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"Men of Good Timber": An Archaeological Investigation of Labor in Michigan's Upper Peninsula

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“MEN OF GOOD TIMBER”: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF
LABOR IN MICHIGAN’S UPPER PENINSULA

by

Aaron Howe

A thesis submitted to the Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
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“MEN OF GOOD TIMBER”: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF LABOR IN MICHIGAN’S UPPER PENINSULA

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Western Michigan University, 2015

This study approaches the material assemblage of Coalwood, a cordwood camp that operated from 1900-1912 in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula, with a dialectal method and a theory of internal relations in order to understand how daily life was produced and reproduced. Common sense notions often see home and work as separate entities that only relate to one another externally. My archaeological and historical research abstracts domestic labor as a set of social relations that are dialectically and internally connected to the processes of capital accumulation. My archaeological analysis concludes that both productive and reproductive labor was conducted within the home and was integral to the functioning of productive labor, and therefore profit accumulation, at Coalwood. Different strategies of social reproduction are identified and linked to larger patterns of immigration, gender, and class. This study is a critique of common sense notions that see domestic labor as a static social formation that exist as an isolated force of reproduction. By placing domestic labor at the forefront, this study highlights the radical productive and reproductive potential of the home.

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Aaron Howe

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INTRODUCTION

*“The determining force in history is the
production and reproduction of immediate life”*

– Frederick Engels (1884)

My research is aimed at understanding how the residents who lived and worked at a particular labor camp produced and reproduced their everyday lives and the general system in which they labored. Specifically I will examine an archaeological assemblage from Coalwood, a cordwood logging camp in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula that operated from 1900-1912 (figure 1). The archaeological data was obtained from a surface collection conducted in 2013; I will use this material data, which I assume to be a representation of daily life, to connect daily social reproduction to larger historical and economic processes. The emphasis on daily social reproduction focuses attention to unwaged domestic labor, and my research will center on the household as a site where individuals and families produced and reproduced their daily lives. The particulars of household social reproduction are obviously tied to and influenced by larger economic and political practice resulting from the processes of immigration, the logging and mining industries, and cultural values of domesticity. I will begin by reviewing the historical and archaeological research that provides the context for my study, highlighting research conducted on logging, mining, and the social relations of production. From here I will lay out my theory of internal relations which allows me to connect the labor conducted within the home to larger processes. This will provided a contextual bases for my history section, which will explore the history of logging and mining at various scales of

abstraction. With the theory and history sections providing a context for why, where, and when Coalwood existed and the social context in which it was situated, I will be able to explore the reproductive and productive behavior of everyday life through archaeological analysis. I will end with a discussion that brings all of these lines of evidence to a conclusion about everyday life at Coalwood.

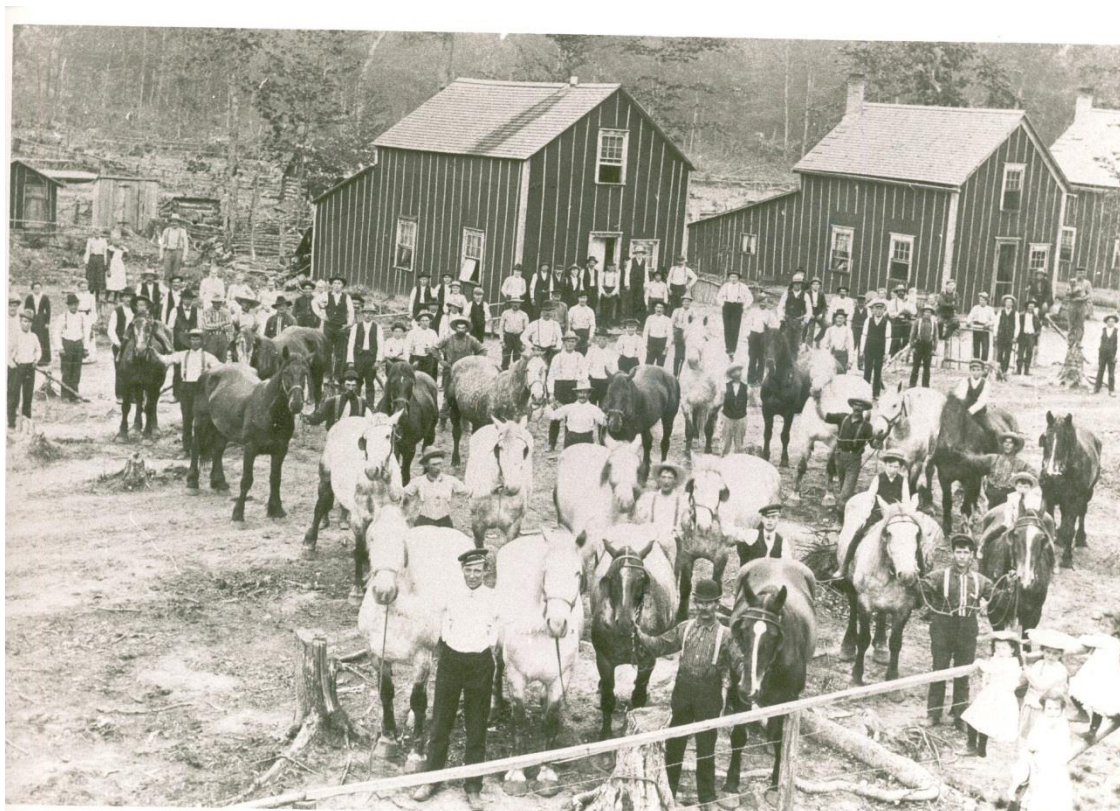


Figure 1: Picture taken of workers at Coalwood c. 1900.

Much has been written about the economic context of logging and mining in America and neither stand as homogenous industries. Both include the procurement, transportation, and initial production of timbered or mined products. As extractive industries both mining and logging provide the natural resources needed to produce other useful products and generate wealth. Limitations such as natural resource depletion, natural disasters, and high startup cost made them risky, often short lived endeavors

(Gordon and Malone 1994). The tie to natural resources often pushed extractive industry camps to isolated areas where entire towns and transportation networks were constructed. Natural disasters, such as fires, could ruin an entire season of work. These issues were common, recurring concerns for mining and logging companies alike and were often combated by increasing efficiency through technological development (Gordon and Malone 1994).

Technological development has been at the heart of historical and archaeological research conducted on mining and logging industries. It is now well established that the settlement patterns and material culture of logging camps were influenced by the technologies used to generate wealth within them (Rohe 1985). Larger camps usually had different functions, i.e. communication, transportation, and often initial production (milling), while smaller camps were often used as extractive centers only. Larger camps may have had an office, a blacksmith, or a school, while smaller camps would be dependent on larger camps to supply these needs. These different camps, because of their different functions, result in different material and spatial patterning within particular regions.

The spatial patterning of settlements is crucial to understanding the economic processes of logging and mining settlements. A five tier model is often used to describe these different settlements; 1. major supply center 2. transfer points 3. Central distribution centers 4. secondary distribution centers 5. extraction camps (Mills 2011) . Coalwood, as a cordwood camp operated by an iron company, holds an interesting position. Broadly speaking Coalwood was tied to the iron industry through its relation with tier 1 (major supply center) by providing the raw materials needed to produce iron.

However, on a smaller scale centered on daily life; Coalwood was a tier 5 (extraction camp) settlement whose primary function was cutting timber.

These different settlements served specific functions within the iron and mining industry and changed based on the needs of the industry, which often centered on responding to resource depletion and high transportation costs. Transportation has long been assigned a crucial place within the development of these industries (Rohe 1985; Karamanski 1989). Rohe (1986) shows how the changing modes of transportation created different settlement patterns in the Great Lakes iron and logging industries. River transportation required settlement on natural or built waterways, while railroads allowed more isolated interior settlements. Transportation technology has further been used to explain social settings (Birk 1997; Ferone, Ferone, and Hill 1997; Bell 2005), environmental impacts (Benchley 1997; Birk 1997), and material culture (Penn and Parks 1975; Wilson 1977; Knipping 2002). Theodore Karamanski (1989) builds on this by showing how these different transportation strategies created different social contexts based on their physical location and position within the industry (tier 5 camp v. tier 1 town); linking technological advancements to their daily social effects. However the focus on transportation as an external force portrays the workers as passive onlookers, ignoring the tension between capital and labor that defines extractive industries.

The relation between markets, profit, and labor has long been used to understand extractive industry camps (Brown 1923; Lawrence 1957; Cox 1974; Eller 1982). The search for profit created the need for labor and therefore labor camps, giving insights into how the processes of capital accumulation contributed to the physical formation of logging camps. Robert McDonald states that settlement in Canada's frontier provided the

context for “the transient and disproportionately masculine nature of populations (in these camps)” (McDonald 1994: 69). By connecting the existence of these camps to the extraction of wealth from British Columbia’s abundant forests McDonald concludes that settlement, and its transient, masculine nature, “emerged out of the labour demands of industrial capitalism” (McDonald 1994:96). This research brings class and economic processes to the forefront, but largely ignores the social relations that affected the daily lives of those who were affected by the ‘demands of industrial capitalism’. By reducing the social relations of transience and masculinity to the external forces of profit accumulation McDonald misses the internal relations that allowed such process to exist in the first place.

The challenges of linking the particular to the more general are always problematic. It has been noted that the context of “urgency and transience... resulted in an overall small degree of material variability” (Knapp 1998:5), a lack permanence and visibility within the archaeological record makes these linkages even tougher. By viewing this lack of permanence as a generalized labor experience resulting from mobility, William Douglas (1998:97) calls this a community without a locus that was “diffused over a vast geographic region and crystallized in the form of a camp for a brief period of time” These camps are unique contexts, formed through the needs of capital and those of labor, that conflate work and home, making the domestic space integral to industrial needs.

In order to highlight the importance of domestic space, the social relations of labor camps have been emphasized. Cowie (2011) and Mrozowski (2006) focus on how power asymmetries reveal themselves on the built landscapes within panoptic company

towns. They argue that the asymmetry of power, produced by the social relations of work, created different material realities and spatial configurations of home, in which everyday life was reproduced. Drake, Franzen, and Drake (2006) focus on how the spatial organization of labor camps, defined as places that conflate the space between home and work, resulted from the power dynamics of wage labor and were reproduced through daily activity that was highly structured by the spatial arrangements of home within these camps.

The central importance of domestic space highlights the internal dynamics of extractive industry camps and highlights the people who lived and worked at these camps and the structures that sustained them. To combat the pervasiveness of the masculine stereotype of logging Janet Brashler (1991) used historical and archaeological data to show the presence of females in late 19th and early 20th century logging camps in West Virginia. Susan Lawrence (1998) goes further by suggesting that female domestic activity, which is often reduced to a static monolithic category, was not only present at logging camps in Australia, but fundamental to their survival and reproduction. The activities conducted within the home not only facilitated the survival of the family, but moreover ensured the survival of the system in which the home exists. Margaret Wood (2004) takes this even further by suggesting that domesticity, as a contested terrain where specific class and gendered interests are played out, was one of the primary forms through which collective experience materialized into collective action at Berwind, Colorado, bringing attention to the relation between home, work, and the economic system.

Ethnicity at labor camps has received less attention than spatial analysis, class, or gender. For many studying class conflict, ethnicity is often reduced to a “force that limits the possibility of organizing workers” or as a “source of strength that enables immigrant workers to negotiate their lives and the industrial workplace” (Wood 2004:215). In their study of Upper Peninsula logging camps, Drake, Franzen, and Drake (2006) show how Finns often constructed saunas, which have a long history in Finland, to improve their hygienic conditions. The authors strongly assert that we must understand this not just as a representation of ethnicity or as a product of class conflict, but rather as “politicalized ethnic artifacts of labor tensions surrounding camp conditions” (Drake, Franzen, and Drake:10). The Finnish Sauna is an excellent example of the material and political expression of ethnic identity within labor camps.

Much research now focuses on the social relations of labor camps, however as Alison Wylie (1999) states, humanistic and critical analysis in historical archaeologies of capitalism has fostered a return to particularism, reducing the periods and subjects of our research to simple components within a capitalist system. She warns that “if the archaeological study of capitalism is framed as a series of narrow case studies with no analysis of the encompassing processes and structural conditions that give rise to these particularities, it cannot be expected to provide an understanding of these subjects as capitalist” (Wylie 1999:26). Although many critical and well-researched analyses have been done on labor camps, all too often they are reduced to particular case studies, without linking them to larger structural processes.

To combat this Peter Davis (2005) uses a multiscalar approach to understand regional and local processes that effected daily life at an Australian timber camp. He

suggests that, at the regional level, these isolated workers were tied to broader economic and political processes through the railroad system that brought in consumer goods, newspapers, and correspondence. Davis sees the building of a school, although inadequately small and a breeding ground for chickenpox, measles, and mumps, as a symbol of stability. Davis cites evidence of flower gardens, the ability to read about the outside world, and the availability of consumer goods from England as signs of prosperity; ignoring the endemic problem of poor schooling, poor health, gendered divisions of labor, and inadequate living and working conditions. He states these harsh realities “reflect a common understanding of the minimal requirements of a rural family in this period” (Davis 2005:70). According to him the workers at this camp used space to obtain a sense of belonging to a larger system beyond their work camp; however he ignores the fact that these are working class families who would likely move onto other working class jobs with similar conditions. By ignoring social reproduction he sees these work camps as static entities existing within an ahistorical moment where the consumer needs of the inhabitants outweigh their social needs. Although he connects the material assemblage to larger processes of transportation and communication he does so in a way that reduces the subjects of his research to mere components being affected by the capitalist system.

