Saugatuck's Shining Shore: The Transition of a Michigan Community into a Resort Town, 1870-1930

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“...just before the shining shore, We may almost discover. For now we stand on Jordan's strand, Our friends are passing over...”

--Chorus to the hymn *The Shining Shore* by George F. Root (n.d.), inspiration for which possibly resulted from summers spent in Saugatuck during the years 1871 to 1872 (Lane 1991).
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to thank the members of my committee for their time and effort in reviewing this thesis, and for the influence that they have had on me. My advisor, Allen Zagarell, who took an interest in this thesis topic and for teaching me the importance of theory to both things large and small in archaeology. Arthur Helweg whose kind help and support has come at a time when his own health has not been at its best. And Charles Cleland from whom I developed my interest in archaeology because of his infectious enthusiasm and depth of knowledge.

Secondly, I would like to thank my mother, Muriel, for her support and patience with me while I pursued my studies.

And finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my father, Raymond, who unfortunately could not live long enough to see the completion of my studies.

Kyran V. Kelley
During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries many communities adapted themselves to the leisure industry with the growth of a middle class that had time for leisure activities within the United States. One impetus for this change suggested for the period is a lack of manufacturing and extractive activities (Brown 1995).

This thesis tests this scenario on one community of the period, Saugatuck, Michigan, by examining the employment and business structures of the town while also examining land use. This was accomplished through the use of both primary and secondary documents.

Data gathered and placed within its historical context does not support in this case a lack of manufacturing and extractive activities as a driving force in the adoption of the resort industry. Information gathered in this study suggests that transportation features and the general aesthetics of the local physical landscape were a more important role in the development of Saugatuck into a resort community.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the myriad of social developments in the last half of the nineteenth century in the United States was an expansion of time for leisure activities. What had hitherto been enjoyed by only the most affluent members of American society, time for leisure activities, was now available to the middle class and some members of the working class. Leisure time had been considered one of the key characteristics separating the two groups (Kaplan 1960:43-44). With the increase in free time more Americans frequented venues providing leisure activities and new venues were established to meet the increase in demand in the later nineteenth century. This thesis will examine the effects of the transition to a resort economy on the employment, business, and land use structures of one community.

Genesis of the Tourism and Resort Industries

The events leading to an increase in leisure included but were not limited to: First, the growth in size, wealth, and power of the middle class
(Brinkley 1997:521-524). Second, the incomes of working class Americans increasing over the amount required for mere subsistence (Zeisel 1958:149). Third, a shortened workweek, based on the recognition of the public health (Zeisel 1958:149) and economic productivity benefits (Kaplan 1960:34). Fourth, a change in attitude towards leisure activities resulting from modifications in religious doctrine which recognized the benefits of leisure activities (Kelley and Godbey 1992:36-39). And finally, improved transportation systems servicing the country (Urry 1990:24; Eitzen and Sage 1986:29-32; Foster 1981), resulting in the growth of the tourism and resort industries. Americans could now afford to travel away from their homes seeking new locales in which to enjoy their free time. At resort locations visitors could enjoy a variety of activities and entertainments, visit with friends, or they could just relax in quiet contemplation.

Research Problem

Many communities attempted to take advantage of this situation by catering to the recreational tastes of the public (Brown 1995) and by providing an environment with the comforts of home in which to attract visitors (Jakle 1985:67). One of the driving forces cited for the adoption of
the resort and tourism industry in some regions was a decline in extractive resources and manufacturing activities (Brown 1995; Peck and Lepie 1977). Developments such as these forced local leaders to seek other employment alternatives for their populations, in order to maintain the economic stability of their communities.

One such community that became involved in the tourism and resort industry at the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries is Saugatuck, Michigan. Saugatuck lies on the lakeshore of Lake Michigan in Allegan County. It is bisected by the Kalamazoo River as it flows to its outlet at Lake Michigan (Figure 1).

This thesis will examine its transition into a resort community, focusing on the time period of 1870 to 1930.

A number of questions arise when looking at the development of the resort industry within Saugatuck. First, was the demise of an economy dependent on extraction and manufacturing a factor in the transition? Second, if this was so what was the timing of the change? Did the resort industry become prominent during or after the decline in extractive and manufacturing activities? Third, what visible changes in land use resulted from this? Fourth, what changes in the business structure occurred? Fifth, how was employment affected? Sixth, what were the changes in property
values? And finally, how did the local populace and the new visitors interact?

While these questions probably do not represent all the questions that could be asked in regards to Saugatuck’s transition into a resort
community, they are representative of those that can answered with the documentary sources available and are the focus of this thesis.

Description of the Study Area

As stated above Saugatuck lies within Saugatuck Township in Allegan County. The present day village of Saugatuck is composed of sections 8, 9, and the northeast corner of section 16, T 3 N, R 16 W. However, throughout most of the period this study, 1870 to 1930, the corporate limits of the village were composed only of section 9 and the northwest corner of 16 (Figure 2). For analytical purposes this thesis will focus on those areas only, referring to areas outside this only as necessary.

Organization of Study

In order to answer the questions laid out above I will consider the origins of leisure studies and their relation to studies of tourism and resorts. The problem of defining leisure and studying something intangible like leisure, and previous studies of resort towns will be examined in Chapter II.
Chapter III will describe the physical environment of Saugatuck and its surroundings, then the discussion will turn to the economic potential of Saugatuck during the period of study.
Chapter IV will discuss the general trends in the history of tourism during Saugatuck's transition and how Saugatuck has been conceived as in previous historical works. Then this chapter will turn to the history of varying aspects related to the village's transition into a resort community will be explored.

In Chapter V the data sources, hypotheses, and methods used to used to study land use, property value fluctuations, changes in business composition, and changes in the employment composition of Saugatuck. Further, this chapter will describe the changes in the above variables through time.

Chapter VI will bring the historical record into account with the data gathered in this research and summarize the work.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW: LEISURE, TOURISM, AND RESORTS

Problematic Nature of Leisure Studies

Discussions as to the nature of leisure have a long tradition running back in time to the days of Aristotle. Modern studies of leisure began with the publishing of “The Theory of the Leisure Class” in 1899 by Thorstein Veblen. Over this period of time two themes have been recurrent in the literature of leisure. The first, what is leisure? The second, what is leisure for?

What is Leisure?

One of the problems in communicating ideas about leisure is different conceptions as to its definition. Veblen an economist couched his definition in terms of consumption, he defined leisure as the “nonproductive consumption of time” (1994). This definition as leisure being something consumed has been a common thread in many books and articles concerned with leisure. De Grazia in his book “Of Time, Work, and Leisure” (1994) discusses at length the consumptive aspects of the
relationship between time and leisure. Other recent works which carry on
the notion of consumption in discussing tourism are Urry’s 1990 article in
“Sociology” in which he examines the social dimensions surrounding the
consumption of tourist related services, and a contribution to
“Acknowledging Consumption” (1995) by Campbell where he notes the
inapplicability of the “consumption as communication” paradigm to the
study of tourism.

The “consumption as communication” model holds that the
material goods that people possess and the activities that they participate
in contain information about their social status. People within a culture
are assumed to have intimate knowledge of the objects and activities
within a culture necessary to assess their relative worth. However,
Campbell points out that this model fails to take into account that the
social position of individuals within cultures may leave them without the
experience necessary to assess the relative value of something even if they
recognize it. With this point in mind the model is still of utility, as the
possessions and activities of people do reflect to some extent their social
status.

Another definition used by some anthropologists is that leisure is
an “expressive activity that is embedded in the value systems and
practices of a culture" (Kelley and Godbey 1992:11). However, this
definition has apparently not been operationalized to any great extent by
anthropologists in historical studies. For example, archaeologists with
their bias towards the material world have mainly dealt with the objects
of leisure. The traces of leisure activities have either been dealt with
typologically such as, Randall's (1971) research into marbles,
chronologically again with marbles by Carskadden and Gartley (1990), or
descriptively in the manner of Hanson's (1971) article on pipes from Rome,
New York. Few works have dealt with the social implications of leisure
reflected by material culture, examples of which will be discussed below.

Leisure as “consumption” or as an “expressive activity” are but two
of many definitions driven by academic orientation or presumptions. It is
this communicative problem which forced Neumeyer and Neumeyer
(1958), Kaplan (1975), and Kelley and Godbey (1992) to all discuss in
detail the definitions of leisure in their own examinations of the subject.
The Neumeyers discussion emphasized institutional aspects of leisure in
their study of parks, playgrounds, and organizations. While Kaplan in his
book “Leisure: Theory and Policy” alone identifies six definitions based on
humanistic, therapeutic, quantitative, institutional, epistemological, or
sociological paradigms. With such a breadth of definitions available it is
necessary for the researcher to focus on the definition, or definitions, which are of the most relevance to the subject under study.

The definitions of leisure as "consumption" or as an "expressive activity" have the most utility in examining a resort community historically. These definitions provide a framework upon which to create research designs to study leisure in the archaeological record. However, it is also necessary to keep in mind two points made by Kelley and Godbey (1992). The first, is of "social context", that leisure occurs in a specific place, time, and social situation. For example, the effects of context have been revealed archaeologically in functional explanations of the effects of location on colonial taverns. Rockman and Rothschild (1984) discovered in a comparative examination of four tavern sites that the artifact proportion of ceramics to bottles and glassware was inversely related. The more rural the site the greater the proportion of ceramics that were recovered. They explained this difference in the artifact assemblages by proposing that rural taverns functionally emphasized dining and lodging, while the urban taverns were used for meetings and "social activities" - that is drinking.

The second point, is the "social relationships" involved in leisure activities, individuals and groups do not operate in social vacuums, but interact with each other, while maintaining their own identities. Further,
that individuals and groups attach meanings to their actions, and to the actions of others. This position has received further attention by Urry (1990). Unfortunately, it can be difficult in studying some subjects to get at the relationships between some groups due to the visibility of one of the participating groups. Seifert (1994; 1991) in her archaeological examination of houses of prostitution in Hooker’s Division, in Washington D. C., was able to distinguish differences in the material culture of brothels and working class homes, and was able to discuss the motivations of prostitutes from historical studies. The prostitutes viewed their occupation as a means to climb socially out of poverty. The meanings attached by their customers to this leisure activity is not discussed, either by omission, or due to the unequal gender relations reflected by the activity and prevalent moral perceptions.

It is much easier to understand the social relationships between groups when the social context in question is an open one. Rosenwieg’s (1986) historical examination of the Worcester, Massachusetts, explains the class conflicts in the late 19th and early 20th century over the use of parks within the city. The problem resulted from differing definitions of the purpose of a park. The working class viewed parks as places of play and socializing, while the more elite members of the community viewed
parks as a place for people to enjoy nature while conducting themselves in a refined manner. Tensions developed at times when the elite tried to control access to the parks.

What is Leisure For?

There are three broad areas into which studies involving the uses of leisure time have focused. The first, emphasizes the beneficial aspects of leisure, and results form some of the very changes in attitudes and religious doctrines that resulted in the expansion of leisure time in the first place. Dare, Welton, and Cole (1987) provide a thorough examination in “Concepts of Leisure in Western Thought” of the religious and philosophical basis for attitudes towards leisure. Starting in the sixteenth century with the writings of Martin Luther, into the nineteenth century writings of the English utilitarian philosophers, many believed that there were only two acceptable ways for individuals to spend their time, either in the “glorification of god” or in “industrious labor”.

