries, the authority of an historic district commission regarding demolition, alteration, and new construction may vary widely depending on the wording of the ordinance which established the commission. With the danger of demolition to some of the settlement area's churches, for instance the Finnish Episcopal Church in Florida Location in Calumet Township, the advise to stay demolition by such a commission could be critical to the resource's existence.

Social Impact Ordinances

Social impact analysis as a result of new development or of preservation ordinances can be used to forward or reverse preservation initiatives, financial or regulatory.

Although they are extremely rare in small, rural jurisdictions such as these, this sort of ordinance could result from an assessment which judged a new strip-mall or gentrification of a historic residential neighborhood to be detrimental to an interest group. In the case of the Village of Calumet, such an ordinance might restrict the construction of a mall which would lure business away from the downtown, thereby undermining the economic base for the commercial district's preservation.

Federal, State, and Local Environmental Laws

That cultural environments are considered in government decision-making, rests largely on the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and in its offspring, the State Environmental Policy Acts (SEPA). The approval of a subdivision, issuance of a major grading permit, provision of financial assistance to a development, or the use of state or federal dollars for infrastructure development in new construction should require the preparation of an assessment of environmental impacts, both natural and cultural.

Because virtually every SEPA specifies historic properties as an effected environment, these laws provide a preservation tool for local government and preservation organizations in planning. Surveys, National Register nominations, and thematic studies, such as this paper on the churches of the Calumet-Laurium settlement area, are important substantiation for preservation measures to be taken in planning. It can be challenging to encourage the relevant decision makers to seriously mitigate adverse effects to historic resources.

Financial Tools

Financial means cast a positive light on preservation objectives in a community. Because the rights of religious expression are broadly protected under the law, financial

tools may be the most effective way to promote the preservation of church buildings.

The Purchase of Easements

The acquisition of less than a total or fee interest in property in another party's property is an easement. Preservation easements are a common and often effective preservation method. Most commonly used on the facade of an historic commercial building, the easement precludes the alteration of a facade by the building's owner because he or she no longer owns that portion of their building. National historical parks, downtown development associations, and preservation organizations use this financial tool for preservation. Easements are by no means relegated to commercial facades.

A scenic easement is a purchase of development rights of an open space. The National Park Service has used this kind of easement to protect view sheds on the Blue Ridge and Natchez Trace Parkways.

Exterior or facade easements are the most important and widely used easements for the preservation of historic architecture. Such an easement would do a great deal to protect the church buildings of the Calumet-Laurium settlement area from demolition or insensitive remodeling. For some churches, interior easements might be purchased in addition to exterior easements.

Although easements are legally complicated to make operational, they have several advantages over other types of less-than-fee preservation controls. Easements may be assignable to other parties, binding to subsequent buyers, and deductible from federal or state income and estate taxes if donated or sold for less than the appraised value.

Contractual Partnerships between Government, Non-Profits, and Business

Because federal, state, and local governments, private developers, and regulated industries may be required to carry out cultural resource studies to comply with the

National Historic Preservation Act, NEPA, or SEPA, contractual agreements between those entities and a local preservation programs can prove mutually advantageous. In the Calumet-Laurium settlement area, resource studies can be organized by local interest groups and Keweenaw National Historical Park. The Calumet Unit of the park circumscribes much of the studied settlement area.

Revolving Funds

Funds which are invested in a property's rehabilitation, recovered and, hopefully, increased, and reinvested are revolving funds. They are designed to allow a preservation organization, such as the Ethnic Embassy and Religious Heritage Center, the ability to buy, rehabilitate, and sell property with a small amount of capital; in the process, the goal of preserving a building is accomplished. This is perhaps the most likely financial tool to catalyze church preservation in the settlement area.

As a venture banking on the real value of preserved properties, a preservation organization establishes preservation as a new economic force in the community. Proof that preservation is good business, revolving funds may instigate the preservation of other buildings in the townscape.

Revolving funds must be carefully managed. Generating start-up funds and preventing an investment property from slowing down the fund's revolutions are obstacles. Community Development Block Grants are amongst many methods for starting a revolving fund; maintaining the fund's momentum will depend on the location of the initial property, the scope of the rehabilitation project, and the finding a buyer.

Grants

Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) and some grants through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development are sources for funding of the

preservation of deteriorating or abandoned buildings. Although these funds are rarely available for church buildings, they are often directed toward residential architecture such as former rectories and other associated buildings.

Land Cost Subsidies

A community can provide a strong incentive to rehabilitation by purchasing historic properties and then selling them to developers at a reduced price. This process can reverse the differential between rehabilitation and new construction. The Village of Calumet bought the former Croatian church, St. John the Baptist, and sold it as a storage facility at a low price. Although the village did not rehabilitate the property per se, minimal maintenance may have prevented the brick church from being demolished.

Development Bonuses

If preservation planning and zoning have been carefully coordinated, zoning variances can be used as leverage to encourage a developer to perhaps rehabilitate an historic structure in one location which he owns in exchange for the permission for more varied use in another, less historically sensitive location. To confer development bonuses, a local government must have a well developed, long-term preservation plan.

Transfer of Development Rights

Although a valuable tool in densely developed urban environment, the Calumet-Laurium settlement area has no current use for transferring air rights. Air rights can be sold by a property owner to a local government to prevent the construction of a highrise in an historic district.

Syndication

Preservation projects can be accomplished when legally constituted syndicates involving investors and preservation interests conjoin for mutual benefit. Preservationists or investors in more rural settlements, such as greater Calumet, can use the large urban firms specializing in syndication as a means for financial and preservation benefits. State Historic Preservation Offices may have information on syndication specialists.

Tax Incentives

The State of Michigan has not tax laws promoting the preservation buildings at this time. However, federal law encourages preservation and rehabilitation of historic properties by allowing corporate and individual taxpayers to deduct the value of the donation of conservation easements from their income taxes and by providing investment tax credits to taxpayers who carry out certified rehabilitation projects on income-producing certified historic buildings. Because federal tax law changes frequently, the most up to date tax information should be obtained.

Covenants Reverting a Property in a Deed

A contractual agreement between private parties, a reverter clause in a deed may stipulate that unless certain conditions are followed, ownership of the property involved will return to the conveyor or to a designated third party. The covenant may be used to maintain the historic integrity of a property. Covenants may even bind subsequent owners to abide by the conditions of the contract.

Covenants can be used in sale or leaseback agreements to ensure that conditions of historic integrity are met. Some covenants may refer to only a portion of the property, such as the exterior appearance. Covenants may be especially important to congregations

who are closing a church but are concerned about the future of a space which they may consider sacred. Where the congregation might have chosen demolition for the church building, a covenant may offer the protection of the building's sanctity necessary to convince a congregation to sell rather than demolish.

Conclusion

Although regulatory requirements often precede the use financial means for the furtherance of preservation, the special rights afforded religious expression diminish the importance of regulatory relative to financial tools in the preservation of church buildings which are used for worship. Church buildings which are no longer used for worship are regulated like any other historic resource under the laws of a jurisdiction.

Amongst regulatory tools, historic district ordinances coordinated with zoning classifications are most effective. Although certain specialized financial tools may be the most effective means for preservation of a given church building, in general the creation of revolving funds, land cost subsidies, and the purchase of easements are recommended tools for the preservation of the churches of the Calumet-Laurium settlement area.

Nominating Church Buildings to the National Register of Historic Places

The National Register of Historic Places is the federal record of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant to American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture. A nomination may be written by anyone, must establish the significance of the nominated subject(s) to community, state, or national history, and documents in terms of the integrity of the subject(s) relative to that historic context in which it is deemed significant. Church buildings, or a thematic group of church buildings, basically follow the pattern of any other properties, however a few exceptions do exist due to the special provisions for religious expression and for regulating that expression under

the law.

In National Register nomination documentation, the duality of historic significance and integrity is recognized in associative criteria. The subject may have association with historic events, important persons, significant design and material attributes, or important information about history. The subject of nomination might meet more than one of these criteria.

To start with, the nomination of a property in Michigan should be done in consultation with the Director of the Bureau of History, especially when an active house of worship is the subject of nomination. In Section 8: Statement of Significance, criteria considerations are given. These considerations are often obstacles to placement on the National Register and include such conditions as properties less than 50 years old and reconstructed buildings. The list of seven criteria considerations begins with criterion A., "owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes." These are only considerations, however, and by no means preclude a property from placement on the National Register of Historic Places.

Data categories for functions and uses in the nomination form include the following properties under religion: religious facility, ceremonial site, church school, church-related structure. Religious facilities are churches, temples, synagogues, cathedrals, missions, mounds, sweatshops, kivas, dance courts, and shrines. Ceremonial sites are defined as astronomical observation posts, intaglios, and petroglyph sites. Religious academies, schools, parsonages, convents, and rectories are considered church schools and church related residences.¹⁴³ Data categories related to the church buildings of the Calumet - Laurium settlement area include architecture, art (i.e. stained-glass and interior murals), community planning and development (i.e. corporate paternalism in planning), ethnic

¹⁴³ National Register Bulletin 16A (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, 1991) p. 21.

heritage, industry, religion, and social history.¹⁴⁴

The churches of the settlement area should be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places as a multiple property listing. Perhaps through the Ethnic Embassy and Religious Heritage and under contract with a federal, state, or local agency, the process of submitting the multiple properties as a thematic group should be undertaken. At a minimum a consultant for such a project should meet the professional qualification guidelines specified in the "Secretary of Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation."¹⁴⁵

Conclusion

Because the church buildings of the Calumet-Laurium settlement area reflect both the place in which they were built and their symbolic role as ethnic and denominational forms, they are cultural resources especially deserving of preservation. Their means of preservation should range from enhancing their use while employing regulatory and financial tools to documenting them to meet the standards of the National Register of Historic Places.

As embodiments of ethnic, denominational, and regional history, the interpretive value of the church buildings should be equalled by efforts to preserve them materially. The design, location, setting, materials, workmanship, and associations, both historical and spiritual, substantiate the case for their preservation and interpretation.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 41.

¹⁴⁵ "Secretary of Interior's Standards and Guidelines," Secretary of Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Preservation Planning, Identification, Evaluation, and Registration (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, 1992) p. 13.

ILLUSTRATIONS

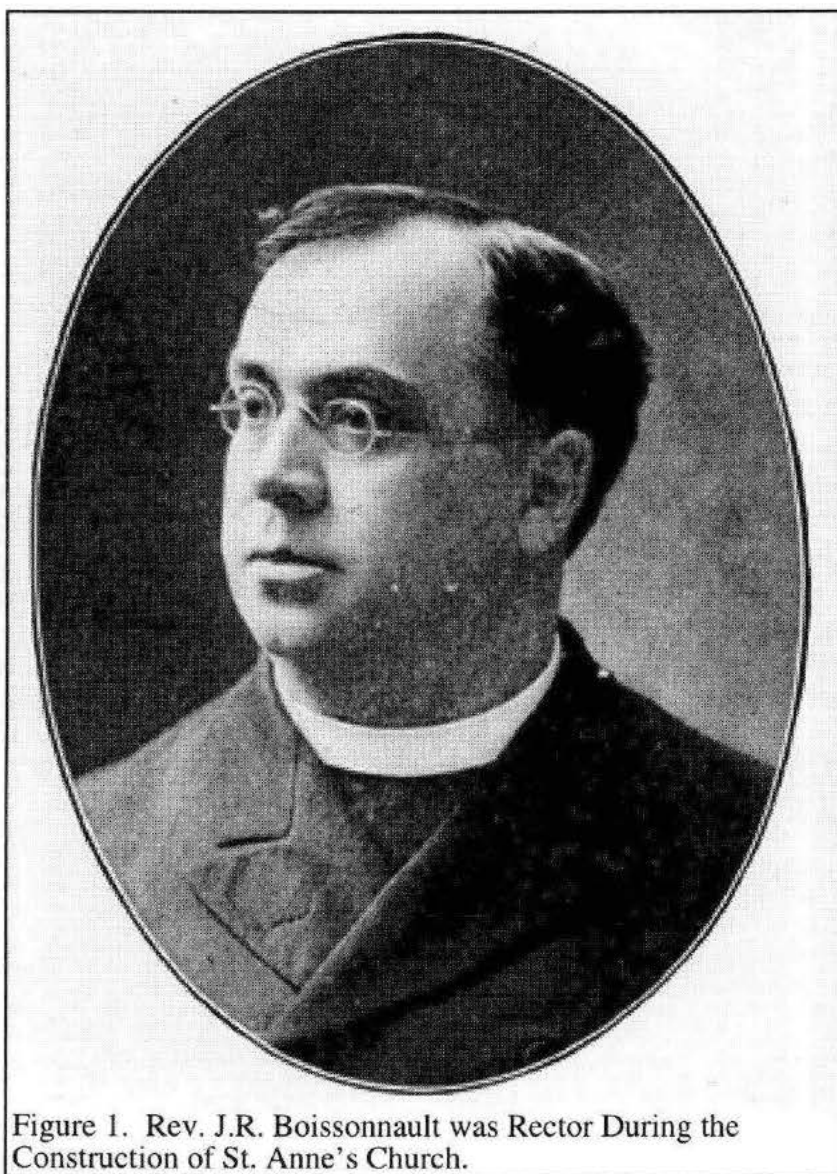


Figure 1. Rev. J.R. Boissonnault was Rector During the Construction of St. Anne's Church.

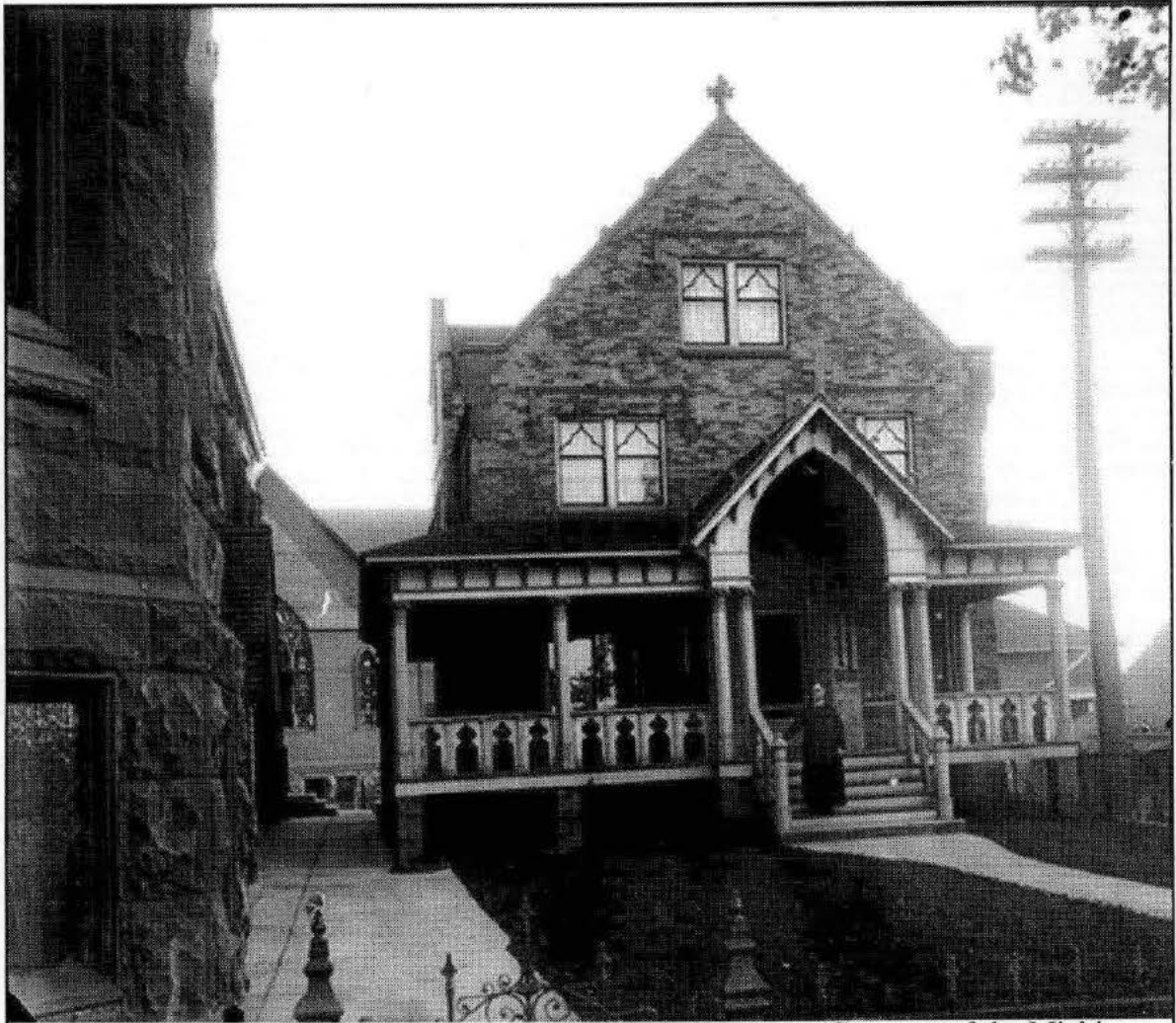


Figure 2. An Historic View of St. Anne's Rectory in Calumet. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and the Copper Country Historical Collections.)

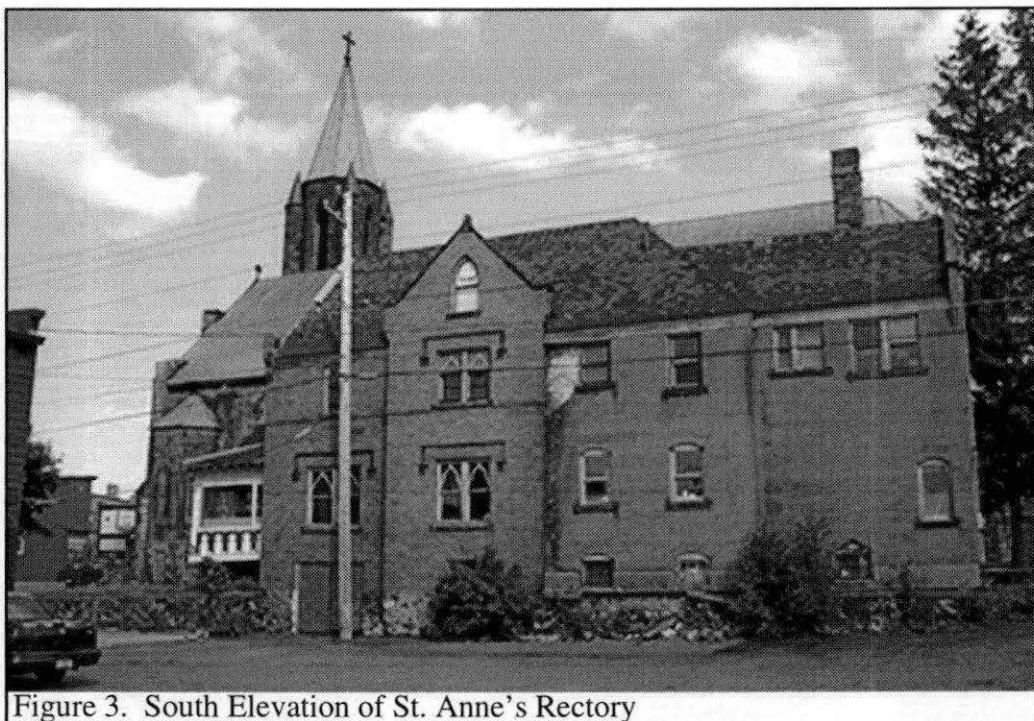


Figure 3. South Elevation of St. Anne's Rectory



Figure 4. Facade of St. Anne's Rectory with the Church in the Background.