The tensions outlined by Davis, i.e. poor working and living conditions, must be understood as larger processes of economic exploitation, social relations which allow continued profit accumulation, and not as temporary ills of progress. John Franzen (1992) suggests that tensions between worker’s culture and the industrial environment created conflict that was played out in the foodways and material culture of work camps.

In order to secure a labor force and tie down traditionally itinerant workers, companies would use food as a means for securing labor. Enamelware dishes, wild game, and dried food was cheaper and easier to obtain, but worker's preferred ceramics and fresh beef. Companies would compete for a limited labor pool by offering these preferred commodities. Cordwood camps were often associated with specific ethnic groups, since jobbers would set up family style housing instead of bunkhouses to encourage recently immigrated families to come to work. Franzen suggest that this would have provided a more secure, permanent labor force and would pass on the cost of reproducing the labor power to domestic units. Franzen's conclusions about ceramic and beef preference are confirmed by Drake and Drake (2007) who theoretically organize these work camps as both sites of cooperation and conflict.

All of the previous work discussed here forms the context for my study at Coalwood which existed as a site due to the capitalist needs of Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company (CCIC). My research will focus on the material strategies deployed by the workers of Coalwood in order to produce and reproduce their everyday lives. To do this I will examine domestic labor and its role within the social relations of production at this camp by critically engaging both the historic literature and archaeological record and use these understandings to reflect on the ways domestic labor fits into the larger picture of capitalist production.

Jane Collins (1990) points out that the popular definition of labor has come to mean work that is exchanged for wages, shifting the definition from all productive forces to only productive efforts completed for others. She argues that this shift in what counts as labor parallels the changing productive relations of capitalism from the 18th to the

20th century. This idea is echoed by Jeanne Boydston (1990) who traces the changing ideologies of domestic labor during the Early Republic period in America, and links these changes to the role domestic labor plays in direct production. The increasing reliance on wages and the related increase in consumerism has decreased the visible importance of domestic labor, leading to common sense notions of labor as wage labor. This results in static, ahistorical notions of home that ignore the totality of capitalistic social relations, the productive potential of households, and the autonomy and empowerment that homes can provide. My research will see the home as a dynamic social unit and will explore the everyday lives of individuals and the dialectical relationship between waged and unwaged labor. Focusing on a single archaeological site, Coalwood, I will explore the material conditions that allow for the reproduction of labor and therefore the reproduction of the capitalist system.

Coalwood is an ideal site to explore these relations. It was established circa 1900 to provide cordwood, which would be converted into charcoal and used at one of CCIC's iron furnaces in the area for the production of pig iron. Coalwood deviates from the norm of extractive industry (Drake and Drake 2007, Franzen 1992, Karamanski 1989, Pappas 2004, Rohe 1986) seeing that it postdates the height of logging in the region and the usage of charcoal for iron smelting. Furthermore it was set up with single ethnic family labor, apparently used to mitigate the cost of reproducing the labor supply and provide cohesion among the workers (Drake and Drake 2007, Franzen 1992, Karamanski 1989). The objects left behind by the workers of Coalwood will be analyzed in order to understand the material conditions that produced and reproduced everyday life in the context of extractive industrial capitalism and the uniqueness of family labor. The

production and reproduction of everyday life involves cooking, cleaning, shopping, relaxing, sewing, and other daily activities that are necessary for the survival and well-being of the family. These activities have material signatures that can be studied archaeologically and constitute the social relations involved in these processes.

Commonsense notions of waged and unwaged labor often see them as separate entities, integrating them requires a different set of theoretical tools. I will approach my research with a dialectical method and philosophy of internal relations that sees capitalist social relations as a distinctively integrated whole. I turn now to explain the features of this theory.

THEORY

Internal Relations, the Dialectic, and Social Reproduction

The historical and archaeological research I outlined above provides much needed context, however it suffers from the violence of abstraction that often see a defining separation between productive (structural) and reproductive (superstructural) entities (Sayers 1989). Fundamental to the dialectic is the notion that the world exist as a unity and the interconnectedness between its parts, their internal relations, are essential for understanding the world (Sayers 2015). This is opposed to a ‘common sense’ understanding that sees entities as isolated or their relations as external appearances (Ollman 2003). The parts which make up the whole, seeing that they are defined by their relation to other parts, constantly interact and change and are what they are because of their place in the whole. The dialectical and relational approach critiques the notion that views the world as static and entities as isolated (McGuire 2002; Sayers 1976). Common sense notions usually see home and work as two separate spheres. A philosophy of internal relations would instead argue that they are a dialectically related totality that is connected to the same processes of capital accumulation and exploitation through the social relations that exist between them (Wurst 1999). Thus the home can be seen as a site of exploitation and empowerment that is dialectically related to the social relations involved in capital accumulation.

Abstraction is a method to approach the dialectical totality that breaks down reality into manageable parts. These parts, once abstracted, can be placed back into the

whole in order to see how they relate to one another (Ollman 2003). Our reality both constrains and enables the way in which we categorize and rank the numerous parts of the whole, placing boundaries and limits on our perception (Hegel 1807): “dividing the world we perceive into the particular units in which we come to understand it is the work of the process of abstraction” (Ollman 2015:15). Common sense notions not only see work and home as separate but also often place central importance on work. Abstracting from different levels of extension, levels of generality, and vantage points I place the labor conducted within the home on par with labor conducted for wages and see it as an integral part of the capitalist whole.

Abstractions of extension refer to the boundaries placed on time and space in order to highlight the internal relations in focus (Ollman 2015). For my research at Coalwood I primarily stay within a small extension of time and space given its short occupation and fixed location. However when viewing changes in labor relations, immigration, and ever increasing creative destruction on the land, larger extensions are needed to understand the dynamics of these processes. The history of Upper Peninsula extractive industries is defined by ever increasing innovations in communication and transportation that allowed for more widespread and efficient outlets for expanding capital accumulation. David Harvey (2010:48) states that this flow of capital, which is invested in ‘yesterdays’ profits, is key to sustaining growth and therefore capitalism. Abstracting across time and space provides a context to understand why Coalwood existed as a site of capital accumulation and sustained capital growth, and why, when the capital flow ceased, it was abandoned. Furthermore the processes of immigration, which compensated shortages or surpluses of labor, had a specific history that provided the

conditions necessary for capital accumulation. Abstractions of extension will largely be used in my research as a backdrop, informing who was where, when, and why.

Abstractions of generality refers to the movement between the most specific, which is all that is unique to a particular individual, to the most general characteristics of all that is unique to capitalist society, class-based society, humanity, or nature. This movement brings the uniqueness of the specifics into the larger system with which they belong (Ollman 2003). Abstracting from the level of the household creates a link between waged and unwaged labor that brings the household into the discussion of capitalist class relations (Wurst 1999). At Coalwood, at the generalized level of capitalism, only one economic class was present, the workers, although they were defined by their relations to the owners of the means of production who lived and existed off site. By abstracting the town itself, a class distinction can be made between the manual laborers and the non-manual workers, the supervisor. These non-manual workers, who do not own the means of production but stand in a position between capital and labor, are necessary for the *perceived* proper management and appropriation of labor power (McGuire 2008:102), often labeled ‘unproductive labor’ they provided the conditions needed for profit accumulation (Wolff 2012:23). These workers often received greater economic and symbolic capital that would have produced real material difference between members of the same economic class. The different material assemblages at Coalwood will allow examination of the differences in material consumption that emphasized the division of the working class. This would be hard to contextualize without a clear abstraction of generalization.

Abstracting from different vantage points reveals more of the internal relations between unwaged and waged labor. Abstractions of vantage point refer to examining the same relations from different perspectives, or the same process from different moments (Ollman 2003). Karl Marx's (1863) most potent example of this is capital and labor, which he states are "expressions of the same relation from opposite poles". By starting with real life and taking the vantage point of capital, the house can be seen as a site where labor power is reproduced at the expense of the wage worker. As Jane Collins (1990) says, they get two workers for the price of one. Furthermore, by once again starting with real life but taking the vantage point of the individual worker, the house can be seen as a site of empowerment and autonomy where laborers make decisions about how to conduct their day-to-day life. These choices have the appearance of autonomy, but are constrained by the limits of their class position and the spatial ties to capital accumulation. Furthermore these daily activities, which are often unpaid, use labor to turn products into useable forms that reproduce labor power. Visible in the archaeological record these daily activities constitute real lived experiences that relate to the production and reproduction of everyday life.

My focus on domestic labor and its relation to the larger whole brings the issue of social reproduction to the forefront. Karl Marx (1898) noted that profit is made through the exploitation of surplus labor. This means that a worker's wages are determined by the socially acceptable standard of living required to *reproduce* labor power (Harvey 2010:62). Profit comes from the remaining (surplus) labor time. The wages paid to maintain labor power through the coming days and generations is a crucial component to social reproduction (Marx 1898).

People consume resources in order to carry out their day-to-day practices (Strengers 2010). One of the goals of capitalist ideology is to keep people from seeing that these practices, and the consumption that sustains them, are integral to the reproduction of their daily social lives (Perlman 1969; Zavarzaheh 1995; Wurst and McGuire 1999). The reproduction of daily life combines the structural elements of capitalist production and the superstructural elements of consumption (Wurst and McGuire 1999). My preferred vantage point is from that of domestic laborers and at the generalized level of the home. However it must be remembered that these abstractions are merely pieces of the whole and only exist within that whole; as Cindi Katz (2001:710) said, “social reproduction... is a set of structured practices that unfold in dialectical relation with production, with which it is mutually constitutive and in tension”.

This tension stems from the fact that real costs of social reproduction are externalized on to households (Harvey 2014:189-190). Domestic labor assumes these costs in four distinct ways 1) by producing use values for household consumption; 2) by engaging in consumption; 3) by producing use values for home maintenance; and 4) by producing goods or services for the market (Gimenez 1990:33). These activities are necessary for the daily reproduction and long term survival of household members. But moreover they reproduce the system of exploitation and the family forms which sustain it (Collins 1990). The home is often viewed as external to wage work and capitalist production, or as an essentialized facet of human nature. This proposition makes the home appear as a static non-integral component of the system, concealing its productive capacity and potential for revolutionary politics. When viewed through a dialectal and relational philosophy the home and the activities conducted within become central to the

system of capital accumulation and therefore among the most radical entry point for the realization of true freedom (see Engels 1884, 1890; Lukas 1968; Harvey 2014; Katz 2001; Perlman 1969).

Viewing the household as an integral part of capitalist production, and by abstracting at the specific level of the home and the vantage point of labor, the relationship between domestic labor and capital accumulation becomes obvious. This view moves beyond common sense notions that equate production to manufacturing (Wurst 2011) by viewing the household as a set of social relations (McGuire and Woodsong 1990) that links domestic labor to the everyday routines of capitalism (Glazer 1990). Domestic labor, which involves the physical, daily, and generational reproduction of labor power (Gimenez 1990) is thus, dialectically related to waged labor. Therefore, the household, as a set of social relations that is constantly changing based on the economic needs of industry, the social needs of family, and the physical needs of daily reproduction, is therefore irreducibly linked to the processes of capital accumulation. From this theoretical vantage point the activities conducted within the home at Coalwood cannot be separated from those conducted in the woods. The lens of the dialect allows us to see that the same forces that brought in wage workers also brought in unwaged workers and the productive activities both were engaged in resulted in the reproduction of their daily social lives and the broader system with which they were situated. With this theoretical approach in hand we can now turn to examine the historical context that produced the lived experiences of work and home.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Introduction

In order to examine the social reproduction of daily life I will use various abstractions of extension to move between the generalizations of the logging and mining industries and the particulars of Coalwood, which operated from 1900-1912 as a cordwood camp for the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company (CCIC) in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. The laborers at Coalwood cut cordwood that would be converted to charcoal and used in the production of pig iron at one of CCIC nearby furnaces. The history of Coalwood, its physical location, the demographics of its labor force, and the ways daily social life was reproduced is linked to the history of mining and logging in the United States, with the history of the Upper Peninsula and its industrial growth, with CCIC's history and their business model and labor relations, and with the international labor market and its ties with immigration. I will go over each of these briefly in order to provide the historical context for why Coalwood existed, who lived there, and under what conditions daily social life was reproduced.

A Very Brief History of Logging and Mining in the United States

In the United States, the logging and mining industries typically went hand in hand. Since they were integrally linked at Coalwood, I provided a brief overview of each in tandem. By the time the English settled in the Americas their timber resources were in short supply. The rich forests of the Eastern Shore were quickly exploited for their

timbered resources and an export economy based on the shipment of timbered and milled wood quickly emerged (Gordon and Malone 1994).

During the early colonial period (c. 1500-1830) forest and their timbered resources, were strongly linked with agriculture and seen more as an obstacle, rather than as a source of profit (Cox 2010:5). Symbolically the forest was seen as a “repugnant, dark, and sinister place, devoid of order” (Williams 1992:10) that stood in the way of progress as a force that existed before the age of civilization, untouched by humans (Atanassow 2010). Cleared lands were seen as a symbol of progress and civilization; a source of redemption from the evils that lived within (Williams 1992:11). Farmlands would be cleared and the lumber would be used to build homes, cook food, and keep warm during the winter. If the farm did not produce enough security, lumber could be sold at market (Cox 2010:6).