Throughout the same period however there was a contradictory philosophy which became the dominant thinking that leisure time was an important aspect of peoples lives. In seventeenth century America the Puritans valued recreation because it enabled individuals to work better
(Wagner 1982). By the end of the nineteenth century the interpretation of biblical writings which placed a belief that God valued the non-utilitarian provided strong support for leisure activities (McGrath 1993:662).

Yet business and religious leaders in the late nineteenth century continued to be concerned that individuals with too much free time could fall prey to some “poor” choices in leisure activities, such as drinking. Both groups either organized or supported leisure activities that were designed to promote good health, citizenship, values, and intellectual development. One example of this is the placing of public parks in urban areas. Schuyler in the “The New Urban Landscape” (1986:59-76) discusses the health benefits and the intellectual stimulation that parks could provide. Parks were seen as a place of exercise and a haven within a urban area during outbreaks of infectious disease. They were also considered a place of “moral” intellectual stimulation by the exposure to elements of nature contained in parks.

Sports were also considered an important tool in improving the lives of people. Eitzen and Sage in their “Sociology of North American Sports” (1986) record the history of the views of business and religious leaders towards sports. Participation in sports from a health perspective was thought to improve employee morale and increase productivity in the work
place by businessmen (40) and to relieve misery of poor health by religious leaders (45). Both business leaders (53-67) and religious figures (144-151) looked at organized sports as a means of social control, because of the values of self-discipline, hard work, and respect for authority that they instilled. The social control aspect of organized recreation in industrial settings has been recognized in the anthropological literature by Mergen (1976), he notes the disagreements between employees and employers over recreational choices in corporate sponsored programs.

One aspect of the beneficial uses of leisure that is germane to the study of Saugatuck is Christian fellowship. Fellowship between Christians has and continues to this day to be one of the reasons that religious leaders support organized leisure, and is one of the reasons that organizations such as the YMCA exist. One of the ways in which this principle of fellowship was manifested was in the creation of Christian retreats and resorts. Umniowicz (1992) presents a fairly detailed examination of two Christian resorts in New Jersey around the turn of the century. Further discussion of Christian retreats will occur later within this text.

Another area with relevance to studying a resort location such as Saugatuck is the use of leisure time to appreciate nature. The appreciation
of nature was considered an important intellectual pursuit in the last century, and natural attractions and beautiful scenery have long been a source of attention within this country. Shields in his book “Places on the Margin” (1991:117-161) makes it clear that a resort location such as Niagara Falls would not be in business without the falls. Indeed, nature as an attraction was important to the initial development of some forms of leisure activities, an example of which is the transformation of fishing from a subsistence to a leisure activity (Sheehy 1992:81-82). This topic will require more attention later in the text.

The final theme in the use of leisure is the issue of pleasure. While it is touched upon in many works the importance of the simple pleasure that one derives from some activity has not received much attention. Mergen in his article “Travel as Play” (1986) discusses the pleasurable aspects that one can derive from travel. Indeed, it is the reason why Campbell (1995) mentioned above, decouples communication from consumption in the study of tourism. However, the coupling of the attainment of the feeling pleasure with the utility of leisure is scarce within the literature. Perhaps this is because of the ideological issues mentioned above, or because of the intangibility of pleasure and the
indefinability of its utility, which makes scholars reluctant to mention it when determining the functional utility of some activity.

For example, Franzen's (1995) study of liquor and medicinal bottles from logging camps in the upper peninsula of Michigan. He uses the material culture to show that while alcohol may have been banned from lumber camps by management, it was present, and that this presence was probably related to social stresses. While this most certainly explains the presence of alcohol in the logging camps, it was probably not in the consciousness of the people taking part in the activity of drinking.

Previous Studies of Resort Communities

The three modes in which resort communities have been studied in the past are general histories, planing studies, and society histories. The first two types, will probably be self evident to the reader, the third type, however, involves the histories not so much of the community involved, as the society personalities who visited the community and events related to them.
General Histories

Three fine general histories of the resort communities have been written over the last thirty-five years. The first, "The Story of the Jersey Shore", is by Wilson (1964) in which he covers the regional development of resort towns, such as Cape May, Long Beach, Tucker Beach, and Long Branch, along the New Jersey coast. This work covers the period from the first half of the last century, when Southerners and Philadelphians were frequent guests, into the 1960s. Of particular interest is the discussion of how railroads facilitated resort growth. However, this work does cover quite a bit of material not related to the resort industry, such as ship sinkings off the coast in WW II.

Funnell's (1975), "By the Beautiful Sea" traces the history of Atlantic City from the 1890s, when it was a resort for the nouveau rich, into the 1970s, by which time it had become a resort for the lower middle class. With much detail it covers everything from amusements in the city, to the questionable morality of its guests, to corruption within the city government. Atlantic City's development is quite interesting compared to other resorts of the period, because it took on an urban character quite quickly at a time when other resorts were emphasizing their rural natural beauty.
The last, is Dona Brown's (1995) "Inventing New England" uses the region as a background in which to study different phases and problems in the tourism and resort industries. It begins with the American emulation of the European "Grand Tour", following the growth in demand for summer cottages, and the marketing of nostalgia and rural vacations. She also tackles class relations between locals and tourists. This text will receive further attention later within Chapter IV.

Planning Studies

Two studies conducted thirty years apart are interesting for the similarity of the conclusions that they reached. At the end of WW II, Faught (1945) published the results of his doctoral research, a sociological examination of the resort community of Falmouth, Massachusetts. He examined the problems of the community, of which one third of the population was seasonal, from a planning perspective. Using questionnaires he gathered economic information and studied the attitudes of seasonal residents, businessmen, hotel owners, and local High School students. He concluded, that while community was economically dependent on summer cottagers and tourists for its economic well being, that hotel owners misunderstood their clients and that locals needed to
improve their attitudes towards their guests. For the long term economic stability of the community, he suggests that locals and the stable portion of the summer residents cooperate in civic planning.

In the early seventies, anthropologists Peck and Lepie (1977), conducted a regional study of the impacts of tourism on communities in the coastal region of North Carolina. They found that the rate of growth and the amount of acculturation that occurs is a function of the source of money used in development and the amount of political integration between locals and outsiders. They found that in those situations in which there was a balance of political power between groups that a minimum of community disruption occurred.

Society Histories

Amory's (1952) book "The Last Resorts", emphasizes the personalities that visited resort towns of the last and early this century, and is emulated by the two books discussed below. It discusses the extremely affluent individuals who visited the resorts of Tuxedo, New York; Newport, Rhode Island; Bar Harbor, Maine; Palm Beach, Florida; and Saratoga, New York. It presents the minimum of historic background
necessary to contextualize the towns involved to cover the material presented. It is a social history of the very rich.

O'Conner (1974), uses a fair amount of material from Amory's book, in his work "The Golden Summers" which covers the town of Newport, Rhode Island; which was dependent on Summer visitors by the 1830s. Newport was the vacation spot for the richest people in the country, such as the Vanderbilts, and drew many visitors from Europe. O'Conner does record the social tensions that occurred over moral issues between the local New Englander's and guests of the area. Many of the behaviors of those visiting were considered indecent by local standards.

The last book by Marnell (1975) "Vacation Yesterdays of New England" presents a quick paced general overview of the region, with an emphasis on the New Jersey shoreline, Boston, and Chataqua, New York. Marnell discusses the affluent visiting these locals, but without the heavy emphasis on specific individuals of the above two books. Marnell, however, does present an extensive account of the role of transportation systems in facilitating the tourism and resort business. He also discusses improvements in hotel accommodations for vacationers in the 19th and early 20th centuries.
CHAPTER III

ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMIC POTENTIAL

The surrounding environment is an important factor in the economic potential of a community. The study of the Salt River Valley of Missouri (O'Brien, et al. 1984) is one example in which the impact of the environment on the settlement and development of communities has been considered in an historical analysis. In the Salt River Valley the environment was shown to be of most importance during the period of settlement and initial development. While the environment does not determine what economic activities will occur in a locale, it is a limiting factor. Items discussed below will be referred to in Chapters IV and VI while considering Saugatuck's transition into a resort community.

Physical Environment

The physiography near Saugatuck consists of glacial moraines, lakebed deposits, and till plains. The Kalamazoo River is the major drainage of Allegan County, to which all other riparian feature in the vicinity drain into, passes through Saugatuck on its way to Lake Michigan
to the west. Underlying this terrain, are the sandstone's of the Marshall formation and the shale's of the Coldwater formation, both of which are of Mississipian age-310 to 345 MYA. These Mississipian age rocks are a valuable economic resource, as construction material and as a component in a variety of other products (Dorr and Eschman 1970:125). However, the utilization of this resource is limited to natural gases and oil, trapped within rocks of the county, and exploited recently within this century (Knapp 1987:3).

Soils in the vicinity consist of the Glendora-Adrian-Granby; Capac-Rimer-Pipestone; Morocco-Newton-Oakville; and Oakville associations (Knapp 1987). The economic potential of these soils are discussed below.

The climate of the area produces a growing season of over 160 days in length. Average daily temperatures range 26° F in February to 69° F in July (Eichenlaub, Harmen, Nurnberger, and Stolle 1990:18-19). The annual precipitation exceeds 32" per year (Eichenlaub, Harmen, Nurnberger, and Stolle 1990:91).

Economic Resources

The variety of historical documents available; such as newspapers, census records, tax records, and local histories, indicate that farming,
timber cutting, fishing, and hunting were the limits of the exploitation of
the local environment in the period of study. The discussion below is
therefore limited to these areas.

Agricultural Potential

The favorable climate of Allegan County helps rank it amongst the
top ten in productivity in the state within recent history (Knapp 1987:3). A
typical growing season consists of 166 days with temperature over 28°C
(Knapp 1987:103). The poorly drained soils, composed of sand, silt, and
loam, of the Capac-Rimer-Pipestone association are the best suited soils
for agriculture within the area near Saugatuck, and are available in
abundance. In addition to grains grown in the area, vegetable crops such as
onions, asparagus, cauliflower, cabbage, Brussels sprouts, peppers, celery,
radishes, and carrots are produced.

The area around Saugatuck is also known for the production of fruit
crops and is considered part of the “Fruit Belt”. Fruit production is
clustered toward the shore of Lake Michigan where the prevailing winds
coming off the lake help to limit temperature extremes which could
damage crops (Eichenlaub, Harmen, Nurnberger, and Stolle 1990:152).
Fruits grown in the area include apples, cherries, grapes, blueberries, peaches, apricots, pears, nectarines, plums, strawberries, and raspberries.

Timber

In Saugatuck’s near vicinity Oak-Hickory, Beech-Sugar Maple, Pine, Deciduous Swamp, River Floodplain and Bottomland Hardwood represent the forest communities which could be logged (Barnes and Wagner 1981:41-45). Of value would be the *Pinus* Species for use in construction, while *Quercus* Species (Oak) and *Acer* Species (Maple) are useful in cabinet making and in fine woodwork.

Of particular interest is the species *Tsuga canadensis* (Eastern Hemlock), important for the Tanin contained within it’s bark used in leather processing. Limited stands of hemlock stood in the vicinity of Saugatuck. Further discussion of this matter will be saved for Chapter IV.

Fauna

Commercial fishing and hunting, while not a major economic factor, was the source of income for some individuals in Saugatuck. Rothschild and Balkwill’s (1993) study of the faunal remains in the urban deposits of Manhattan are illustrative of the types of wild species which could be
obtained at market. Terrestrial species which could be found in the vicinity of Saugatuck, which are reflected in the above study, include Whitetail Deer \((Odocoileus virginianus)\) and the Eastern Cottontail Rabbit \((Sylvilagus floridanus)\).