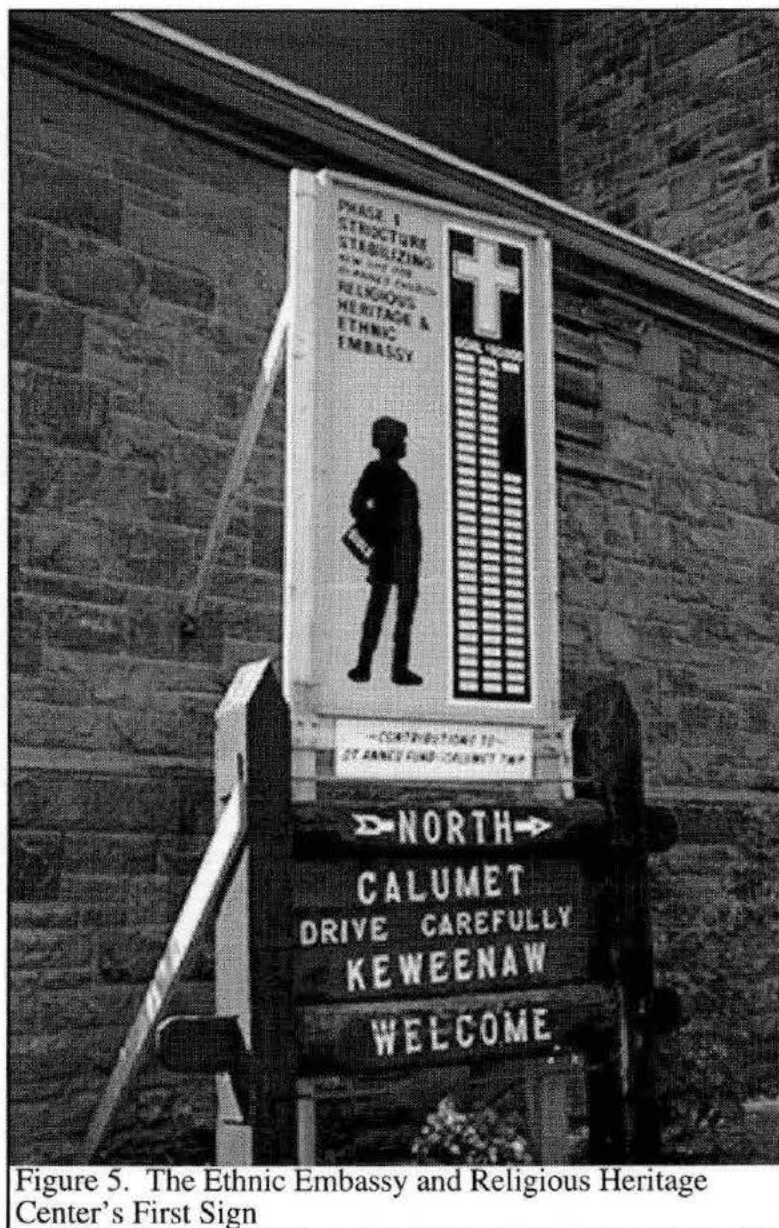


Figure 5. The Ethnic Embassy and Religious Heritage Center's First Sign

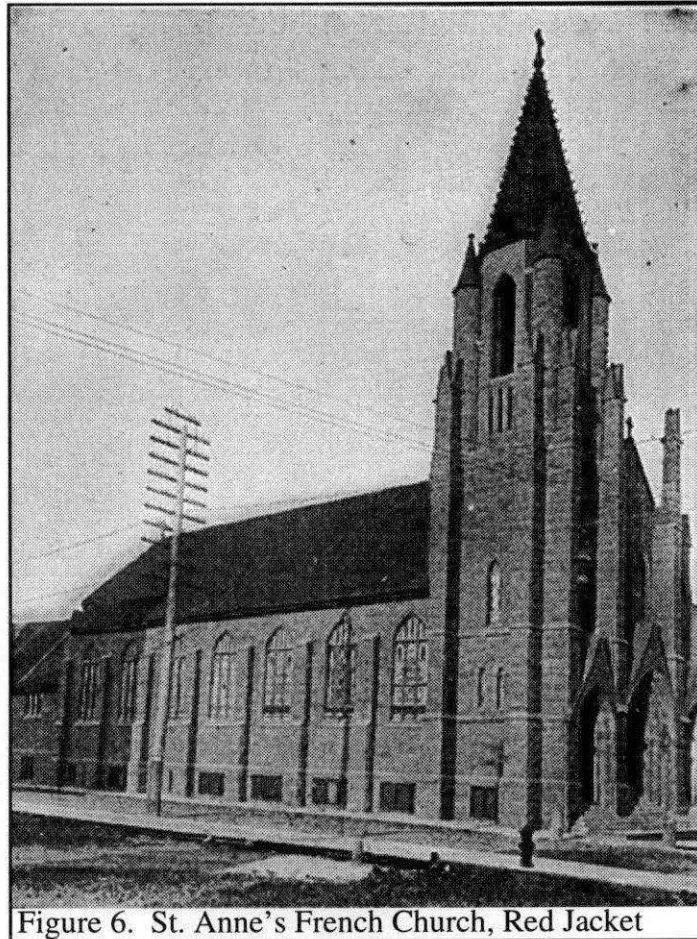


Figure 6. St. Anne's French Church, Red Jacket

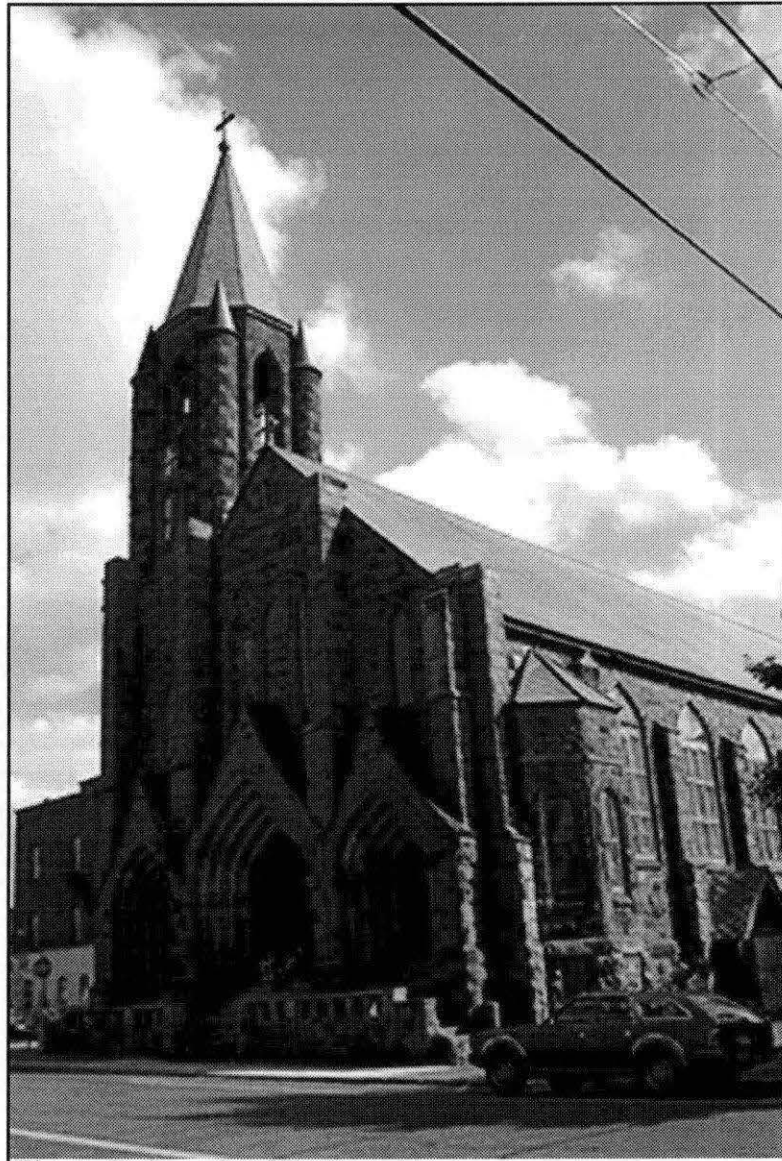


Figure 7. Facade of St. Anne's

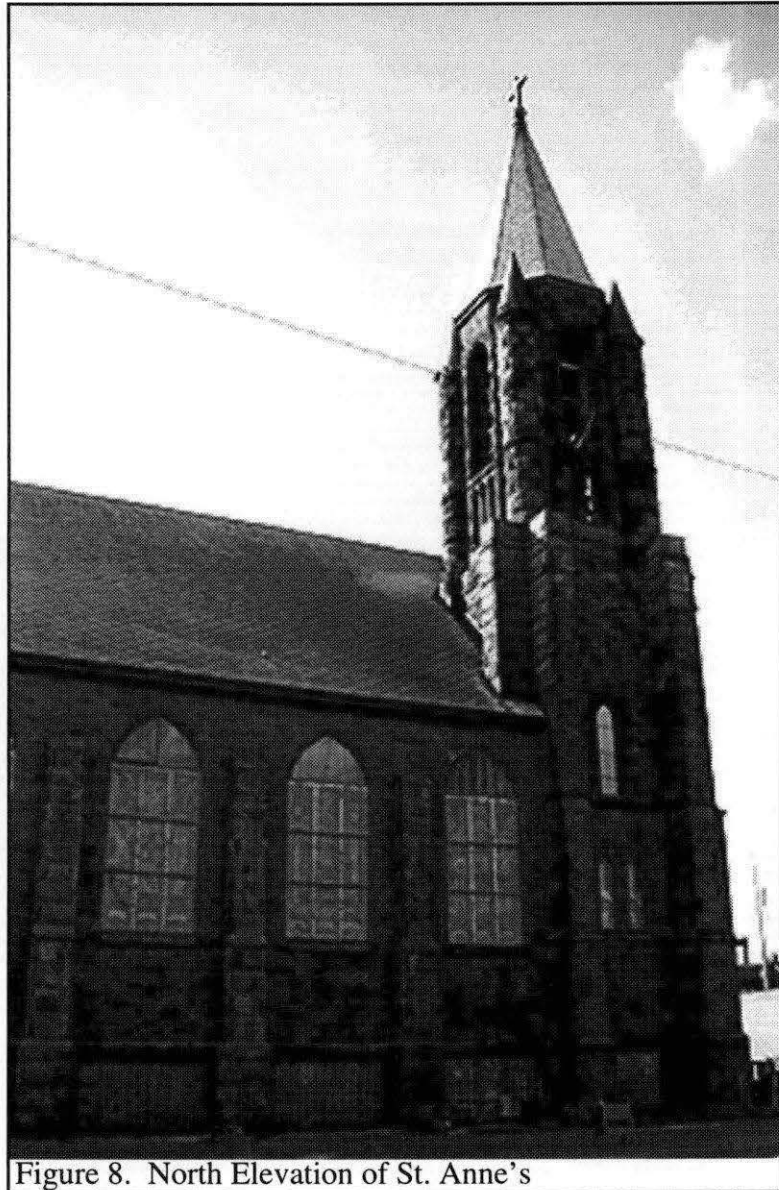


Figure 8. North Elevation of St. Anne's

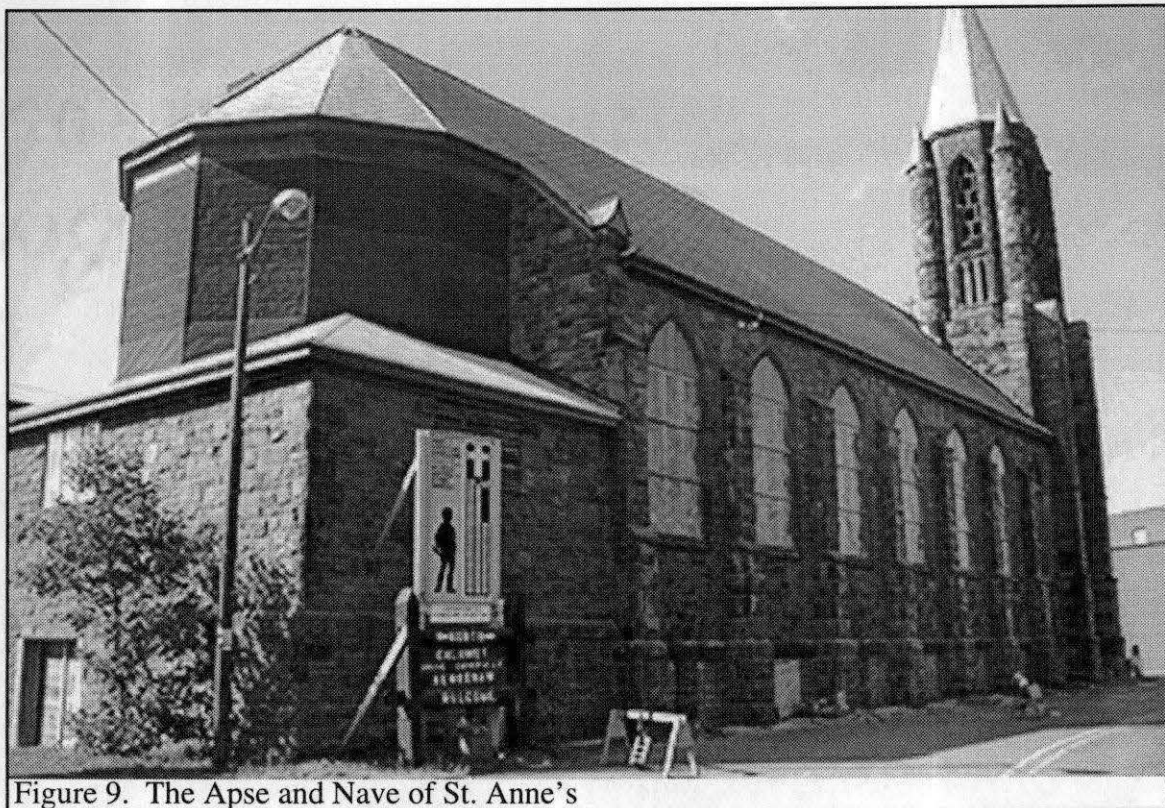


Figure 9. The Apse and Nave of St. Anne's

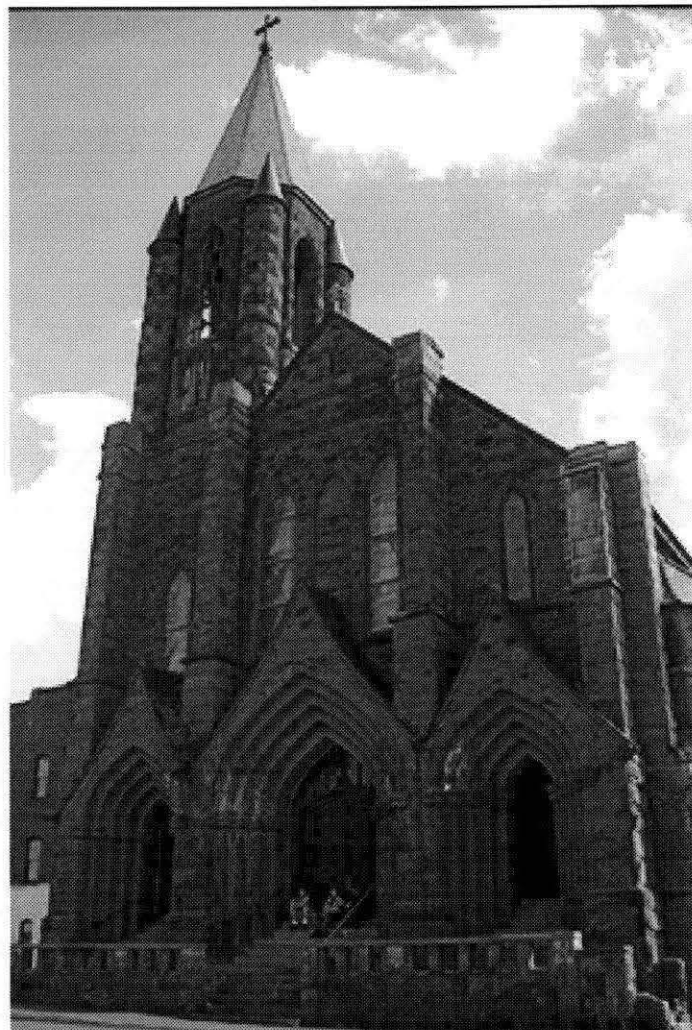


Figure 10. Facade of St. Anne's Church

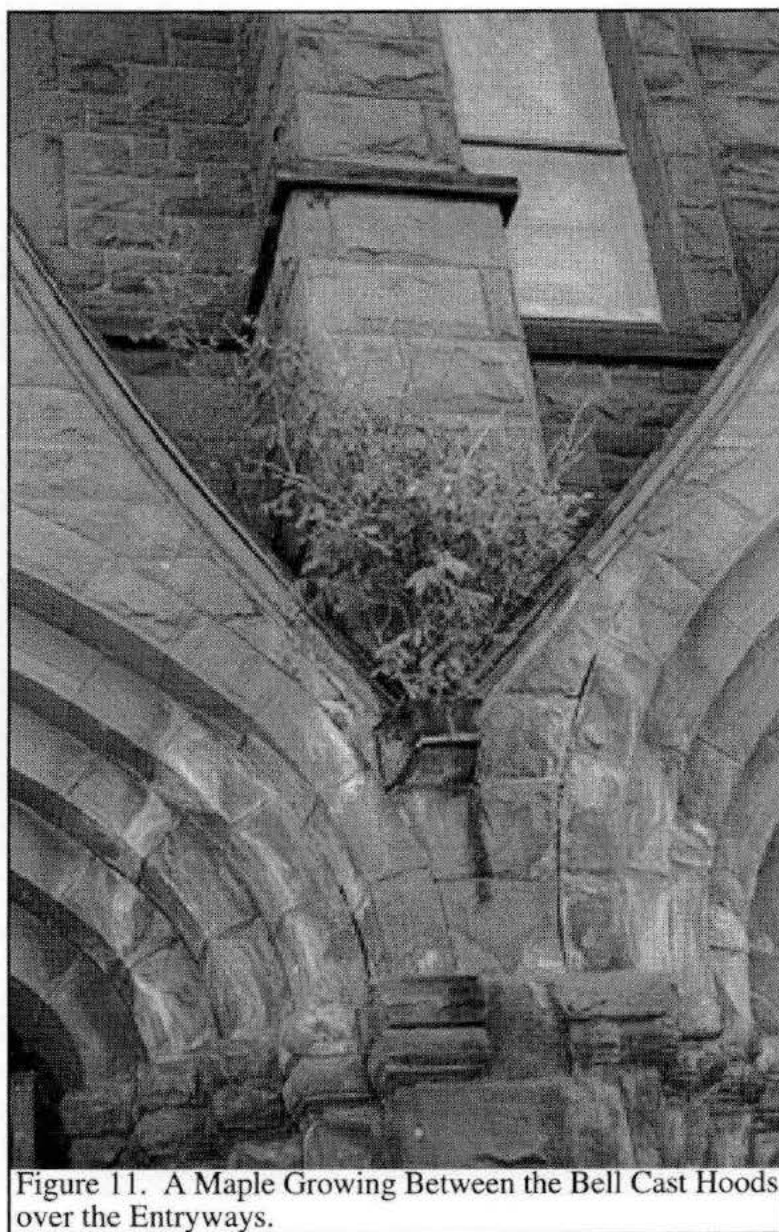


Figure 11. A Maple Growing Between the Bell Cast Hoods over the Entryways.

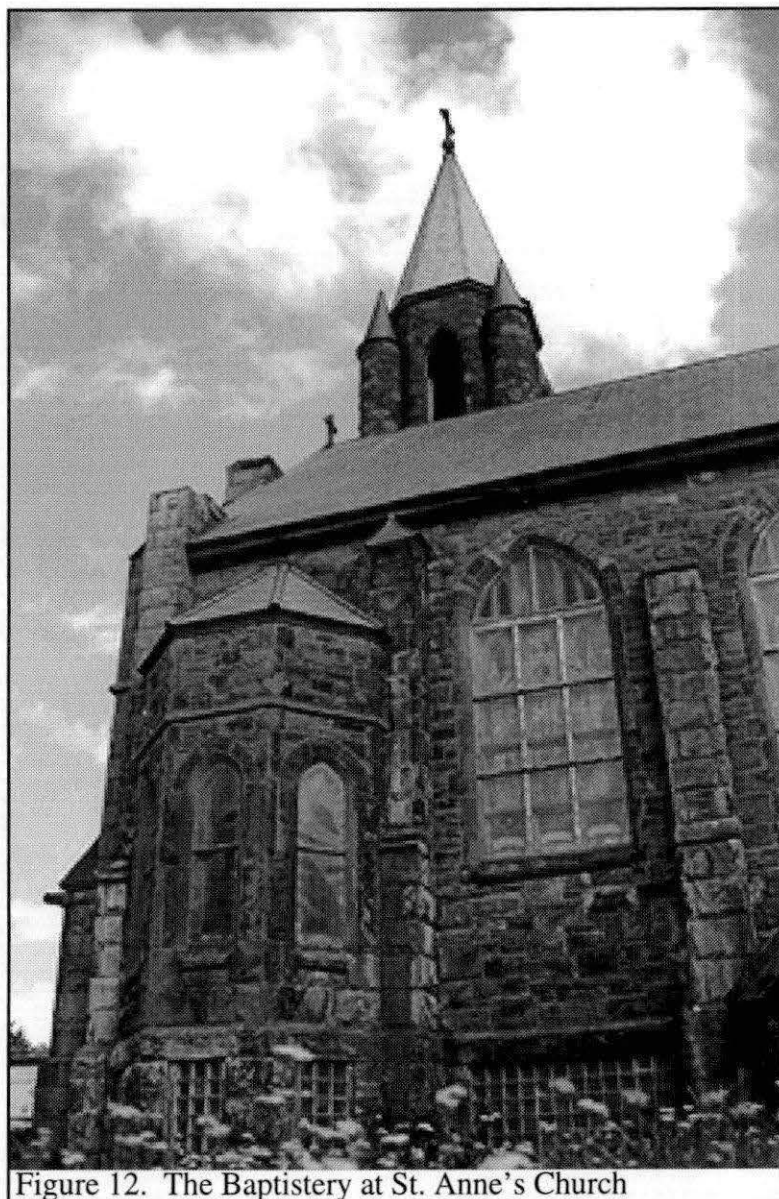


Figure 12. The Baptistery at St. Anne's Church

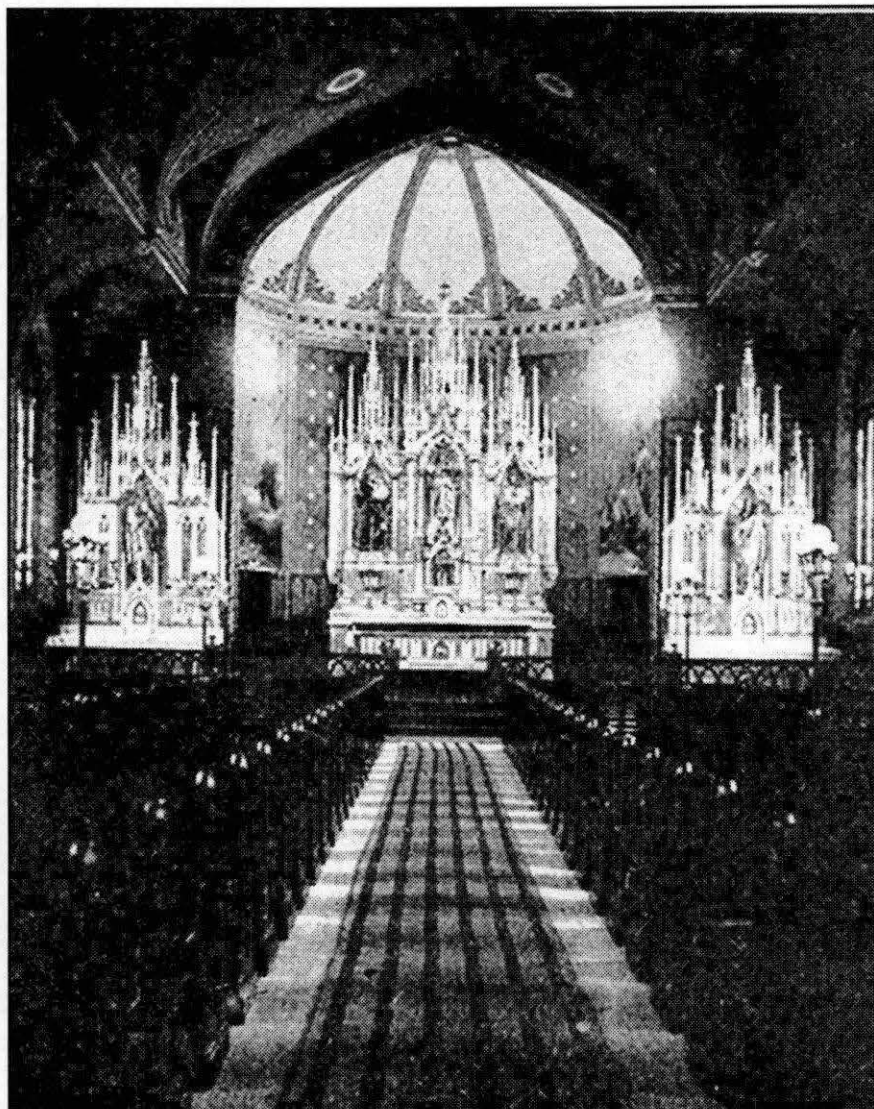


Figure 13. Interior of St. Anne's French Church, Red Jacket

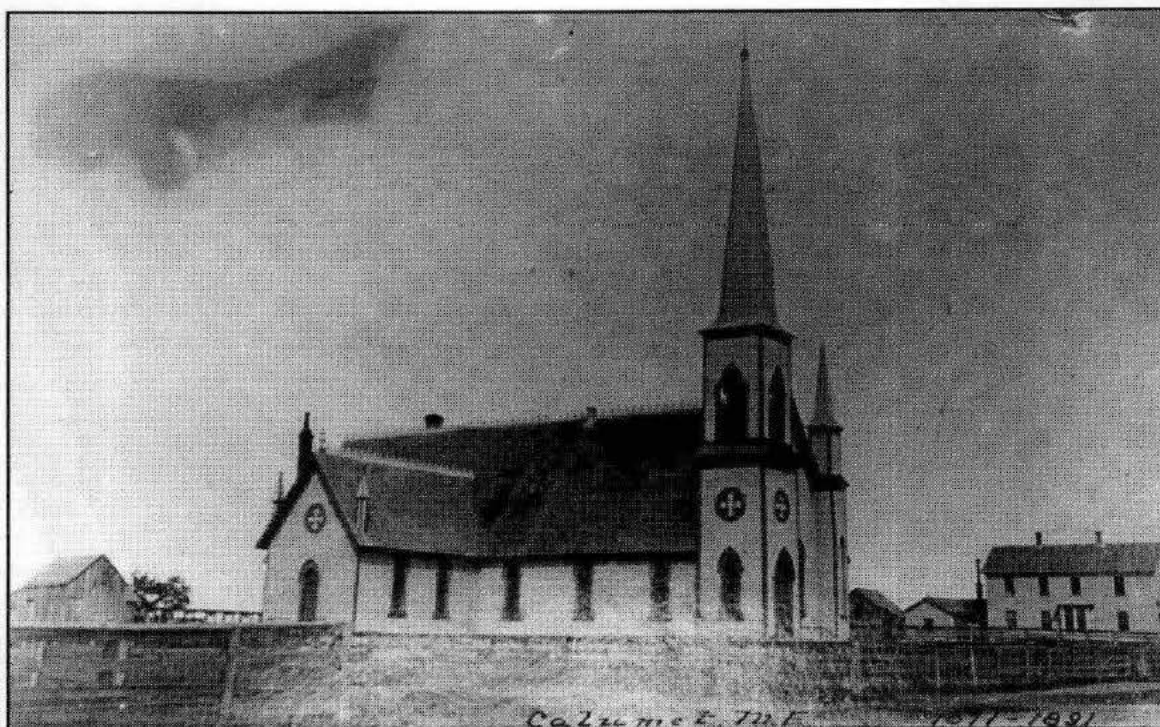


Figure 14. The Methodist Church of Calumet from 1871-1891. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and the Copper Country Historical Collections.)



Figure 15. The Methodist Church and a Shafthouse on the Osceola Amygdaloid.
(Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and the Copper Country
Historical Collections.)



Figure 16. The First Methodist Church, 1893-1955. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and the Copper Country Historical Collections.)

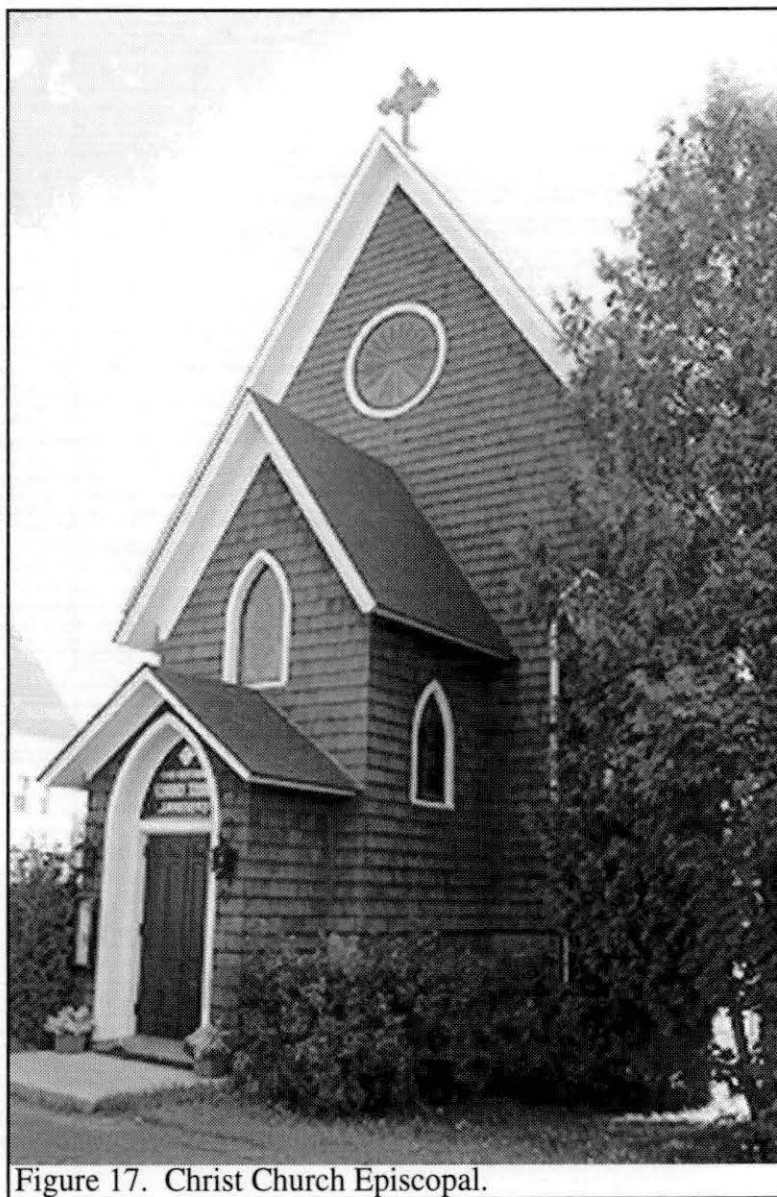


Figure 17. Christ Church Episcopal.