As more people migrated north to Maine and to the inlands of New England during the mid-18th century, the commercial interest in timber rose. Shorter growing seasons, growing markets, and large pockets of white pine enticed settlers to tap the forest resources for profit (Williams 1992). The “lumberman’s frontier” emerged and Maine, Pennsylvania, and New York quickly became the world leaders in lumber production (Cox 2010:23). Increasing amounts of capital and labor were being poured into the forest of eastern America as huge plots of pine were being cleared in the name of progress (Kilar 1990). By the turn of the 19th century much of the nation’s forest had pockets of cleared land and more of the population lived in urban areas and cleared rural communities. Ironically, during this time of enhanced creative destruction on the American environment, the forest became a symbol of aesthetic beauty, romanticized for

its simplicity and pureness (Williams 1992:15); exemplified by naturalist John Muir (1838-1914), “the clearest way into the Universe is through a forest wilderness” (Wolfe 1938: 313)

Beginning in the 1820s resource depletion resulted in a slow migration of lumber barons who relocated to the pine forest of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota (Karamanski 1989). Known as the “full flowering” of commercial logging these industries peaked in the Lake States from 1860-1890 (Cox 2010:149). Resource depletion was one of the largest external forces affecting the settlement and daily lives of both wage workers and capitalists engaged in the lumber industry. During the pine boom of the logging industry, trees would be cut down in the winter and shipped down river to various markets. This relationship between logging and natural waterways continued until the 1880s when railroads began providing alternative transportation (Rohe 1986).

Resource depletion, once again, caused another regional shift in the exploitation of pine. By the 1880s the southern forest along the Gulf of Florida and the banks of the Mississippi River, as well as the Pacific Northwest, were experiencing profound changes as lumbering became increasingly commercialized (Williams 1992:238, 289). Unlike pine logging in the Lake States and the eastern forests, logging in the south and west was largely dependent on railroads.

Like lumber, the earliest mines in the United States were tied to water ways for their power, which spurred a strong interest in water-mill, and later steam, technologies (Reynolds 2002). Until the mid-17th century much of the metals in the Americas were imported from Europe. However, in the late 1640s iron works were established in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Virginia, and Pennsylvania and by the early

1700s there was a silver and lead mine in Massachusetts and a copper mine in Virginia (Gordon and Malone 1994). These mines were often in rural or frontier areas and were connected to one another, and major urban centers, by both natural and artificial waterways.

The widespread adoption of steam power in the 1830s, spurred by coal mining ventures in Pennsylvania, freed the smelting and milling industries from their ties to waterways and concentrated these industries in urban centers (Gordon and Malone 1994:155). However the extraction of the timber and ore materials still had to be undertaken in largely rural areas. The exploitation of raw materials helped fuel urban growth while simultaneously pushing the American frontier further across the continent (Gordon and Malone 1994; Karamanski 1989; Kilar 1990).

This growing usage of coal caused drastic changes in the charcoal and iron smelting industries. By 1850 only 50 percent of the nation's iron was smelted using coal and by 1870 it dropped to a mere 25 percent. However as the number of charcoal furnaces decreased, production and output remained steady. Increases in technology and the consolidation of companies produced greater efficiency that required less natural resources, labor, and capital (Williams:339).

Timber depletion in the eastern United States spurred the timber export market in Michigan. By the 1830s; beginning in Lower Michigan in towns such as Muskegon, Bay City, and Saginaw and slowly moved north to the Upper Peninsula by 1850 (Kilar 1990). Copper and iron mining both began in the Upper Peninsula by 1845 and was stimulated by the opening of the Sault Saint Marie Canal in 1855 (Gordon and Malone 1994). Metal and wood needed for wide spread construction projects encouraged by western migration

created a lucrative market for these resources and most were sent south down Lake Michigan to Chicago (Cronon 1991). The growth of Chicago's market economy, low shipping rates because of Lake Michigan's direct route, and market demand cumulated to create a prosperous and booming mining and logging industry in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. These industries stimulated the growth of capital and labor within the Upper Peninsula which is irreducibly linked to resource depletion in the eastern United States, technological and transportation development, and increased market demand. By the start of the 20th century most of the Nation's logging was being conducted in the south and northwest and much of the iron was being smelted using mineral fuels. Coalwood, which opened in 1900, represents a context that breaks from both of these regional and national norms and is due, in part, to the spatial proximity of logging and mining resources in Michigan's Upper Peninsula.

Mining and Logging in Michigan's Upper Peninsula

Mining and logging in Michigan's Upper Peninsula portrays a dynamic and connected history. The growth of these industries was one of the main impetuses for economic development in the area. Although the Upper Peninsula of Michigan was a geographically peripheral area, the spatial proximity of iron ore and the lumber resources needed to produce pig iron created a dynamic context for profit accumulation that resulted in the rapid expansion of these industries. This in turn accelerated the growth of urban areas that attracted wage labor in large numbers, which is represented in rising population numbers (figure 2). Therefore, understanding these industries is crucial to understanding labor in Michigan's Upper Peninsula.

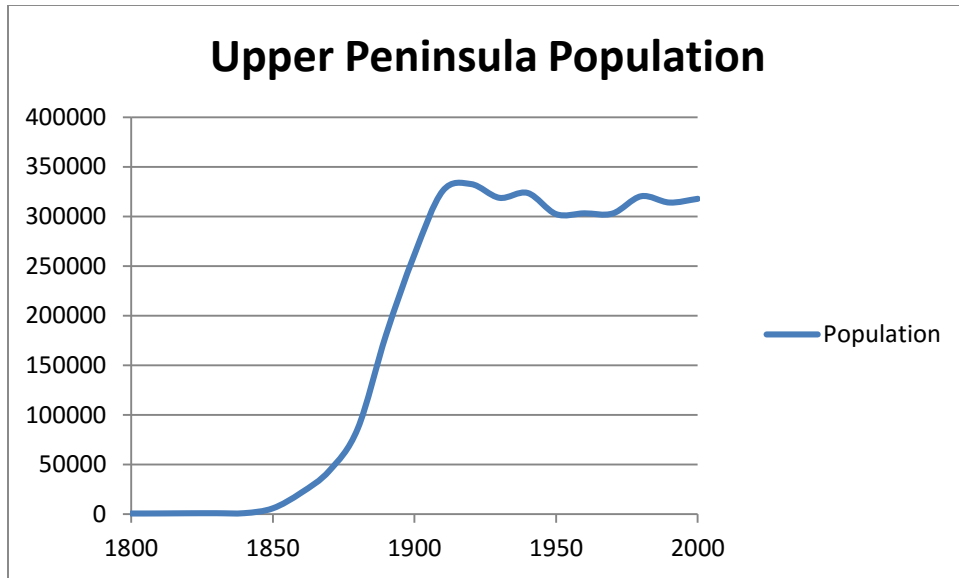


Figure 2: Population in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, data obtained from Magnaghi 2007.

Theodore Karamanski's book *Deep Woods Frontier* represents one of the first and only large scale attempts to systematically study the historical record of Northern Michigan's logging industry. He organized the industry into several periods based on the type of wood being exploited and demonstrated how each period was associated with different settlement patterns related to the technologies needed to exploit the resources which in turn created different social environments. The pine period, roughly 1835 to 1900, is characterized by small lumber capitalists and settlement was based on the natural waterways needed to transport the lumber to mills and port towns. The hardwood era, 1900-1935, also referred to as the railroad era, is characterized by large consolidated companies whose primary interest was often iron or land speculation who engaged in logging as a secondary or tertiary endeavor (Karamanski 1989).

Numerous variables made the exploitation of pine highly profitable. First, its lightweight allowed it to be floated down rivers, an inexpensive way to move pine logs from the interior to mill or port towns. This meant that pine era logging camps were often

situated near natural waterways so the raw timber could easily be shipped to a mill, cut into lumber, and shipped via schooner to markets in Chicago. Second, the market for pine was vast since it was used for many reasons: ship masts, charcoal, mine shafts, and as construction material for the abundance of new homes being constructed as western migration heightened. The high market demand plus the relatively low capital investment encouraged hundreds of small scale lumbermen to set up mills and extraction camps throughout Michigan's Upper Peninsula. As pine resources were depleted in the eastern United States after 1830 and Lower Michigan after 1880, the importance of Upper Peninsula pine soared (Karamanski 1989). Furthermore the use of both soft and hardwoods as fuel for smelting furnaces and shafts for subsurface mines created an early relationship between logging and mining. This relationship allowed the logging industry in Michigan to continue even after new, more profitable timber lands opened across the nation.

This was the same time (1835-1900) that Michigan grew to be the largest producer of iron ore in the country. Michigan has three large iron ranges: the Marquette Range, the Menominee Range, and the Gogebic Range. There are two primary ways to extract iron ore: surface mining and subsurface mining. The Marquette Range was surface mined during its first few years by the Jackson Iron Company, however all other ranges were mined using underground shafts. Extracting ore from subsurface mines was significantly more difficult, making it more expensive and dangerous. In 1890 Michigan produced 80% the nation's iron ore (Stiffler 1973).

By this time the pine in the Upper Peninsula was being depleted and the few standing pine pockets were deemed unprofitable. Many companies went bankrupt or

abandoned the industry, some moved to other parts of the country. However a few merged capital, resources, and knowledge and began to exploit a similar, yet significantly different, commodity; hardwood.

The market for hardwood was significantly smaller than that of pine and the commercial logging of pine in the south and northwest during the 1880s decreased the importance of the Upper Peninsula's forest resources. Furthermore, the dense hardwood made river transportation incredibly difficult and unprofitable. For this reason railroads had to be built, staffed, and maintained in order to transport the cut timber to mills, mines, and factories in the area. This necessitated a much larger capital investment than pine extraction; however, it freed capitalists from the spatial limitations caused by river transportation, opening up new tracts of timber resources in the interior where pine, cedar, hemlock, oak, spruce, etc. was clear cut and shipped to market (Karamanski 1989). The best hardwood was used to produce wooden furniture and woodenware (bowls and plates) or in the production of veneer. Rotten hardwood would be used to produce wood alcohols and chemicals and the cordwood would be consumed by large charcoal furnaces (Karamanski 1989:145). The spatial proximity of the Upper Peninsula's hardwood and iron resources coupled with the growth of the railroad industry, provided a lucrative context for the areas iron smelting industry. The use of hardwood and cordwood by mining companies during this time, combined with the rapid consolidation of logging companies, more limited markets, and lower demand, meant that much of the lumbering was now conducted by large consolidated iron companies. A classic example of these can be seen in history of Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company.

Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company (CCIC)

The history of CCIC dates back to 1847 when the Cleveland Iron Company began operations. Originally interested in the mining of copper, a group of Clevelanders made a claim on what was named Cleveland Mountain intending to exploit it for iron resources. From the time they bought this land until the end of the Civil War they mined iron, supplying iron producers with ore (Reynolds 2012).

Iron ore was a low cost, high bulk commodity, which required a high capital investment to extract and ship. Furthermore the spatial and social isolation of the mines created a constant shortage of labor power. The opening of the Mesabi iron range in 1890 and the economic downturn of 1893, only added to the companies growing problems. In order to mitigate these Cleveland Iron Company began to merge with other companies, acquiring land and transportation networks, while expanding production beyond iron mining.

The Cleveland Iron Company merged with Cliffs Company, a New York based iron ore merchant, in 1891 to form the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company and by 1892 they were the largest shipper of iron in America (Reynolds and Dawson 2011). This was one of many mergers and acquisitions CCIC conducted and at times entire railroad systems and many acres of prime timber land were purchased as well (figure 3).

Date	Company Acquired	Acres
1900	The Munising Company	84,000
1900	Lac la Belle Company	100,000
1902	Portion of Land Grant of Detroit, Mackinac & Marquette railway	182,000
1904	Jackson Iron Company	20,000
1907	Osage Iron Company	14,000
1908	Central Land & Timber Company	Unknown

Figure 3: Selected Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company Land Acquisitions, 1900-1910 (data from Reynolds 2006:68)

Better control of transportation was seen as a crucial step to reduce cost and increase profit. One of the numerous land acquisitions occurred in 1900 when CCIC bought the Munising Railroad and the 84,000 acres of timber land that it was situated on (Reynolds and Dawson 2011; Karamanski 1989). Given the high transportation cost of iron ore owning railroads reduced these costs and increased profits.

CCIC's business success was based on their commitment to diversify their operations. The Munising Railroad purchase connected the newly acquired forest to the mines. These timber lands were often clear-cut by CCIC with the best hardwoods being sent to the Munising Woodenware Company and the Munising Veneer Company. Rotten softwoods left on the forest floor were collected and sent to Marquette to be converted into wood alcohol and other products. Pulpwood would be sent to the Munising Paper Company and select softwoods were sent to CCIC's core mining division at Ishpeming to be used as mine shafts. Cordwood would be sent to the charcoal furnaces in Marquette and Gladstone (Karamanski 1989:145).

The blast furnace and charcoal kilns at Gladstone opened in 1896 and a blast furnace opened in Marquette in 1901 (Reynolds and Dawson 2011). Correspondence from CCIC land agent Sam Morris indicate that the decision to buy the Munising Land

Company was directly in response to the high demand for fuel needed at the Gladstone furnace (Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Letters Out, 1899). Expanding and diversifying operations increased the breadth of revenue and allowed long term cost-saving technologies, which have high initial investment, to be implemented in CCIC mines (Reynolds and Dawson 2011). The integration of rival companies, such as the Jackson Iron Company in 1905, was crucial to acquiring new lands and opportunities for CCIC. . The proximity of iron and forest resources created a unique context that allowed CCIC to break from the norm of regional and national extractive industries and compete with the lumber barons of the south and northwest, as well as large iron and steel companies.