Avian fauna of commercial interest include \(Branta\) Species (Geese) and \(Anas\) Species (Ducks) (Wood 1943).

A number of aquatic species were of interest to commercial fisherman during the period of this study. Species with commercial value that were present in Lake Michigan at this time included Chubs \((Coregonus\) Sp.), Lake Trout \((Salelinus namaycush)\), Yellow Perch \((Perca flavacens)\), and Lake Whitefish \((Coregonus clupeaformus)\) (Sommers, et al. 1984).

Another species of economic importance in the area was the Muskrat \((Ondatra zibethica)\) (Burt 1957), which was prized by trappers for its valuable fur.
CHAPTER IV

HISTORY

Brief Outline of Tourism in America

The trends in tourism within Saugatuck reflect the general development of the tourist industry within the United States. However, the development of tourism in Saugatuck lagged behind the great growth of the tourist industry along the Eastern seaboard during the 1860's to 1880's. Brown's (1995) study of the development of tourism in nineteenth-century New England provides a framework in which to contextualize tourism within Saugatuck.

Fashionable/Grand Tour

Saugatuck the tourist retreat postdates the “Fashionable or Grand” tour of the pre-civil war period. Such tours were popular with the affluent and were characterized by touring a developing region, visiting industrial facilities and “scenic” attractions along the way. Scenic attractions were generally narrowly defined natural features, known for their impressive or spectacular characteristics, such as mountains or water falls (i.e. Niagara
Falls). Frequently, the tourist would have a letter of introduction, provided by a prominent member of society, which the tourist could use to get guided tours by industrialists and public officials.

Religious/Scenic Tourism

The early growth of tourism within Saugatuck while lagging behind the East reflected two contemporaneous trends. First, the growing acceptance of leisure activities by Christian America and the resulting development of the cottage industry. Secondly, there was a growing interest in natural areas such as seashores, by the American public.

The Christianization of leisure time and the growth of Christian revivals in the latter half of the nineteenth-century in the development of Christian resorts, some of which grew into quite large complexes. Uminowicz's (1992) history of Ocean Grove and Ashbury Park in New Jersey outlines the development of two such sites. Initially Christian retreats were small tent encampments occurring during the warmer months of the year. Later these outings grew in size and duration with plots of ground being sold by developers to members of a particular religious denomination or group. What started with tents led to more permanent structures and eventually into regular houses. The focus of
these retreats gradually shifted away from being the grounds for religious meetings into vacation communities of religious peers. With time the religious emphasis of many of these retreats was lost, the retreat became a resort.

Scenic tourism developed concurrently with Christian retreats in the last half of the nineteenth-century, and unlike the Grand or Fashionable tour, was not entirely focused on the spectacular but a general appreciation of nature. Jakle (1985) discusses the rise of nature tourism in the nineteenth-century and its flourish in the twentieth-century. The scenic tourist was, and as a matter of fact to this day, interested in entirety of nature, the landscape with its flora and fauna. Scenic tourism was also a means for some to claim genteel status by showing an interest in nature. Entrepreneurs furthered the interest in nature by providing facilities to enhance the experience such as trails, viewing platforms, inns, and hotels.

Both types of tourism, scenic and religious, led to a growth in the hospitality industry through the proliferation of boarding houses and rental homes. And both emphasized the benefit of leisure to the soul or spirit.
Nostalgia/Farm Vacation Tourism

Another trend in tourism that was prevalent around end of the nineteenth-century into the early twentieth-century resulted from societal pressures arising from the rapid growth of urban areas and industrialization. During this period there was a growing interest in history and a yearning for a simpler lifestyle. A product of the appeal for a simpler life was nostalgia tourism and the farm vacation. The urban middle class would visit out of the way villages, seemingly unaffected by urbanism, during the summer months to get away from the city. They would also board at farms during the summer months, sometimes helping out with farm chores, to enjoy the fantasy of a simpler life and times.

Previous Historical Conceptions of Saugatuck

Saugatuck’s history has been conceptualized in a variety of ways depending on the author of the work or the intended audience. Most portray the town with some degree of sentimentality. Persons who were contemporaries of the earliest residents and witnessed the growth of the area, or who grew up in the town, emphasized the Saugatuck’s early economy and “pioneer” individuals. Later authors wrote for tourists
visiting the town, or for regional historical interests such as Saugatuck's connection with the maritime history of the Great Lakes.

Pioneers and Growth

Several histories of the development and influential individuals of Saugatuck and Western Allegan County have been written. Those of relevance include works by Heath (1930), Sheridan (1981), Lorenz (1983), and Hutchins (1995). Henry Hutchins' work is a collection of letters on local history published in the Lake Shore Commercial in 1919 and 1924. Hutchins was a long time resident of the area, having been born in Ganges in 1853, spending his entire life there as a farmer and manufacturer of agricultural equipment. Early in the century he interviewed a number of elderly residents of the area upon which the letters to the newspaper were based. This work while not specific to Saugatuck does cover the area's early development, economy, and some of the transportation features serving Saugatuck. It also contains more romantic tales of the early pioneers' dealings with wolves, bears, and the Indians of the area.

May Francis Heath, a member of the Heath family prominent in the community of Saugatuck late in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, wrote the first book on Saugatuck published in 1930. While
focusing on Saugatuck, it does cover briefly some of the other nearby communities, of interest are the letters of early settlers, poetry and song pertaining to the area, and biographical sketches of prominent individuals in the community.

Sheridan’s (1981) work is the most thorough and comprehensive of the three works covering the history of Saugatuck in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sheridan was strongly influenced by Hutchins letters and Heath’s book as a child, and it was their works which inspired him to write his own. Unlike the above works, Sheridan acknowledges the role of resort industry in the history of the area and a considerable portion of his text deals with its importance to Saugatuck. He was also unafraid to deal with some issues that did not portray the community in a favorable fashion.

It is probable that both Hutchins and Heath did not devote any attention to the subject because of their proximity to the topic. The resort business in the area would seem a natural part of their daily lives. Therefore not part of the early days of their community when their parents lived, of the past and being of historical interest. However, to Sheridan, the development of the resort business in Saugatuck seemed part of the
history of Saugatuck, therefore, of importance and relevant to a history of Saugatuck.

Another history of Saugatuck and vicinity published in recent years is a work by Charles Lorenz (1983) which focuses on the early history of the community long before the development of the resort business in the area. In a information packed and rambling text, Lorenz discusses early settlers in the area such as William Butler and Samuel Morrison, surveys of the area, and the plotting of towns.

People, Places, and Events

Kit Lane (1990, 1991, 1992, 1994) has written a number of histories oriented towards tourist market. These books are eclectic collection subjects ranging from influential people of the community, famous “resorters”, landmarks, and historical events. The books do provide some valuable sketches of recreational landmarks in the area and biographical information on notable visitors to the area such as George Root, who is held in local tradition as the first tourist, discussed below within this chapter. However, the intent of these books is to entertain.
Maritime Connection

Within the last couple of decades there has been a growing interest in the maritime history of the state of Michigan resulting in legislative action to protect shipwrecks and attention by the State of Michigan's, Bureau of History (Halsey 1991). This interest is no less prevalent in west Michigan, which is the home of the Lake Michigan Maritime Museum in South Haven, than any other part of the state. Two further works by Lane reflect this trend by documenting Saugatuck's maritime history. In “Built on the Kalamazoo” (1993) the history of ship building and the men who built ships in Saugatuck is covered, while “The Dustless Road to Happyland” (1995) covers the shipping lines that serviced Saugatuck and other maritime activities taking place in the area.

Saugatuck Before Tourism

The cessation of Indian lands that accompanied the Chicago Treaty of 1821 opened up Southwestern Michigan to settlement. Immense tracts of forested lands, that had been the domain of the trapper, were now open to clearing and cultivation. From 1830 to 1837 Michigan was the most popular destination for pioneers heading west in search of lands on which
to settle (Dunbar and May 1995:163). It was during this period of time that Saugatuck had its origins.

Establishment

Saugatuck was one of two towns founded at or near the mouth of the Kalamazoo river in the 1830's. In 1830 William Gay Butler arrived in what was to become Saugatuck, a short distance up the Kalamazoo River. On his arrival he found French Canadian and American fur trappers in the area as well as Indians and set up a trading post. In 1833 he platted the town, then called Kalamazoo, eventually becoming Saugatuck after the Pottawattomie name for "rivers mouth" in 1868 (Romig 1986:501). In 1838 the town of Singapore was founded at the mouth of the Kalamazoo River. However, Singapore went through a series of financial difficulties and was poorly situated in a dune area with shifting sands, and ceased to exist by the late 1860's. Much of the former populace of this town moved upstream to Saugatuck, with it becoming the dominant community in the area.

Status of Saugatuck in 1870

Those settlers following Butler cleared forests, built saw mills and tanneries, fished the waters of lake Michigan, planted crops, and set up
shops. By 1870 Saugatuck was an established community with the villages population having risen to its peak of 1,035 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870) from a population 817 in 1860 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860). There was regular ship and postal services to the community. The harbor had been declared a port of entry and the village received $30,000 from the government for harbor improvements (Heath 1930:41). The lumber boom created by the rapid growth of nearby Chicago created ample work for the mills in the area and manufacturers dependent on forest products. The previous fall an area mill had set a record in which 56,000 board feet of lumber had been sawn in one day (Sheridan 1982:109). Saugatuck’s citizens looked at the future feeling it was full of promise, however, the village would not become the port city and manufacturing center they might have expected.

Saugatuck as a Resort Town, 1870-1930

While the history of Saugatuck as a resort town begins early in the 1870's it's not until the 1890's that Saugatuck would be recognizable as a resort town. This was a long and complex process, to write of all the interconnecting events in one narrative stream would be quite difficult, to
ease this process events bearing on Saugatuck becoming a resort have been separated into related topics.

**Getting There**

As noted in Chapter I, improvements in transportation systems were a key element in the development of the resort Industry. Such improvements were taking place in Michigan in the latter half of the nineteenth-century as new roads, larger ships, and more railroads were being constructed (Dunbar and May 1995:369-380). Saugatuck, with a diversity of transportation modes servicing it, provides a unique example of the changes that were taking place in transportation systems and technologies in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries.

**1870 to 1899: By Ship and Stage**

The principal means of getting to Saugatuck late in the Nineteenth Century was by ship (Sheridan 1981:205), other means by way of stage or wagon meant a long trip over the rough roads of the period. It was also possible to get to Saugatuck by river ferry from Allegan. In the year 1871, however, the revolution in transportation systems occurring within the country reached Allegan County with the arrival of the railroad in nearby
New Richmond. The effects it had on the area were immediate as it resulted in the cessation of the ferry service between Saugatuck and Allegan (Lane 1995:95), and the railroad took up the bulk of the lumber transportation instead of the previous practice of floating lumber down the Kalamazoo River to Saugatuck (Hutchins 1995:88). Saugatuck like other communities in the area had campaigned for the railroad to pass through the town. Unfortunately, the topography of the area prevented such a route (Sheridan 1981:309). To have the railroad pass through the town would mean having to overcome the steep banks and the wide river floodplain of the Kalamazoo River near Saugatuck, a route further to the east was preferable. It would be many more years until rails reached Saugatuck.