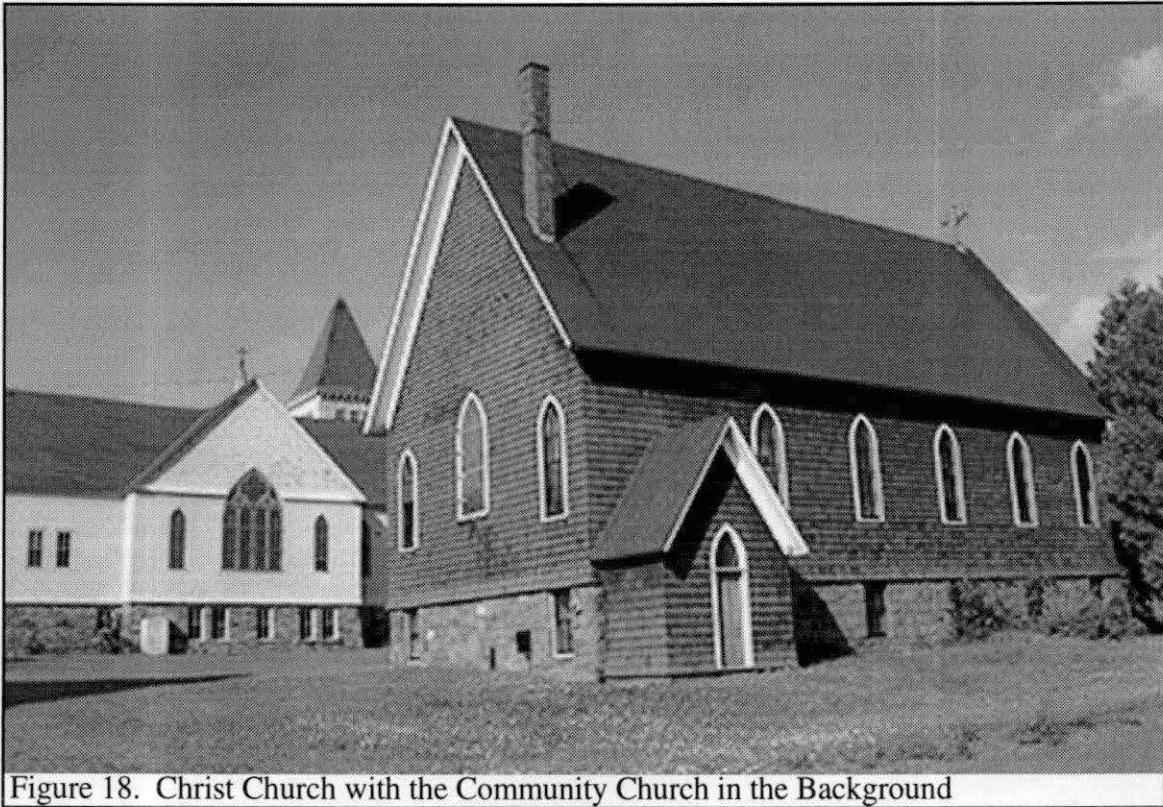


Figure 18. Christ Church with the Community Church in the Background

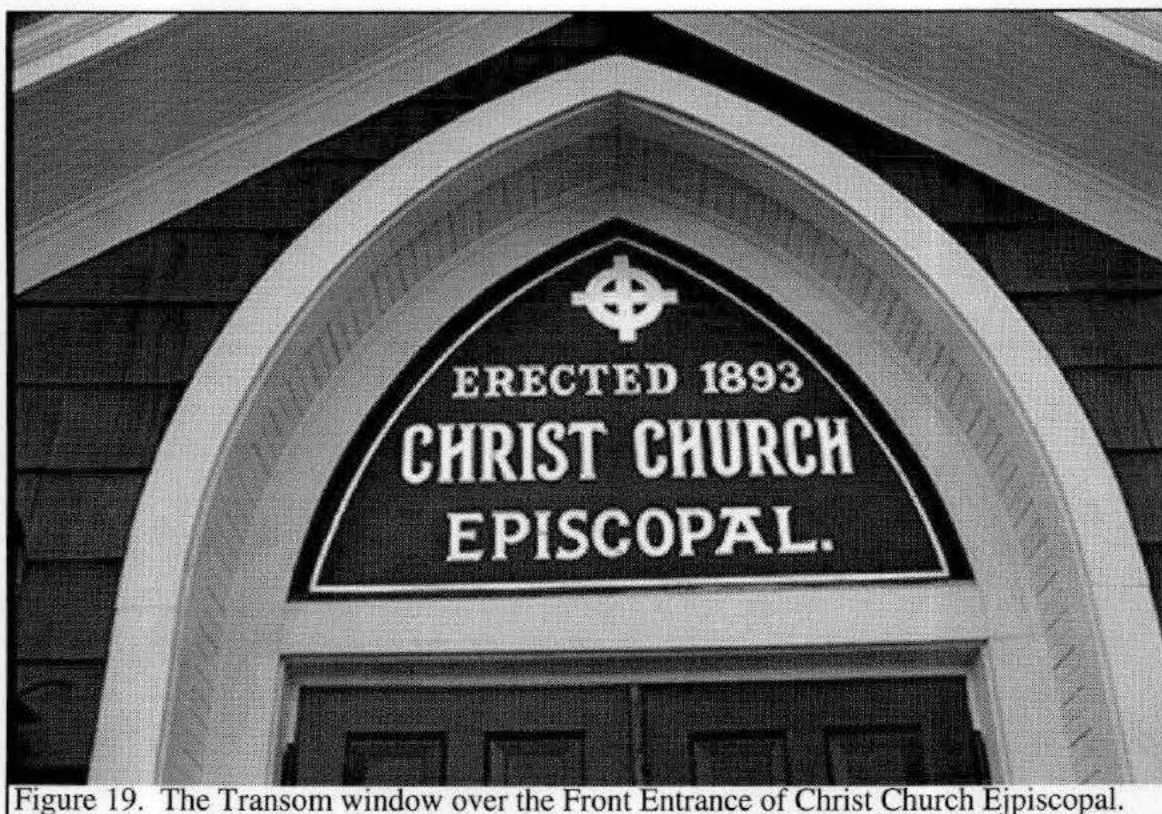


Figure 19. The Transom window over the Front Entrance of Christ Church Episcopal.

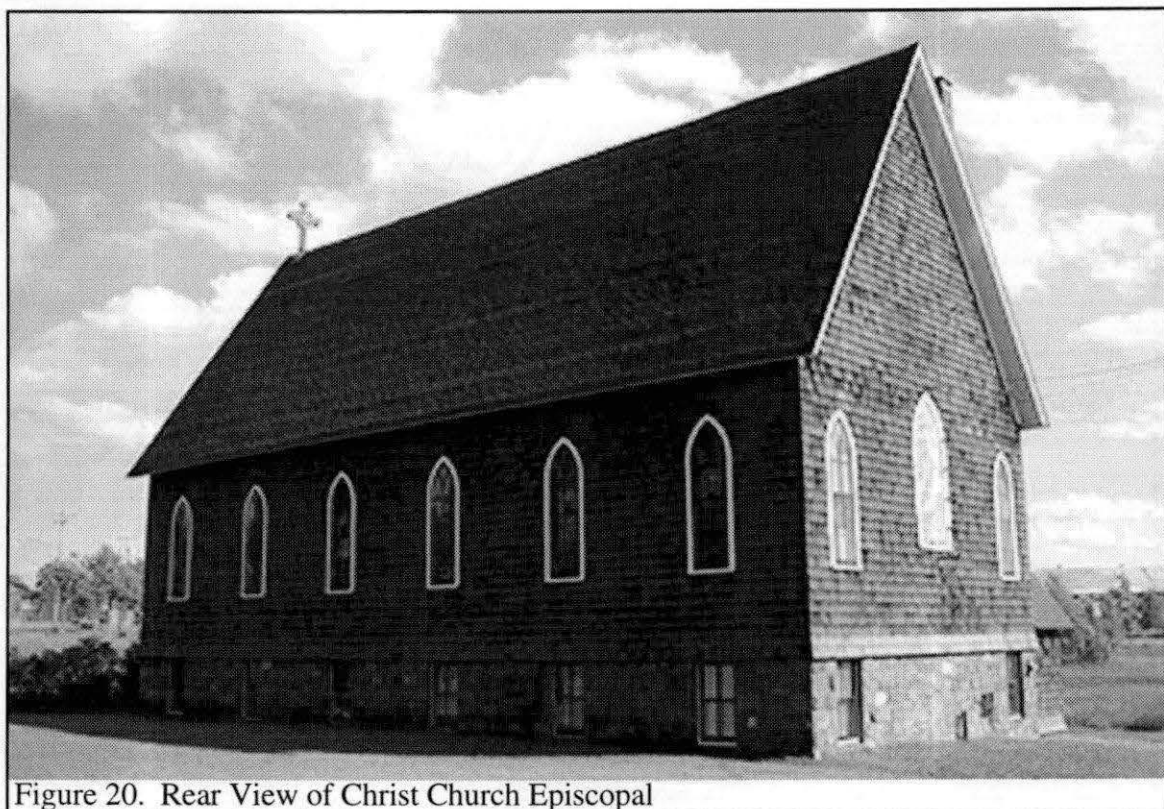


Figure 20. Rear View of Christ Church Episcopal

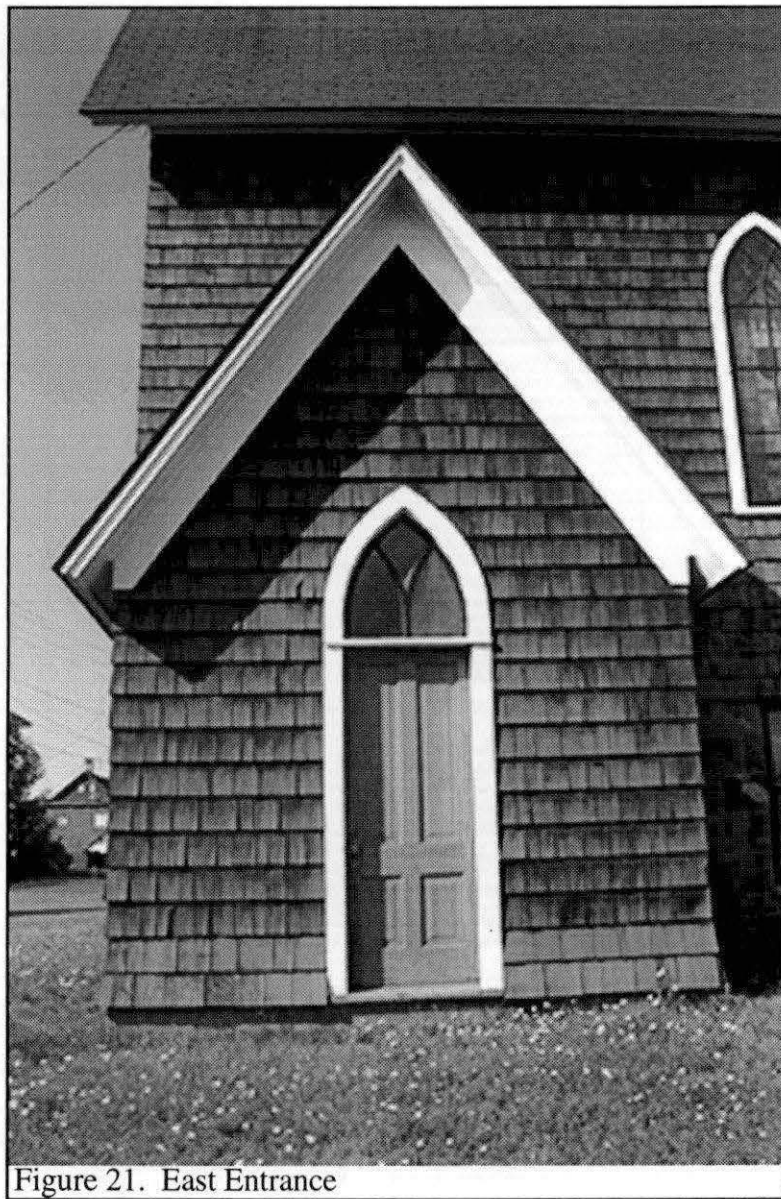


Figure 21. East Entrance

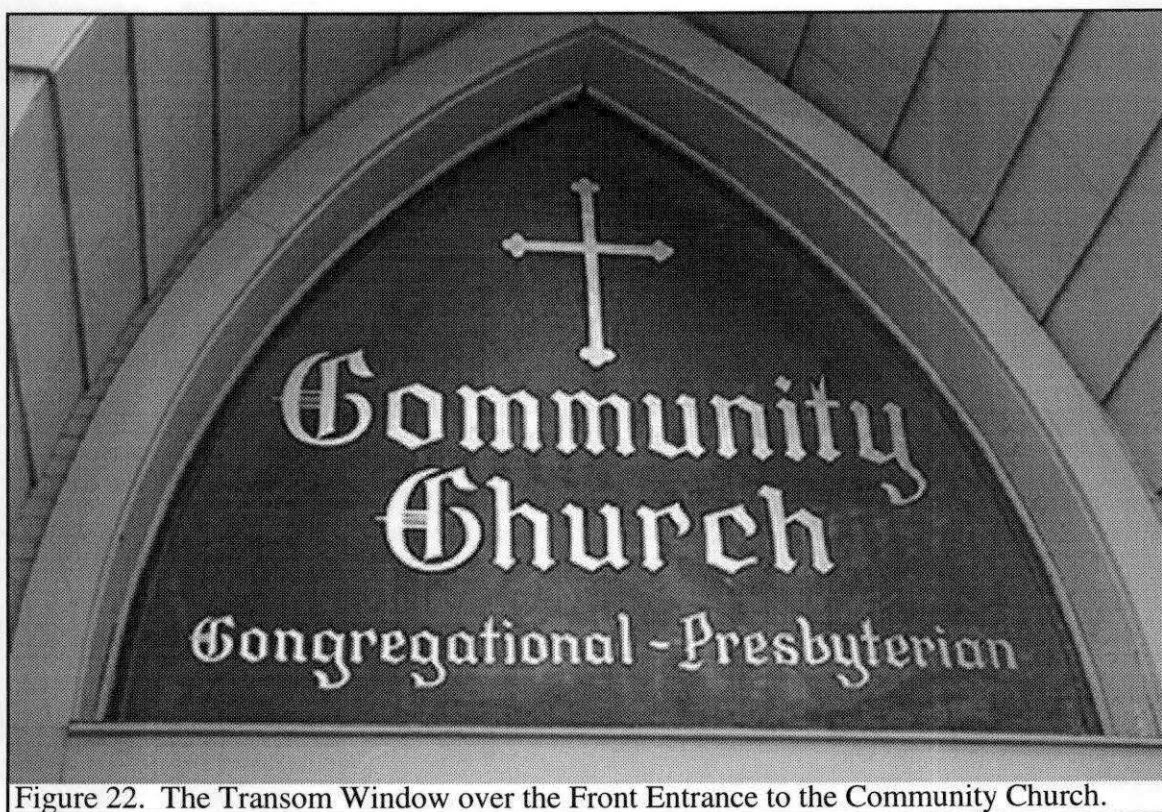


Figure 22. The Transom Window over the Front Entrance to the Community Church.