However, as Terry Reynolds and Virginia Dawson (2011:95) state, this business model “could be secured only if operations ran smoothly at increased volumes”. This had profound implications for their labor relations. CCIC recognized that labor tranquility was crucial for smooth operations and productivity. During the 19th and early 20th century, many capitalists responded to labor unrest with violence, CCIC instead attempted to find a middle ground by applying the ideals of corporate paternalism (Reynolds and Dawson 2011:95-104).

By the 20th century the physical landscape of work camps became increasingly structured as a way to promote corporate control over the daily lives of laborers (Pappas 2004; Wood 2009). Corporate paternalism meant offering goods and services that were not required for normal operation or by legal mandates, and for CCIC this included trash pickup, hiring traveling nurses and promoting safety at home and in the work place (Reynolds and Dawson 2011:95-104). In 1894 CCIC began offering cash prizes every year to the best kept yards and gardens in order to improve camp aesthetics (Reynolds

and Dawson 2011:96). Providing high quality food and tableware were also part of this. All of these activities would have improved the everyday lives of those who lived at one of CCIC's many camps, however under the terms that the company found desirable.

Everyday Labor Relations in the Logging Industry

The labor relations that were impacting everyday life at Coalwood were largely influenced by the business model of CCIC; however, expanding the abstraction to include a larger extension highlights how some of these factors came to play in the history of logging in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. In the earlier years of logging, numerous companies exploited the area's abundance of pine, the largest of which was the Chicago Lumber Company. Single men would be hired to chop and haul pine to rivers, transport the pine to mills, and mill and ship the timber so it could be used as lumber. The men often lived near where they worked in large boarding houses erected by the company. Companies would hire housekeepers to maintain the living quarters, camp cooks to feed the men, and blacksmiths to maintain the equipment. These camps were often isolated in the heart of the Upper Peninsula's forest, making work and home life difficult. The harsh climate mixed with the rigor of industrial labor and social isolation made for a unique, often volatile, social environment that was fueled by the ethnic differences and class conflict created and reinforced by the division of labor used to extract profit from the pine forests.

Chronic labor shortages made recent immigrants the primary source of labor power. During these early years of pine exploitation these immigrants were often German and Swedish, though later Finns, French Canadians, and Dutch became dominant. These immigrants often came from rural backgrounds with cultures that

conflicted with the needs of industrial labor. Hard work was nothing new to these immigrants, but they were used to irregular patterns that did not conform to the needs of lumber capitalist. This caused tension between the needs and desire of labor and those of capital. Supervisory staff was often hired to manage and encourage profitable work ethics. These ‘middle-class’ men were often young English speaking folk from the Eastern United States who had previous experience in the lumber industry (Karamanski 1989:205-220).

Pine lumbering was inherently seasonal in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Most of the timber cutting was conducted in the winter, utilizing the natural abundance of snow and ice to transport logs to the rivers where they would be sent downstream during the spring thaw as water levels rose. Once collected they would be milled in the fall and then sold. The process would begin again the following winter (Karamanski 1989). The seasonal nature of logging required a highly mobile labor force. This meant that laborers would often only work a single season at any one camp before moving to another. This mobility caused problems for companies competing to secure a steady supply of labor that resulted in heightened attention to camp conditions and amenities. Better food and accommodations could attract workers, resulting in the popular phrase “we vote with our feet”. This meant that workers could choose where they worked based, in part, on the goods and services offered (Drake, Franzen, Drake 2006).

The introduction of the railroad, however, freed loggers from many of their seasonal constraints and the introduction of steam haulers and loaders made it easier to cut timber in the summer (Karamanski 1989). However, an oral history interview of Frank Debelak (1991), who lived and worked as a logger in the Upper Peninsula as a

child during the early 20th century, stated how seasonal the cordwood industry was even during the years of the railroad. He recalled that they would cut the wood in the winter, remembering the pain of constantly removing snow from the paths, and load it during the spring, when the biting bugs began waking up. An account statement from CCIC's Land Department in 1904 shows that Coalwood shipped cordwood every month of the year except June (Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Land Department:29). This might mean that the workers cut cordwood year round with a short break in June; however, it could also mean that all the wood was chopped in the winter and sold and shipped as needed. Regardless of seasonality, competition for labor heightened with the introduction of the railroad. Huge numbers of camps operated by various companies quickly emerged and competition from the booming iron industry as well as the general labor needed to maintain the railroad system created an ever increasing number of employment options for laborers.

This rise in options would have made the quality of life in these camps an even greater concern for workers and owners alike. When Coalwood was established in 1900, railroads connected the camp to larger networks of trade and communication. Work and home conditions were two ways that iron and lumber companies would negotiate the balance between profit and cost and their material expressions must be seen as a struggle between labor and capital. Fresh foods were preferred over dried foods and fresh beef and pork was preferred over wild game (Karamanski 1989; Franzen 1992; Drake, Franzen, Drake 2006). Wild game was thought to be too tough and highly laxative (Drake, Franzen, Drake 2006). Furthermore ceramic plates and cups were preferred by the workers over tin and enamelware. This created a contradiction between the wants

and needs of labor and those of capital due to the fact that ceramic tableware was more expensive and much more fragile than tin or enamel. Frank Debelak (1991:64-65) talks about how his father's camp gradually transitioned from tin to enamel to ceramic tablewares. Large amounts of fresh meats or finer ceramic dishes are signs that capitalists recognized and responded to worker's demands. These commodities, which were not required by law, could attract higher numbers of laborers and reduce the strain of the social and physical isolation workers experienced at these camps.

CCIC recognized the importance of labor tranquility, however this was often costly. One way to combat decreased productivity while increasing profits was to hire the cheapest labor possible. Many of the single men and families who lived and worked at Coalwood were recent Finnish immigrants.

The Finns: Ethnicity, Immigration, and Occupation

Emigration from Finland began in small numbers during the 1600s and 1700s and continued through the 19th century, peaking between the years 1890-1930 when it was irreducibly linked to global politics (Holmio 2001). In 1809 the Russian Emperor Alexander I (1809-1825) liberated Finland from its long tenure under Swedish rule (1155 to 1809) and Finland became a Grand Duchy of Russia with extensive autonomy, creating the first Finnish State. During the Russian reign Finnish nationalism rose and Finnish joined Swedish as the official language of Finland. By the 1860s Finland had their own active legislative branch and by the late 1870s they had their own army. Finland was growing rapidly, both socially and politically, during this time.

This progress in Finland, however, was coupled with a rise in nationalism and chauvinism in Russia. This was most vividly displayed in the reign of Russian Czar, Nicholas II (1894-1917), who from 1899 to 1905 and again from 1909-1917 attempted to oppress the Grand Duchy of Finland and make its subjects more Russian and less Finnish (Singleton 1998). These oppressive activities included mandatory service in the Russian army, requiring Russian issued currency and stamps, changing the official language to Russian, making the Orthodox Russian church the official state church, and intense censorship of all Finnish press (Holmio 2001). Finnish opposition and resistance to Russian imperialism were strong and many left Finland during this period. For those who immigrated to America, many went to the northern forest of Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin (Holmio 2001).

The decline of the Finnish tar and shipbuilding industry around 1860 (Oxholm 1921: 21) triggered by the increased use of steel steamships, the Crimean War which made its way to Finland in 1854 during the Battle of Bomarsund decimating Finland's local commerce, the great famine of the 1860s, and increased depletion of forest and agricultural resources due to tar-burning, as well as land and forest burning, anteceded these political transformations and heighten their affects (Holmio 2001:49-54) . Many Finns left their farms to work for wages producing and distributing tar and working in the shipbuilding endeavors it spurred. This created a large population of dispossessed Finns who, within a couple generations, saw entire villages shift from being largely self-sufficient agricultural communities to being dependent on wages and the capitalistic market (Holmio 2001:55). The decline of the tar industry, which was coupled with the decline of good farm land, famine, and war, brought the full force of capitalism's

contradictions to Finland's population, from disposition to exploitation to abandonment. Experiencing the ills of capitalistic production these Finnish people were inclined to adopt radical Marxist tendencies that were sweeping across Europe at this time (Hobsbawm 2011). Further strengthened by the oppression of the Russian Czars, these tendencies made their way to the forests of Michigan's Upper Peninsula.

The Finns' strong socialist tendencies clashed with the industrial work ethic of mining and logging in America (Kaunonen 2010). Labeled as "Red Finns", companies and businesses quickly came to disregard them as acceptable sources of labor power. Three large strikes in America's northern states were organized by the Finns; The Mesabi Range Strike of 1907, the Copper Country Strike of 1913, and the second Mesabi Strike of 1916. These radical attitudes, which laid the preconditions for these strikes quickly branded the Finns as undesirable workers (Kaunonen 2010).

A common strategy to socialize workers was to naturalize the ideology of inequality (Roediger 1991); this was expressed in the debate surrounding the Finns' racial identity. The scientific community deemed the Finns to be of Asiatic origins based on physical characteristics of their skulls and the origins of their non-Indo-European language (Dutton 2008). In 1908 a Finnish immigrant applied for and was denied American citizenship under the rhetoric of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, on the account that "being a Finn, he is a Mongolian and not a white person" (Kivisto and Leinonen 2011:12). The Finns' non-Indo-European language and their assumed ethnic clannishness created social marginalization that characterized the daily life of the Finns in America. One of these activities included the use of saunas and blood purification. The sauna was a way to physically and spiritually cleanse the body. Ritualistic in nature the

sauna became a token of Finnish identity that linked Finns, in popular imagination, to the sweat lodges of Native American peoples (Frimodig 1983; Kivisto and Leinonen 2011).

The long history of logging in Finland (Kirby 2006) coupled with their perceived ‘savage’ nature combined to create a stereotype of the Finnish brute. These stereotypes go hand-in-hand with those of the northern lumberjack in general. Popular imaginations of Paul Bunyan, as a large transient man who could eat his body weight in food were, in part, constructed on the image of the American Finn. The American-Finnish folk hero Otta Walta is often cited as the precursor to the Bunyan legend with popular myths proposing that “boy could old Otta eat... he’d eat as much as any four men put together” and legends of his strength stated he could clear an entire parcel of pine with one swift swing of his axe (Karni 1967:395). These connotations of physical strength and savagery, as well as the label “Red Finn”, had real effects on occupational opportunities (Kivisto and Leinonen 2011). In an oral history of a second generation Slovenian immigrant born in Hanley, Michigan in 1909, Robert Lustick talks about how strong these ethnic connotations were in the Upper Peninsula. He first states that many of the ethnic groups, Finnish, Polish, and Slovenians, “mostly followed their own ethnic groups” from camp to camp. He later states that while working at a camp he noticed that “the Finnish guys always had the job of hauling the cordwood” (Lustick 1994:23). The Alger County Centennial History states that the few non-Finnish occupants at Coalwood included a foreman, fire warden, and storekeeper (Swanberg 1986), showing the occupational diversity and ethnic singularity at Coalwood.

The Finns, which seem to be the majority of those who lived and worked at Coalwood, were one of many immigrant groups that settled in the Upper Peninsula to

work as loggers and miners. Of the 409 residents recorded in the 1910 Federal Census living in Au Train Township, the township in which Coalwood is located, 109 were born in Finland and represent the largest immigrant group (figure 4). The Finnish immigrants were 73% (n=80) male and 80% were laborers, with the majority of them listing wood chopping as their specific primary activity. None of the Finnish females had an occupation listed. This pattern is repeated by many of the females in Alger County.

Birthplace	N	%
Scotland	1	0
England	2	0
Belgium	4	1
Ireland	4	1
Germany	6	1
Norway	6	1
Sweden	18	4
Austria	19	5
Canada	42	10
Finland	109	27
United States	198	48

Figure 4: Table showing the number and percent of all individual's birthplace living in Au Train Township in 1910 (United States Census Bureau 1910a)

Gender, Occupation, and Domestic Labor

Females represented 34% of Au Trains recorded population in 1910; 140 out of 409. What is worth noting, although not surprising, is that only 10 of the 140 females had occupations listed, representing only 7% (figure 5). This means that 66 females over the age of 18, and many of those younger, were probably engaged in domestic activities not officially considered an occupation. According to the 1910 Federal Census "Instructions for Enumerators" booklet which states "in the case of woman doing housework in her own home, without salary or wages, and having no, other employment,

the entry in column 18 should be none” (United States Census Bureau 1910b:34).

Column 18 in the 1910 Federal Census was for “occupation”, depicting the reality that labor means only wage work, ignoring the plurality of productive labor that takes place in everyday life (Collins 1990). As Susan Lawrence (1998:48) says “it gives a deceptively simple impression of employment” and ignores the fact that the blank space underneath occupation involves huge amounts of labor that went into being a housewife. These domestic activities include cleaning house, preparing food, keeping domestic animals, gardening, small-scale production, child rearing, acquiring and displaying consumer goods, and maintaining a family’s social identity, all of which take time and labor, and constitute daily life for many. The few females with jobs, which were largely structured by age and marital status, were involved in “domestic” activities (figure 6). These activities organize the main facets through which labor is reproduced. These were the social relations that maintained workers ability to chop cordwood at Coalwood.