While the coming of the railroad to the county reduced the importance of Saugatuck as a transportation center, transportation by ship remained the preferred means of transportation in and out of Saugatuck for its residents (Lane 1995:8). This is because while New Richmond was only six miles away, it required covering that distance over rough roads with passenger stage or freight wagon. Initially, the ships coming in and out of Saugatuck primarily hauled freight, fruit and lumber out of the town and merchandise not available locally in to town, from ports along the west shore of Lake Michigan, Chicago, and Milwaukee.
Later, shipping lines would recognize the potential of offering passenger services and added passenger accommodations to the ships of their fleets. The first ship to operate out of Saugatuck that was fitted specifically to carry passengers was the *Pilgrim* built in 1888 (Lane 1995:15). While locals used this service for their own personal needs, it was resorters who were the target market for the shipping lines (Lane 1995:16). In the period from 1875 to 1900 passenger traffic proved to be a lucrative and growing business (Sheridan 1981:223-225).

While the ship was the preferable means of transportation it was not without drawbacks, the first ships servicing Saugatuck depended on sails as their motive force, these ships could not maintain a dependable schedule due to the constraints of wind and weather (Lane 1995:11). In time the technological improvements of steam and screw allowed steamship lines to maintain a regular schedule which could be announced in newspapers. The problem which would persistently plague ships Saugatuck's harbor was the nature of the Kalamazoo River itself (Lane 1995:8; Sheridan 1981:234). The Kalamazoo River is a shallow twisting stream with narrows and numerous sand bars formed from the large volumes of silt transported downstream with the current. When the ships servicing Saugatuck were only 50' to 60' long and of shallow draft this was
not a problem, but with time ships began to increase dramatically in size and would require the assistance of tug boats (Sheridan 1981:70). Navigation in Saugatuck's harbor became increasingly difficult over time, with the only improvements the harbor having received in the nineteenth-century was a light at the entrance in 1859 and jetties at mouth of the river in 1869. Dredging of the river did maintain its navigability, but only for short periods of time at enormous expense.

1899 to 1926: By Rail

In the last years of the nineteenth-century the increasing urbanization of the State of Michigan resulted in the construction of several interurban railroad systems. These systems were designed for local markets and allowed people to commute several miles to work (Dunbar and May 1995:491) or to make connections with other transportation systems. In 1897 when the Holland and Lake Michigan Railroad was in planning, the people of Saugatuck enthused at the prospects of a railroad coming to Saugatuck and the "boom" to the resort trade it would bring, passed a millage providing $2500 to bring the railroad to town (Van Reken 1981:17). In 1899 the dreams of rail service became a reality when rail service was inaugurated with Saugatuck as the
terminal end of the railroad, with the tracks entering the village from the northeast and ending in a loop near the intersection of Culver and Butler Streets.

The coming of the interurban railroad expanded the transportation options available by not just providing another way in and out of the village, but providing other connections with other transportation systems and a direct way to get to and from the cities of Holland and Grand Rapids. The ability of the system to handle not only passenger traffic, but freight as well, diminished the value of the harbor with the inherent problems it possessed, by providing competition to the shipping lines (Sheridan 1981:234). In 1901 Congress authorized $150,000 dollars to improve the harbor by removing the bend at its entrance, work commenced in 1904 and by 1906 the new harbor entrance was open to traffic. However, the continuing problem of silting created navigational problems of such significance that there was no direct service by ship to Saugatuck in 1907 and 1908 (Lane 1995:20), the utility of the harbor for freight traffic was at an end. After the reopening of the harbor channel to Saugatuck passenger traffic continued for some years. Unfortunately, in 1915 the sinking of the passenger steamer *Eastland* at the Chicago docks taking over 800 lives,
resulted in a loss in confidence throughout the Great Lakes in passenger steamers with traffic diminished thereafter (Sheridan 1981:363).

**1926 to 1930: The Automobile Takes Over**

As the twentieth-century progressed it became increasingly clear to some people of the potential possessed by the automobile. Dr. J. H. Pear the local veterinarian in Saugatuck, was one of those people and he supplemented his income with the sale of automobiles. A 1910 advertisement of his in the Lake Shore Commercial noted the expansion of his business and extolled the virtues of the automobile by asking readers to “see coming need for it” (Vol. 43, #21). As the popularity of the automobile increased before WW I, auto owners became a political force that stimulated a program of road construction which reached massive proportions by the 1920's (Dunbar and May 1995:493-496). The State of Michigan was building a road network that not only replaced the dirt roads connecting farm to market, but created an interlinking system of roads between cities.

By the mid 1920's the end was in sight for the interurban Railroad, trucking companies and automobiles were providing stiff competition. In 1926 financial problems forced the Grand Rapids, Holland, and Lake
Michigan Railway, successor to the Holland and Lake Michigan Railroad, to cease operations. Trucking companies and passenger automobiles had put the interurban railroad out of business (Sheridan 1981: 317).

The demise of passenger ships servicing Saugatuck was not far behind, by the late twenties the Goodrich Transportation Company, last of the shipping companies to offer direct passenger service to Saugatuck, limited their service to the weekends in season. Again the automobile was one of the culprits in causing problems (Sheridan 1981:363), it was now a simple matter for someone to drive from Chicago to Saugatuck (Bryan 1933:348), rather than take a boat. In 1929 the Goodrich Transportation Company failed to turn a profit, after the stock market crash in the fall of that year, the company was forced in to bankruptcy in 1930 (Lane 1995:75). One of the first things the company had to do under reorganization was eliminate service to Saugatuck, the automobile was now the only way to get to Saugatuck.

**Changing Economy of Saugatuck**

Saugatuck had a diverse economy in the nineteenth-century, with businesses involved in the extraction of natural resources, manufacturing, agriculture, and the retail trade. This section does not address the
hospitality industry, which will be discussed in the following section, nor does it discuss the retail trade, although the retail business was affected by the resort trade it did not undergo a significant transformation.

Decline in Lumber Business

Saugatuck, like the rest of the state of Michigan, prospered in the boom in lumber industry following the Civil War (Dunbar and May 1995:338-339). In years prior to 1877 as many of as 8 saw mills operated in Saugatuck (The Commercial 1877: Vol. 10, #3). The White Pine (*Pinus stobus*) was the species of tree most sought after by the lumbermen, and major logging operations continued in the Kalamazoo river basin until this and other species of pines were depleted. In 1875 the largest saw mill in the area, operated by O. R. Johnson and Co., ceased operations and the equipment was moved to St. Ignace, where the lumber boom was still in force (Sheridan 1981:39).

The logging of hardwoods near the Kalamazoo River continued following the depletion of pines, however, by 1895 the last remaining stands of big timber were gone (Knapp 1987:2). The last remaining mill in Saugatuck was operated by Griffin and Henry Lumber which continued to take on small jobs after the forests were denuded (Hutchins 1995:88). By
the 1920's the last trees of economic importance had been cut from low
lying areas of Allegan County (Sheridan 1981:51).

Manufacturing

The first manufacturing of note in Saugatuck was the leather
tannery operated by S. A. Morrison beginning in 1837 (Hutchins 1995:18),
with other tanneries commencing operations later. As noted in Chapter III,
tanneries operating in Saugatuck were dependent on the limited supply of
Hemlock in the nearby area. When these stands were depleted the leather
tanneries operating in Saugatuck became dependent on stands of Hemlock
in the Grand River Valley. After 1880 there were no leather tanneries in
operation in Saugatuck, with the businesses having moved to Grand
Rapids (Sheridan 1981:111).

The advent of the Civil War stimulated the growth of manufacturing
in Michigan in the 1860's into the 1870's (Dunbar and May 1995:331). The
nature of manufacturing also was undergoing a transformation in the post
Civil War period. Manufacturing concerns before this transformation could
be characterized by the limited ownership of one person or a small
number of partners, employing skilled artisans, with a small workforce,
and a limited production (Eitzen and Sage 1986:37-38). Examples of this
form of manufacturing present in Saugatuck recorded in census records or business registries of 1870 include Priest and Thomas, wagon makers, Henry Ebmeyer a shingle maker, and Mary Hollister, a carpet weaver.

Later in the nineteenth-century manufacturing could be characterized by large companies with corporate ownership, involved in mass production, and employing a large work force performing tasks which did not require a high degree of skill or dependence on mechanization (Eitzen and Sage 1986:37-38). Examples of this mode of manufacturing in Saugatuck include the Saugatuck Basket Company and the American Twisting Company. The Saugatuck Basket Company, formerly known as C. Whitney and Company, employed a sizable portion of the population in Saugatuck for two decades beginning in the last decade of the nineteenth-century, mass producing wood baskets for use in the local fruit industry. While the American Twisting Company which came to Saugatuck in the 1920's, relied on machinery to produce twisted fiber cord used in the furniture industry in Grand Rapids (Sheridan 1981:404).

Shipbuilding is probably first in the consciousness of locals when they think of manufacturing in Saugatuck's past and has received significant attention in books written about the area (Lane 1993; Sheridan 1981:218-244). Ships had been built along the Kalamazoo River as far
upstream as Allegan, but by 1879 ship building had ceased in Allegan and was a growing industry in Saugatuck (Hutchins 1995:46). The principle manufacturer of ships in Saugatuck was R. C. Brittain from early in this century back into the late 1870's. However, Saugatuck's tenure as a ship building center was short lived and came to end shortly after the turn of the century. The transition in ship design in the late nineteenth-century, from wooden hulls and sails, to steam engines and riveted iron hulls, spelled an end to shipbuilding in the community. Large wooden ships were simply not in demand after 1900, and Saugatuck lacked the facilities to construct iron hulls (Sheridan 1981:236). Another factor was the characteristics of the river and harbor, which as already mentioned, hindered navigation. The last large craft built in Saugatuck was the Anna C. Wilson, a freight hauler, launched in 1912 (Lane 1993:215-218). Thereafter, only light craft such small tugs, barges, yachts, and boats were built in Saugatuck.

**Agriculture**

While little actual cultivation of the land occurred within Saugatuck, agriculture was still an important economic aspect of the community. A number of people operated farming interests while residing
within Saugatuck, individuals with operations of long term included the Palzer family, Samuel Clipson, and Andrew Schuman.

In Allegan County the number of farms and the acreage under cultivation continued to increase until the 1930's (Knapp 1987:3), and agri-businesses within Saugatuck served the surrounding area. From the early 1870's until early in this century flour mills within the village were operated first by the Heath Family, later by Porter and Company, and finally by Samuel A. Guard.

However, it was Saugatuck's role as a shipping center for the redistribution of fruit in which the community had the most impact on the surrounding area (Sheridan 1982:391-392). The climate and soils near Saugatuck, noted in Chapter III, provided an excellent environment for the growing of fruit. Indeed, the importance of fruit growing to the area was visible in the local newspaper by the frequent meeting announcements of the Pomological Society. Saugatuck served as a collection and shipping point for fruit on the way to Chicago and South Haven, with shipping companies operated first by Bird and Whitney Company and later by the Saugatuck Fruit Growers Cooperative Association, established by local orchard owners.
Fish and Fur

Of the businesses dependent on the extraction of the local fauna, fishing was of the most importance to the local economy. Local commercial fisherman had enough political clout to have government officials reinstall a foghorn at the harbor entrance after the closing of the lighthouse at the harbors entrance in 1914 (Sheridan 1981:76).

Starting in the early 1870's fishing remained a constant occupation in the Saugatuck area, although the numbers engaged in the practice fluctuated due to changes in the aquatic populations. By the turn of the century species such as Blackfin Cisco (Sommers, et al. 1981:26) and Lake Whitefish (34) had their populations reduced, while species such as Lake Trout (28) and Yellow Perch (30) were growing in economic importance. During one period in 1910 the towns newspaper reported that local fishing was not good enough for commercial operations but was still suitable for sport fishing (Lake Shore Commercial 1910:Vol. 43, #27).