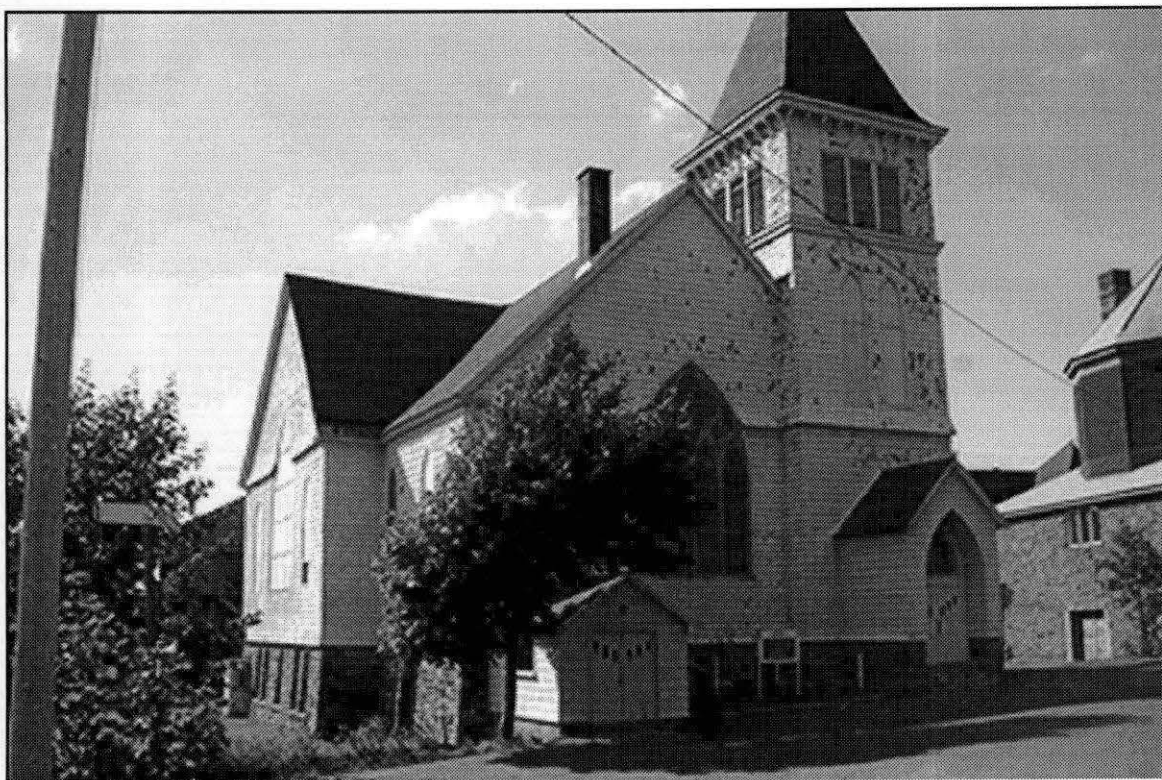


Figure 23. Facade of the Community Church

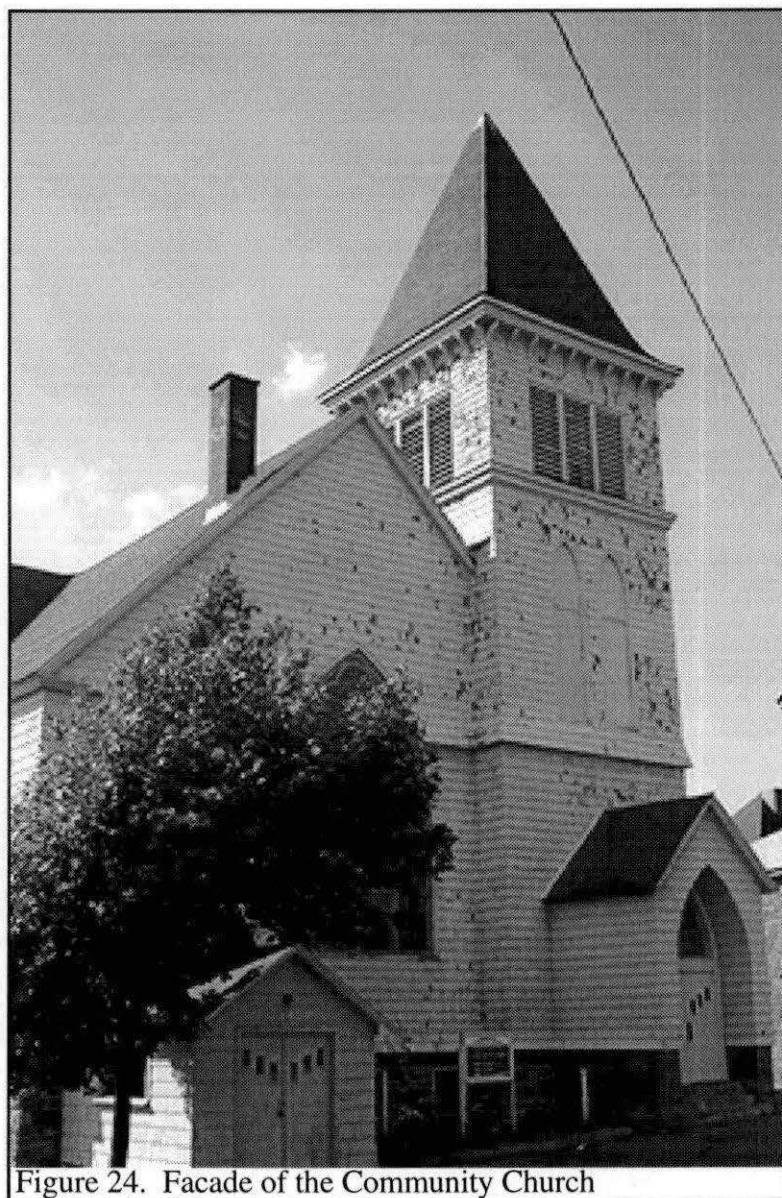


Figure 24. Facade of the Community Church

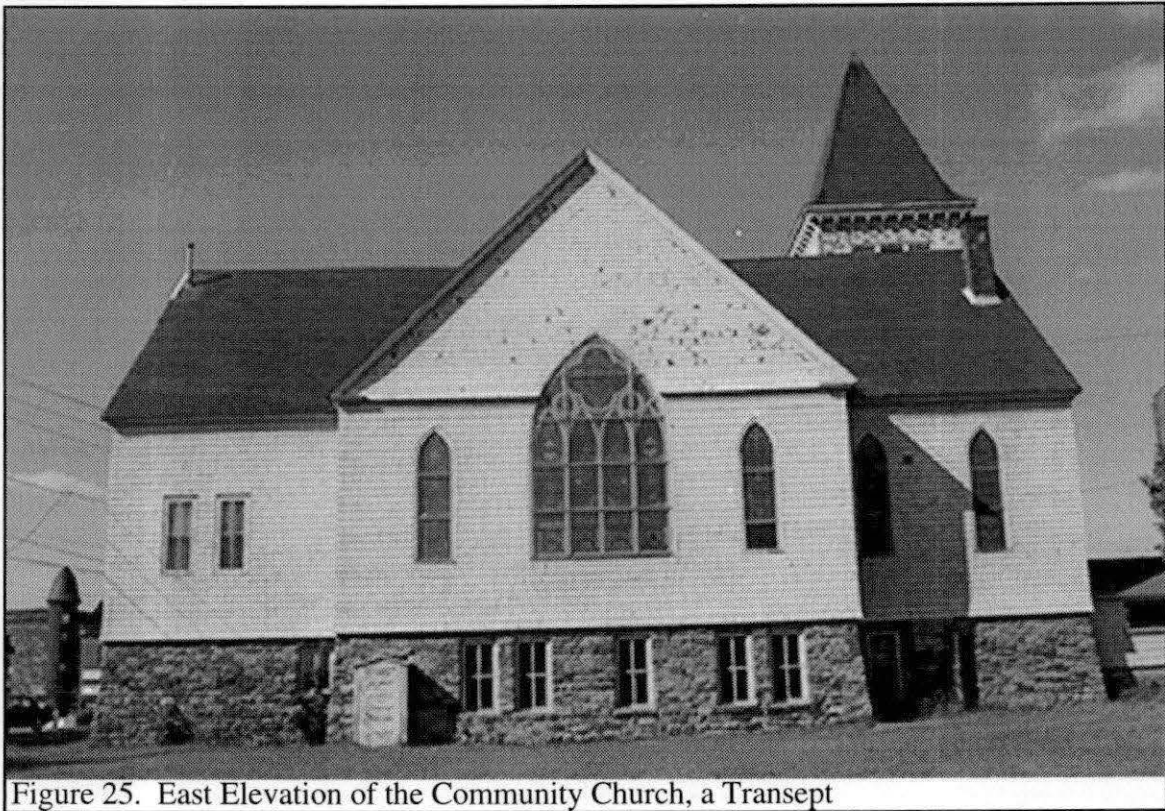


Figure 25. East Elevation of the Community Church, a Transept

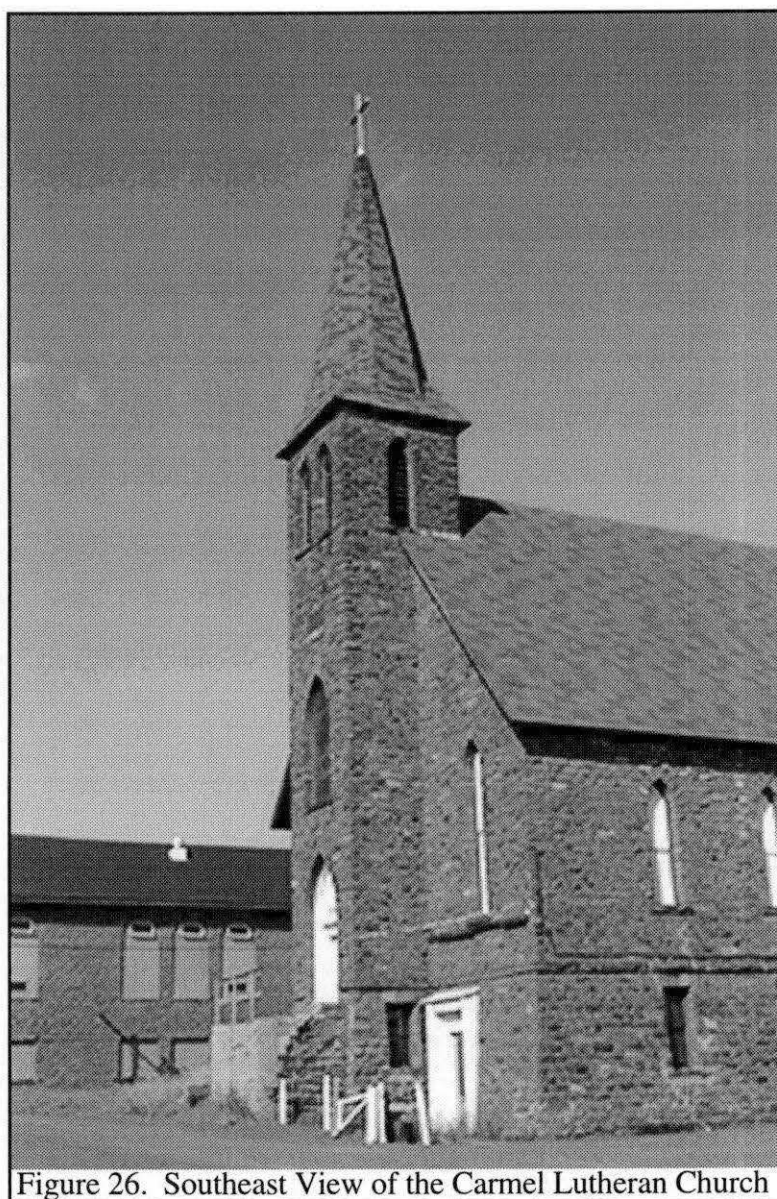


Figure 26. Southeast View of the Carmel Lutheran Church

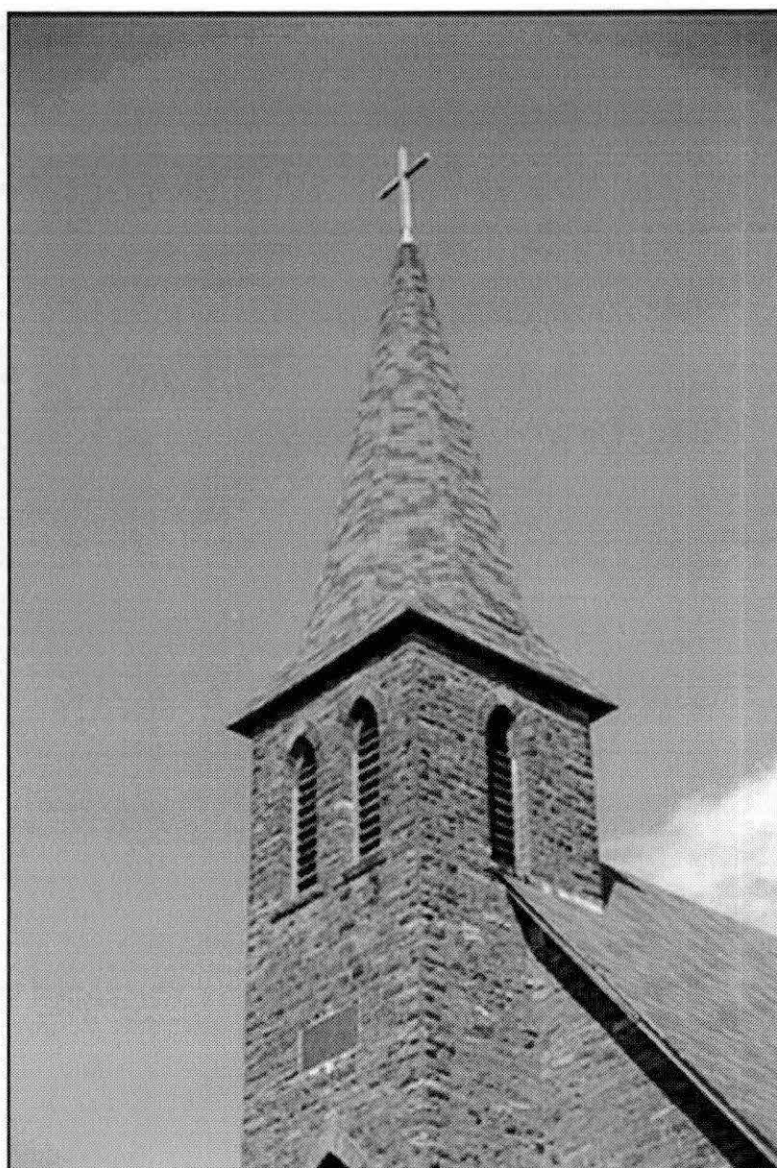


Figure 27. The Bell Tower of the Carmel Lutheran Church



Figure 28. Faith Lutheran, Main Entrance



Figure 29. Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Destroyed by Fire. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and the Copper Country Historical Collections.)

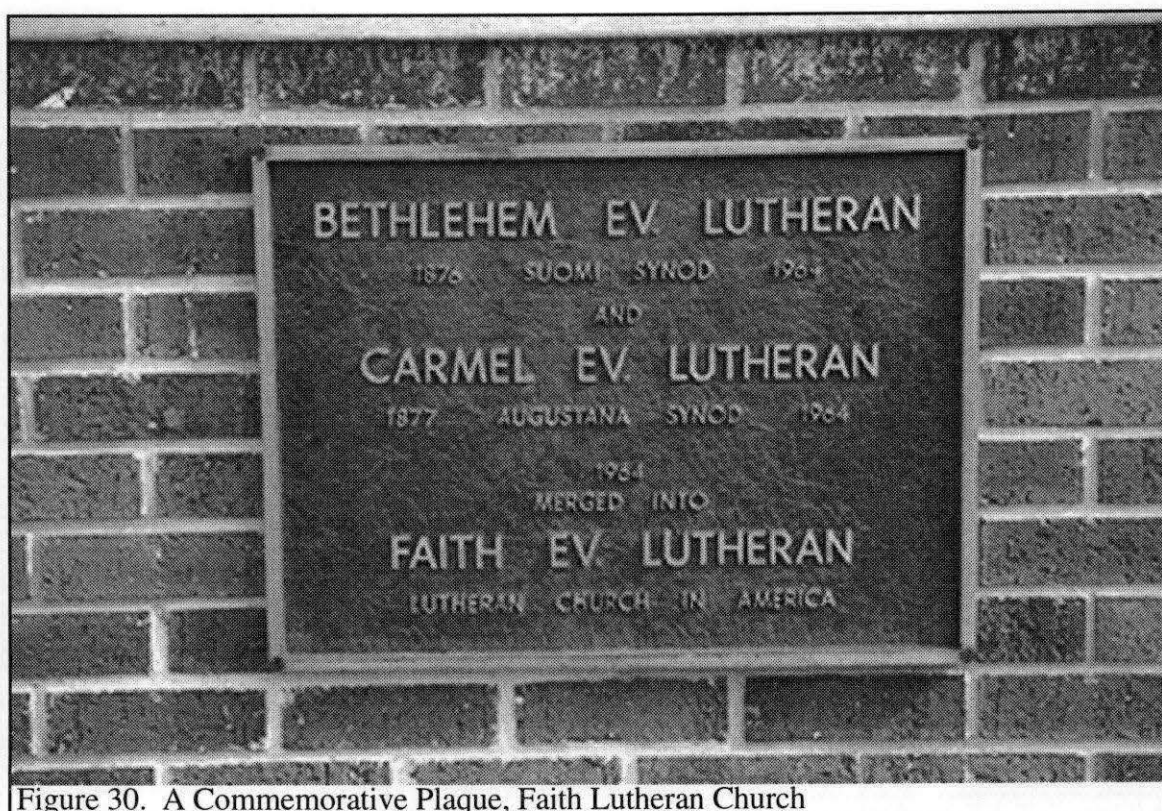


Figure 30. A Commemorative Plaque, Faith Lutheran Church

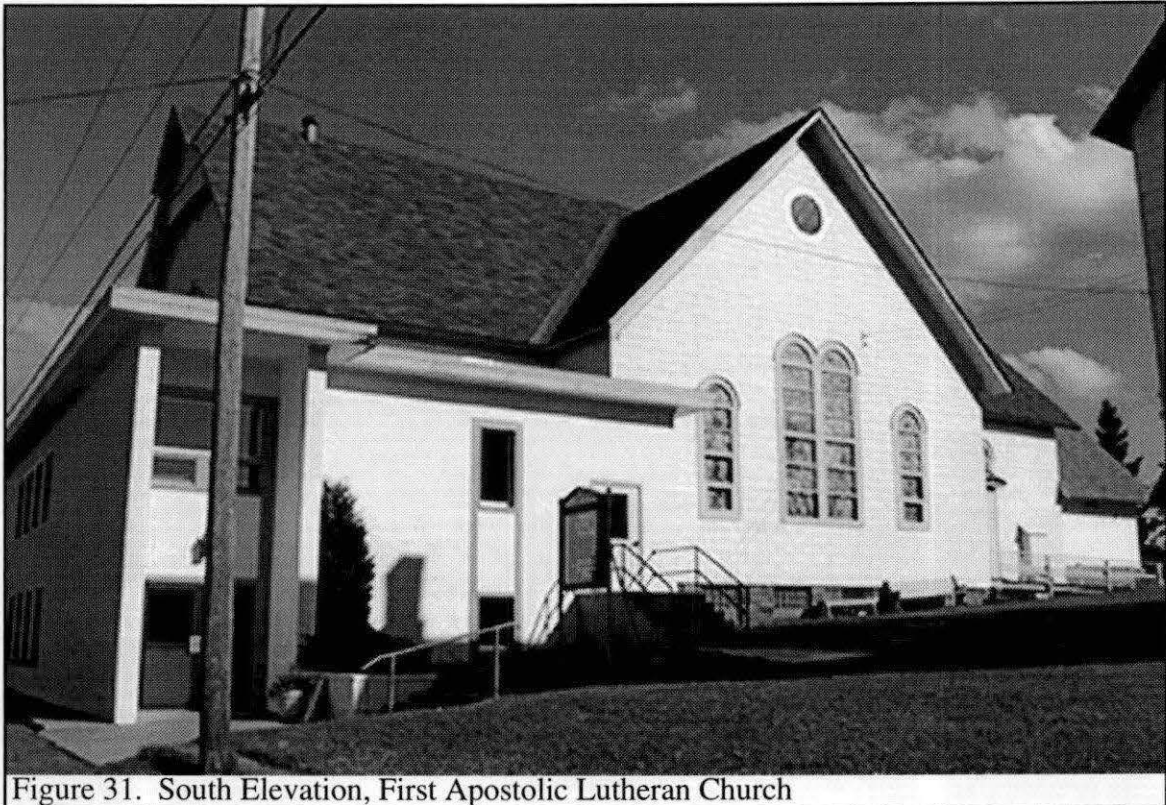


Figure 31. South Elevation, First Apostolic Lutheran Church



Figure 32. Old Apostolic Lutheran Church

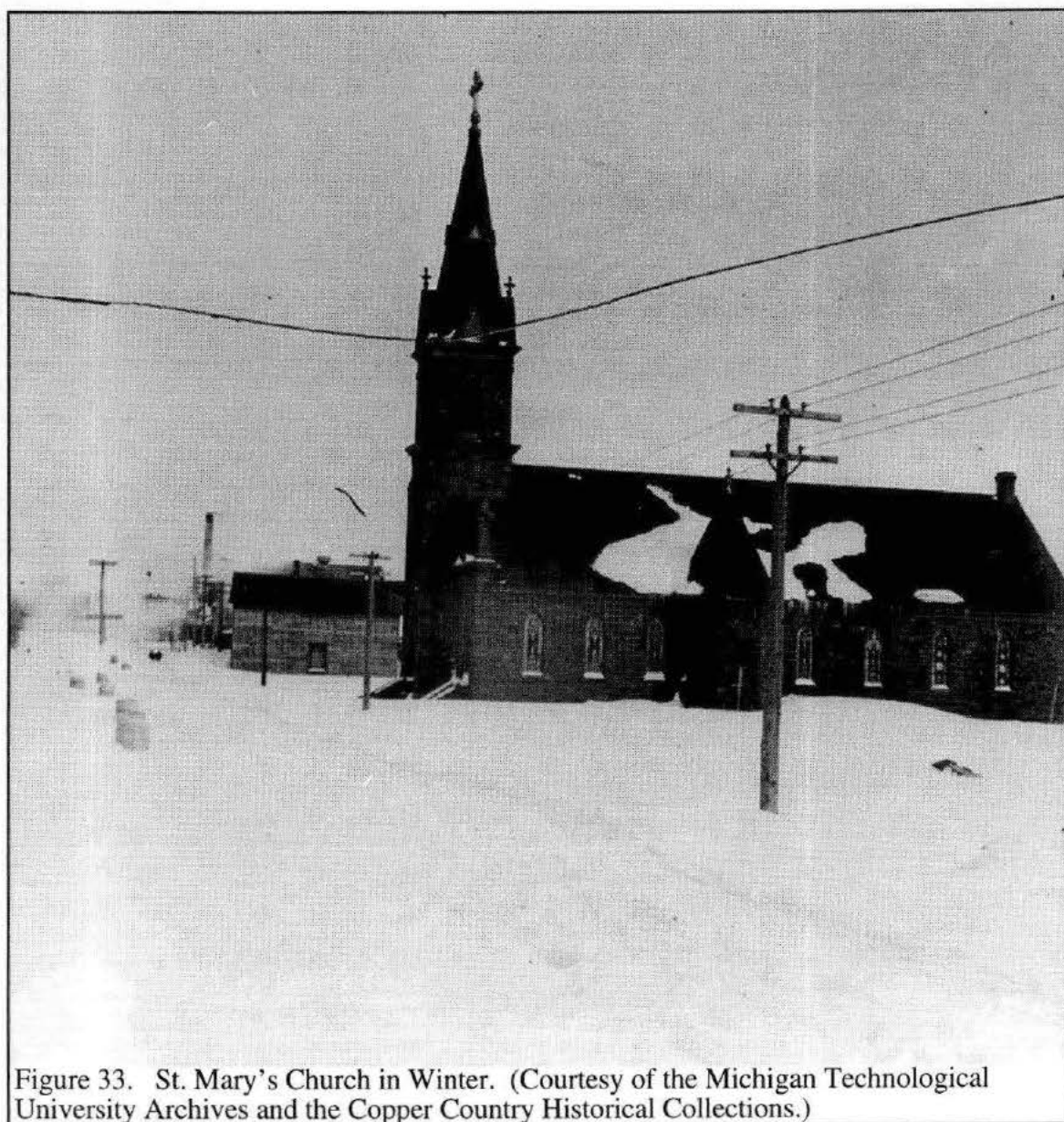


Figure 33. St. Mary's Church in Winter. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and the Copper Country Historical Collections.)