	# of Females	# with No Job	# with Job
Total	140	130	10
over 18	76	66	10
Married	55	53	2
Single	14	10	4
Divorced	1	0	1
Widowed	6	3	3

Figure 5: Table showing total number of females in Au Train Township, total number of females with no jobs in Au Tran Township, and total number of females with jobs in Au Train Township separated by age and marital status. Data from United States Census Bureau 1910a.

Marital Statues	Occupation	#
Married	Post Minister	1
Married	House Keeper	1
Single	School Teacher	3
Single	Midwife	1
Divorced	Boarding House Owner	1
Widowed	Boarding House Owner	1
Widowed	Camp Cook	1
Widowed	Farmer	1

Figure 6: Table listing the amount of females by occupation and marital status in Au Train Township. Data from United States Census Bureau 1910a

Coalwood

Coalwood operated as a cordwood camp under the paternalistic control of CCIC from 1900-1912. Although pine and hardwood may have been cut and shipped out of Coalwood during the early years of operation, the primary activity was the collecting, cutting, and shipping of cordwood (Drake and Drake 2007; Franzen 1992; Karamanski 1989; Reynolds and Dawson 2011). This cordwood would be converted into charcoal at one of CCIC's charcoal furnaces in Gladstone or Marquette that was connected to Coalwood via railroad. The spatial location of Coalwood was likely chosen based on the proximity of forest resources, the charcoal furnaces, and the mines on the Marquette Iron Range and their connection through Munising Railroad.

The historic documents directly pertaining to Coalwood are limited. In addition to the 1910 federal census, we have detailed annual reports from CCIC lumber department from January 1st 1909, when the lumber department split from the land department, until Coalwood closed in 1912. We also have numbers and comments for 1908 contained in the 1909 reports. These reports discuss the number of workers hired, the amount of timber cut, and any issues that needed to be addressed the following year for each of

CCIC's lumber camps. It is because of these documents that we know Coalwood began operation in 1900 and closed in 1912. At its height of operation CCIC employed more than 200 men at Coalwood and shipped more than 160,000 cords of wood (Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Lumbering Department, 1908-1912). In 1908 Coalwood had its largest known labor force, with 217 male laborers, and also its lowest known year of productivity. Seeing that the spatial boundaries of Coalwood could not support 217 separate family homes, it is assumed that the majority of these men, in 1908, would have been single laborers who lived in one of the boarding houses on site. However oral histories state that married men did live and work there as well (Debelak 1991; Lustick 1994).

Figures for 1909 document a significant decrease in the number of workers, coupled with a large increase in productivity; on average 34 men cut 47.3 cords a month for 12 months (Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Lumbering Department, 1909:11). They produced less cords than the previous year, but at higher averages than the previous year (figure 7). It was stated that this was due to "the men being in good timber for the most part, and the men employed were much superior to those formerly working" (Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Lumbering Department, 1909:11). This could have affected the decision made in 1910 to hire only married men; "as is the case with all other cutting jobs on the Munising Railway... we have reduced the chopper's to actual family men" (Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Lumbering Department, 1910:11).

Year	Average Number of Men (A)	Average Cords Chopped per man per month (B)	Cords Produced (C)	Calculated Months Worked Per Year (D): $D=C/(A \times B)$
1908	217	33.0	83,000*	12
1909	34	47.3	20,890	12
1910	77	44.9	41,609	12
1911	24	49.2	6,815	6
1912	29	39.2	6,775	6

Figure 7: Table showing the average number of men, average productivity per man, and total cords produced between 1908 and 1912. *1908 cords produced is based on a quote from the 1909 annual reports that stated they cut roughly a quarter less cords then the previous year. (data obtained from Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Lumbering Department, 1909-1912).

This switch to hiring only “family” men coincides with growing concerns over resource depletion in the area. The earliest reports we have, 1909, already discuss the implications of resources depletion and express the need to obtain alternative areas to exploit (Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Lumbering Department, 1909:11-12). A map provided in the 1911 Annual Lumber Reports shows how rampant the depletion of natural resources was in and around the Munising Railroad (figure 8). By this time, (1911) only “family” men were hired, working just six months out of the year. We can tell that the men only worked 6 months out the year in 1911 and 1912 by doing the math between the number of men employed and average productivity per month and comparing this to the total cords produced that year (i.e. in 1911 24 men cutting 49.2 cords per month equals 1,180 cords a month. Seeing that only 6,815 cords were produced that year it can be deduced that they only cut cords for six months out of the year, see figure 7). By 1912 the remaining resources were deemed unprofitable and Coalwood was abandoned (Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Lumbering Department, 1912:5). These decisions, made in Cleveland, Ohio, were responses to laws of capital

accumulation and the internal needs of the company. The implications of these decisions would have obviously changed labor relations and everyday life at Coalwood.

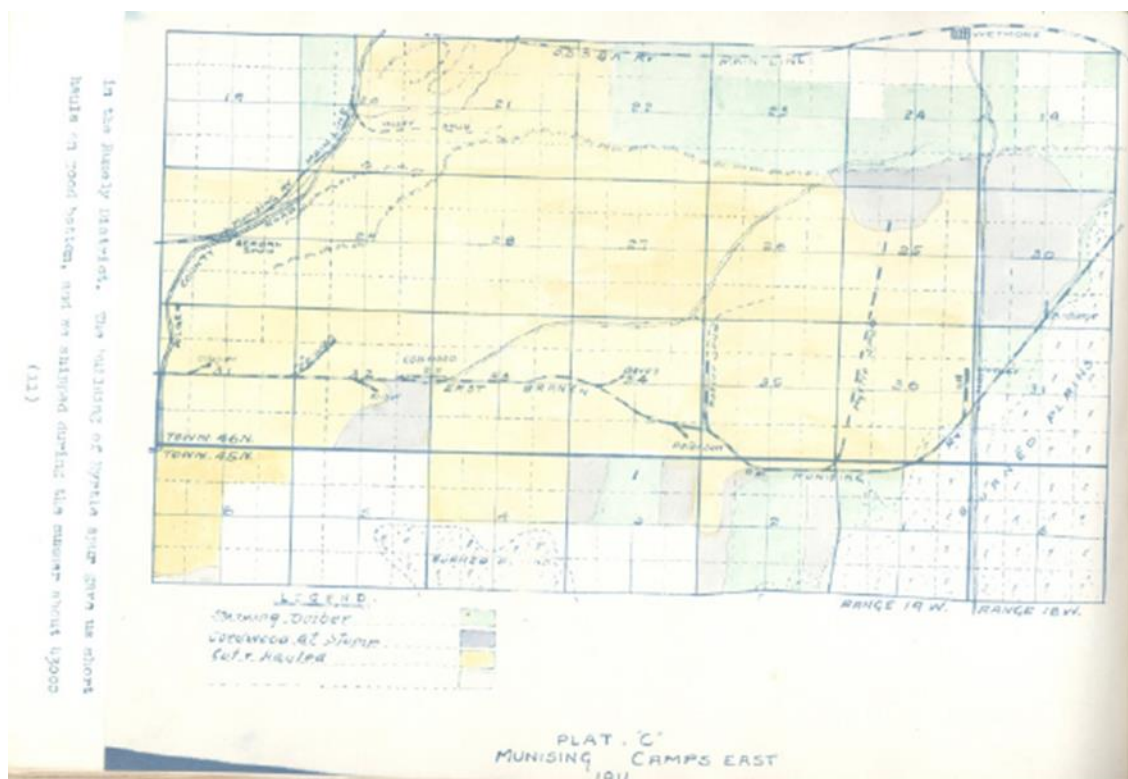


Figure 8: 1911 Map of cordwood camps in the Munising District from Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Lumbering Department, 1911:11.

Inventories of the structures at Coalwood compiled by CCIC for the years 1909-1916 provides information about the built environment at Coalwood. In 1909 there was an office, a power house, a blacksmith shop, a hay shed, a barn, boarding houses, and single dwelling houses (Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Inventories, 1909:11). This gives us an idea of what services were offered at Coalwood in 1909. These same inventories list a school at the nearby camp of Hanley, meaning the children at Coalwood, if they went to school, had to travel a couple miles, likely by foot. Furthermore Coalwood is not listed with a ‘cooks camp’ meaning a cook was probably not hired in 1909. Lastly the absence of a store may indicate that ‘store functions’ were

being undertaken in a different structure in 1909. These inventories probably do not represent all the buildings at Coalwood, especially during its busier early years, but rather those still needed during later years of operation. It has been assumed that these buildings were moved and reused after Coalwood closed; however the buildings show up on the inventories until 1915, when they were probably removed.

All that remains now are the deep pits left behind by these structures. Coalwood ceased lumbering activity in 1912, however for the next two years foresters from Munising operated a nursery out of Coalwood and lived in the old office (Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Nursery, 1911-1912). Within a few years all of the camps in the Coalwood district were closed, their buildings were moved, and the Munising Railroad that connected them all was dismantled and the material reused elsewhere.

Coalwood is now part of the Hiawatha National forest. The old railway that ran through the center of Coalwood is now a recreation trail, constructed by Rails-to-Trails Conservancy sometime after it began in 1986 (www.railstotrails.org/about/history). In 1987, likely in response to the creation of the recreation trail, Coalwood was surveyed and mapped by Gilbert/Commonwealth Inc. of Michigan for the Hiawatha National Forest Service (Weir and Rutter 1987). The map they constructed documents 59 features that corresponded to looter pits, structures, and possible structural features (figure 9). The definite structural features are situated parallel to the main road and perpendicular to the railroad grade.

Although Coalwood only operated for twelve years it left a lasting mark, both on the physical landscape and in the historical narrative of the Upper Peninsula. Maps dating from the mid-1920s continued to label Coalwood even though it closed its gates in 1912 (Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Co., Lumbering Department, 1923). The Alger County Centennial History devotes an entire section to Coalwood (Swanberg 1986:185-186), but what is largely remembered is the large Finnish population and its family style labor

formation that deviated from the lumber camp norm (Swanberg 1986; Debelak 1991; Lustick 1994). Review of CCIC's lumber reports, however, suggest that this emphasis on family labor occurred late in the camps history and was a response to declining timber resources.

By understanding the material dimensions through which everyday life was conducted at Coalwood insights will be made about how the social reproduction of everyday life maintained daily exploitation; linking the labor conducted within the homes of this labor camp to the larger processes of capital accumulation and labor exploitation. The spatial conflation of work and home combined with the global processes of immigration and patriarchy produced an arena where workers' daily lives were simultaneously constrained and enabled by the structures guiding profit accumulation.

ANALYSIS

Introduction

The theory of internal relations and the historical placement of Coalwood provides a context through which the daily life of the workers can be explored through archaeological analysis. In November 2013 a crew from Western Michigan University conducted an extensive surface collection at Coalwood that resulted in over 130 large bags of artifacts. This material was collected from eight loci on the east side of the main road (figure 10). Shovel scars, partially excavated pit features, and thousands of broken artifacts were left on the surface. The goal of our field work was to systematically collect and record these items left behind. Most of the areas were defined by discrete areas of looting located in the backyards of houses. The perimeter of each area was mapped using hand held GPS units and georeferenced to project on the 1987 survey map (figure 10). The field crew collected artifacts within these boundaries. Loci 1-3 were sub-divided into smaller areas of artifact clusters in order to examine variation within loci. Although my research will not address this, it does have implications in regards to how the data in loci 1-3 were collected. In these loci everything that was visible was either recovered or recorded. Due to time constraints loci 4-8 were collected as a whole that would have inevitably left smaller and less diagnostic items left unrecorded.

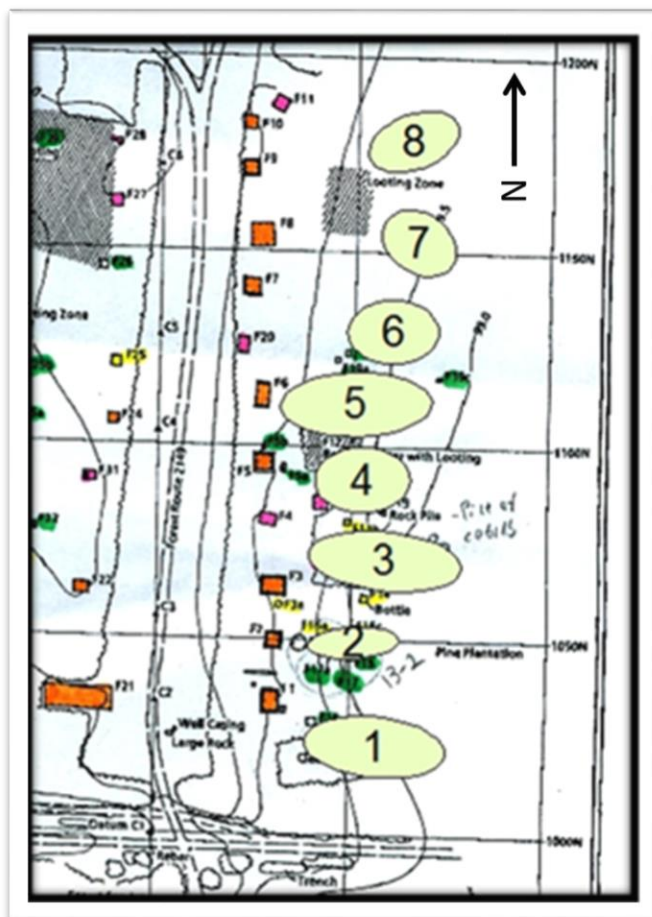


Figure 10: Surface collection loci on 1987 survey map (Weir and Rutter 1987).