Fishing operations out of Saugatuck were dictated by the weather and the biological cycles of the species of commercial interest (Lane 1995:118-120). In the Spring, Sturgeon were fished in local waters as they spawned. During the Summer, the boats went to the cold waters of the Mackinac Strait's area to fish, where they would continue operations late
into the year. The tug Martel maintained its presence in the Strait’s area until December in 1877 (Lake Shore Commercial 1877:Vol. 10, #11). In the winter, the fishing fleet would return to the waters of southern Lake Michigan and would fish as weather permitted.

Of minor importance to the local economy was the hunting and trapping of animals. Commercial hunting probably contributed little to the stock of meats in local markets. Only three hunters were listed in the census of 1880 for Saugatuck, with none before or following, and commercial hunting was legislated out of existence early in this century due to over hunting (Burt 1957:6). Trapping apparently was not economically significant either with the only local reference to it is G. J. Sewers being listed as a fur buyer in the 1920 census.

Tourists in Saugatuck

The arrival of one tourist “does not a resort town make”. This is a slow process in which the attractiveness of area is noticed by potential visitors, investors, and community leaders. The infrastructure needed to accommodate tourists must be built. Attractions to draw tourists to the area must exist or be developed.
Inception of Tourism

Local tradition in Saugatuck holds that George F. Root, the Chicago music publisher, was the first tourist to visit the community in the summer of 1871 (Lane 1991:5-8). Whether he was the first tourist or not, it is not surprising that a lasting impression would result from the appearance of a wealthy stranger in the church of a small town in the Mid-nineteenth Century. However, the area had already been under scrutiny by Chicago investors as a possible location for a summer hotel the previous year (Lake Shore Commercial 1870:Vol. 3, December 17), and within a few short years the local paper would remark that the town “is becoming quite a resort for pleasure seekers” (The Commercial 1877:Vol. 9, #49).

Growth of Hospitality Infrastructure

One of the necessities that a tourist needs when visiting a place to stay and eat. Initially Saugatuck was not well equipped to meet the needs of the traveling public. In 1870 the only hotel of note within the community was the Saugatuck House, Whitney and Strong proprietors, other establishments within town were of the boarding house variety. None of these businesses were set up in mind to serve tourists. During the nineteenth century many hotels were oriented towards serving two
functions. First, by providing housing for single individuals within the community. Secondly, to meet the needs of traveling salesmen whose retail services were depended on by many communities during the period (Spears 1995:91-101).

Later as the economic potential of tourism was realized and the numbers of tourist visiting Saugatuck increased other establishments opened their doors. Taking in summer boarders was one way in which a housewife could supplement a family's income. If the home was large enough one could even take in a whole family for a few weeks during the summer. Structures built for other purposes were soon converted to use as hotels, one example is the Maplewood Hotel which stands along the public square. It was converted retail storefront into a hotel by Edward Pride in the 1870's when an earlier business he had there failed (Sheridan 1981:331).

One of the first hotels built specifically to meet the expanding tourism trade was constructed after the arrival of the interurban railroad in Saugatuck. This was Hotel Leindecker, built by the Leindecker brothers and opening in 1906. It was their second attempt at opening a hotel in Saugatuck, an earlier attempt came to an abrupt end when a building they had converted burned in 1901. The Hotel Leindecker's construction belied
its intended clientele, the summer resorter, with open air common rooms which could only be used in the warmer months (Sheridan 1981: 326). More hotels and boarding houses were opened in Saugatuck and vicinity as the tourist trade grew.

Facilities other than Hotels were also constructed in order to enhance the tourist experience and to draw tourists to the area. Some were designed to help visitors enjoy the natural attractions the area had to offer. The first such construction was the stairs and viewing platform placed on Mt. Baldhead in 1884 by the village government. Before the stairs had been built up Mt. Baldhead, which lies on the west side of the Kalamazoo River, climbing the hill had been considered a difficult physical activity (Lane 1992:12). Following this visitors could scale the hill with ease and enjoy the view of the lakeshore and the village. Later facilities of this sort, designed to draw visitors to the nearby beach, included a private bath house built in 1899 on the Lake Michigan shoreline. And when the automobile became popular, a parking area known as the Oval, was constructed in the same area by the village government in 1925.

Other facilities were built to provide entertainment for guests of the community. The anticipation of growing crowds of visitors led investors to build two dance pavilions in the town, where only one could survive
financially (Sheridan 1981). In 1905 Fred Limouze selected Saugatuck as a likely spot for a large dance pavilion, following previous success he had with another structure in South Haven. By 1908 he had found local investors to work with him and the Saugatuck Amusement Company was born, with Construction starting that fall. The “Big Pavilion” as it was known stood along the water near the corner Butler and Culver Streets. In that same year a competing group was set up to build a smaller dance hall to the North along the river to be known as the “East Shore Pavilion”. In 1909 both structures were completed and opened for business within a few weeks of each other. However, fierce competition would in time drive the East Shore Pavilion into other uses later. Interestingly enough both of these structures had their own electrical generators, at the time they were constructed the village had yet to be electrified.

The land and houses of Saugatuck itself became an important part of the resort infrastructure when visitors to the town started becoming interested in buying or building homes in the community. One of the first visitors to return and purchase a home was a gentleman named Sutton who bought the home of Roland Barnard in 1877 (Lake Shore Commercial 1877: Vol. 9, #49). Soon a number of real estate speculators would recognize the resort potential of the town including James Bandle, Jessie
Leland, H. Perryman, and Sherman Upham would purchase land within the community to sell small parcels onto which summer homes could be built. Maps from the years 1895 (Figure 3) and 1913 (Figure 4) showing

Figure 3. Map Detail of Saugatuck in 1895 (Kace Publishing Company 1895).
the area opposite the village proper on the west side of the river, an enclave for seasonal residents, illustrate how quickly the landscape of the community became fragmented.

Figure 4. Map Detail of Saugatuck in 1913 (George A. Ogle & Company 1913).
Tourist Activities

Saugatuck, at the beginning of the twentieth-century, presented a number of possible activities to visitors of the community. First, there were the dunes and beaches along the Lake Michigan shoreline. The dunes are an attraction that can be enjoyed the year round. In the summer months the cool breezes off Lake Michigan along the dune landscape of Southwestern Michigan are a favorite retreat from the summer heat for Chicago residents (Bryan 1933:346-354). The dune country offers lots of trails to hike on, scenic views of the shore and landscape, and wildlife to watch.

The beaches of the dune country along the Lake Michigan shoreline during the warmer months of the year present a splendid place in which to swim and sunbathe. By the time Saugatuck was drawing tourists to its beaches, the beach in western society already had a long history of attractiveness to the tourist (Corbin 1993; Walvin 1978). A newspaper of the period extolled the potential health benefits, such as “sleeping well”, by going swimming on a regular business (Lake Shore Commercial 1878:Vol. 10, #41). Besides the above mentioned bath house, there were also boat services which ferried bathers from town to the beach, further encouraging bathers to visit Saugatuck.
The waters of Lake Michigan and the Kalamazoo River also presented the opportunity for fishing to visitors. Fishing in the nineteenth-century was an established sport of the middle and upper classes of urban areas, it provided an escape from the stresses of urban living (Sheehy 1992:77-78). Further, the rise of fishing as a sport and the development of fishing regulations transformed what had been a subsistence activity of the lower classes into a leisure time hobby (Sheehy 1992:78). This change in the perceptions of fishing was noted in the Lake Shore Commercial when it was noted that fishing for Lake Perch was now “sport” (1890:Vol.22 #23). The popularity of fishing in Saugatuck led savvy businessmen to establish boat liveries in the town, renting to the fisherman as well as the occasional couple wanting a romantic boat ride on the water (Sheridan 1981:378-380).

When not enjoying the natural wonders of the Saugatuck area, visitors could also enjoy a number of entertainments provided by facilities built by local entrepreneurs. Two popular forms of entertainment which enjoyed an explosion in popularity early in this century were dancing and roller skating. As already mentioned above, the Big Pavilion and the East Shore Pavilion were two venues that provided visitors the opportunity to dance. The dance craze that erupted in the 1890’s led to the development
of structures built specifically designed to host dances (Peiss 1986:178). Dance halls during this period in history tended to cater to working class youths and were one of the venues in which the sexes mixed freely in uncontrolled circumstances for the first time (Peiss 1986:179-183).

The East Shore Pavilion, following its failure as a dance hall, was used for a time as a roller skating rink. Roller skating was a popular past-time with both sexes, adults and children, and was considered healthy exercise. Unfortunately for the owners of the East Shore Pavilion, the history of roller skating in many communities was that of a fad sport (Hoover 1992), with a short time of appeal. Following its use as roller skating rink the building would end up being used as a warehouse.

Other entertainment pastimes that would find a home in Saugatuck early in the century would include movies, vaudeville at Upham’s Theater, and a bowling alley. The showing of motion pictures in Saugatuck is particularly interesting, as one of the early theaters in town was the “Airdome” a outdoor amphitheater which could only be used during good weather in the warmer months of the year.
Relations Between Locals and Visitors

While the “first” ressorter, George Root, may be remembered fondly in the folk history of the community, not all visitors were remembered so warmly. Through the years social tensions would arise between locals and visitors, and between the social groups visiting Saugatuck. However, with time the community would adapt to its role as a resort community.

Strangers in Town

Initially the appearance of visitors to the community was greeted with some suspicion. In a working town such as Saugatuck the arrival of visitors to the town with no connection to the community or business intentions was an oddity. Even though there was recognition as to the resort potential of the community, mentioned above, the attitude of the community showed when the local paper referred to Chicago visitors as “strangers” (Lake Shore Commercial 1879:Vol. 11 #39).

Within a few years this attitude would change and visitors to the community would be commonplace. The annual return of ressorters to the community in the spring would become a common announcement in the paper. The announcement of the Van Dalsen’s opening of their cottage “Hurricane Hall”, who were the first arrivals for the summer season of
1900, is one such example (Lake Shore Commercial 1900:Vol. #20). In fact the paper became an important guide for people, both local and visitors, to keep track of their friends in town. During the summer months the Lake Shore Commercial would report the comings and going of cottage owners in the town and the lists of guests staying at local boarding houses periodically.

**Tensions**

While there was a growing familiarity between the tourists and the locals, the interests of the two groups and those who relied on their business were at odds on occasion. Two examples of these tensions were the role of alcohol in the resort business and ethnic prejudices.

The service of alcohol was an important component of the resort business, with hotels such as the Leindecker having their own bars. However, the behavior of visitors to the town could arouse anger within the community, such as the drunkenness of guests from Holland noted in the local paper (Lake Shore Commercial 1890:Vol. 22 #22). This was during a period of time in which the country was involved in a great debate over the effects of alcohol on society. Groups such as the Red Ribbon Club, Anti-Saloon League, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union vigorously
campaigned for the prohibition of alcohol around the turn of the century. Feelings on the issue would run high within the community, such as the time J. D. Schumacher was supposedly fired from employment at the Hotel Leindecker for signing a Local Option petition (Lake Shore Commercial 1900:Vol. 33 #1). In 1907 Allegan County prohibited the sale of alcohol within its boundaries under the state's "Local Option" law of 1887. This resulted in the business failure of some hotels dependent on alcohol sales, and a dampening of the resort trade in Saugatuck until the repeal of prohibition in 1933 (Sheridan 1981:326).