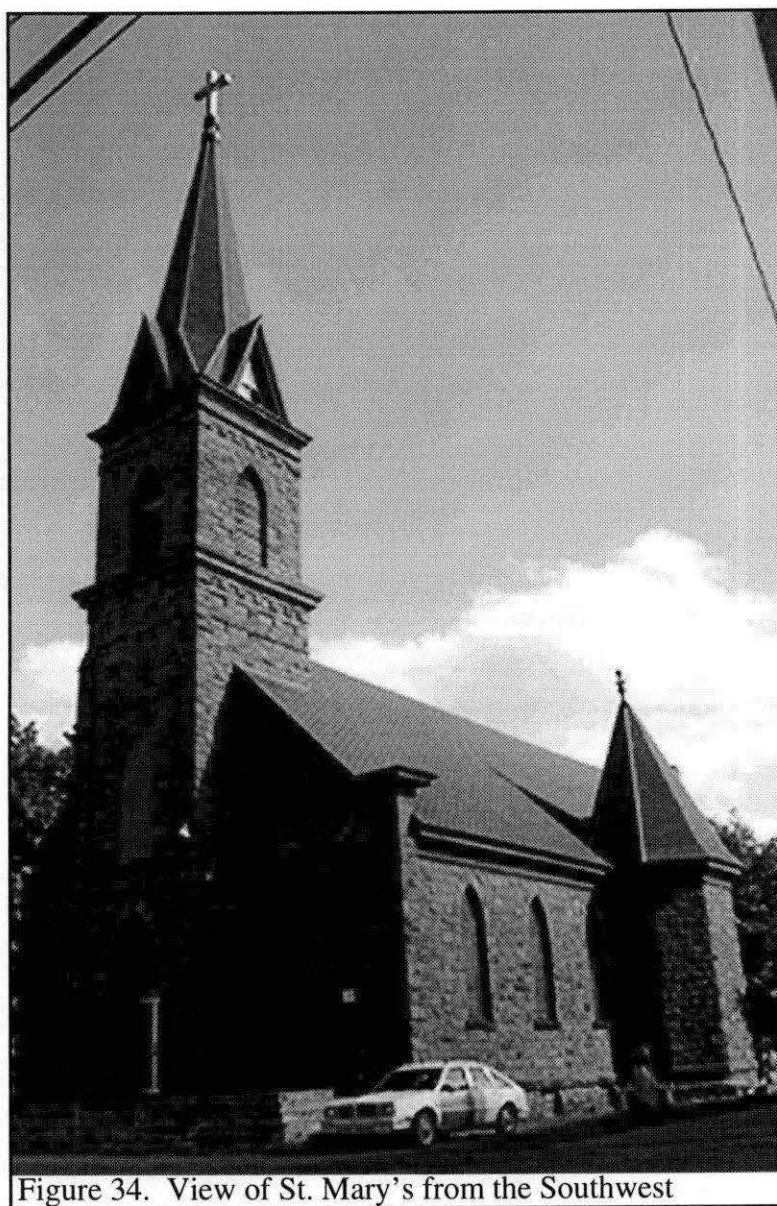


Figure 34. View of St. Mary's from the Southwest

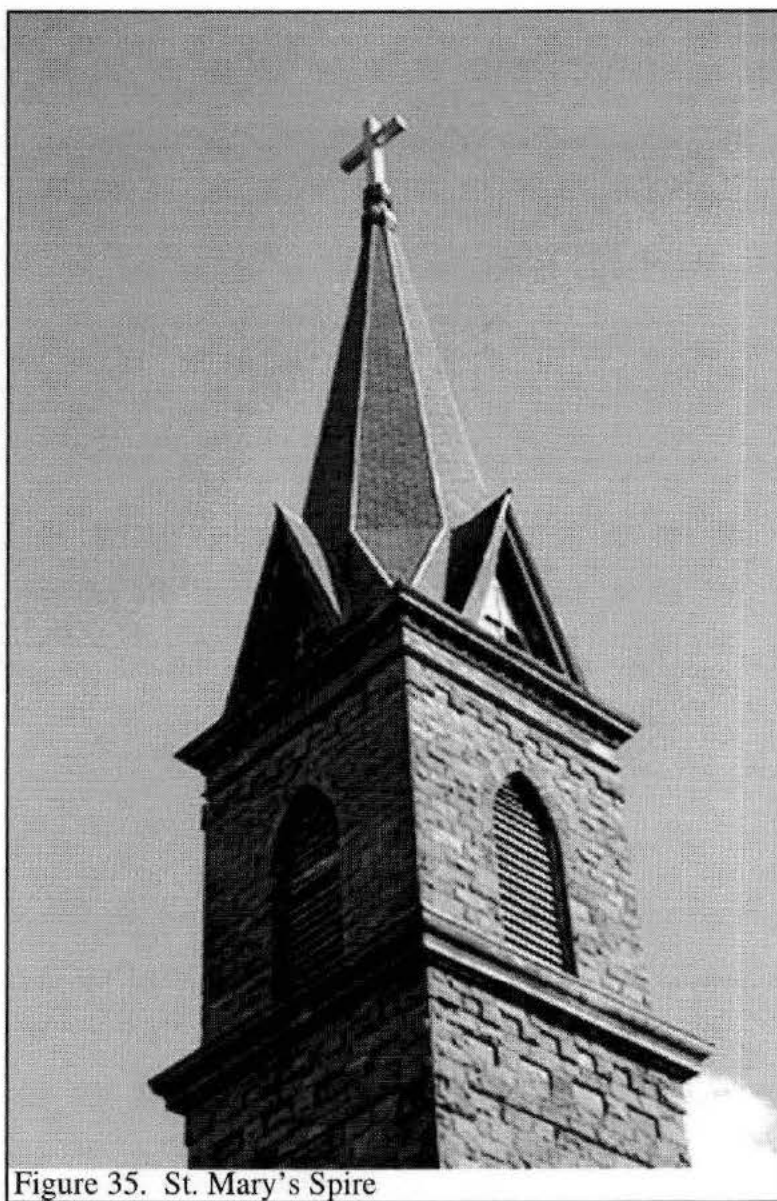


Figure 35. St. Mary's Spire

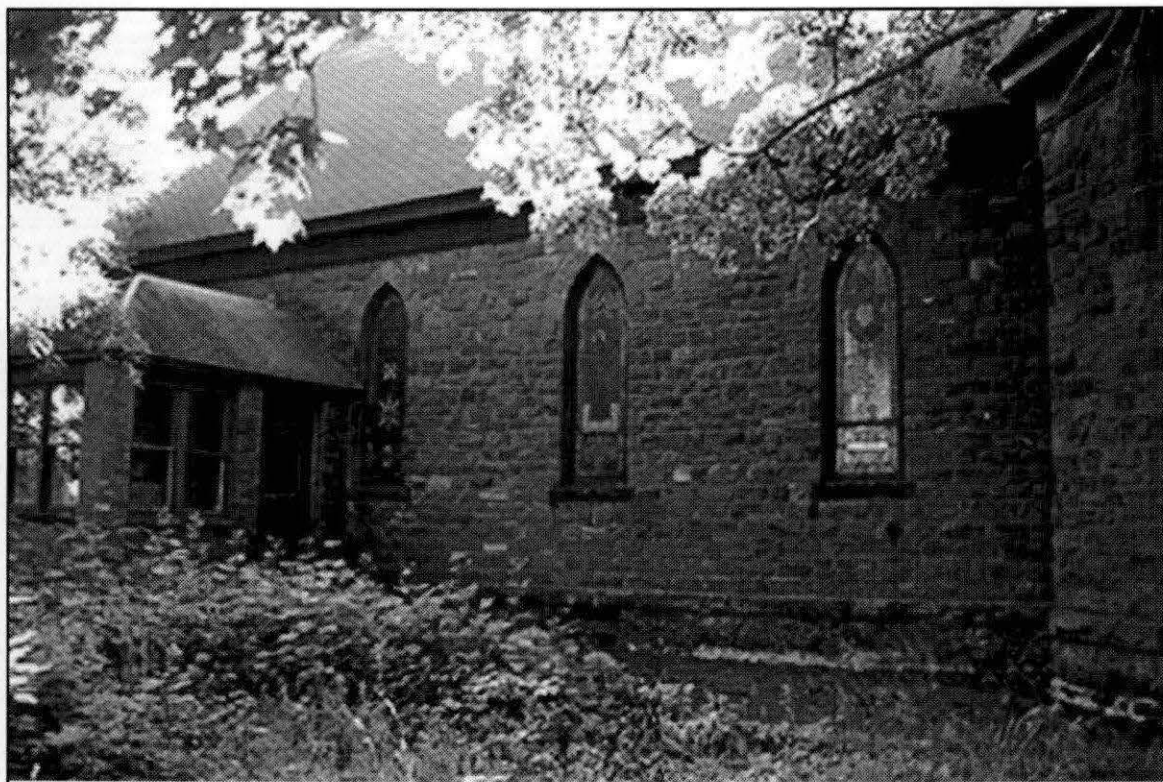


Figure 36. St. Mary's Nave

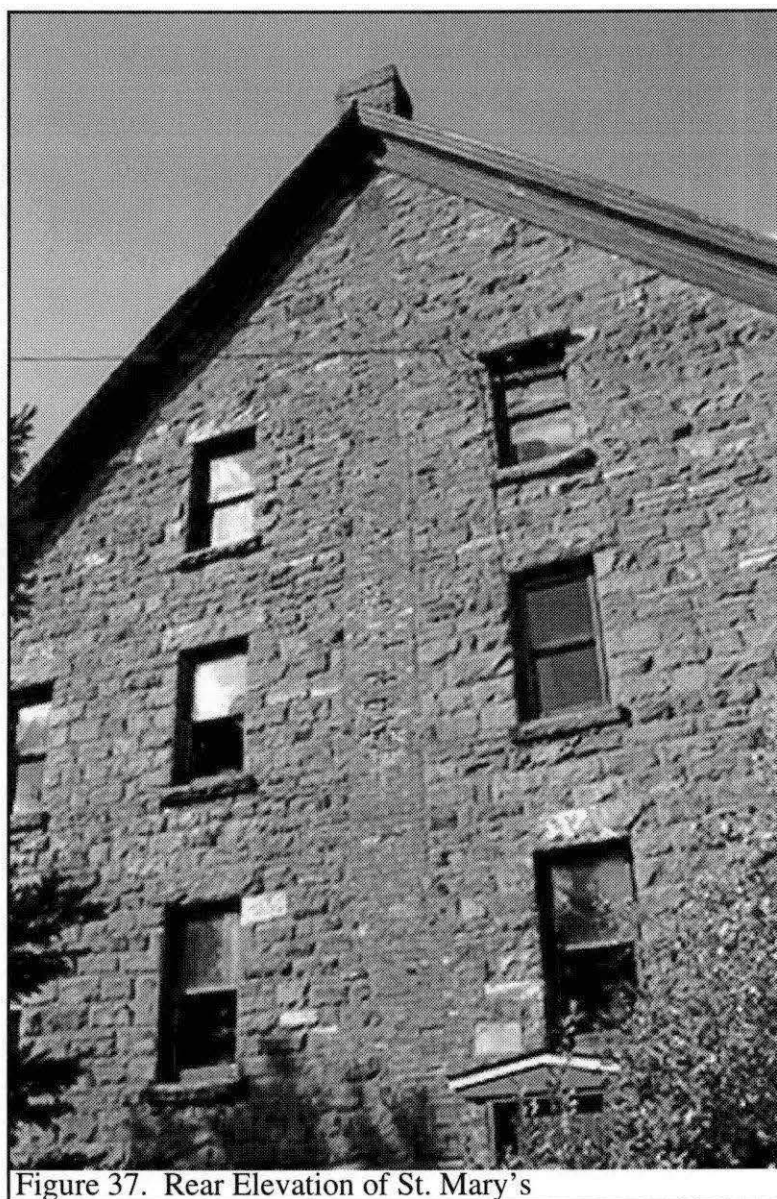


Figure 37. Rear Elevation of St. Mary's

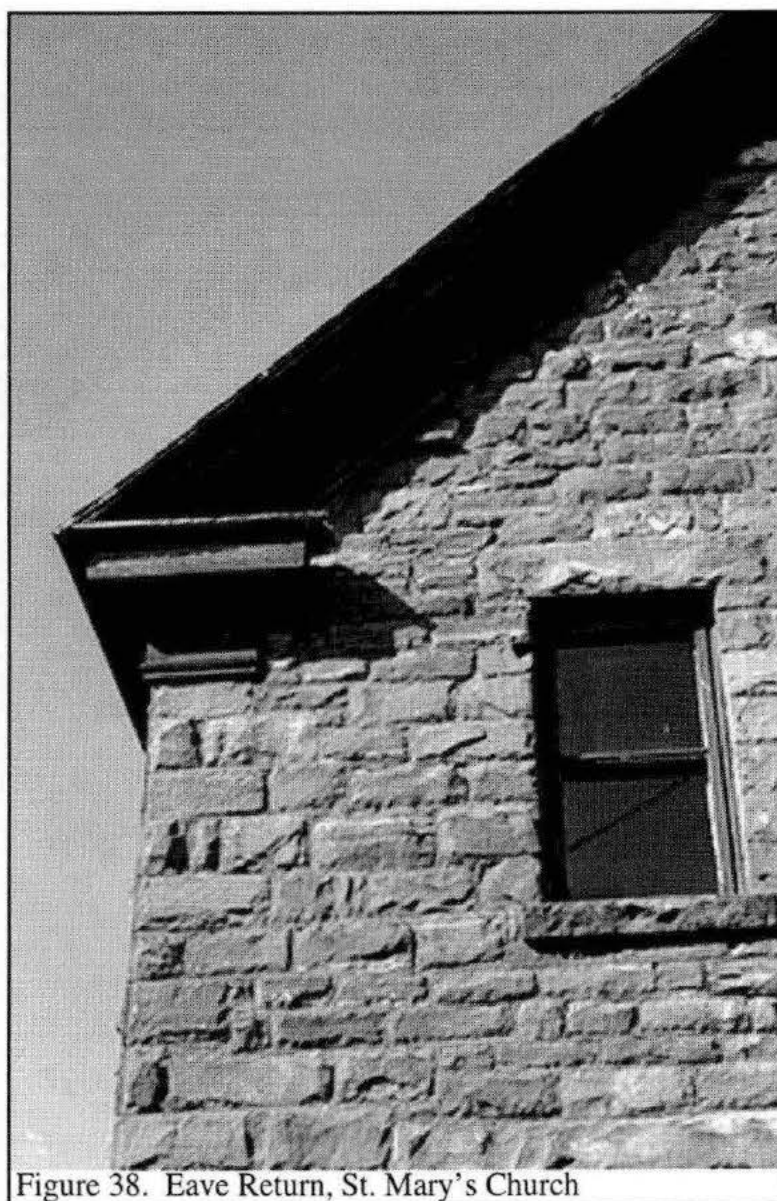


Figure 38. Eave Return, St. Mary's Church

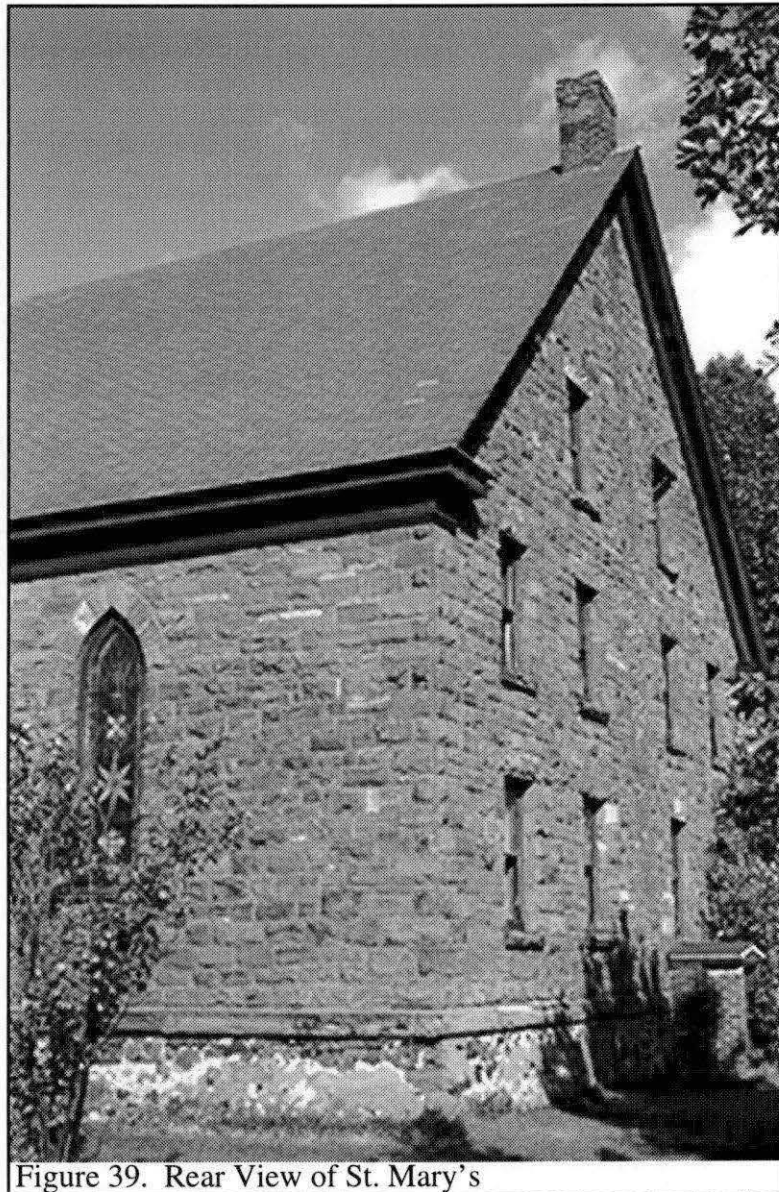


Figure 39. Rear View of St. Mary's

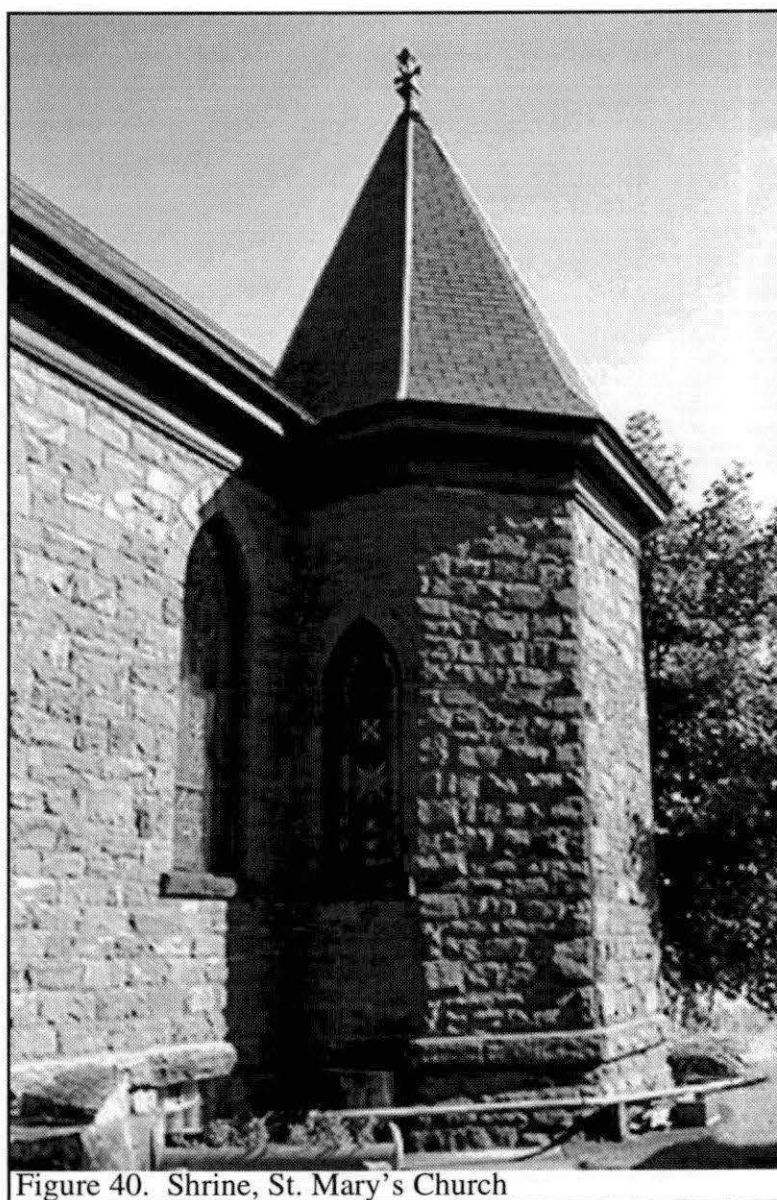


Figure 40. Shrine, St. Mary's Church

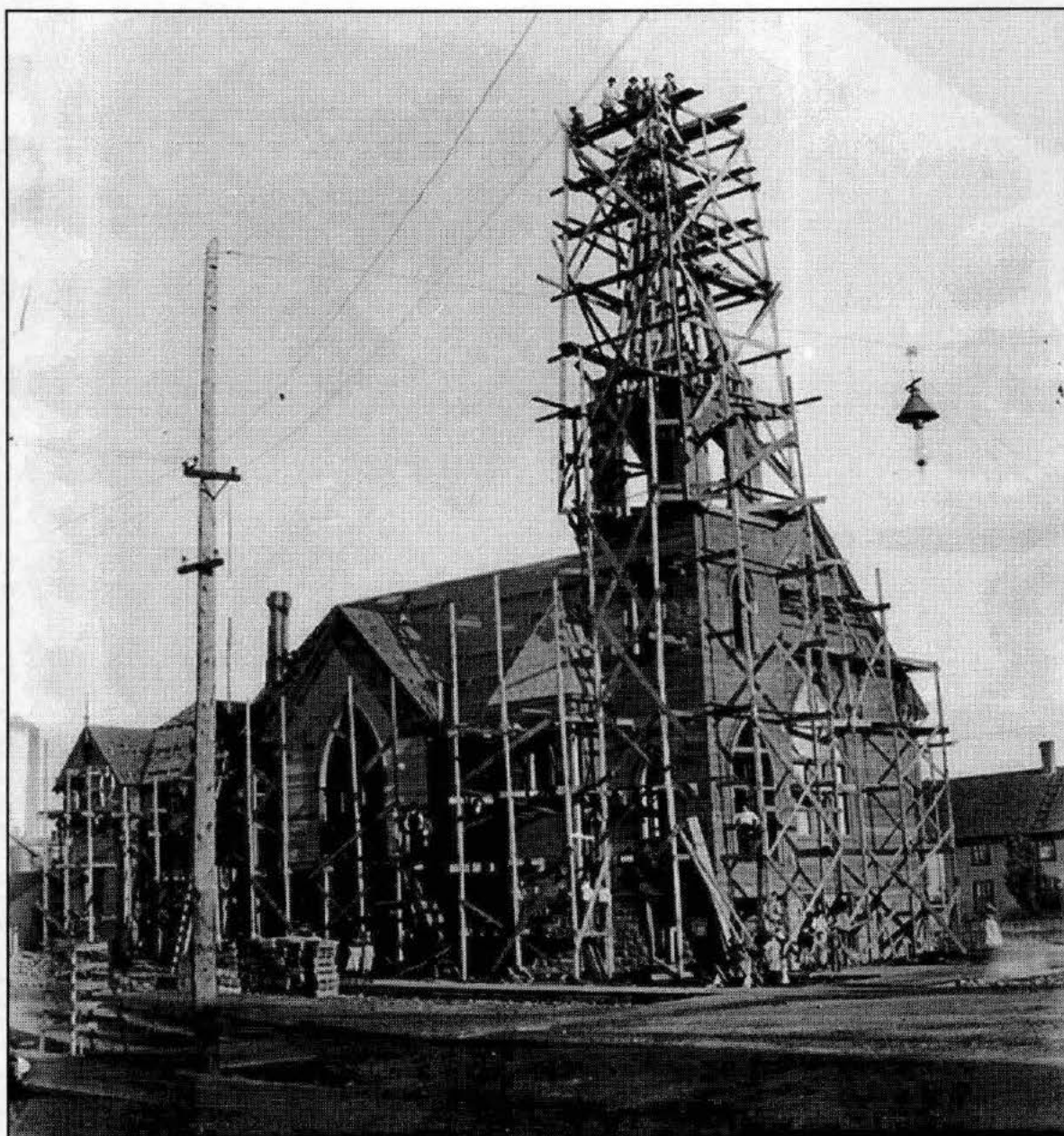


Figure 41. Free Lutheran Church with Scaffolding. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and the Copper Country Historical Collections.)



Figure 42. Facade of Free Lutheran Church. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and the Copper Country Historical Collections.)

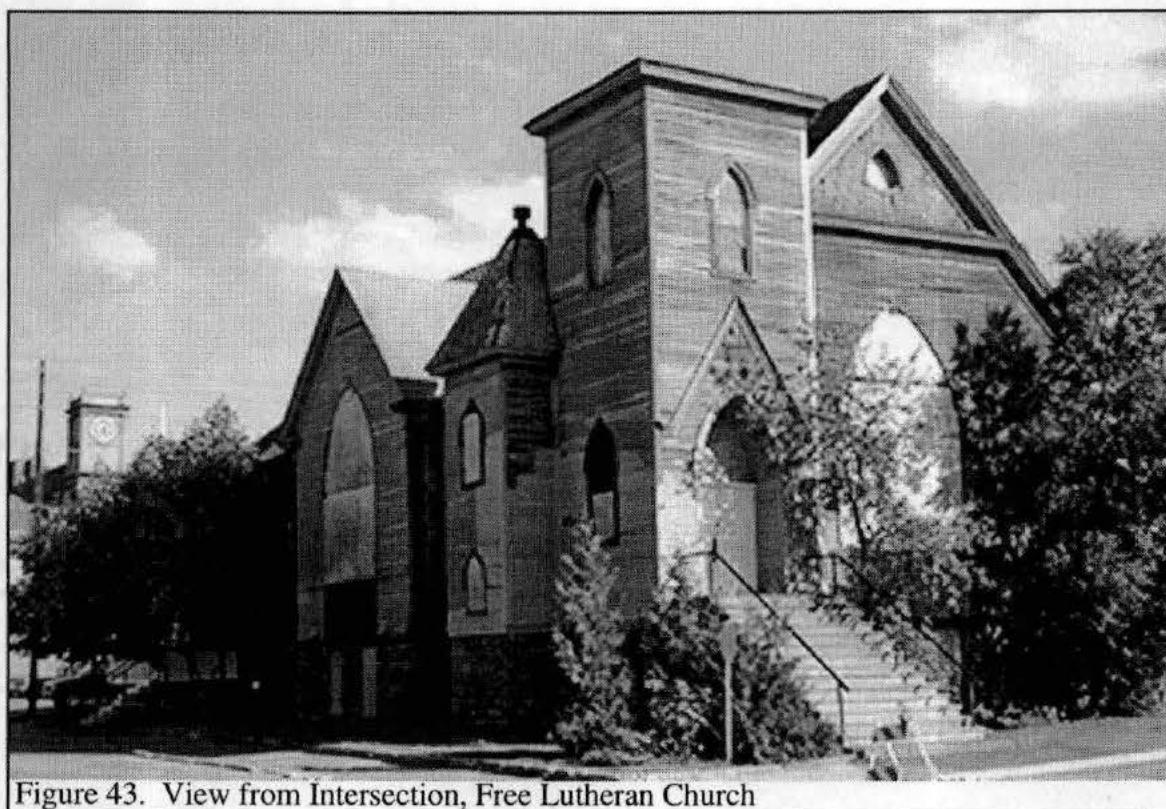


Figure 43. View from Intersection, Free Lutheran Church



Figure 44. National Lutheran Church, Wisconsin Synod. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and the Copper Country Historical Collections.)