Our collection areas were defined by looters and our methods were biased to large and diagnostic materials. These biases create limitations and will be controlled for by focusing on the material we do have, and its place within social reproduction, rather than on what we do not have. As with any archaeological research project it does not represent the complete material realities of everyday life and it will not be assumed that it does. However it does give insights into how these workers engaged with their surroundings and produced and reproduced their everyday life. Although looted, Coalwood still has a story to tell.

My analysis makes use of the 3937 artifacts collected. These artifacts were washed, dried, and catalogued. Every artifact was catalogued based on physical attributes; material, color, decoration, vessel number and percent complete as well as functional attributes; such as group, type, and form. Group is the largest functional scale (i.e. architectural, food related, clothing, etc.) and is used to make quick, generalized comparisons between assemblages. Type is more specific and relates to the artifact itself (tableware, canning jar, alcohol bottle, etc.). Form is the most specific and relates specifically to what the artifact is (i.e. saucer, jug, bowl). Form is largely only used for ceramic and glass artifacts.

The ceramic and glass artifacts were cross-mended within each loci and assigned vessel numbers. Vessel numbers were given very conservatively based first on color and decoration and secondly on form. In total 766 vessels were identified (figure 11) and represents the absolute minimum number of vessels collected.

	# of Vessels	% of total sample
13-1	160	21
13-2	104	14
13-3	198	26
13-4	138	18
13-5	34	4
13-6	35	5
13-7	27	4
13-8	70	9
Total	766	100

Figure 11: Table showing total vessel numbers identified and their percentages at each locus.

One problem arose when the faunal remains from loci 4 and 5 were accidentally lumped together. This has implications for the analysis, since they can only be associated

as the combined locus 4/5. This must be kept in mind when I talk about the distribution of faunal remains.

The data recovered will be used to examine daily life at Coalwood. The question of daily life is necessarily vague and there are a myriad of ways to approach it through archaeological data. There are some difficulties with conceptualizing archaeological data dialectically, especially since most historical archaeological analysis proceed by splitting up the artifacts that people used by material or function and examine them in isolation. In contrast, my analysis will emphasize *abstracting* material culture related to productive and reproductive behavior in order to understand how daily life was conducted in regards to work and home. The material signatures of reproductive behavior includes food stuffs such as faunal remains, ceramics, canning jars, and food related bottles, as well as toys, clothing, and household decorations. The material culture of productive behavior includes tools, boots, suspenders, alcohol, medicine, and time keeping and locking devices.

Reproductive Behavior

Given the emphasis on food in lumber camps, it is not surprising that food remains and food related artifacts dominate the assemblage (figure 12). In total 1152 faunal remains were collected, which represented 32% of the total assemblage (figure 13). All of the loci have high percentages of faunal remains except locus 1 which has only 9%.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Unidentified	226	72	247	40	22	21	17	28	673
Food Related	464	210	551	187	28	41	32	75	1588
Food Remains	79	109	503	311	0	26	51	73	1152
Architectural	26	17	12	1	4	3	0	0	63
Hygiene/Medicinal	30	15	81	21	6	2	9	20	184
Household/Furnishing	16	12	18	0	4	1	0	0	51
Clothing	33	5	45	12	6	2	17	1	121
Personal	6	3	10	11	2	0	2	1	35
Lighting	10	0	6	0	1	1	5	2	25
Tools	4	2	10	5	6	2	2	1	32
Smoking	1	0	1	0	0	3	2	2	9
Transportation	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	4
Total	897	445	1484	589	79	102	138	203	3937

Figure 12: Table showing all the artifacts from each locus categorized by group.

Loci	N	%
1	79	9
2	109	25
3	503	34
4/5	311	47
6	26	25
7	51	37
8	73	36
Total	1152	32

Figure 13: Table showing total faunal remains and percent of locus assemblage (with locus 4 and 5 combined due to lab error).

When examined by species, the data shows that cattle dominates the assemblage, however pig, chicken, and wild game were also identified in small numbers (figure 14).

Of the 1152 faunal remains collected, 951 (83%) could be identified to the species level, and of these 777 (82%) were cattle. Pig represents the next most common species which was found at every locus except locus 1.

Loci	Chicken	Turkey	Pig	Cattle	Deer
1	0	0	0	98	2
2	0	0	10	90	0
3	0	0	23	75	2
4/5	0	1	13	84	3
6	0	0	13	87	0
7	2	0	10	86	2
8	0	0	12	88	0

Figure 14: Percentages of identified species found at each locus.

Chicken, turkey, and deer were also identified, but at very low frequencies, which is partially a result of sampling bias that privileged larger bones. It is revealing that no chicken or turkey bones were collected from locus 1-3 which were collected more intensely. The presence of chicken bones suggests that they may have been raised on site. The identification of deer and turkey remains, coupled with a small amount of ammunitions recovered (n=2) indicates that residents may have occasionally hunted. The reproductive behaviors associated with both home-raised chickens and hunted fauna were probably more common than this sample represents. However, the evidence suggests that these activities did occur.

Most of the meat products would have likely been brought in via railroad (Reynolds 2006). Archaeological support for this is seen in the high ratio of professional butchery marks and the relative portion of elements present. Over 90% of cut marks represent professionally sawed bones. However, 14 of the bones show evidence of hack marks and 44 show evidence of spiral fracturing which indicates that secondary butchery was likely occurring on site. When this is examined by species it is interesting to note that 83% of the cow and only 17% of the pig show any evidence of butchery. This seems to indicate that pigs were being kept on site; however 77% of the pig remains identified

were hand and foot bones that often would not be butchered. Also of the 1152 faunal remains only 12 skull fragments were recovered: 7 cranium fragments, 4 mandible fragments, and 1 tooth. Of these only 2 mandible fragments were identified as pig, the rest were cow. This indicates that pig and cows were likely not kept on site in large number and that sides or quarters were regularly butchered off site and sent to Coalwood. Although meat choices may have been limited, it was abundant and represents the most archaeologically visible evidence of social reproduction.

Given the high amounts of faunal remains, it is not surprising that there is also a large percent of food related ceramic artifacts. Food related ceramic vessels such as ceramic plates, baking dishes, crocks, and platters represent 349 of the 766 identified vessels.

Food related ceramic vessels were used at Coalwood for three main activities: 1) storage and preparation (large bowls and crocks) 2) tableware and teaware (plates, saucers, and cups) and; 3) food service dishes (platters and pitchers). These vessels were found at all loci except 5 which had no food-related ceramics. Of the entire food related ceramic vessel assemblage table and teaware represents 71%, the majority at all loci except 5 (figure 15). Food preparation and storage is the second largest type present (22%) and aside from locus 5 all loci show evidence of home preparation and storage. Food service ceramics are also represented at all loci besides 5, however in much smaller number (total 5%).

	Prep/Storage		Service		Table/Teaware	
Loci	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	23	28	2	2	55	65
2	16	29	2	4	36	65
3	11	14	4	2	65	83
4	20	30	1	1	48	69
5	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	3	16	4	21	12	63
7	3	21	2	7	10	71
8	2	6	6	15	26	79
Total	78	22	23	5	252	71

Figure 15: Table showing counts and percentages of food related ceramic vessels by loci broken down by type.

Tableware and teaware is common across the loci; however surprising patterns are revealed when broken down by form (figure 16). On average, 63% of table and teaware relates to drinking tea, coffee, or other beverages (cups and saucers) while 29% relates to dining (plates and small bowls). Every locus has more teaware than tableware present except for locus 6 which has a 50/50 split. The fact that drinking vessels are more common than dining vessels reflects the fact that two units (cup and saucer) represents a signal functional form. When this is taken into consideration ratios are more similar. It is worth noting that locus 7 has only drinking related ceramics, and no dining ceramics.

	Unidentified		Tableware		Teaware		Total
Loci	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
1	2	4	18	32	35	64	55
2	6	17	8	22	22	61	36
3	7	11	19	29	39	60	65
4	4	9	19	39	25	52	48
6	0	0	6	50	6	50	12
7	0	0	0	0	10	100	10
8	1	4	4	15	21	81	26
Total	20	8	74	29	158	63	252

Figure 16: Table and teaware ceramic vessels by form for each locus

In total five different forms were identified as food preparation and storage and are represented at every locus except 5. Crockers were present at all loci that had evidence of food preparation and storage and preserve jars were found at three loci. Other forms were less frequent, but large mixing bowls were found at four loci, bakers at two, and a butter churn was found at only one (figure 17).

Locus	Ratio	Forms represented
1	3:5	baker, crock, jar
2	3:5	baker, crock, mixing bowl
3	4:5	crock, jar, mixing bowl, butter churn
4	3:5	crock, jar, mixing bowl
5	0:5	None
6	1:5	Crock
7	2:5	crock, mixing bowl
8	1:5	crock

Figure 17: Ratio and description of food preparation/storage forms found at each locus

Less visible aspects of unwaged reproductive labor are seen through the identification of numerous tools used for household production. Firstly historical archives indicate that chickens and pigs were likely raised in and around homes at logging camps in Michigan's Upper Peninsula (Debelak 1991; Lustick 1994; Dunham and Franzen 1997). This is indicated by the presence of chicken bones and gullet stones and by the presence of cranial fragments identified as pig. However archaeological and historical research has suggested that pig was often sent whole to camps in large barrels in the 19th century (Dunham and Franzen 1997, cf Cooper 1985, cf DeVoe 1867).

A total of 59 barrel hoops were found, however it is unknown what they once contained. Vegetables and fruits, as well as other bulk items, were often sent to camp stores in large barrels. Although we cannot confirm that pork was regularly sent

whole in barrels to Coalwood the identification of multiple secondary butchery marks indicate that meat was processed and prepared within homes. Oral histories by two men who lived and worked around Coalwood during the early 20th century indicate that barrels often also contained vinegar for canning and pickling (Debelack 1991; Lustick 1994).

In total 46 of the 3937 (or 16 of 766 vessels) were identified as canning related artifacts indicated by aqua circular bases, milk glass canning liners, and zinc canning jar lids. It is unknown whether the fruit and vegetables being canned at Coalwood were grown on site, bought from the company store, or picked wild. However the presence of canning jars suggests that time and energy was spent canning, either to offset low wages or to store food for off seasons. Furthermore the identification of a single butter churn at locus 1 suggests that butter was also being prepared, at least in small quantities, and indicates access to milk or cows.

Overall similarities are seen in the high amounts of food remains and food related artifacts that represent the importance of eating in social reproduction. Other evidence of reproductive behavior is seen in patterns of social display. In all ten different ironstone ceramic decorations were identified. Locus 6 has the lowest ratio (2:10) and locus 1 has the highest ratio (9:10) (figure 18). Also locus 1 was the only locus that had evidence of luster decoration. When the numbers of decorated and non-decorated ironstone ceramics are compared, it is evident that all of loci (except locus 3) have more non-decorated ceramics than decorated ones (figure 18). This data suggest that different areas had different amounts and varieties of ceramic decorations.

Locus	Ratio	Decorations Present
1	9:10	Transfer Print, Flow Transfer, Decal, Molded, Mono Painted, Poly Painted, Sponge, Luster, Gilt
2	5:10	Flow, Decal, Molded, Shell, Gilt
3	7:10	Transfer Print, Flow Transfer, Decal, Molded, Poly Painted, Gilt
4	6:10	Transfer Print, Flow Transfer, Molded, Mono Painted, Sponge, Gilt
5	0:10	None
6	2:10	Molded, Gilt
7	4:10	Decal, Molded, Mono Painted, Gilt
8	4:10	Transfer Print, Decal, Molded, Mono painted

Figure 18: Table showing the ratio and description of decorations present at each loci.

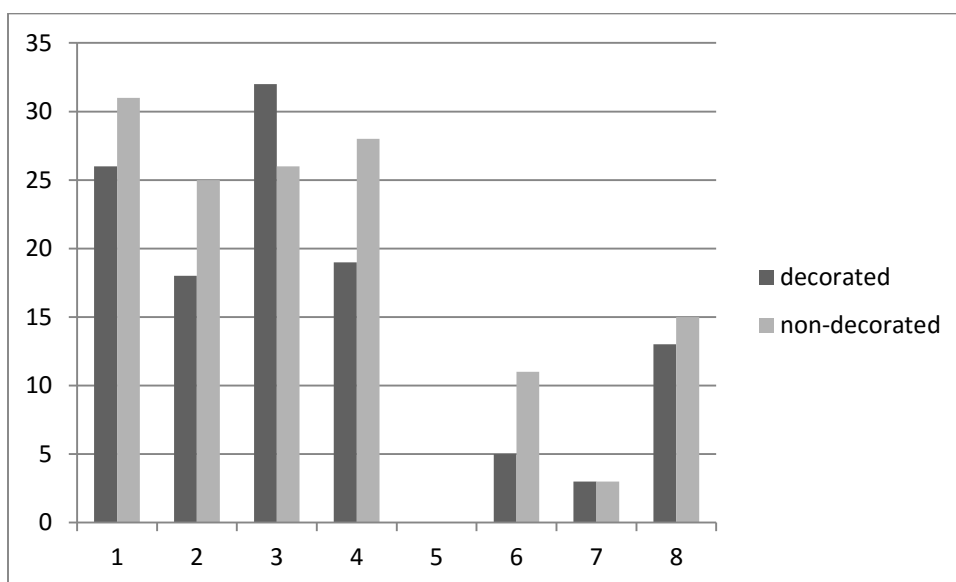


Figure 19: Graph comparing decorated and non-decorated ironstone ceramics at each locus.