An ugly side of the resort business Saugatuck is acknowledged in Sheridan's history of the community, the overt practice of discrimination against Jews early in this century (1981:323-324). In what he terms a "phobia" following the development of South Haven as Jewish resort, property owners in the community would not sell to Jews. The owners of the Tourists Home Hotel even went so far as to placing a "Gentiles Only" sign at the entrance to their establishment, other hotels were less obvious in their refusal to serve Jewish visitors. These practices remained in effect to some degree until about 1940.
By 1930 the importance of the resort trade to the community of Saugatuck was now fully evident to its leaders. Local business men and public officials had been aware of the importance of promoting the town as a tourist spot, with such devices as pamphlets for a number of years (Lake Shore Commercial 1910:Vol. 43 #27; Saugatuck Commercial 1901). They were now realizing the importance of community attitudes towards the tourist guests of the community. The local Chamber of Commerce started stressing the importance of residents making visitors to the community feel welcome. They created an Information Bureau to provide visitors with information about the community (Lake Shore Commercial 1930:Vol. 63 #6). More importantly they started a campaign to make Saugatuck the "How do you do Town" (Lake Shore Commercial 1930:Vol. 63 #35). Community leaders wanted residents to make guests to the town their "friends".

Important Friends
CHAPTER V

METHOD AND ANALYSIS

Material culture is inherently a part of archaeological research. The importance of documents to historical archaeology has been demonstrated to be an important adjunct to research, especially in macro scale studies (Stone 1976). In recent years sole use of documents in archaeological research is becoming more common and to give a few examples has been used in the study of regions (Yentsch 1988), communities (Handsman and Leone 1989), alternative communities (Savulis 1991), and subsets of communities (Derry 1992). These studies all draw upon, intentionally or not, Deetz's (1977: 24) broad definition of material culture as "that sector of our physical environment that we modify through culturally determined behavior". Upton (1992) links this definition with the belief that landscapes are an expression of material culture in his discussion of the city as material culture. And this thesis also draws upon that philosophy.

The emphasis of this study is to examine the development of Saugatuck into a resort community. This will be accomplished through the use of primary and secondary documents to explore changes in the
employment structure, business composition, property values, and land use patterns of the community.

In Chapter II the variety of ways in which leisure has been defined by the social sciences was briefly reviewed. Further, the ways in which leisure has been studied by the social sciences was covered, including anthropology. Finally, some recent works studying leisure communities were summarized.

The physiography and economic resources of the area surrounding Saugatuck which could be utilized were considered in Chapter III. The potential for extractive enterprises such as lumbering, fishing, and hunting were considered. The potential sustainability of agriculture in the area was also noted by examining the climate and soils of the region.

The history of Saugatuck as it pertains to tourism was dealt with in Chapter IV. The history of trends in tourism in America was also briefly covered, and previous histories of Saugatuck and how they conceptualized the community were summarized.

Data Collection

The testing of hypotheses about the economic and land use history of Saugatuck requires the manipulation of large amounts of data extracted
from census and tax records, newspapers, maps, and secondary sources. To accomplish this objective the data was entered onto Microsoft Excel (Microsoft Corporation 1994) spreadsheets in order to facilitate the sorting and tabulation of data, and the creation of tables and charts.

The study of the economic history of Saugatuck was divided into separate employment and business components. The employment structure of the community was examined with data from United States Bureau of Census population schedules (1870, 1880, 1900, 1920, 1920) covering the census years 1870 to 1920 inclusive. These years cover the period of Saugatuck’s transition into a resort town. Census data for the years 1890 and 1930 are not available due to fire and privacy statutes respectively.

The occupations of the residents of Saugatuck were divided into two separate categories, non-tourism and tourism related occupations. Non-tourism occupations are non-resort industry occupations and are assumed to not be influenced by the resort industry. These occupations include agricultural, extractive, manufacturing, public services, and skilled trades. Agricultural occupations, besides farmers and farm laborers, include those who work at mills and those employed in the distribution of agricultural products. Extractive employment included lumber, fishing, professional
hunters, and fur industry employees. Manufacturing jobs included those both skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled whose work was involved in the production of material goods. Public Service occupations included doctors, lawyers, teachers, public officials, ministers, and utility workers. Skilled trades were those occupations which involved the repair of material goods.

There is also another category of non-tourism related employment, unknown, which was not used for analytic purposes. The exact nature of these employed persons could not be determined from the census records, but was assumed to not be tourist related. These were generally listed as common or day laborers in the census records.

Tourism related employment involved occupations which were wholly within the resort industry and were classified as hospitality occupations or were those potentially influenced by the presence of the resort industry within Saugatuck. Besides hospitality occupations other tourism related occupations included construction, personal services, professional services, retail, and transportation. Construction employment included carpenters, plasterers, painters, plumbers, electricians, and masons. Personal service occupations included domestic help, photographers, piano teachers, barbers, and employees of laundry and dry cleaning shops. Professional services included employment in banks, at
newspapers, and in real estate offices. Retail employment was categorized as all those jobs involved in the sale of material goods. And hospitality employment included all manner of jobs in the resort industry including owners of hotels, boarding house, saloons, entertainment facilities, and their employees.

The raw data used in analyzing the employment structure of Saugatuck is shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Number of Employees in Each Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Tourism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extractive</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Services</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Trades</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
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</table>
Table 1--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tourism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Services</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Services</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number Each Sector</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Tourism</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Workforce</strong></td>
<td>447</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>1035</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The business composition of the community was examined with data from United States Bureau of Census population schedules (1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920), business listings and advertisements in the Lake Shore Commercial (1870: Vol. 2, 1870: Vol. 3, 1880: Vol. 12, 1880: Vol. 13, 1900: Vol. 33, 1910: Vol. 43, 1920: Vol. 53), the tax records of Allegan County (1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920), patron listings of county atlases (Lake 1873; Kace Publishing Co. 1895; George A. Ogle & Co. 1913), the
insurance maps of the Sanborn Company (1895, 1900, 1910, 1816, 1928), and local histories (D. W. Ensign & Co. 1880; Sheridan 1981; Lane 1993). The businesses were divided into non-tourism and tourism related businesses, with the same reasoning used above to study employment, by the same categories covering the same time span. The years 1890 and 1930 were not considered in the analysis due to the above mentioned unavailability of census data in order to maintain the consistency of data sources in sample years.

The raw data used in analyzing the Business composition of Saugatuck is shown in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Businesses in Each Class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extractive</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Services</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Trades</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The spatial analysis of Saugatuck’s land use and property values required the creation of maps for both analytic and presentation purposes. Base maps for these purposes were created by first hand tracing the appropriate linework from county atlases (Lake 1873; Kace Publishing Co. 1895; George A. Ogle & Co. 1913) then scanning the copied maps with a Hewlett-Packard Scan Jet IIcx using Desk Scan II version 2.1 (Hewlett-Packard Company 1994) software. The resulting graphics files were then
converted to a file format compatible with the Aldus Freehand version 3.0 (Aldus Corporation 1991) graphics package. The files were used as a template in which to create maps portraying the village and its properties in the years 1870, 1900, and 1920. The boundaries of properties were determined from county atlases (Lake 1873; Kace Publishing Co. 1895; George A. Ogle & Co. 1913) and property descriptions contained within the tax records of Allegan county (1870, 1900, 1920).

If data was unavailable or indeterminable for a given parcel of land then it was left blank on all maps of land use, property values, and change in property value.

Only the land use property values for the years 1870, 1900, and 1920 were examined due to the sheer enormity of extracting, sorting, and preparing the data for analysis. The Tax Assessments for Allegan County are available only in their original paper form, cannot be photo copied, and any data recovered from them must initially be hand transcribed. These years also correspond with census years. The land use and property values of pre-resort Saugatuck in 1870 would serve as a baseline from which to evaluate later changes in the years 1900 and 1920.

The land use of a parcel of land would be, if determinable, assigned on the basis of dominant usage or visibility if the parcel had more than one
use. Further, in cases where two or more usage's were equally dominant then hierarchical rules of non-residential over residential, non-tourism over tourism except hospitality, and seasonal residential over local residential were utilized to designate the use of the parcel. Once the land use was determined it was plotted on a choropleth map. Sub-divided village lots were treated as whole entities as it would not be possible to portray this graphically except at the largest of scales.

The study of land use in Saugatuck was divided into non-residential and residential land use. The non-residential land uses were derived from United States Bureau of Census population schedules (1870, 1900, 1920), business listings and advertisements in the Lake Shore Commercial (1870: Vol. 2, 1870: Vol. 3, 1900:Vol. 33, 1920: Vol. 53), the tax records of Allegan County (1870, 1900, 1920), notations on county atlases (Lake 1873; Kace Publishing Co. 1895; George A. Ogle & Co. 1913), the insurance maps of the Sanborn Company (1985, 1900, 1900, 1916, 1928), and local histories (Sheridan 1981; Lane 1993).

Non-residential land uses were further subdivided into non-tourism and tourism. Non-tourism land uses included agriculture, extractive, manufacturing, and public. The first three are self explanatory, however,
the last use is composed of publicly owned properties, church property, property used by local government, parks, and schools.

Tourism related land uses included hospitality, retail, and services. Hospitality land uses included hotels, boarding houses, entertainment facilities, restaurants, and saloons. Service oriented land uses would include such things as barber shops, photo studios, laundries, and miscellaneous offices.

Residential land use was determined by using United States Bureau of the Census Population Schedules (1870, 1900, 1920) in conjunction with Allegan County tax records (1870, 1900, 1920). Owners of residential properties who did not appear on the census population schedules were assumed to be seasonal residents.

To supplement the above land use maps the areas of each land use type were calculated for each year to be used in later analysis are listed in Table 3.

The values of properties were listed within the tax records of Allegan County (1870, 1900, 1920). To be able make comparisons between different time periods adjustments were made to the property values of 1900 and 1920 in order to keep value at a constant in relation to the year 1870. This was accomplished through the means of price indexing, using
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Use Class</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>26.36</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extractive</td>
<td>42.55</td>
<td>5.56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>9.63</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>17.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>23.17</td>
<td>62.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>5.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Residences</td>
<td>30.01</td>
<td>54.31</td>
<td>25.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonal Residences</td>
<td>13.19</td>
<td>135.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undeveloped</td>
<td>26.93</td>
<td>14.46</td>
<td>22.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate</td>
<td>291.18</td>
<td>267.06</td>
<td>157.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>435.22</td>
<td>425.8</td>
<td>447.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the indices and formulas of McCusker (1992). Further, the values of properties was adjusted to their per acre value. The values of sub-divided village lots were made the aggregate of their portions.

The values of properties were plotted on choropleth maps in two different manners, as a function of value for the years 1870, 1900, and 1920, and change in value for the years 1870 to 1900, 1900 to 1920, and 1870 to 1920. Each map portrays the values or change in values as members of one of five classes. The intervals for each class were determined by making the range of the highest class that data which came after the asymptote of the data when plotted on a curve. Data below this point was divided as evenly as possible, allowing for natural breaks.

Hypotheses

It is hypothesized that with time there will be a decrease in extractive and manufacturing activities within Saugatuck resulting in a corresponding increase in resort related businesses. The employment structure and business composition of the community will undergo a shift in emphasis to employment and businesses which are uninfluenced by the leisure industry to those that are dependent to one degree or another on the leisure industry.
The above hypothesis will be addressed by examining trends in the employment structure and business composition of Saugatuck. Data gathered in the research of this thesis will be used to calculate each employment sector as a percentage of the population in Saugatuck and each business sector as a percentage of the total number of business operating in Saugatuck for each sample year.