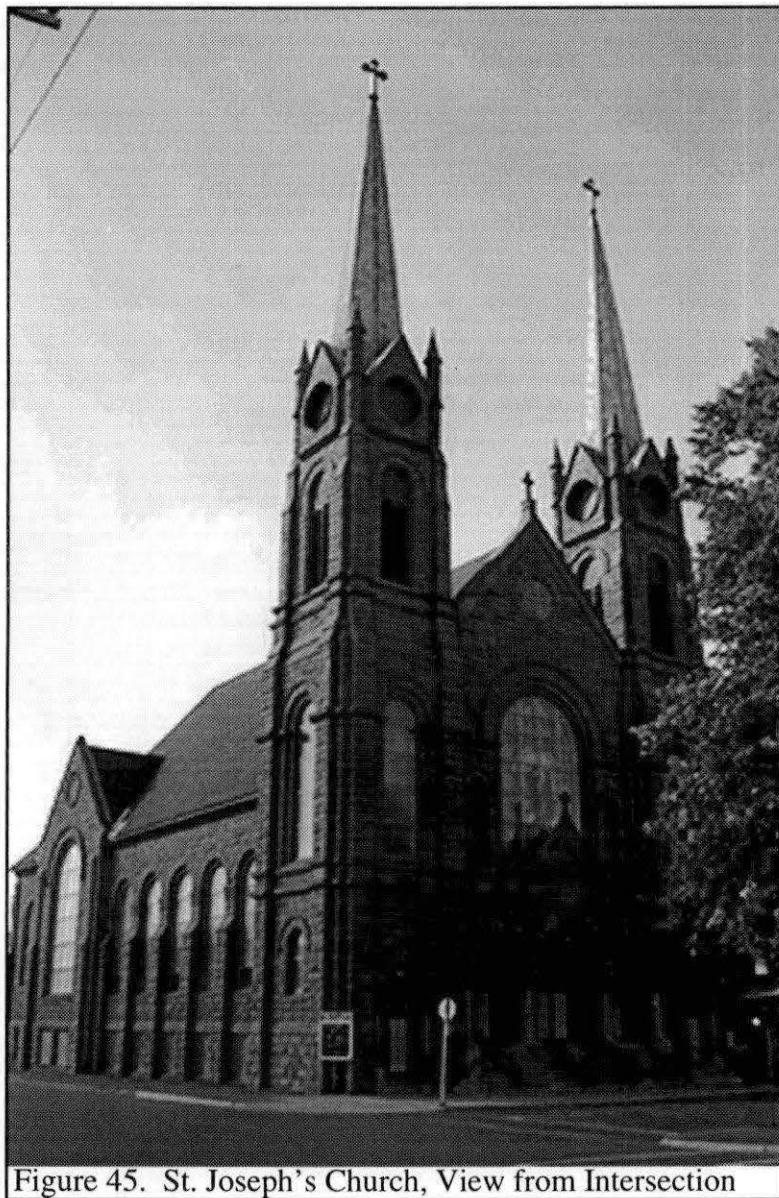


Figure 45. St. Joseph's Church, View from Intersection

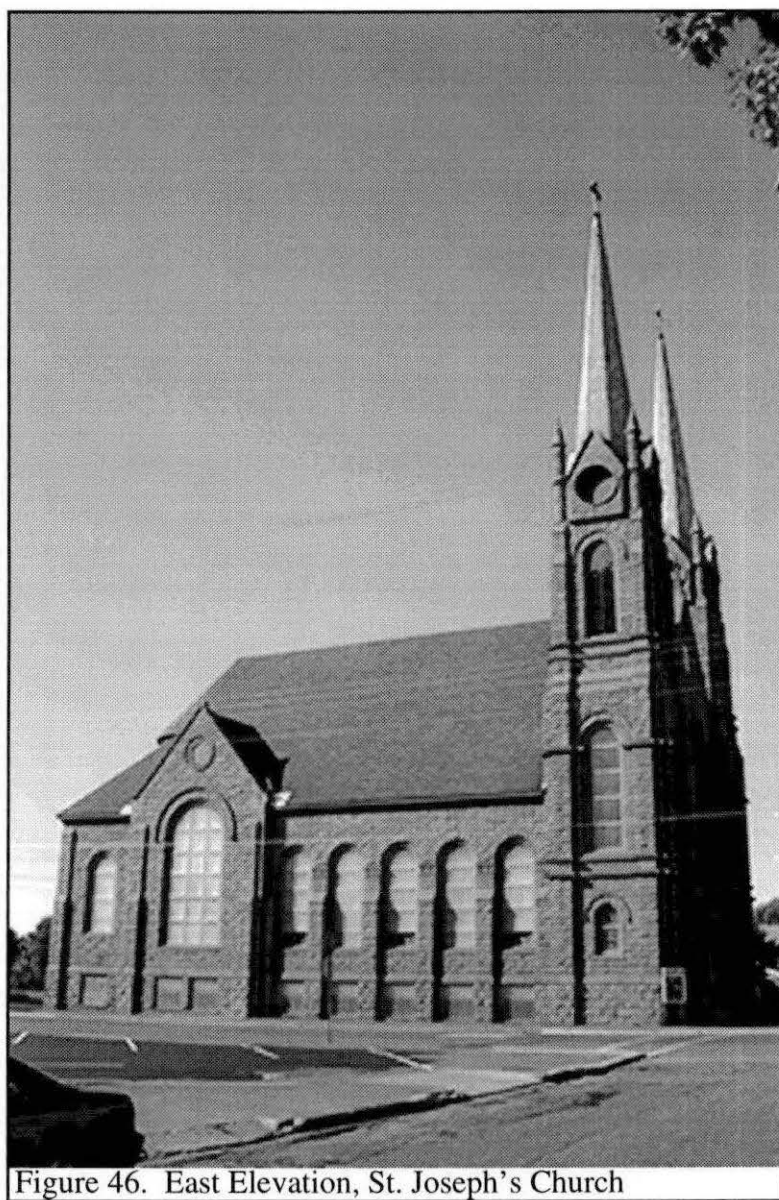


Figure 46. East Elevation, St. Joseph's Church

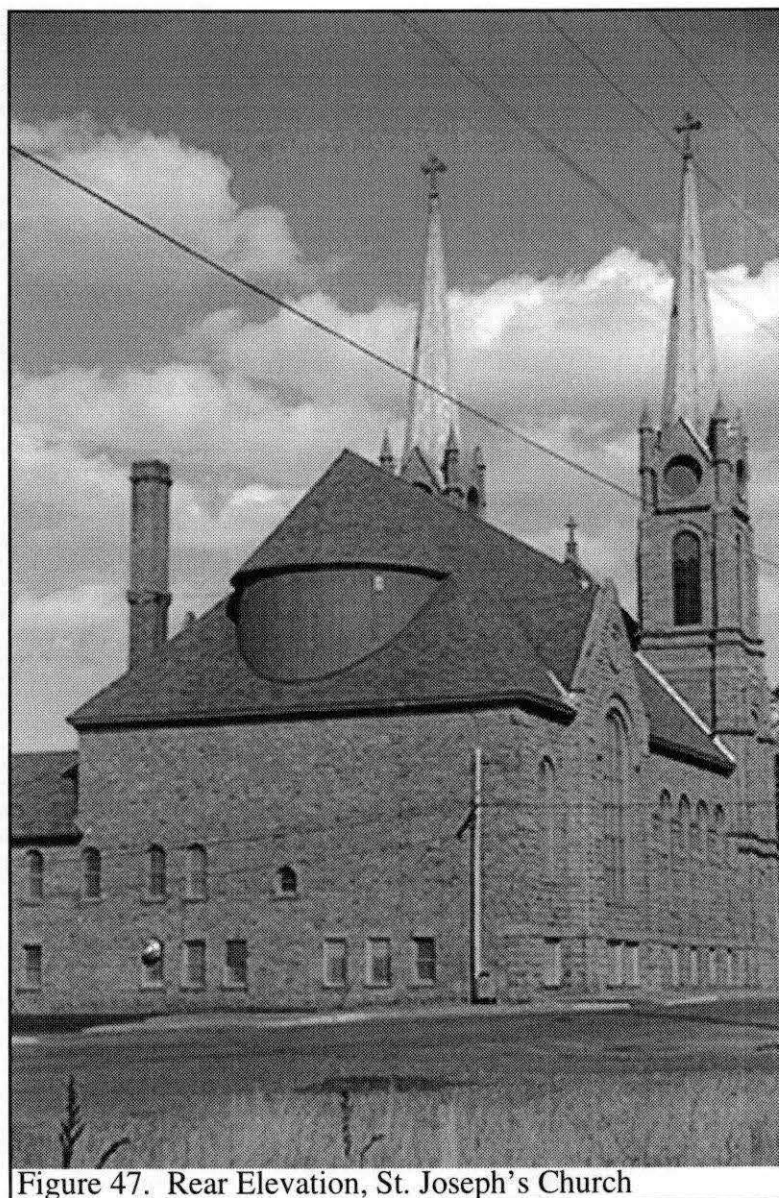


Figure 47. Rear Elevation, St. Joseph's Church

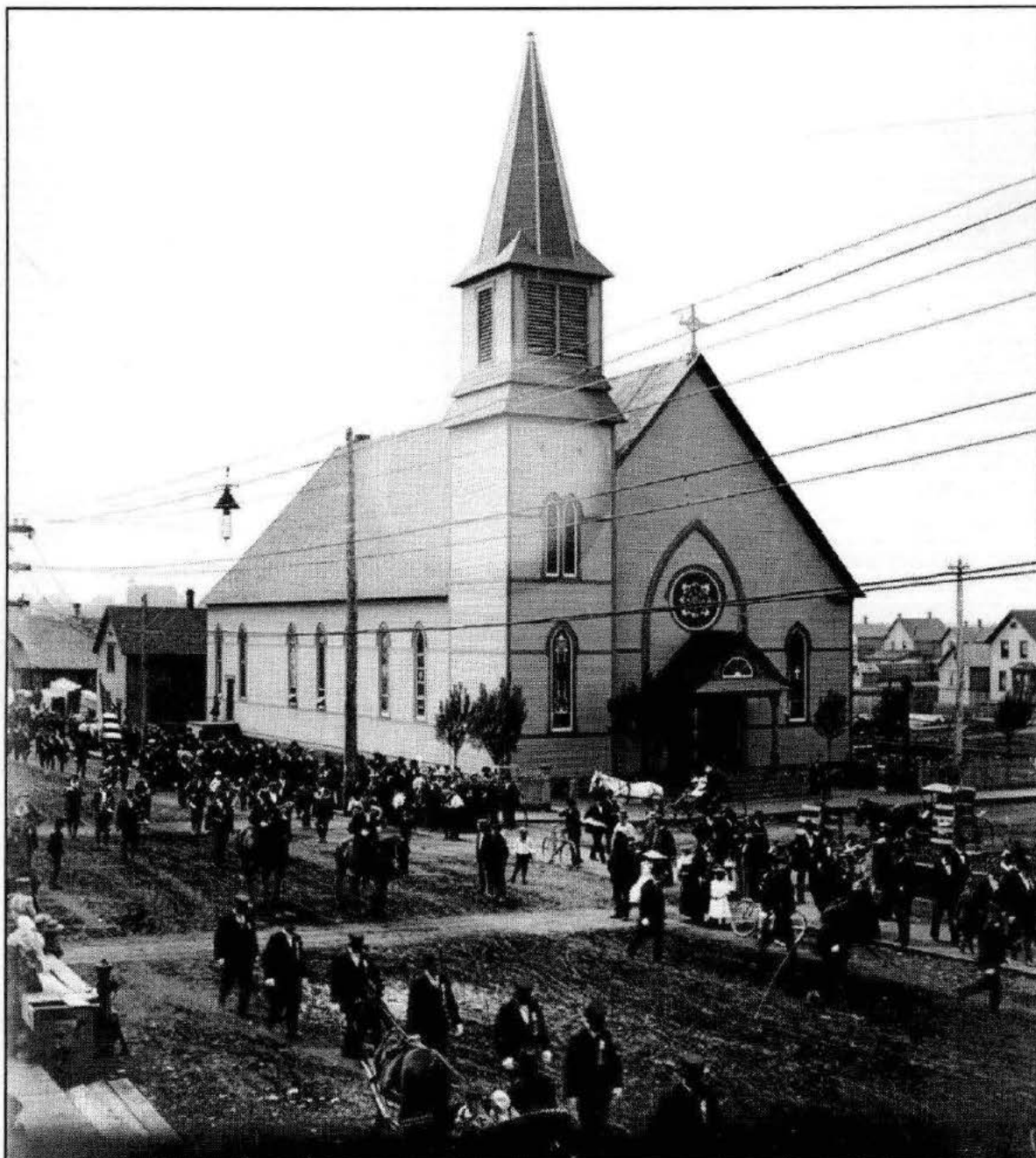


Figure 48. Old St. Joseph's Austrian Church, Destroyed by Fire in 1902. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and the Copper Country Historical Collections.)



Figure 49. St. Joseph's Church, View from Village of Calumet Downtown. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and the Copper Country Historical Collections.)



Figure 50. St. Joseph's Church Rectory



Figure 51. St. John the Baptist Church and Rectory



Figure 52. St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church

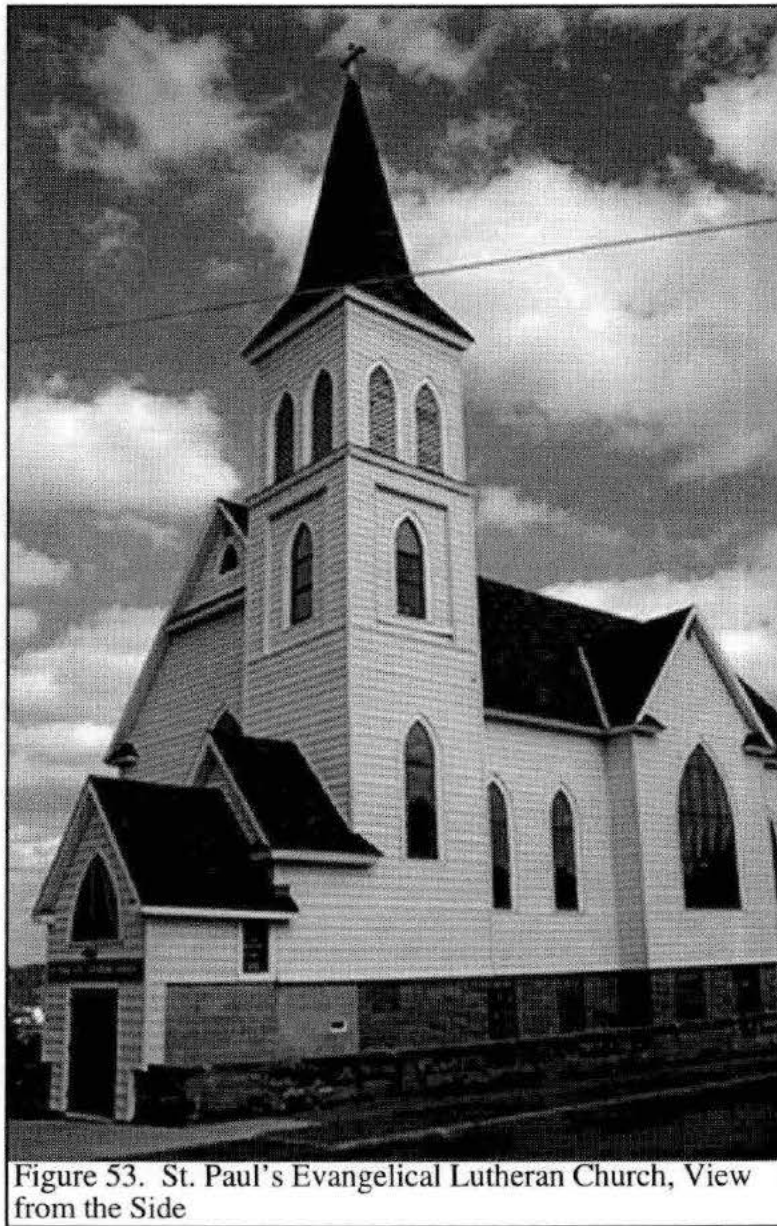


Figure 53. St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, View from the Side