An analysis of the distribution of the maker's marks and their dates indicates interesting patterns. In total 60 ceramic sherds had maker marks, representing 22 different marks and 20 different manufactures. Six of the eight loci had identifiable maker's marks present and huge commonalities exist in regards to the distribution of the different manufactures. The three most common manufactures present in the assemblage were Mellor and Company (n=7), Dresden Company (n=10) and Alfred Meakin

Company (n=13). Combined (n=30) these three marks make up half of all the identified ceramics with marks and represent the marks found most frequently across the site. Of the 22 identified marks seven were found only at locus 1, indicating that locus 1 not only had the highest variety of ceramic decorations, but moreover seems to have acquired goods from different manufactures. An analysis of the dates of these maker's marks indicate that many of the ceramics were bought around 1900, the year Coalwood began operations (figure 20). Seeing that few of the tightly dated ceramics pre-date Coalwood, it is unlikely that the workers and their families provisioned their houses with goods they brought with them. This suggests that their domestic lives were structured by what was available in the area and at the company store.

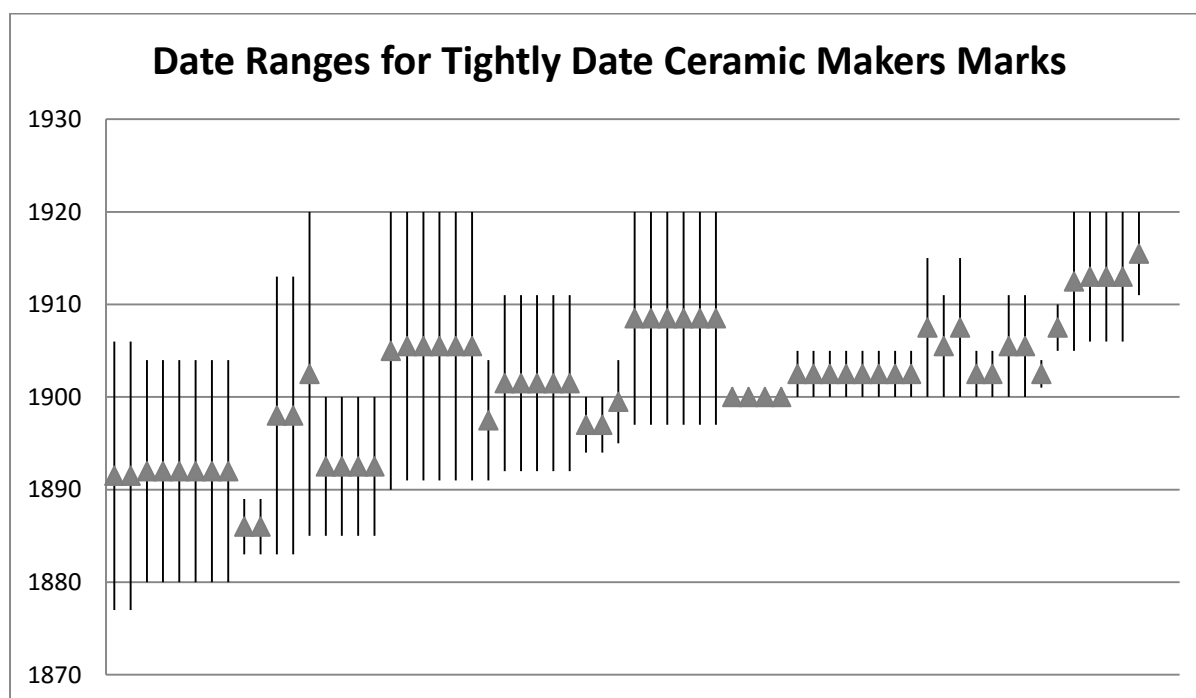


Figure 20: Graph showing the date ranges of tightly dated ceramic makers marks, the triangles representing mean dates.

A single unglazed plant saucer was recovered from locus 5. As mentioned above, one of CCIC's strategies of corporate paternalism was to promote camp aesthetics by

awarding the best kept yards with cash prizes (Reynolds and Dawson 2011:96).

Although this single artifact can't confirm that this was happening at Coalwood, it does indicate that on at least one occasion a decision was made to buy a flowerpot, which required time and energy outside of immediate daily needs. To understand if this was more pervasive at Coalwood will require additional research.

A number of Rockingham ceramic washboard fragments mending to a single washboard were also recovered. The washboard represents labor spent on regular clothing maintenance, the analysis of the clothing assemblage shows the presence of women, the conflation of work and home, and the time and energy spent on social display and consumption. In all 121 clothing related artifacts were recovered; 110 of these were shoe or shoe related artifacts. The majority of these were bits of leather and metal eyelets that only could be identified as shoe fragments. However, a number of these fragments were identified as work boots by the presence of metal caulks that would have been screwed into the bottom of the boots for better traction on the snow and ice.

Furthermore, others could be identified as lady shoes based on the form, size, and etched decorations of the shoe. A single ladies designer shoe found at locus 6 was marked with an engraved "London". To go along with this was a single aqua Whittmore's Bro and Co. shoe polish bottle from Boston, Massachusetts. Known for their 'Gilt Edge' brand polish they claimed it was the "only gloss-dressing for ladies shoes that contains oil to soften the leather and make it wear longer" (Rosenberg 2007). This ladies shoe polish represents one of the ways that wages were being spent outside the necessity of daily physical reproduction in order to enrich daily life.

The identification of children's toys indicates the presence of children, which can also be seen in the picture of Coalwood shown above (figure 1). The identification of porcelain doll fragments represents wages spent outside of immediate social reproduction and inductively represents the reproductive labor of birthing and child rearing. In total 5 children's toys were identified: 1 porcelain toy tea saucer and 1 porcelain doll face was found at locus 1 and 3 porcelain doll faces were found at locus 3.

Reproductive behavior at Coalwood is largely represented by food and food-related artifacts, reflecting the common experience of wage workers living and working at Coalwood. The analysis of ceramic decoration indicates that time and energy was spent differently in regards to social display at different areas, while the analysis of the maker marks points to consumer choice being limited to what was available in the local market. The clothing and toy assemblages show evidence of women and children, but moreover denote social reproduction outside of eating and the myriad of forms it could take. All of these activities conducted within the home constitute real lived experiences and are aspects of social reproduction.

Productive Behavior

Given the domestic nature of this assemblage and the context it derived from, it is not surprising that much of it represents reproductive behavior. However, given the conflation of work and home space, it is also unsurprising that material relating to productive behavior was identified as well. Industrial tools, medicinal bottles, alcohol bottles, and time keeping and security devices all relate to productive behavior.

The industrial tools represented are files (n=8), whet stones (n=2), and cross cut saws (n=6). The identification of these tools within the domestic area is telling of the social relations of production at Coalwood and indicates that time was spent at home doing unwaged labor sharpening and preparing the tools needed to cut cordwood. Also, as noted above, shoes with ice caulks were found at many of the loci and suspender clasps were found at three loci, a clear indication of work clothing used by industrial labor. One of the suspender clasps was the famous “President” brand which began sales in 1881 and was marketed for its versatile comfort.

An unquestionable aspect of life and labor at extractive camps is the consistency of repetitive and strenuous work. Friedrich Engels included heighten alcohol consumption as an indicator of increasing worker exploitation (Engels 1845, cited in Franzen 1995: 328). In what follows I will focus on alcohol bottles, tobacco products, and medicine bottles marketed for pain and discomfort as worker strategies to mitigate the ills of industrial labor at Coalwood, while reproducing themselves for continued labor.

The ‘binge’ pattern of drinking on the frontier is a common stereotype often applied to the lumberjacks of Michigan’s Upper Peninsula during the late 19th and early 20th century. It is well known that alcohol was prohibited at corporate logging camps in the Upper Peninsula (Franzen 1995; Karamanski 1989; Wells 1978) and it is often assumed that many lumber workers would spend their wages and free time at saloons in nearby towns. However, the identification of beer, wine, and liquor bottles at Coalwood, and other logging sites in the Upper Peninsula, stands in opposition to many historical archives (Franzen 1995; Dunham and Franzen 1997; Karamanski 1989; Wells 1978).

Oral histories (Lustick 1994; Debelak 1991) state workers would go to nearby towns to drink at the saloons and would often bring booze back to sell at camp. They state that there was a zero tolerance policy against drinking while working and imply that alcohol was not sold at the camp store, however off-hour drinking seems to have been tolerated.

Beer, wine, and liquor bottles were all identified based on form and embossed bottles rather than bottle color, making this analysis rather conservative. Also included in the alcohol analysis are stoneware jugs that largely would have been used as reusable liquor containers that could be filled from casks, kegs, or barrels. Of the 766 identified vessels, 79 were alcohol related. Liquor bottles were the most represented alcohol form (47%), followed by jugs (22%), then wine (19%), and lastly beer (12%) (figure 21). Every locus had alcohol, although not all types were present at all loci. Liquor and wine were the most frequent, showing up at 7 of the 8 loci, while beer and jugs were present at 5 of the 8 loci. Locus 1 and 6 were the only areas to show evidence of all alcohol forms, while locus 5 only had wine. Locus 2, 3, 4, and 7 had three of the four forms present. This analysis shows that the consumption of alcohol, though varied in types and amount consumed was a universal mechanism employed in the reproduction of daily life. This is interesting given the evidence that suggests alcohol would have been banned at Coalwood and the fact that the Finns were among the most active within the Temperance Movement in Michigan's Upper Peninsula (Holmio 2001; Kaunonen 2010). The high frequency of liquor, pint and quart bottles, and jugs, half-gallon and gallon, may indicate that residents were indeed going off-site, buying liquor, and bringing it back to Coalwood to consume with co-workers or sell for some extra cash.

	Total Vessels	Total Alcohol		Wine		Beer		Liquor		Jugs	
Locus	N	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	160	20	13	1	5%	2	10%	8	40%	9	45%
2	104	10	10	0	0%	2	20%	7	70%	1	10%
3	198	13	7	3	23%	2	15%	8	62%	0	0%
4	138	15	11	2	13%	0	0%	8	53%	5	33%
5	34	1	3	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
6	35	4	12	1	25%	1	25%	1	25%	1	25%
7	27	4	15	1	25%	0	0%	2	50%	1	25%
8	70	11	16	6	55%	2	18%	3	27%	0	0%
Total	766	78	10	15	19%	9	12%	37	47%	17	22%

Figure 21: Table showing the counts and percentages of alcohol related vessels at each locus divided by type. Percentages are based on percent of total locus alcohol vessels.

12% of the identified vessels were medicinal; representing the majority of non-food related vessels identified in the glass assemblage, and are represented at every locus (figure 22). Most of the medicine bottles that could be identified (figure 23) were for joint and pain relief, strong opiates and high alcohol contents. Swanson's Rheumatic Companies "Five Drops", advertised as a blood purifier to help ailments of the kidneys (Fike 1987:162), was identified at two loci. Hinkley's Bone Liniment was also identified. Hinkley's, a medicinal company who began in Saginaw during the heyday of lower Michigan logging, was well known for its pain relieving capacity and high alcohol content. Until the 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act was passed it was rumored to contain 90% alcohol by volume (Franzen 1995:322; Fike 1987:134). F. Brown's Essence of Jamaican Ginger is also well known for its high alcohol content that ranged between 75-90% and was marketed for general 'comfort' from colds, night chills, malaria, and menstruation. (Fike 1987:188; Munsey 2005). Davis' Vegetable Pain Killer was found at the highest frequencies and in three different loci. It was advertised as a general pain reliever, and the high alcohol and opiate content made it popular among woodworkers (Fike 1987:130; Franzen 1995:323). Many of the loci only had one of these medicines

represented; however it is worth noting that locus 3 had three and loci 1, 5, and 6 had none. It is also interesting to note that none of the medicine bottles were identified as laxatives. Seeing that they are often found in high frequency at lumber camps due to the high caloric intake and overall inadequate diet of lumbermen during the early 20th century this breaks from the norm (Franzen 1995; Dunham and Franzen 1997). Even though the identified medicine bottles occur in low frequency, the fact that most of them are for pain relief reflects a common experience for Coalwood's occupants, given the nature of this work.

	Medicine Bottles	
	N	%
1	17	11
2	9	9
3	32	16
4	16	12
5	6	18
6	1	3
7	3	11
8	9	13
Total	93	12

Figure 22: Count of medicine vessels and their percentage of total vessels

Locus	Five Drops	Hinkley's	Davis's	Jamaican Ginger
2	1			
3		2	1	1
4	1			
7			1	
8			1	

Figure 23: table showing the distribution of identified medicinal bottles.

The only medicinal bottles we could identify that don't seem to be for pain relief are the Suomen Verenpuhdistus bottles, which translates as Finnish blood purification, and were found at five of the eight loci (figure 24). Interestingly, none were found at

locus 1. Blood purifiers, such as the Suomen bottle, were used in tandem with saunas (Frimodig 1983) and the fact that the sauna was located directly behind locus 3 makes this associated clear. Coalwood had at least one sauna that would have been used regularly as a way to cleanse both body and spirit, escaping the drudgeries of daily life (Drake and Drake 2007). Given the unsanitary conditions of camp life, the Finns used their ethnic knowledge, their surrounding resources, and their time and money to make their life more bearable and hygienic. Drake, Franzen, and Drake (2006) remind us that saunas are about more than just hygiene and should be seen as politicalized artifacts that speak to labor tensions surrounding camp conditions.