It is also hypothesized that land use within Saugatuck will show increased spatial differentiation with time reflecting its resort usage. There will be areas of the community containing businesses and residences that are there for the use of visitors that are geographically concentrated and separate from other land uses. The residential structure of Saugatuck will show an increase seasonal residences and a decrease in residences occupied the year round by locals. Further, the property values within the community will tend to be higher or show the greatest fluctuations in those areas that are resort related.

This hypothesis will be examined primarily through the visual inspection of data plotted on choropleth maps of non-residential land use, residential land use, property values, and changes in property values for the sample years. The calculated percentages of each land use type will also be considered in this analysis.
Data Analysis

Most employment sectors within Saugatuck as listed in Table 4 do not exhibit any strong trends. Of the non-tourism employment sectors

Table 4

Employment Classes as a Percentage of Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Tourism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extractive</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Services</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Trades</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Services</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Services</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Agriculture, Public Services, and Skilled Trades show only minor fluctuations with gains or loses of no more than 2.1 percent of the total population. Agriculture shows an overall drop of 1.1 percent from 1870 to 1920, accounting for its peak proportion of 3.6 percent in 1880. Public Services gained 2.1 percent over an initial value of 1.7 percent in 1870 and had a peak component of employment in 1910 at 4.3 percent. At a value of 1.9 percent in 1920 the Skilled Trades showed an overall gain of 1.5 percent.

Out of the tourism related employment sectors, Construction showed a negligible decrease from 2.8 percent in 1870 to 2.7 percent in 1920, although it did reach a high of 3.9 percent in 1910. Hospitality doubled its component of the employment composition at a peak of 3.6 percent in 1920. Personal Services peaked at 3.9 percent in 1910 while showing an overall decrease of 0.6 percent from 3.6 percent in 1870. And Professional Services gained 0.7 percent reaching 1.3 percent in 1920 after having obtained a peak of 1.6 percent in 1910.

While the above employment sectors do not show strong changes, Extractive, Manufacturing, Retail, and Transportation as illustrated in Table 4 above, however, do exhibit definite trends or fluctuations in their components of the employment structure. Extractive employment showed a tremendous drop from 11.5 percent in 1870 to 0.8 percent in 1920, a loss
of 10.7 percent, with only a minor recovery to 1.8 percent in 1910. Manufacturing overall lost 2.1 percent reaching 2.8 percent in 1920, however, it had a large peak in its component at 7.5 percent in 1910. Retail show a steady strong trend rising form 2.8 percent in 1870 to 7.0 percent in 1920. While Transportation between 1870 and 1920 showed no net change, it did undergo a dramatic increase from 4.5 percent in 1880 to 9.5 percent in 1900, falling off thereafter.

Overall non-tourism and tourism swapped positions as the dominant component in the employment structure of Saugatuck as shown in Table 5. Non-tourism related employment declined by 10.7 percent to 15.6 percent in 1920. While Tourism related employment increased overall from 16.9 percent in 1870 to 23.0 percent in 1920 with a peak of 26.8 percent in 1910.

Table 5

| Employment Sectors as a Percentage of Population |
|----------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|                | 1870           | 1880        | 1900        | 1910        | 1920        |
| Non-Tourism    | 26.3%          | 19.9%       | 17.4%       | 17.2%       | 15.6%       |
| Tourism        | 16.9%          | 15.6%       | 23.1%       | 26.8%       | 23.0%       |
Of both the Non-tourism and tourism business sectors, Public Services, Skilled Trades, Personal Services, Professional Services, and Retail data did not reveal any dramatic changes or clear trends, Table 6. Public Services reached 6.4 percentage share of employment in 1920, an

Table 6

Business Classes as a Percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Tourism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extractive</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Services</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Trades</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tourism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Services</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Services</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
<td>21.5%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
increase of 2.1 percent, after obtaining a high of 6.5 percent in 1910. The Skilled Trades lost 2.2 percent overall ending up at 1.1 percent, following a brief recovery at 3.2 percent in 1910. Personal Services and Professional Services both showed modest gains of 4.2 and 1.0 percent respectively, with Personal Services rising to 6.4 percent and Professional Services finishing at 5.3 percent in 1920. Retail went through cyclical shifts in its share of the business composition on the way to a 4.9 percent drop from 28.3 percent in 1870.

However the Agriculture, Extractive, Manufacturing, Construction, Hospitality, and Transportation classes of Saugatuck's economy did demonstrate clear trends in their share of the business composition, as shown in Table 6. Agriculture underwent a large gain rising from 5.4 percent in 1870 to 17.5 percent in 1900 after which it fell to 9.6 percent in 1920. Extractive rose to a peak share of 12.0 percent in 1880 before ending up with a overall loss of 5.5 percent, finishing at 4.3 percent in 1920. Manufacturing drooped from 17.4 to 3.2 percent between 1870 and 1910, ending with a modest recovery to 4.5 percent in 1920. Construction fell overall by 5.5 percent from 9.8 percent in 1870, with an intermediate low of 2.1 percent in 1880 and a high of 7.5 percent in 1910. After undergoing a
slight loss of 0.7 percent in share between 1870 and 1900, Hospitality showed a large overall gain of 16.7 percent, finishing in 1920 at 28.7 percent. Transportation, while finishing with only a modest gain of 3.1 percent over all, did show steady growth to 9.7 percent in 1910 before falling off.

Between 1870 and 1920, as shown in Table 7, there was no point in time in which Non-Tourism was the largest component of Saugatuck's business composition. Overall the Tourism sector gained 14.7 percent in it's share of the composition. In 1880, however, the two business sectors were only separated by 2.0 percent.

Table 7
Business Sectors as a Percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Tourism</td>
<td>40.2%</td>
<td>49.0%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>59.8%</td>
<td>51.0%</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
<td>74.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above data supports the first hypothesis postulated in the previous section. First the employment structure changes from a dominance in non-tourism to tourism, and secondly while tourism was
always the largest component of the business composition it increased it's share significantly.

The history of land use in Saugatuck reveals a landscape increasingly dominated by the hospitality industry and seasonal residences. In 1870 two of the dominant non-residential land uses, Extractive and Manufacturing occupied a large portion of the frontage at or near the shore of the Kalamazoo River, Figure 5. Agricultural land use is found on both sides of the river in areas along and away from the waters edge. The existing Public land use is also found away from the waters edge on The east side of the river.

Hospitality and Retail land uses are the only tourism related land uses in existence in 1870. Parcels of land being used for retail purposes are located in the area of the public square and the area south of the square. The only lots with a hospitality use are removed from the water on the east side of the river.

No seasonal residences are in existence in Saugatuck in 1870. At this time all residential dominant usage is found east of the river, Figure 6. Homes are spread rather evenly, south to north, along the low ground in which the small parcels have been platted by developers. However, in the
Figure 5. Non-Residential Land Use in 1870.

central portion of the community only one residential plot is located along the river.

An inspection of property values in 1870 reveals that the most valuable properties are generally concentrated near the water along the east side of the river, Figure 7. Property on the west side of the river with
the exception of one parcel falls into the lowest class of values. Most parcels of the highest class of values are to be found concentrated in the
area to the south of the public square which also contains most of the parcels of Retail land use. Overall property values tend to fall off the
farther they are away the area south of the Public Square and away from the water.

By 1900 the amount of Hospitality related land use, as visible in Figure 8, has undergone a large increase. Tracts of land with this use can be found on both sides of the river and along the waters edge on the East side. However, non-tourism land use still remains dominant with Agricultural, Extractive, and Manufacturing land uses to be found in abundance along the waterfront on the east side of the river. Public land use is still removed from the waters edge on the east side of the river.

Other tourism related land uses such as Retail and Services are concentrated to the area of the Public Square, the nearby waterfront, and the area south of the square.

Residential land use in Saugatuck by 1900 includes a large number of Seasonal Residences, Figure 9, with residential land use to be found on both sides of the river. Seasonal Residences for the most part are fairly well evenly distributed amongst the Local residences. However, one concentrated area of Seasonal Residences can be found on both sides of the river in the area northeast of the Public Square.

A map of property values for the year 1900, Figure 10, with the exception of an area of high value properties to the northwest of the Public
Figure 8. Non-Residential Land Use in 1900.

Square across the river, upon initial inspection reveals a similar pattern of property values. However, when changes in property values are taken into
account between 1870 and 1900, Figure 11, it is found that many properties in the area around the Public Square, south of the square, and
near the water have drooped in real value since 1870. Many areas that are peripheral to the Public Square and the waterfront have gained in value
Figure 11. Percent Change in Property Values 1870 to 1900.

After the end of the first World War in 1920 land usage within Saugatuck thoroughly reflects the town's status as a resort community.
Hospitality and Seasonal Residences are the two largest land uses as can be seen in Figures 12 and 13 respectively. Combined these two land uses dominate the waterfront along both sides of the river. Retail continues to be concentrated in the area south of the Public Square, with some parcels of Retail usage occupying waterfrontage south of Culver Street. Service oriented land use composes approximately the same amount of acreage as 1900. However, one large parcel of the service type land use is found in the northeast corner of the town.

Non-residential non-tourism land use within Saugatuck by 1920 has shrunk dramatically with no Extractive or Manufacturing uses remaining present. Only two parcels of Agricultural land usage still exist, both on the east side of the river. The amount of Public land usage has grown however with a parcel found along the river front at the corner of Lucy and Water streets and another area, Bald Head Park, is found on the high ground away from the water on the west side of the river.

Seasonal residences take up the largest portion of the land usage in 1920. On the east side of the river local and seasonal usage's continue to mixed rather evenly. However, on the west side of the river there are no identifiable parcels of land that are occupied by locals. This side of the
river has become an enclave for seasonal residents and takes up most of the acreage on this side of the town.
Figure 13. Residential Land Use in 1920.

The map of property values for the year 1920, Figure 14, shows the same pattern of property values as in 1870 and 1900, and as before is not
Figure 14. Property Values in 1920.

as informative as compared to a map showing changes in property values.

A study of changes in property values between 1900 and 1920, Figure 15,
Figure 15. Percent Change in Property Values 1900 to 1920.

shows a reversal of the pattern found between 1870 and 1900. Between 1900 and 1920 near the Public Square and along the waterfront generally
show gains in value, while area peripheral to these tend to show losses of value.

Overall tendencies in property values between 1870 and 1920, Figure 16, are ambiguous, with a mix of the two trends in property values discussed above shown on the map for the period. However, in parcels where it is possible to make a comparison property values between 1870 and 1920, many that are to the east of the Public Square removed from the water and to the south of Allegan Street do show tendencies towards gaining in value.

The quantification of land use data, in the form of the percentage of land use classes, provides a valuable supplement to the subjective inspection of choropleth maps used above. Several land use classes show strong opposing trends in the areas they covered between 1870 and 1920, Table 8. Extractive and Manufacturing land uses are non-existent in 1920 after having composed 9.8 percent and 2.2 percent of the land use respectively in 1870. Hospitality and Seasonal Residences both made major gains over the same time period. Hospitality gained 13.8 percent in share, up from 0.1 percent in 1870. Seasonal residences went from none to nearly a third of land use at 30.3 percent in 1920.
Figure 16. Percent Change in Property Values 1870 to 1920.

Trends in the other land use classes are difficult to determine due to the small number of sample years. However, Agriculture and Local
Table 8

Percentage of Land Use by Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Tourism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extractive</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Residences</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonal Residences</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undeveloped</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Residences both showed losses in share at 1.7 and 1.2 percent respectively, while Public and Retail land uses gained 3.0 and 0.4 percent in share over
the period between 1870 and 1920. Services land use went from none to a share of 0.4 percent in 1920.