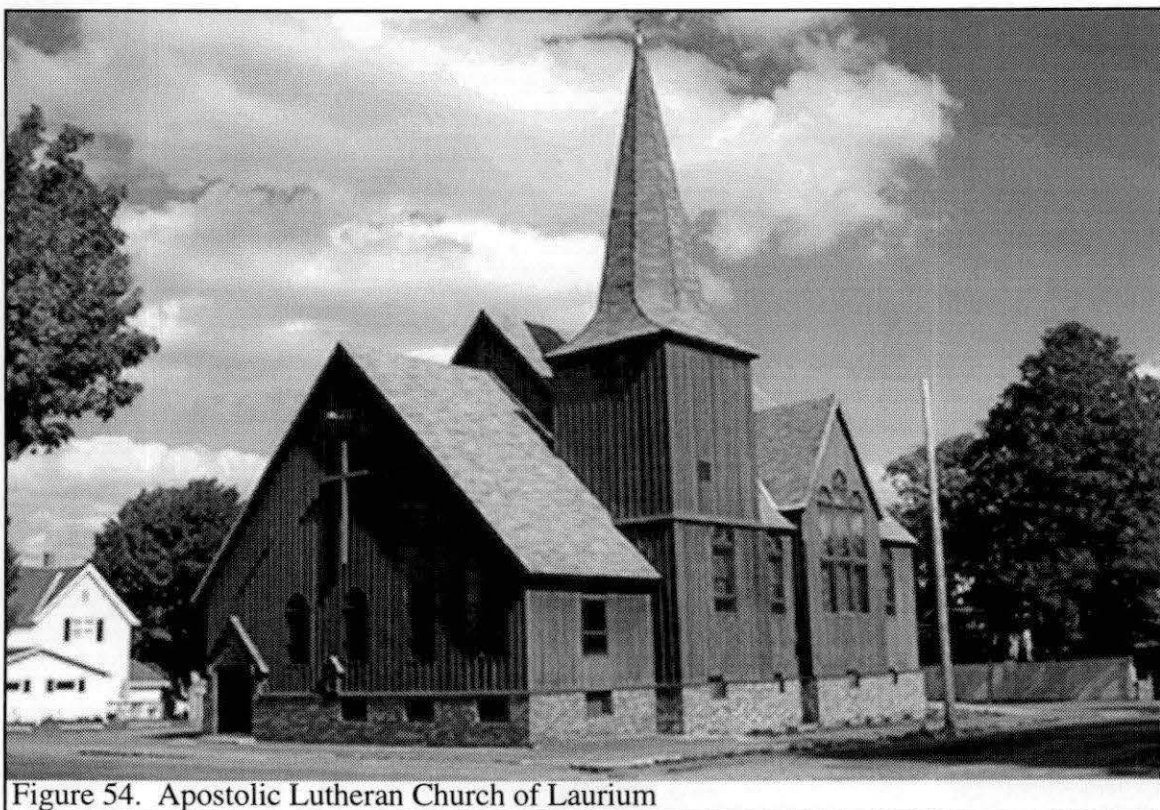


Figure 54. Apostolic Lutheran Church of Laurium

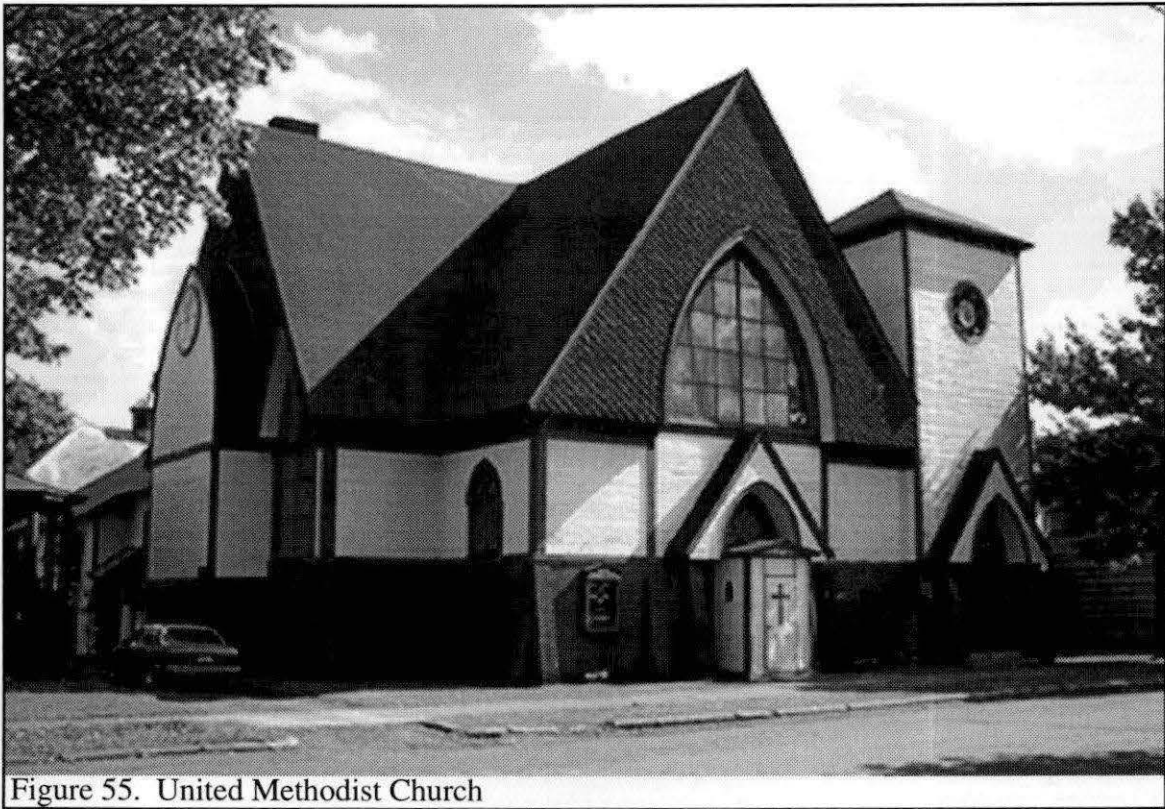


Figure 55. United Methodist Church



Figure 56. Methodist Church and Rectory

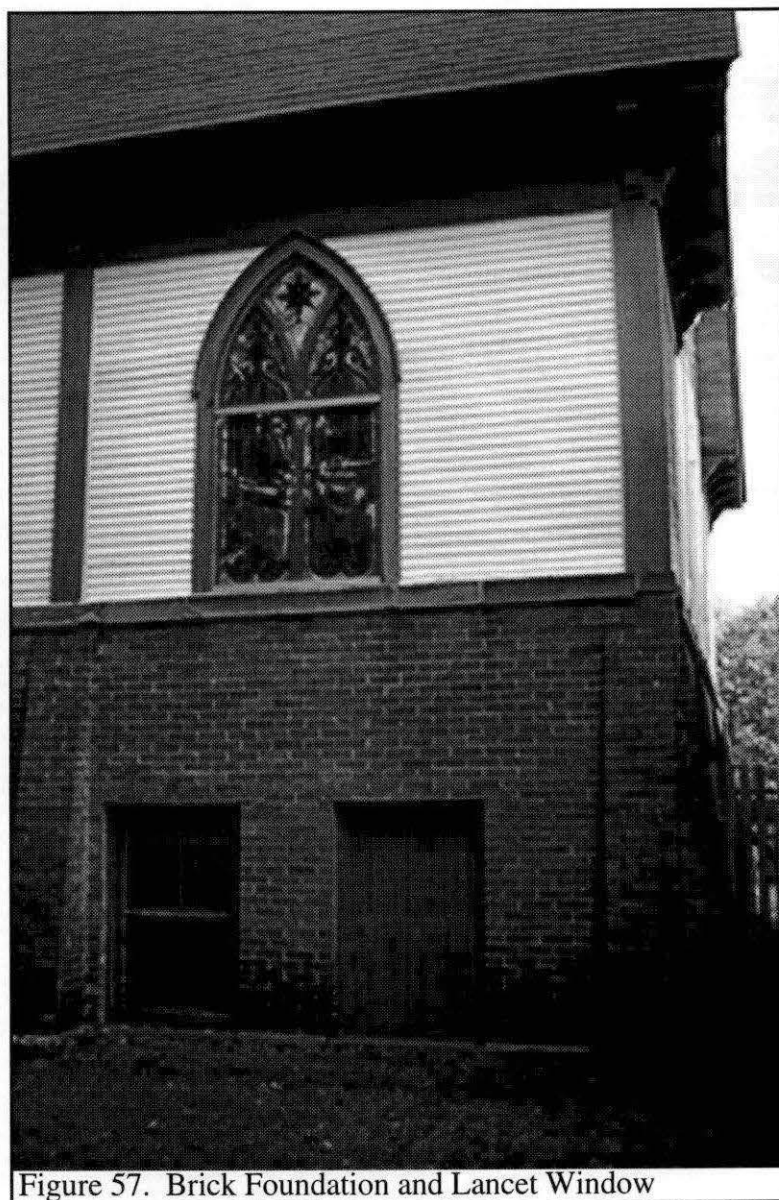


Figure 57. Brick Foundation and Lancet Window

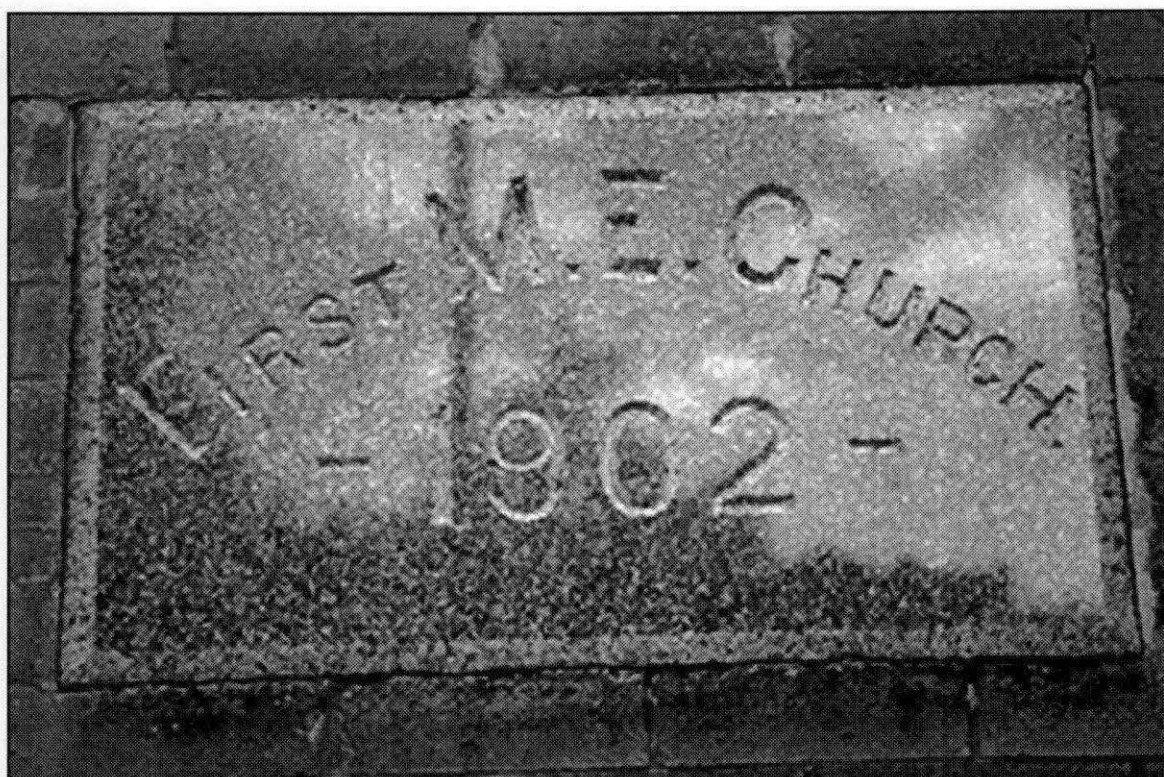


Figure 58. Cornerstone of the Methodist Church

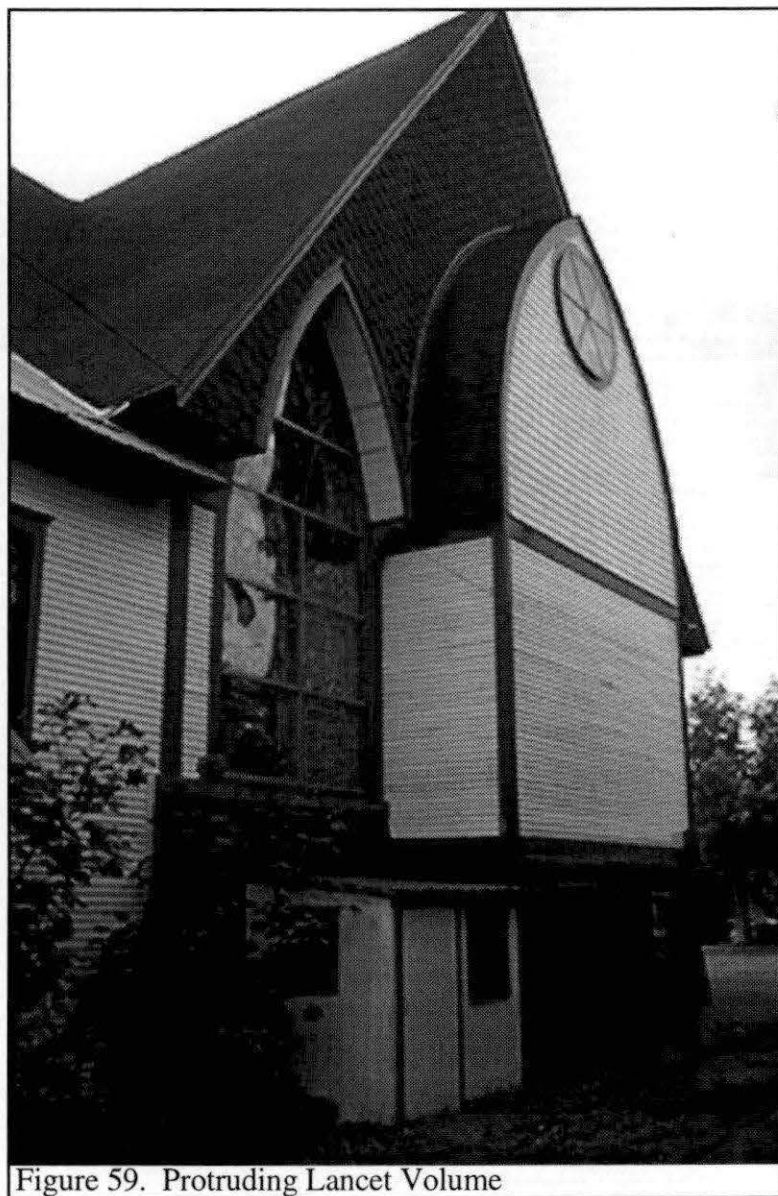


Figure 59. Protruding Lancet Volume

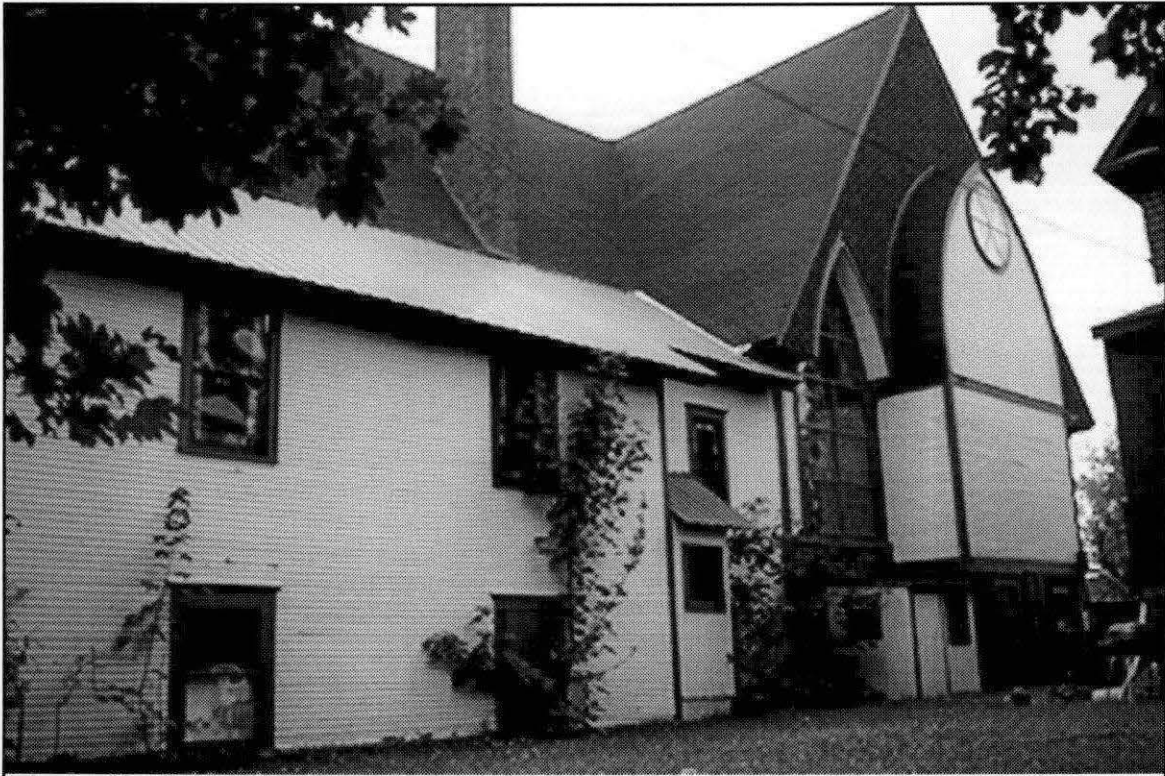


Figure 60. Social Hall, Methodist Church



Figure 61. Finnish Episcopal Church



Figure 62. Finnish Episcopal Church

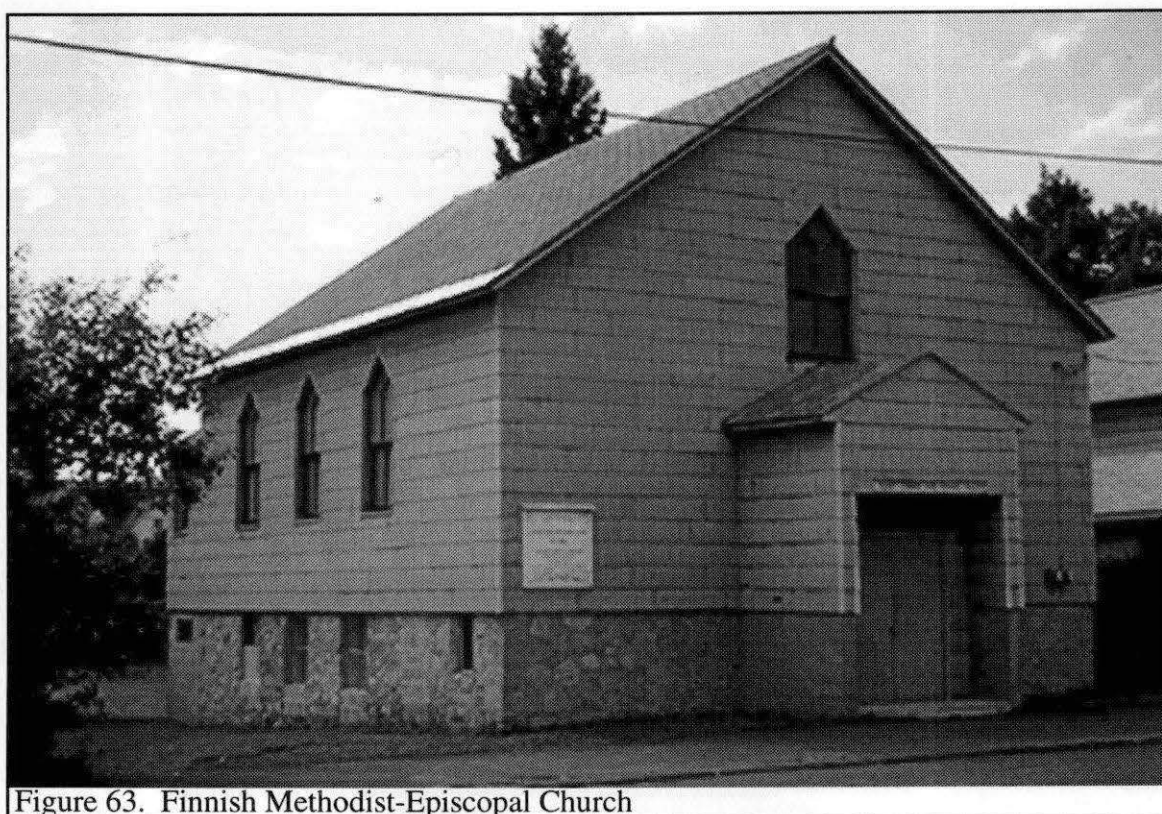


Figure 63. Finnish Methodist-Episcopal Church

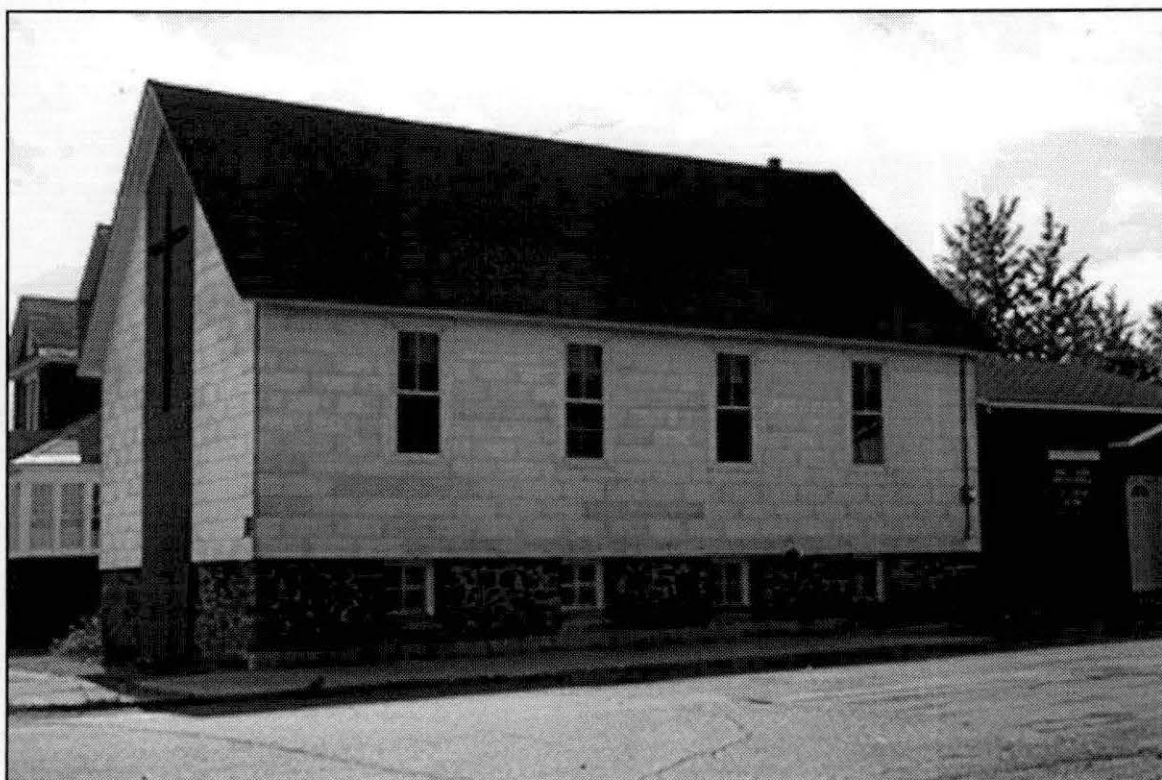


Figure 64. Wesleyan Methodist Church

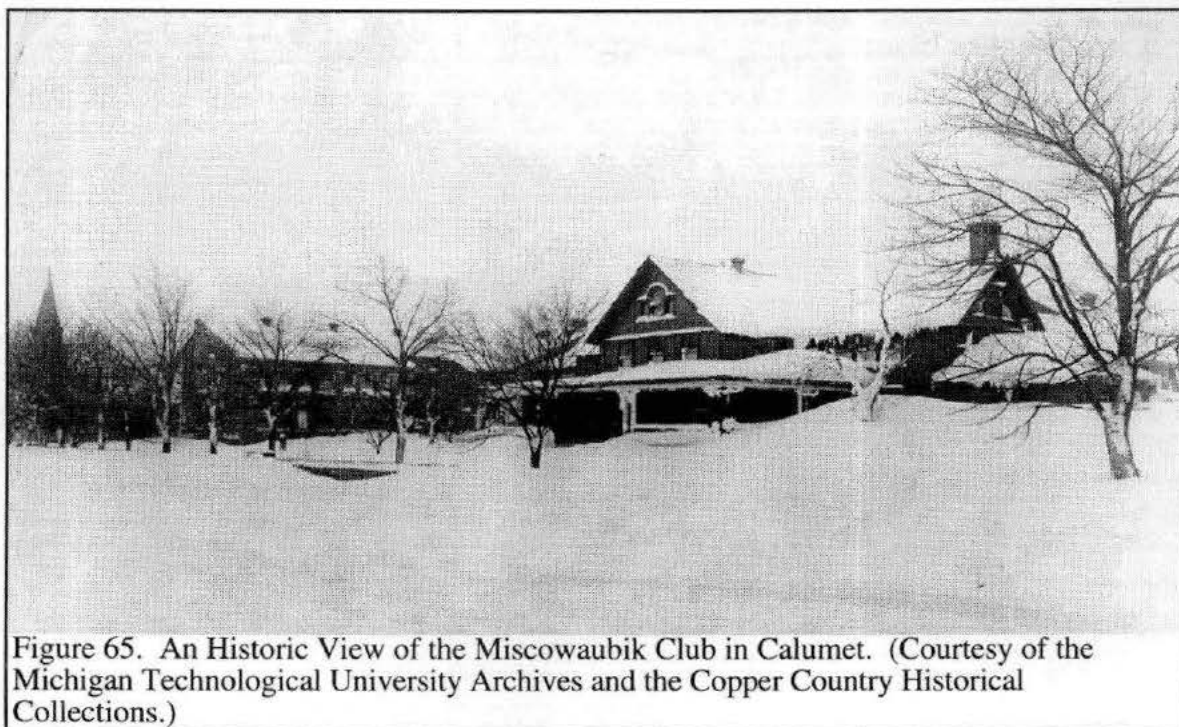


Figure 65. An Historic View of the Miscowaubik Club in Calumet. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and the Copper Country Historical Collections.)



Figure 66. Congregational choir and interior in Calumet. (Courtesy of the Michigan Technological University Archives and the Copper Country Historical Collections.)



Figure 67. Birdseye view of Calumet and Red Jacket. Old Sacred Heart Church and House are to the extreme left.



Figure 68. An early class at the Sacred Heart School, Calumet.

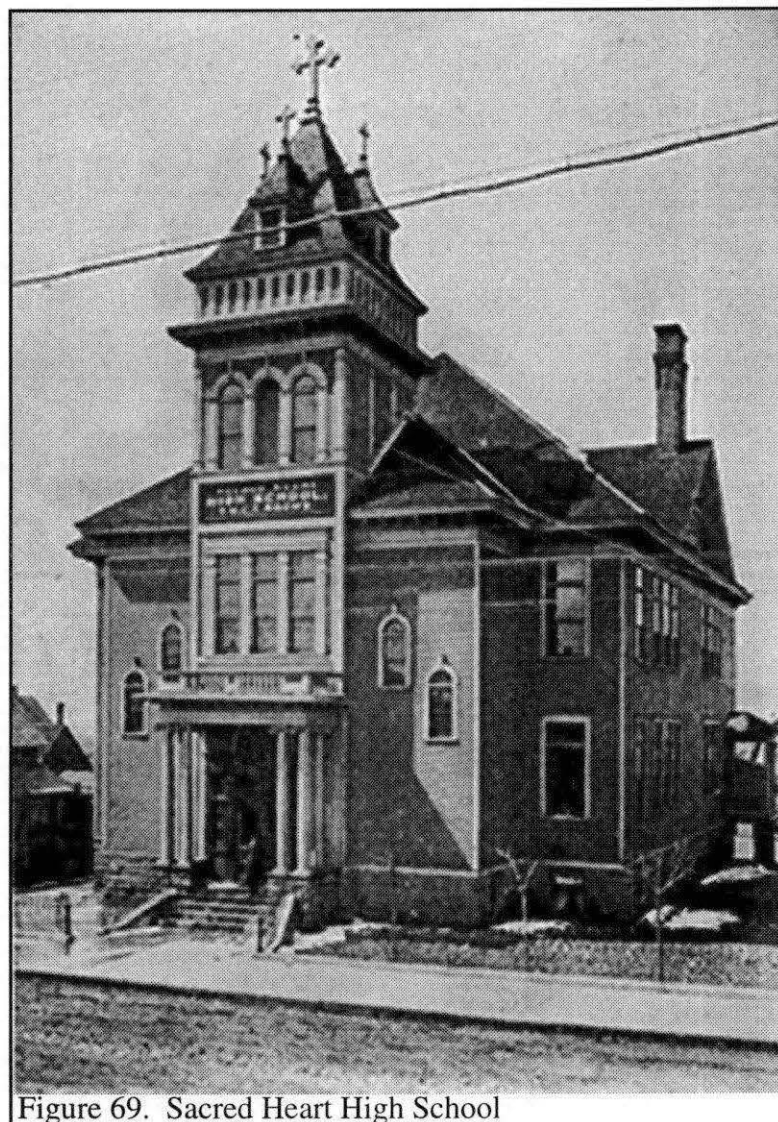


Figure 69. Sacred Heart High School

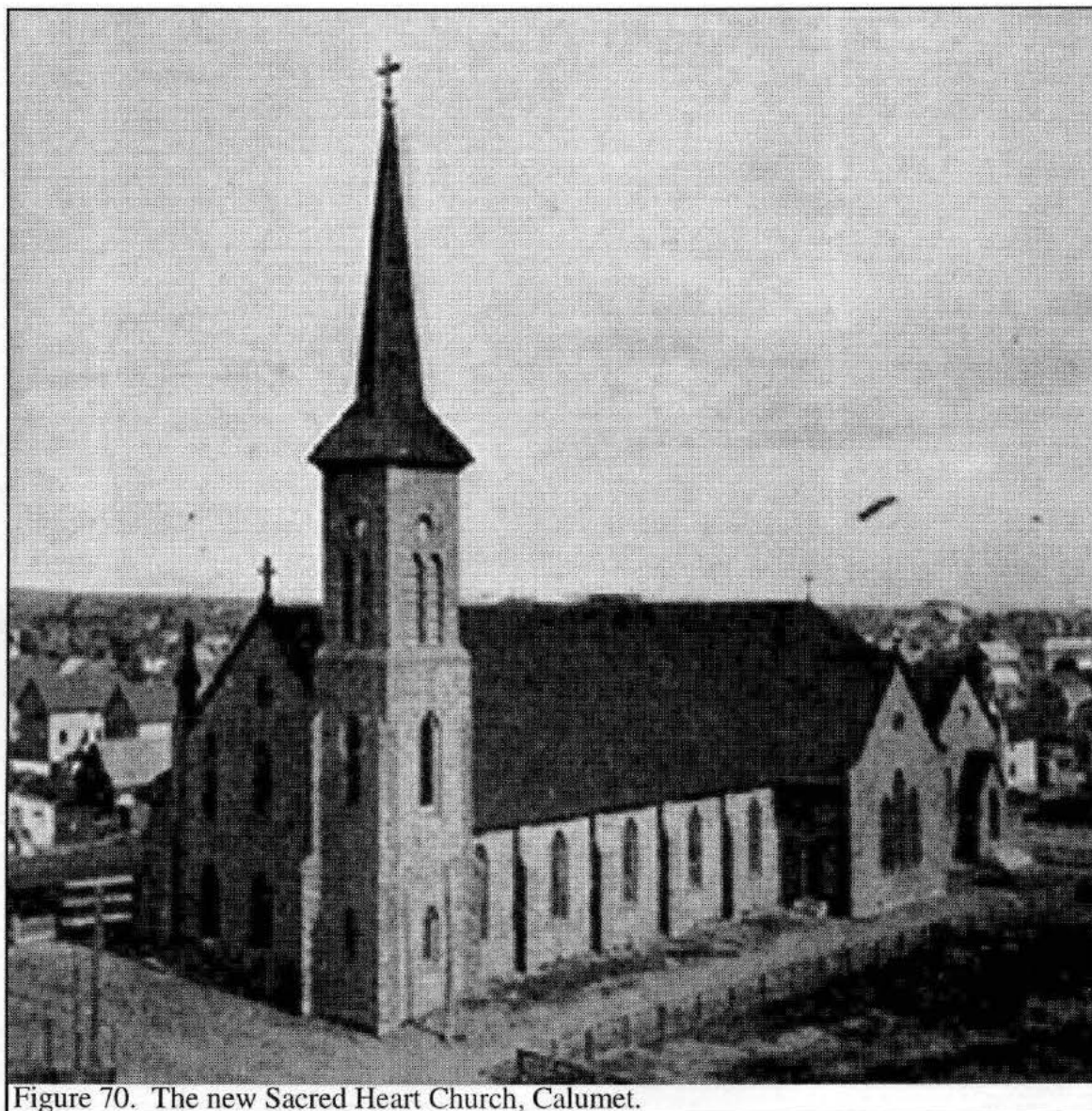


Figure 70. The new Sacred Heart Church, Calumet.

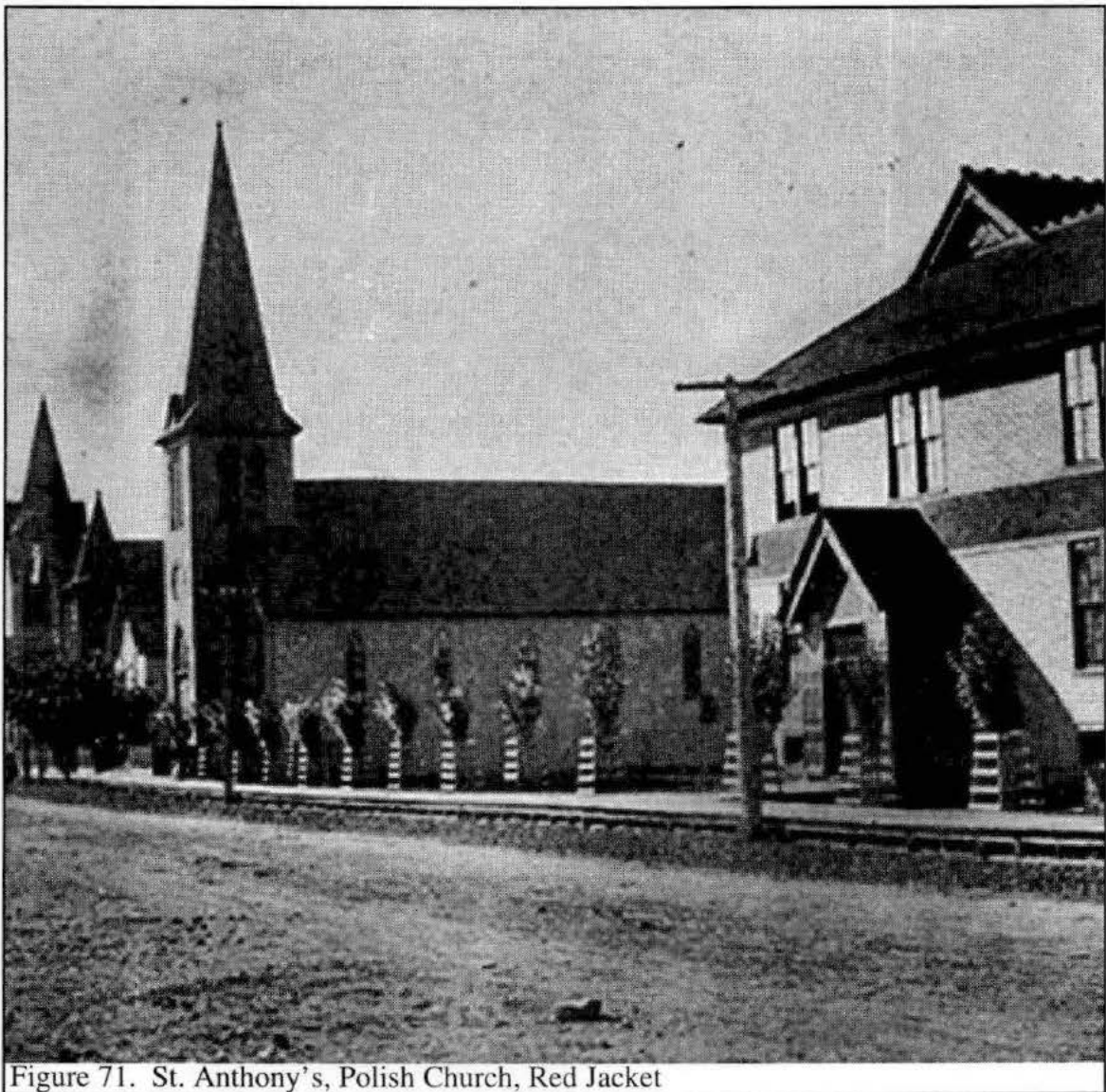


Figure 71. St. Anthony's, Polish Church, Red Jacket



Figure 72. Rev. August Krogulski of St. Anthony's Church

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbot, Collamer M. "Boston Money and Appalachian Copper", Michigan History (1971) 55:217-242.
- Achilles, Rolf and Neal Vogel. "Stained Glass in Houses of Worship". Information. Inspired Partnerships Program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. 1994.
- Agassiz, Alexander, President of Calumet and Hecla Mining Co. "Sketch of the Property of the Calumet and Hecla Mining Co.". Appendix to "Summary of the Operations of the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company for the Year Ending April 30, 1893," submitted to the Directors. 1893.
- Agassiz, George R. Letters and Recollections of Alexander Agassiz, with a Sketch of His Life and Work. Boston, Massachuset: 1913.
- Agassiz, Louis (1850). Lake Superior: Its Physical Character, Vegetation and Animals, Compared with Those of Other and Similar Regions. Reprint facsimile ed., Huntington, NY: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co. 1974.
- Ahern, Katherine. Cultural Landscape Bibliography: An Annotated Bibliography on Resources in the National Park System. Wash. D. C.: Cultural Landscape Program, Gov. Doc. no. I 29.82:C 89. 1992.
- Alanen, Arnold R. "The Planning of Company Communities in the Lake Superior Mining Region". Journal of the American Planning Association. (July 1979) 45:256-278.
- Albright, R. W. A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church. New York: Macmillan Co. 1946.
- Anderson, Barbara A. "Internal Migration in Modernizing Society: The Case of Late Nineteenth Century European Russia." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Princeton University, 1973.
- Andrew, Clarence A. "'Big Annie' and the 1913 Michigan Copper Strike". Michigan History. (Spring 1973) 57:53-68.
- Baraga, Frederic. The Diary of Bishop Frederic Baraga: First Bishop of Marquette, Michigan. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990.
- Barton. Peasants and Stranger. N.D.
- Bauche, Ulrich. Lan d tischler, Tischlerwerk and Intarsienkunst in den Vierlanden. Hamburg: 1965.
- Beijbom. Swedes in Chicago: A Demographic and Social Study of the 1816-1880 Immigration. N.D.

- Bell, Rudolph. Fate and Honor, Family and Village. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Benedict, Harry C. Lake Superior Milling Practice: A Technical History of a Century of Copper Milling. Houghton, Michigan: 1955.
- Benedict, Harry C. Red Metal: The Calumet and Hecla Story. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press. 1952.
- Benkhart. Religion, Family and Community Among Hungarians Migrating to American Cities. N.D.
- Bishop Baraga Association. Baraga Bulletin: Devoted to the Cause of the Apostle of the Ottawas and Chippewas. Periodical. Marquette, Michigan: Bishop Baraga Association, 1956.
- Blum, Jerome. The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Bogatyrev, Petr. The Function of Folk Costume in Moravian Slovakia. The Hague: Mouton, 1971.
- Bourland, P. D. "The Medical Dept. of C&H". Mining Congress Journal (Oct. 1931) 17:555-557.
- Boyer, Kenyon. "Historical Highlights". Script for a radio program. Marquette, MI, Marquette County Historical Society. N.D.
- Bradish, Alvah. Memoir of Douglass Houghton, First Geologist of Michigan. Detroit, Michigan: Raynor and Taylor. 1889.
- Briggs, John W. An Italian Passage: Immigrants to Three American Cities, 1890-1930. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978.
- Buder, Stanley. Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930. New York: 1967.
- Burt, Roger. Cornish Mining: Essays on the Organisation of Cornish Mines and the Cornish Mining Economy. Newton Abbot, England: 1969.
- Campbell, John F. "The Mineral Range Railroad Company". The Soo (Oct. 1980) 2:12-35.
- Cass, Lewis. "Letter from Governor Cass of Michigan on the Advantage of Purchasing the Country upon Lake Superior Where Copper Has Been Found". U. S. Congress, Senate Document No. 19, 18th Congress, 2nd Session. 1825.
- Chmelar. "The Austrian Emigration, 1900-1914." East European Quarterly III (1979): 333-34.
- Cinel. From Italy to San Francisco. New York: Harpers and Row. N.D.