Locus	# of Suomen Bottles
1	0
2	1
3	6
4	3
5	0
6	0
7	1
8	1

Figure 24: Number of Suomen Verenpuhdistus bottles found at each loci.

Smoking related artifacts make up only a small portion of the total assemblage, however numerous round snuff tins and oval tobacco containers probably went unidentified due to preservation issues. In all eight oval tobacco tins and one white clay pipe bowl were recovered. Although small in number, smoking-related artifacts were recovered from five of the eight loci, suggesting that tobacco use was common for the occupants at Coalwood (figure 25). The small portion of smoking pipes is surprising given the historical significance often given to pipe smoking during the late 19th and early 20th century, especially in Michigan's Upper Peninsula (Karamanski 1989; Franzen

1995). Dunham and Franzen (1997, p. 145) suggest this is likely a result of changing patterns in tobacco use as hand rolled cigars and mass produced snuff and chewing tobacco become more popular and available; at least one cigar roller lived and worked in Alger County in 1910 (United States Census Bureau 1910a).

	Tobacco Container	Smoking Pipe
1	1	0
3	0	1
6	3	0
7	2	0
8	2	0
Total	8	1

Figure 25: Tobacco related artifacts separated by unit.

The high presence of alcohol and medicine related artifacts and the visibility of tobacco use makes sense given the harsh conditions of physical labor involved in cutting cordwood, the grueling repetition of daily routine, and the social and environmental context of Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Although drinking may have been banned at Coalwood, large amounts of alcohol related material was recovered and identified. It was the lived experiences of these workers that both produced the conditions for such consumption and provided the money needed to buy these goods, a potent example of social reproduction at play.

The importance of time management and discipline are also visible in the assemblage through the identification of alarm clock parts and pieces of a pocket watch. Two parts from two separate alarm clocks were recovered from locus 5 and locus 6. One was identified as a Waterbury Clock Company nickel alarm clock casing that was sold in many varieties in the 1905 Sears Roebuck catalogue (Sears, Roebuck, & Co. 2012:271).

Advertised as a “Guaranteed Accurate Time Keeper” these alarm clocks testify to the discipline of industrial labor and the importance of time and routine in the daily social reproduction of labor at Coalwood.

Along this same line of time discipline is the identification of a golden pocket watch. However unlike the alarm clocks the pocket watch was more portable and signifies the normalization of time outside of the home. Furthermore its lustrous golden color heightens its appearance and presents it as an item of display, one that regulates both time and denotes the social position of said time-keeper. Found in the same loci as the gold pocket watch was the only evidence of security found at Coalwood. A single Yale and Towne brass padlock was identified and represents time and money spent on protecting and securing goods and/or information. Both the padlock and the golden pocket watch were found at loci 1.

The industrial tools indicate the presence of wage labor, medicine, alcohol, and tobacco products are seen as the material relations involved in using these tools, outcomes of strenuous, physical labor, while the alarm clock and padlock reflect the time and work discipline needed to mobilize effective labor power. These material signatures of productive behavior found within domestic areas represent unwaged labor being conducted in regards to industrial production and are indicative of worker’s experience and the conflation of work and home.

Summary: Everyday Life at Coalwood

Everyday life at Coalwood was tough. The men spent their days in the bitter cold, cutting cordwood, and earning a wage, while the women turned these wages into the

things needed for daily survival. When Frank Debelak (1991), who lived in the Coalwood district as a kid during the early 20th century, was asked what workers did in their spare time he responded “Well women were busy, busy women. There were... never ran out of work, you know?... and the men, you know, wintertime, you go right to bed. Nine o’clock, you know, you were in bed, get up at 4:00 in the morning” (Debelak 1991:55). His story, and many others, reminds us of the harsh conditions of living and working in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula during the early 20th century.

Overall my analysis has confirmed this narrative. However, the assemblage from locus 1 represents a departure from this norm. Given these discrepancies, coupled with the central location of locus 1 on the site, it is believed that locus 1 was occupied by the overseer and his family. The higher amounts and uniqueness of ceramic decorations, the higher ratio of ceramic forms, the golden pocket watch, the padlock, children toys, the lack of pain relieving medicines, lower amounts of faunal remains, and the absence of the Suomen Verenpuhdistus bottle all separate it from the other loci. By abstracting out productive and reproductive behavior it has been shown that the overseer and his family still engaged in these activities, however, given the social relations of production, they did so in different ways.

Food, unsurprisingly, was the most archaeologically visible aspect of social reproduction identified at Coalwood. The high amount of faunal and food-related artifacts reflects the high caloric needs of this type of labor. Moreover, it is indicative of the heightened time and energy placed on domestic labor in regards to obtaining, preparing, serving, and cleaning up food and food-related goods in the context of the extractive industry. This relationship between the experience of waged and unwaged labor

emphasizes the dialects between work and home. The identification of clothing, a shoe polish bottle, and a washboard reflect the time spent buying, maintaining, and cleaning clothing. The children's toys both indicate the presence of children and indirectly allude to child rearing, while the numerous consumer goods represent the time and energy involved in obtaining the goods needed for daily social reproduction. The Federal Census left these domestic laborer's occupation blank; however, it is clear that they were involved in many aspects of production and reproduction. The archaeological analysis not only shows that women were present at Coalwood, but moreover, given the internal relations between domestic labor and the capitalist system, they were integral to profit accumulation; blurring the lines between waged and unwaged labor.

Evidence of productive behavior found within these domestic areas speaks to the conflation of work and home, to worker's experience, and represent unwaged labor being conducted in regards to industrial production. Given the domestic nature of this assemblage the fact that productive behavior is so highly represented appears surprising. Seeing that most historical archaeological analysis split up the artifacts that people used by material and/or function and examine them in isolation, information is obtain only in regards to what people were doing. Within these 'commonsense' analyses things like alcohol and pocket watches would be seen as simple activities conducted within the home given the domestic context of the assemblage. My analysis, on the other hand attempts to understand how daily life was conducted by abstracting material culture related to productive and reproductive behavior and linking this material culture to the social relations concealed within it. Therefore alcohol and medicine bottles can be seen as aspects of productive labor, given the internal relations between the function of the item

and the daily life of its user. However given my dialectical method and theory of internal relations that sees productive and reproductive behavior as irreducibly connected, the story does not end there.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The Dialects of Daily Life

*“Social reproduction is for capital a large and convenient sphere
in which real cost are externalized on to households”*

-David Harvey (2014:189-190)

The overarching goal of my research was aimed at understanding daily life at Coalwood through the lens of social reproduction. Commonsense notions often see work and home as separate spheres, with production being conducted at work and reproduction at home. At Coalwood, the conflation of work and home brings this contradiction to the forefront and my analysis highlighted both productive and reproductive behavior within the home. By extracting from various levels of generalization one can see how integral the work conducted within the home is to the functioning of the capitalist system.

The decision to hire only family men in 1910 was a response to resource depletion and can be seen as a corporate reaction to external forces. The relations between owner and wage worker changed little with this decision; however, it radically reorganized daily domestic life, moving the cost of social reproduction from hired cooks and housekeepers to the wives of the wage workers, illustrating the interconnections between profit and home. A future goal of this project will be a more in-depth analysis based on excavated units to see the real material effects of this transition. Regardless, as it stands, my analysis reveals how connected the social relations of domestic life are to the capitalist system.

Historical archaeologists often view the separation between work and home as a natural barrier, rather than a social construction, missing or reducing the radical importance of domestic labor. By linking productive and reproductive behavior through a theory of internal relations, I have attempted to get at the reality of daily life by moving beyond commonsense dichotomies. When domestic labor is left out, change is often reduced to an external factor like environment or technology. When domestic labor is the only focus, it is often depicted as static, responding to the needs of wage labor and capital. However, as my analysis has shown, these forces cannot be reduced to simple, separate entities. By abstracting material culture relating to productive and reproductive behavior I have illuminated the productive and reproductive potential of domestic units, and by situating them back into the whole, I have attempted to show the central importance domestic labor.

By the mid-1930s the camp system of labor in Michigan's logging industry ceased. Many argue this was due to the depletion of hardwoods (environment) and the introduction of gasoline powered trucks (technology) that resulted in the exploitation of a new resource, pulp wood (Karamanski 1989). However the mid-1930s marks the height of labor unrest in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. The concerns were working and living conditions, not wages (Bernhardt 1979; Franzen 1995; Kaunonen 2010). The high amounts of fresh beef and ceramic dishes, as well as the Suomen Verenpuhdistus bottles, highlight the central importance of living conditions.

The archaeological analysis of these assemblages speaks to the common experience faced by those who lived and worked at Coalwood. High amounts of food and food-related artifacts, pain-relieving medicine, alcohol, the Suomen Verenpuhdistus

bottles, and an overall lack of personal goods speaks to physical and mental demands of daily life at Coalwood. The high amounts of utilitarian ceramics such as crocks and mixing bowls shows the high amount of labor spent on cooking, the presence of canning and butter making artifacts speaks volumes to the labor time spent on home production, and the identification of the ceramic washboard reflects the labor spent on cleaning and maintaining clothing. These artifacts represent unwaged labor being conducted in domestic areas for the social and physical reproduction of labor power. Overarching patterns of poor working and living conditions defined everyday life at Coalwood. As huge profits were being made in Cleveland Ohio, the workers at Coalwood ate their food and took their medicine in order to work another day. Looking through the lens of social reproduction and the labor needed for it provides insights into how the processes of capital accumulation and the relations it produced cumulated in everyday life.

Comparing the assemblage from locus 1, the overseer's house, to the other loci suggests that occupational difference had real impacts on daily life. At high levels of generality these non-manual workers would have been part of the same economic class as the cordwood cutters. Both the cordwood cutters and the overseer would have been part of the industrial working class; neither owns the means of production. However, the overseer stood in a position between capital and labor that necessitated the perceived proper management and appropriation of labor power (McGuire 2008:102), who often provided the conditions needed for profit accumulation (Wolff 2012:23). These non-manual workers frequently received greater economic and symbolic capital that would have produced real material differences creating real class differences. Given the non-manual nature of the overseer's job the lack of pain relieving medicine and lower

amounts of food makes sense. The high amounts of display goods indicates that wages were being spent differently and used to promote class differences through material culture. What makes this so interesting is the fact that although fancy display items are evident, so is evidence of canning and possible hunting. This suggests that while more money and labor was being spent on solidifying their class position, household labor still had to be applied in ways to balance the household economy. While class position produced differences between the goods that were bought and used, the nature of extractive industry cut across this, reminding us of the similarity of experiences faced by Coalwood's residents regardless of class position. Furthermore, the absence of the Suomen Verenpuhdistus bottles at locus 1 is also revealing. These bottles not only reflect the material signatures of immigration, but more over represent the poor hygienic conditions of camp life. The absence of these bottles at locus 1 speak to the dialects between class and ethnicity and the reality that Finns were largely excluded from these 'middle-level' occupations and the amenities they offered.

As a critique of camp conditions these bottles represent one of the many negotiations that went on between labor and capital. Furthermore they depict one of the many ways that labor power was reproduced. At Coalwood wages made cutting cordwood would be used to purchase needed items that would be turned into usable products through the unwaged labor of domestic workers. Through this process of social reproduction domestic labor both reproduced the labor power needed for capital accumulation and thereby the system in which it operates.

Abstracting the material culture into productive and reproductive behavior, while contextually keeping both within the whole, moves beyond the appearance and function

of artifacts by reflecting the social relations embedded within the artifact. The high amounts of alcohol bottles recovered underlie the harsh working and living conditions and as Gusfield (1991) stated, can “serve as a symbolic marker for the transition between ‘work’ and ‘not work’” (c.f. Franzen 1995:329). This moves beyond common sense stereotypes of Upper Peninsula loggers as deviant, masculine alcoholics by linking this behavior to the social relations of work. Therefore, as Engels (1845) suggest, we can see alcohol as evidence of heighten exploitation.

Even though Coalwood is a heavily looted site; it can contribute volumes to the history of the Upper Peninsula, to CCIC, and to Finnish immigration. But more importantly the social history of Coalwood’s inhabitants is part of a larger story between the conflict of capital and labor, one that did not culminate in riots or massacre, but rather in the radical routines of the everyday. The material assemblage recovered from Coalwood speaks to the drudgeries of daily life and the strides taken to annul it. By focusing attention on the dialects between work and home, Coalwood has a story to tell: the “Men of Good Timber” worked day in and day out, in the fields and in the home, blurring the lines between industrial and domestic labor. These spheres do not exist separately, but rather as internally related, serving the needs of one another and the system in which they both operate. The household as a set of social relations is ultimately necessary for capital accumulation. Thus, the activities conducted within the home at Coalwood cannot be separated from those conducted in the woods. The lens of the dialect allows us to see that the same forces that brought in wage workers also brought in unwaged workers and the productive activities both were engaged in resulted in the reproduction of their daily social lives and the broader system with which they were

situated. By separating them along the lines that we as a society created, we reinforce and reproduce their form, writing history based on the external appearance of things, rather than their internal realities. By focusing on social reproduction within a theory of internal relations, my analysis focuses on the abstraction of productive and reproductive behavior as a way to reorganize the way we think about the past, because radical beginnings start with radical reorganizations: the home and the labor conducted within it is crucial to this.

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