Overall land use in Saugatuck underwent a strong shift in emphasis from non-tourism to tourism, Table 9. Non-Tourism dropped 11.9 percent in share from 26.0 percent in 1870, while Tourism gained 44.8 percent in share from 1.0 percent in 1870.

Table 9
Percentage of Land Use by Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Tourism</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>45.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above data confirms the second hypothesis in the previous section for three reasons: First, the waterfront of Saugatuck undergoes a transformation in which many of the properties formerly used for Agricultural, Manufacturing, or Extractive purposes change to Hospitality businesses and Seasonal Residencial uses. Secondly, the west side of the river becomes an enclave of properties composed of Seasonal Residences, while Local Residences are supplanted as the largest residential land use
component. And finally, those areas of Saugatuck with the highest values contain most of the Tourism related land uses.
CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

The Village of Saugatuck underwent a metamorphosis from a small port town with saw mills, shipyards, and small factories to a resort town dependent on the hospitality industry and affluent summer residents for its existence. The interplay between the physical environment and progress in transportation technologies were the forces that created the popular resort community that exists today. The timing of events, however, is a crucial consideration if the impact of the hospitality industry upon the town such of Saugatuck is to be understood.

The Kalamazoo River which flows through Saugatuck was the life blood of the community, and enabled it to become a prosperous small town along the Lake Michigan shore by 1870. The river was a natural transportation corridor, for freight and people, between Saugatuck and communities of New Richmond and Allegan upstream. The river also created a calm harbor to shelter ships from the fury of Lake Michigan storms and as a location for the placement of docks from which to load and
unload the small sailing sloops plying the Great Lakes in the nineteenth century.

In the area around the Kalamazoo River drainage there were valuable stands of timber as reported in Chapter III and Saugatuck was the logical placement for the saw mills of the lumber industry. The river provided a conduit in which to transport logs down to the awaiting mills, there sawn into lumber, and then loaded on sloops bound for the growing city of Chicago. However, as noted in Chapter IV, this was not a limitless supply and the stands of White Pine were soon exhausted, the mills disassembled, and moved to where trees still stood. By the end of the nineteenth century only one mill remained to take care of the occasional small jobs that arose from time to time.

Timber in the area also helped create light manufacturing industry by providing the wood to make shingles for homes and baskets in which to ship fruit. Nearby stands of hemlock, noted in Chapter II, for a time supplied the needs of tanneries. The presence of timber also resulted in heavy manufacturing industry in the form of ship building within Saugatuck.

The ability to use the river as a port made the community of Saugatuck a natural focal point for the transportation of commodities,
besides lumber, from the nearby area to other points along the Lake Michigan shoreline, and as a entry port for the area. Saugatuck as a transportation center was probably of the most importance to the fruit industry, discussed in Chapter IV, whose growers in western Michigan depended on ships calling on the docks there to carry their merchandise to Chicago and Milwaukee.

The river was also a safe harbor for a small fleet of fishing boats which ventured out upon Lake Michigan to cast their nets and the community was a ready market for their catch. With time, however, the commercially valuable aquatic species noted in Chapter III which local fishermen depended upon were depleted. They had to sail further from the port of Saugatuck with each passing year to make a living. Eventually, they had to sail all the way to the Straits of Mackinac and the waters off St. Ignace in order to make a living as discussed in Chapter IV. Under such conditions fishing would never be a major occupation in the community.

Regretfully, the natural characteristics of the river would with time help undo some of the benefits it wrought. As discussed in Chapter IV the river was narrow in spots with twists and turns, its shallow waters required constant attention in the form of dredging for it to continue to economically useful. Engineering solutions helped for a while when the
entrance to the river was changed by the Army Corps of Engineers making it easier to navigate. However, as the size of ships grew, in length and draft, following the abandonment of sails a shallow and narrow river such as the Kalamazoo was impractical for commercial purposes.

The terrain around the river also presented an obstacle for a potential substitute for ships, the railroad. The wide low marshy terrain and high terraces that lie along the Kalamazoo River near Saugatuck made the construction of any railroad tracks through town extremely difficult. So Saugatuck was bypassed by the railroads. Later, a light rail interurban system would bring passengers and freight into the town but it was no substitute for a conventional railroad. Without a railroad or harbor that could handle large ships Saugatuck could not be a home for heavy manufacturing.

Fortunately, for Saugatuck for the obstacle to commerce that it's transportation problems presented could not hinder the development of the resort industry in the town. The transportation systems serving the community, discussed in Chapter IV, were sufficient for the needs of the resort industry and tourists, and when problems did occur, changes in transportation technologies came about at the correct time to solve the problem. The development of the steam ship, free from the vagaries of
wind that hindered vessels dependent of sail, created a reliable means of transportation to bring guests to the community initially. The ability to keep a regular schedule made weekend visits from nearby cities a possibility. The popularity of the town with tourists and its importance as a shipping point for fruit would result in boom in maritime related transportation employment which peaked in 1910. Later, when faith in the safety of the passenger ships serving the Great Lakes was shaken by the *Eastland* disaster in 1911, the interurban railroad was able to take up the slack. In the end the automobile and new roads would take over as the mode of transportation to Saugatuck, and the town's proximity to Chicago would make it a popular weekend motoring destination (Bryan 1933).

The river and the surrounding environment around Saugatuck did not just have an effect on the types of business and transportation servicing the community, it shaped it and made it an attractive spot for tourism. Looking at a map of the town (Figure 17) and the surrounding terrain shows how it restricts development, the initial plat of the town followed the low terrace along the east side of the river and early growth following this conformed to the low ground on both sides of the river. In Saugatuck's boon years around 1870 the placement of factories and saw mills would naturally fall next to the dominant transportation feature, the
This same terrain, the beaches of Lake Michigan, the dune country backing the lake, and the tree covered slopes facing the Kalamazoo River made it attractive to tourists. And these features, as noted in Chapter IV,
could provide a number of popular activities for visitors to pursue. The importance scenery and water sports made the waterfront a highly desirable location for hospitality businesses as extractive and manufacturing concerns departed the community. And locations along or with a view of the river would be highly sought after by people searching for an ideal spot to build a summer homes or hotel.

The importance of the properties near the waters of the river is also reflected by the pattern of property values in Saugatuck. The higher value properties are all located near the waters edge of the river, with the value of property generally decreasing with distance from the water. Variations of property values within areas are a product of types and numbers of structures built on the land, and how recently the property exchanged hands between owners. New owners of properties are generally assessed a higher value for their properties than the owners of comparable properties in the vicinity (Monmonier 1991:81-86).

The pattern of residential land use shown on the plots of 1900 and 1920 within Saugatuck in Chapter V indicates a gradual transition to the dominance of seasonal residences. Seasonal residences are intermixed with the homes of local residents with no clear enclaves of seasonal residences on the plot for 1900. By 1920 this pattern remains much the
same on the east side of the river, however, the west side is exclusively composed of seasonal residences. These distributions suggest that the initial "resorters" purchased existing homes in the community as the population of the community shrank following the peak population in 1870. With time the number of properties near the water on the east side of the river became limited, people seeking summer cottages had to build new cottages on the west side. This accounts for the concentration of summer residences in that part of the town and the rise in construction businesses between 1880 and 1910 even though the population of the town was shrinking.

The plots of changes in property values, shown in Chapter V, from 1870 to 1900, 1900 to 1920, and 1870 to 1920 indicate the importance of proximity to the Kalamazoo River. The plot of 1870 to 1900 shows that properties removed from the water tended to increase in value while properties near the water tended to decrease in value. This probably reflects the departure of extractive activities along the river front while formerly undeveloped parcels away from the water were being built upon. The reverse is true of the plot for the years between 1900 and 1920 with a tendency towards increases of value near the water and losses removed from the water. This suggests the reemphasis of the importance of the
waterfront as tourism and resort industries grew within the town. Overall as shown in the plot of 1870 to 1920 property values near the water increased in value while loosing value away from the water. Where properties did lose value near the water they had been occupied by manufacturing or extractive activities. The important point demonstrated by these plots is the importance of the waterfront to the community by the opposing trends between areas along the water and removed from the water.

The waterfront of Saugatuck shifted rapidly in its appearance within a span of a few short years as properties changed hands between owners. The area along Water Street between Butler and Mason Streets between 1900 (Figure 18) and 1910 (Figure 19) illustrates the how the look of the town changed from a “mill town” to resort.

The pattern of extractive activities and manufacturing followed by hospitality businesses and summer homes upon the landscape is also reflected by the employment and business history of the community. Initially non-tourism related occupations are the major component of the employment structure of Saugatuck, later to be replaced by tourism related occupations. The percentage of businesses that relied or were
Figure 18. Map Detail of Saugatuck in 1900 (Sanborn Map Company 1900).

influenced by tourism increases greatly around the end of the nineteenth century.

Clearly a shift in importance occurred when the dominance of extractive and manufacturing activities was surpassed by the resort and
tourism industry which characterizes Saugatuck today. However, the timing of these events is problematic as they occur concurrently or after Saugatuck had come to be regarded as a resort community. While previous studies noted in Chapter I presumed that the adoption of an economy
based on tourism by a community is a product of the diminishment or absence of other alternatives.

Many of the events which defined Saugatuck as a resort community had already occurred by the 1890's as discussed in Chapter IV. The town had been examined for its potential as a tourist destination as early as 1870 and was receiving a number of visitors from Chicago by 1879. Changes to the infrastructure of the community began to be made as early as 1884 with the installation of the viewing platform of Mount Baldhead. The Kalamazoo River was known for its sport fishing by 1890, one of the many possible activities which could be enjoyed in Saugatuck. Social tensions arising in 1890 from the appearance of tourists in town began to be felt over the use of alcohol.

However, the importance of the resort industry, reflected by land use and economic indicators, described in Chapter V, is not clear until after this period. Land use within the community does not become dominated by the hospitality infrastructure and seasonal residences until after 1900. The employment composition of the community shifts towards a reliance on tourism after 1880. The number of businesses engaged in the hospitality industry does not exceed the number engaged in agriculture, manufacturing, and resource extraction until 1910. These facts make it
questionable that the resort nature of Saugatuck is a product of changes in non-tourism industries.

For all the problems that the physical environment presented to transportation systems, it is transportation that was probably the impetus for Saugatuck's growth as a resort community in the 1890s, if there is one. Transportation was such an important aspect of Saugatuck's history that books by Lane (1993, 1995) and Van Rekan (1981) were devoted to the topic. In the 1890s the reliability, variety of options, and expanded schedules of transportation systems serving Saugatuck, discussed in Chapter IV, led to a dramatic increase in traffic to and from the town. Ultimately the automobile would become the primary mode of travel to the town.

Previous works by archaeologists, mentioned in Chapter II, dealt peripherally with the subject of leisure by examining for the most part the objects of leisure. This thesis takes a step beyond that by examining a whole community that is engaged in the leisure industry in order to provide a context for further inquiry into the subject. This thesis also demonstrates that universally assuming a decline in manufacturing and extractive activities for all communities as an impetus to the adoption of a resort based economy cannot be sustained.
Saugatuck the resort town exists today not because of things lost, such as extractive activities and manufacturing, because of the things it possessed. The town became increasingly easy to get to as transportation systems improved and it was close to a major city, Chicago. Visitors could engage in a number of physical and social entertainments in Saugatuck, such as swimming, walking, fishing, boating, dancing, roller skating, or simply visiting with friends. And the town had beautiful nearby beaches, scenic dunes, and the river which ran through it.
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