- _____. The Seasonal Emigration of Italians in the Nineteenth Century: From Internal to International Destinations. New York: Harpers and Row. N.D.
- Clark, Kenneth. The Gothic Revival. London, England: Constable. 1928.
- Cockerell, Ron. "Documenting a Miracle: Oral History and Cuyahoga Valley". CRM Bulletin (1993) 16(1):10,12.
- Collins, Edwin James. Genealogy of the Thomas Hoatson Family. 1950.
- Collins, Frederick L. "Paine's Career Is a Triumph of Early American Virtues". American Magazine (June 1928) 40-41, 139-143.
- Congregational Church. Calumet Congregational Church, 100th Anniversary. Calumet, Michigan: Congregational Church, 1973.
- Congregational Churches in Michigan. The Congregational Churches of Michigan: for the First Fifty Years of their Organization into a State Association. Michigan, The Association, 1892.
- Conway. The Welsh Emigration to the United States. New York: Harpers and Row. N.D.
- Coolidge, John. Mill and Mansion: A Study of Architecture and Society in Lowell, Massachusetts 1820-1865. New York: Columbia University Press. 1942.
- Costain, Thomas B. The White and the Gold: The French Regime in Canada. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co. 1954.
- Derch, Virginia J. "Copper Mining in Northern Michigan: A Social History." Michigan History (1977) 61: 291-321.
- Dickerson, Don Willis. "Theatrical Entertainment, Social Halls, Industry and Community: Houghton County, Michigan, 1837-1916". Ph. D. dissertation. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University. 1983.
- Drier, Roy W., and Octave J. Du Temple. Prehistoric Copper Mining in the Lake Superior Region. Calumet, Michigan: Drier and Du Temple. 1961.
- Dublin, Thomas. Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1860. New York: 1979.
- Dubofsky, Melvyn. Industrialism and the American Worker, 1865-1920. Arlington Heights, Illinois: 1975.
- Dunbar, Willis F. All Aboard! A History of Railroads in Michigan. Arlington Heights, Illinois: 1969.
- Ebbott, Elizabeth. The Bible Christian Church in Upper Michigan: a Cornish Connection, 1861-1871. White Bear Lake, Minnesota: E. and R. Ebbott, 1995.

- Ebert, Carl Fredrich Wilhelm. My Years in the Copper Country. Fremont, Wisconsin: 1987.
- Eccles, W. J. France in America. New York: Harpers and Row. 1972.
- Eckert, Kathryn. "Calumet and Hecla Industrial District". National Register of Historic Places Nomination. November 8, 1973.
- Episcopal Diocese of Northern Michigan. The Church in Hiawathaland. Periodical. N.D.
- Episcopal Life, Inc. Episcopal Life. Periodical. Philadelphia: Episcopal Life, Inc., 1990.
- Eustis, William. "Experiments Made by the Assay-Master of the King of the Netherlands, at the Mint of Utrecht, on the Native Copper Existing in Huge Blocks on the South Side of Lake Superior". American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review (1818) 2:366-367.
- Faith Lutheran Church. Faith Lutheran Church, Calumet, Michigan, 1876-1976: Serving the Heart of Copper Island. Calumet, Michigan: Faith Lutheran Church, 1976.
- _____. Newsletter. Periodical. Calumet, Michigan: Faith Lutheran Church. N.D.
- First Congregational Church. Planning Today to Meet the Opportunities of Tomorrow. Calumet, Michigan: First Congregational Church, 1941.
- Fuller, George Newman. Historic Michigan, Land of the Great Lakes. Dayton, Ohio: National Historical Association, Inc., 1928.
- First Baptist Church (Calumet, MI). Members and Friends. Periodical. N.D.
- First Lutheran Church. The Carillon. Periodical. N.D.
- First United Methodist Church. First United Methodist Church, Calumet, Michigan Centennial Anniversary, 1869-1969. Calumet, Michigan: The First United Methodist Church, 1969.
- Folsom, Michael Brewster and Steven D. Lubar. The Philosophy of Manufacturers: Early Debates over Industrialization in the United States. Cambridge, Massachuset: 1982.
- Forster, John H. "Lake Superior Country". Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections (1885) 8:136-145.
- Forster, J. W. and J. D. Whitney. "Report on the Geology and Topography of a Portion of the Lake Superior Land District, in the State of Michigan: Part I. Copper Lands". Washington, D.C.: 1885.
- Fuller, George N. Michigan - A Centennial History of the State and Its People. Chicago, Illinois: Lewis Publishing Co. 1939.

- Gates, William B. Jr. Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars. New York: Russell and Russell. 1951.
- Gedicks, Al. "Ethnicity, Class Solidarity, and Labor Radicalism among Finnish Immigrants in Michigan Copper Country". Politics and Society (1977) 7, No. 2:127-156.
- _____. "The Social Origins of Radicalism among Finnish Immigrants in the Midwestern Mining Communities". The Review of Radical Political Economics (Fall 1976) 8:1-31.
- Gilbert, Cathy. "NPS Pacific Northwest Region Cultural Landscape Inventory". CRM Bulletin: A NPS Technical Bulletin (1991.)14(6):15-17.
- Gilpin, Alec R. The Territory of Michigan (1805-1837). East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press. 1970.
- Gowans, Alan. Church Architecture of New France. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1955.
- Gray. Scottish Emigration: The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands. N.D.
- Griffin, James B. "Lake Superior Copper and the Indians: Miscellaneous Studies of Great Lakes Prehistory". Anthropological Papers, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 17. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press. 1961.
- Grob, Gerald N. Workers and Utopia: A Study of Ideological Conflict in the American Labor Movement. Evanston, Illinois: 1961.
- Groth, Paul. "Generic Buildings and Cultural Landscapes as Sources of Urban History". Journal of Architectural Education (1988) 41(3):41-44.
- Grotius, Hugo. [De Veritate Religionis Christianae, English] The Truth of the Christian Religion. In Six Books. London, Printed for J. Knapton, 1711.
- Halonon, Arne. "The Role of Finnish-Americans in the Political Labor Movement". Master's thesis. University of Minnesota. 1945.
- Handlin, Oscar. The Uprooted. Boston: Little Brown, 1951.
- Hannon, Joan Underhill. "Ethnic Discrimination in a 19th-Century Mining District: Michigan Copper Mines, 1888". Explorations in Economic History (1982) 19:28-50.
- Hayden, Dolores. "Placemaking, Preservation and Urban History". Journal of Architectural Education (1988) 41(3):45-51.
- Heikkinen, Jacob W. The Story of the Suomi Synod: the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church of America. S.1., J.W. Heikkinen, 1987.

- Historical Records Survey, Michigan. Inventory of the Church Archives of Michigan: Evangelical and Reformed Church. Detroit: The Michigan Historical Records Survey Project, 1941.
- _____. Inventory of the Church Archives of Michigan: Evangelical Church, Michigan Conference. Detroit: The Michigan Historical Records Survey Project, 1941.
- Hofer, Thomas. Changes in the Style of Folk Art and Various Branches of Folklore in Hungary During the Nineteenth Century--An Interpretation. Puskas: *Kivandorio Magyarok Az Egyesult Allamokba*, 1880-1940.
- Hogg, Catherine. "National Parks and Other Protected Areas in Western Europe: A Selected Bibliography". Public Administration series: P 2110 0193-970X. Montecello, Illinois: Vance Bibliographies. 1987.
- Houghton, Jacob Jr. The Mineral Regions of Lake Superior. Buffalo, NY: O. G. Steele. 1846.
- Hubbard, Bela. "Hubbard Papers". Michigan Historical Collections. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. N.D.
- _____. Memorials of a Half-Century. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1887.
- Hughes, Mary V. "Cultural Landscape Program Development in the NPS Midwest Regional Office". CRM Bulletin: A NPS Technical Bulletin (1991) 14(6):20-21, 26.
- Hulbert, Edwin J. 'Calumet Conglomerate,' an Exploration and Discovery Made by Edwin J. Hulbert, 1854-1864. Ontonagon, Michigan: 1893.
- Hvidt. Flight to America. New York: Harpers and Row. N.D.
- Hyde, Charles K. "From 'Subterranean Lotteries' to Orderly Investment: Michigan Copper and Eastern Dollars 1841-1865". Mid-America. (January 1984) 66:3-20.
- _____. The Upper Peninsula of Michigan: An Inventory of Historic Engineering and Industrial Sites. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office. ed.1978.
- _____. "Undercove and Underground: Labor Spies and Mine Management in the Early Twentieth Century". Business History Review (Spring 1986) 60:1-27.
- Irving, Roland D. "The Copper Bearing Rocks of Lake Superior". Geological Survey Monograph 5. Washington, D.C.: 1883.
- Jackson, J. B. "The Vernacular Landscape is On The Move...Again". Places (1991) 7(3):24-35.
- Jaeger, A. Robert. "Sacred Places in Transition: Design Concepts for the Future of Three Parish Properties in Detroit". Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Partners for Sacred Places. 1994.

- Jenkin, A. K. Hamilton. The Cornish Miner, An Account of His Life Above and Underground from Early Times. London: 1927.
- Jensen, Vernon H. Heritage of Conflict: Labor Relations in the Nonferrous Metals Industry up to 1930. Cornell, NY: 1950.
- Jones, Maldwyn A. "The Background to Emigration from Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century." Perspectives in American History VII (1973).
- Karni, Michael B., Matti Kaups, and Douglas J. Ollila, eds. The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives. Turku, Finland: 1975.
- Karpinski, Louis C. Bibliography of the Printed Maps of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Historical Commission. 1931.
- Kasson, John F. Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900. New York: 1977.
- Keane, Melissa. "Gold and Silver Mining in Arizona, 1848-1945: A Context for Historic Preservation Planning". Dames & Moore Intermountain Cultural Resource Services Research Paper: no. 6. Phoenix: Arizona State Historic Preservation Office. Gov. Doc. no. PK 2.2:G 55. 1992.
- Kellogg, Louise P. The French Regime in Wisconsin and the Northwest. Madison, Wisconsin: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1925.
- Kieniewics. The Emancipation of the Polish Peasantry. N.D.
- Kollman and Marschalck. German Emigration to the United States. N.D.
- Kolossa, Tibor. "The Social Structure of the Peasant Class in Austria-Hungary: Statistical Sources and Methods of Research." East European Quarterly III (1979): 430-32.
- Krause, David J. The Making of a Mining District: Keweenaw Native Copper 1500-1870. Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press. 1992.
- LaFernier, Susan. Zeba & Zeba United Methodist Church. 1979.
- Lankton, Larry D. Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991.
- _____. "The Machine Under the Garden: Rock Drills Arrive at the Lake Superior Mines, 1868-1883". Technology and Culture (Jan. 1983) 24:1-37.
- Lankton, Larry D. and Charles K. Hyde. Old Reliable. Hancock, Michigan: Quincy Mine Hoist Association, Inc. 1982.
- Lankton, Larry D. and Jack K. Martin. "Technological Advance, Organizational Structure, and Underground Fatalities in the Upper Michigan Copper Mines, 1860-1929". Technology and Culture (Jan. 1987) 28:42-66.

- Lawton, Andrew Swaby. "The Michigan Copper Strike of 1913-14: A Case Study of Industrial Violence during the Age of Reform". Master's thesis. University of Wisconsin. 1975.
- Lindmark, Struve. Swedish America, 1914-1932. Uppsala, 1971.
- Lunde, May. Assimilation of the Old Apostolic Lutheran Church of Calumet, Michigan: Linguistic Transition and Church Merger as Indicators of Assimilation into American Church Life. 1983.
- Lutheran Church, Finnish. The Faith of the Finns: Historical Perspectives on the Finnish Lutheran Church in America. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1972.
- Lutheran Church, National. 1992 Directory of National Lutheran Church. Chattanooga, Tennessee: Olan Mills, 1992.
- MacDonagh, Oliver. "The Irish Famine Emigration to the United States." Perspectives in American History X (1976).
- MacNaughton, James. "History of the Calumet and Hecla since 1900". Mining Congress Journal (Oct. 1931) 17:474-477.
- Magnaghi, Russell M. Miners, Merchants, and Midwives. Belle Fontaine Press, 1987.
- Marshall, Orsamus H. Historical Writings of the Late Orsamus H. Marshall. Albany, NY: J. Munsell's Sons. 1887.
- Martin, John Bartlow. Call It North Country. New York, NY, Alfred A. Knopf. Reprinted 1986, Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press. 1944.
- Marty, Martin E. "The Case for the Preservation and Restoration of Religious Buildings: The Human Side of the Equation". Historic Preservation Forum. National Trust for Historic Preservation. May-June 1992.
- Massicotte, E.-Z. "Maçons, entrepreneurs, architectes". Bulletins des recherches historiques (1929) XXXV, 129f.
- Mather, William G. "Some Observations on the Principle of Benefit Funds and Their Place in the Lake Superior Iron Mining District". Lake Superior Mining Institute. Proceedings. (1898) 5:10-20.
- McNear, Sarah. "Quincy Mining Company: Housing and Community Services, ca. 1860-1931". Historic American Engineering Record report. Library of Congress. 1978.
- Mead, Frank S., revised by Samuel S. Hill. Handbook of Denominations in the United States. 10th ed., Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995.
- Methodist Episcopal Church. Souvenir History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Laurium, Michigan, 1898-1910. Laurium, Michigan: Methodist Episcopal Church, 1910.

- Morrisset, Gérard. L'Architecture en Nouvelle-France. Montreal, Canada: 1949.
- Murdoch, Angus. Boom Copper: The Story of the First U. S. Mining Boom. New York: Macmillan Co. 1943.
- Nikander, Juho Kustaa. Dear Uncle: Letters. New York Mills, Minnesota: Parta Printers, 1984.
- Novak, Leonard. "Creating the Landscape of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village [Alberta, Canada]". Landscape Architectural Review (1988) 9(3):26-28.
- Oas, Mabel Winetta. "A History of Legitimate Drama in the Copper Country of Michigan from 1900 - 1910 with Special Study of the Calumet Theatre". Master's thesis. Michigan State University. 1955.
- Peters, Bernard C. Lake Superior Journal. Marquette, Michigan: Northern Michigan University Press. 1983.
- _____. "The Origin and Meaning of Chippewa and French Place Names along the Shoreline of the Keweenaw Peninsula". Michigan Academician (1985) 17:195-211.
- Pettaway, Addie E. "Africatown, U.S.A.: Some Aspects of Folklife and Material Culture of an Historic Landscape". A Bureau for Equal Educational Opportunity Bulletin no. 6240. Madison, Wisconsin: Dept. of Public Instruction. 1985.
- Pilcher, Elijah Holmes. Protestantism in Michigan: Being a Special History of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Detroit: R.D.S. Tyler & Company, 1878.
- Pitezal, John H. Lights and Shades of Missionary Life:...During Nine Years Spent in the Region of Lake Superior. Cincinnati: 1859.
- Pollock-Ellwand, Nancy. "Heritage Advocacy in the Cultural Landscape". The Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin (1992) 24(3):71-78.
- Prindle, Cyrus. Memoir of the Rev. Daniel Meeker Chandler: for Several Years Missionary Among the Indians. Middlebury, Vermont: Printed by Ephraim Maxham, 1842.
- Proctor, Dean Wade. "Continuity and Change in a Cultural Landscape: Preservation Planning and Design on the Gogebic Iron Range of Wisconsin and Michigan". Thesis: University of Wisconsin, Madison. 1990.
- Puotinen, Arthur Edwin. "Finnish Radicals and Religion in Midwestern Mining Towns, 1865-1914". Ph. D. dissertation. University of Chicago. 1973.
- Puskas. "The Conflicts of Adaptation of the Hungarian Emigrants in America." Unpublished Paper presented to U.S.-Hungarian Conference on Industrialization. Budapest: Aug 23-25, 1982.

- Rackham, Oliver. "Landscape and the Conservation of Meaning". Royal Society of Arts, London RSA Journal (1991) 139(5414):903-915.
- Rezek, Antoine Ivan. History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette, Vol I and Vol II, Houghton, MI. Chicago: M.A. Donohue & Co, 1906-07.
- Rickard, T. A. "The Copper Mines of Lake Superior". Engineering and Mining Journal. New York and London. 1905.
- Rischin. The Promised City. N.D.
- Rowe, John. The Hard Rock Men: Cornish Immigrants and the North American Mining Frontier. New York: 1974.
- Rowse, A. L. The Cousin Jack: The Cornish in America. New York: 1969.
- Roy, Pierre-Georges. Les Vieilles Eglises de la Province de Québec. Québec, Commission des Monuments Historique de la Province de Québec. 1925.
- Rusinski, Wladyslaw. "The Role of the Peasantry of Poznan in the Formation of the Non-Agricultural Labor Market." East European Quarterly III, (1970).
- Russell, James and Albert Hornstein. "First Annual Review of the Copper Mining Industry of Lake Superior". Marquette, Michigan: Mining Journal Co. 1899.
- Russell, Nelsen. The British Regime in Michigan and the Old Northwest 1760-1796. Northfield, Minnesota: Carleton College. 1939.
- Ryan, Jan S. "Preventing Cultural Resources Destruction: Taking Action Through Interpretation". Gov. Doc. no. I 29.2:C 89/6 0648. Denver: NPS. 1992.
- Sacred Heart Church. Sacred Heart Church Golden Jubilee, 1868-1918. Calumet, Michigan: Keweenaw Printing Co., 1919.
- _____. Sacred Heart Church, Calumet, Michigan, 1868-1968. Calumet, Michigan: The Sacred Heart Church, 1968.
- Sawyer, Alvah. History of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan, I. Chicago, IL. 1911.
- Schaddelee, Leon. "The Hancock & Calumet Railroad". The Narrow Gauge and Short Line Gazette (Nov.-Dec. 1882) 7:54-58.
- Schneider, Jane and Peter. Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily. New York: Academic Press, 1976.
- Snow, Richard F. "Alexander Agassiz: A Reluctant Millionaire". American Heritage (April-May 1983) 34:98-99.
- St. Cecilia Parish. St. Cecilia Parish, Hubbell, Michigan, July 7, 1968: Diamond Jubilee, 1893-1968. Hubbell, Michigan: St. Cecilia Parish, 1968.

- St. John, John R. A True Description of the Lake Superior Country. New York: William H. Graham. 1846.
- St. John the Baptist Church. Souvenir of the Fortieth Anniversary of St. John the Baptist Church and the Thirteenth Centenary of Catholicity in Croatia, June 29, 1941, Calumet, Michigan. Calumet, Michigan: St. John the Baptist Church, 1941.
- St. Joseph Church. Noces d'or de la Paroisse Saint Joseph: Lake Linden, Michigan, 1871-1921. Lake Linden, Michigan: Paroisse Saint Joseph, 1922.
- _____. St. Joseph Church, Lake Linden, Michigan, 1871-1971. Lake Linden, Michigan: St. Joseph Church, 1971.
- St. Joseph's Church. Golden Jubilee: Souvenir of the St. Joseph's Church of Calumet, Michigan, 1890-1940. Calumet, Michigan: St. Joseph's Church, 1940.
- _____. 1890 Diamond Jubilee 1965 St. Joseph's Church, Calumet, Michigan: Founding Date November 29, 1890: Jubilee Date, August 1, 1965. Calumet, Michigan: St. Joseph's Church, 1965.
- St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church. Our Centennial, St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Laurium, Michigan, 1879-1979: Sow, Know, Grow. Laurium, Michigan: St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1979.
- Stanton, Phoebe B. The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1840-1856. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1968.
- Sugar, Peter. Industrialization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1875-1918. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963.
- Tanguay, Cyprien. Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes. Montreal, Canada: 1871.
- Taylor, John W. "Reservation and Leasing of the Salines, Lead and Copper Mines of the Public Domains". Ph. D. dissertation. University of Chicago. 1930.
- Thomson, Edward. Sketches Biographical and Incidental. Cincinnati, Illinois: L. Swormstedt & A. Poe for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1856.
- Turner, Arthur W. Rebels on the Range: The Michigan Copper Miners' Strike of 1913-1914. Lake Linden, Michigan: The John Forster Press. 1984.
- Thwaites, Ruben Gold. "The French Regime in Wisconsin I, 1634-1727", vol. 16. Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1902.
- _____. "The French Regime in Wisconsin II, 1727-1748". vol. 17. Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1906.
- _____. "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documentations". 73 vols. Cleveland, Ohio: Burrows Bros. ed. 1896-1901.

- Todd, Arthur Cecil. The Cornish Miner in America. Glendale: 1967.
- Tomasic, Dinko. "Personality Development in the Zadruga Society." Psychiatry V (May 1948).
- United Methodist Church. History of the Zeba Indian Mission, United Methodist Church: 150 Years in Mission. United Methodist Church, 1983.
- Veness-Randle, April Rene. "The Social-Spatial Lifecycle of A Company Town: Calumet, Michigan". Master's thesis. Michigan State University. 1979.
- Virtanen. Settlement or Return: Finnish Emigrants in the International Overseas Return Migration Movement. New York: N.D.
- Walker, Mack. Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964.
- Wargelin, Kaarina. Pioneer Pastors' Wives Chose the Role of Service. 1988.
- Wargelin, Raymond W. The Life of Jacob J. Hoikka and his Share in Democratizing the Suomi Synod. Rio Rancho, N.M.: The Author, 1990.
- _____. Suomi Synod Ministerium (1890-1962) and Theological Bibliography: a Guide to Research Sources. Rio Rancho, N.M.: The Author, 1988.
- Wendland, Michael F. "The Calumet Tragedy". American Heritage (April-May 1986) 37:39-48.
- Whittlesey, Charles. "Ancient Mining on the Shores of Lake Superior". Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge (1863) 13, No. 155:1-29.
- Wills, Frank. Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture. 1850.
- Wright, J. N. "The Development of the Copper Industry of Northern Michigan". Publications of the Michigan Political Science Association (1899) 3:127-141.
- Wrong, George M. "The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, by Father Gabriel Sagard", vol. 25. Toronto, Canada: Publications of the Champlain Society. ed. 1939.
- Young, Otis E., Jr. "The American Copper Frontier, 1640-1893". The Speculator: A Journal of Butte and Southwest Montana History (Summer 1984) 1:4-15.

Annual Reports, Pamphlets, and an Ordinance

- "Amazing Space: The Newsletter of Inspired Partnerships". Quarterly Publication. Inspired Partnerships Program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Chicago, Illinois: N.D.

- "Annual Reports". Superintendent of Public Instruction, Michigan. ca. 1855-1910. Lansing, Michigan: 1911.
- "Annual Reports". Superintendents of the Poor, Houghton County. 1917-1926 and 1929-1934. Houghton, Michigan: 1935.
- "Annual Reports on the Registration of Births and Deaths, Marriages and Divorces in Michigan". Secretary of State, Michigan. ca. 1865-1910. Lansing, Michigan: 1911.
- "Biennial Reports". Board of Corrections and Charities. 1873-1900. Lansing, Michigan: 1901.
- "Charter and Ordinance". Red Jacket Village. Calumet, Michigan: 1898.
- "Conservation and Preservation of Environments". Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series, V. 38. Center for Environmental Design Research, University of California, Berkeley: 1992.
- "Conservation of Urban Religious Properties". Information. No. 47. National Trust for Historic Preservation: 1990.
- "Criteria for Cultural Landscapes under the World Heritage Convention". The Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin (1992) 24(3): 79-80.
- "Cultural Diversity and Historic Preservation". Audiovisual, 1 videocassette (60 min.). 1992. sessions I-III, 46th National Preservation Conference, National Trust for Historic Preservation: 1992.
- "Good Space and Good Works: Research and Analysis of the Extent and Nature of the Use of Religious Properties in Chicago's Neighborhoods". Inspired Partnerships Program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Chicago, Illinois: June 1991.
- "History of the Lake Superior and Ishpeming Railroad". Lake Superior and Ishpeming Railroad. N.D.
- "History of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan Containing a Full Account of Its Early Settlement; Its Growth, Development and Resources". Western Historical Society. Chicago, Illinois: 1883.
- "Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: Essays on the meanings of Some Places in the Past". Cambridge University Press: 1992.
- Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections (1874-1929). 40 volumes. Lansing, Michigan: Robert Smith and Co. N.D.
- "Part 17: Copper Mining and Smelting". Immigrants in Industries. Wasington, D.C.: 1911.
- "A Preservationist's Glossary". Landscape Architecture (1987) 80:38-56.

- "Preserving the Past and Making It Accessible for People with Disabilities". A pamphlet.
U. S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service: Oct. 1992.
- "The Sacred and the Secular: A Workshop for Historic Religious Properties and Assembly Spaces". Conference materials. San Francisco, California: 1994.
- "Strike Investigation". Committee of the Copper Country Commercial Club of Michigan.
Chicago, Illinois: 1913.
- "System Data". Wisconsin Michigan Power Company. N.D.
- "The Upper Peninsula of Michigan". Harper's New Monthly Magazine (May 1882) 892-902.

257 COPTON FIBER U.S.A.

Southworth Bond