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The Role of Fraternal Organisation in Migration and Informal Labour Organisations in Mining Communities: Cornwall, the Keweenaw, and California Compared

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**The role of fraternal and benevolent organisation in migration
and informal labour organisation in mining communities:
Cornwall, the Keweenaw and California Compared**

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Strikes, like all conflicts, result from a breakdown of dialogue. Where parties with differing agendas can maintain a conversation, mutual understanding and compromise can usually be achieved – but when they draw apart, and the conduits for information flows are choked or broken, then trial by combat increasingly seems to be the only way of settling disputes. Only jaw-jaw can prevent war-war. This papers looks at some of the ways in which dialogue was maintained between workers, management and investors during the early days of mining communities in Michigan and other Western mining communities, but gradually broke down during the decades around the turn of the twentieth century, contributing to the causes of industrial conflict. It draws on research largely conducted by sociologists about the effects of what has been described as the ‘Golden Age of Fraternity’.¹ Running roughly contemporaneously with the Progressive Era in American politics, this was a period that saw an explosion in the number and membership of fraternal Orders and benevolent societies, from just three or four broadly-based organisations, such as the Freemasons and Oddfellows, at the mid-century, to many hundreds of increasingly narrowly focused groups by 1900. It has been estimated that before the outbreak of the First World War, their combined membership may have been as many as 13 million and at least one third of all adult males over age nineteen were members.² Now largely replaced by other forms of social interaction – as well as undermined by the growth of the welfare state, that has usurped many of their mutual insurance functions - these groups have little visibility on modern historians’ radar. Sociologists, however, continue to argue about their effects on the ‘Great American Melting Pot’. Some, such as Putnam, see them as an important positive force in generating the ‘social capital’ - the glue that held an increasingly multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society together – while others, such as Kaufman, emphasise their divisive capacity in promoting sectarianism, ethnocentrism, corruption etc.³ This paper will propose that both interpretations can be correct, depending on place and period.

¹ A term first coined in W.S.Harwood, ‘Secret Societies in America’ *North American Review* Vol.164 (May 1897) pp. 620-623. This and other early articles on fraternal societies in America were recently reprinted in William D. Moore and Mark A. Tabbert (eds), *Secret Societies in America: Foundational Studies of Fraternalism* (New Orleans, 2011)

² See David T. Beito, *From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State: Fraternal Societies and Social Services 1890 – 1967* (Chapel Hill, 2000), p.14.

³ See Robert D.Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York, 2000) Chapter 23 and Jason Kaufman, *For the Common Good? American Civic Life and the Golden Age of Fraternity* (Oxford, 2002), p.197.

By looking in detail at the membership of lodges, it will suggest that during the early stages of mining community development the effects of associationalism were largely positive, while in a later stage of 'big industry' and mass immigration its influence became increasingly negative. It starts with a review of the conditions that produced general industrial peace in the Cornish tin mining industry during the late nineteenth century and then goes on to consider the degree to which they may have been replicated in many American mining districts during the early decades of their development. It will look particularly at the experience of the Keweenaw and the Comstock down to the 1880s. Finally it will consider some of the changes that undermined the opportunities for dialogue and why and how they broke down. The paper will focus on one particular, but usually little discussed, vehicle for dialogue, namely the role of Freemasonry and major benevolent societies, such the Independent Order of Oddfellows. It will not so much suggest firm conclusions as to suggest a program for further research.

The starting point for this discussion is not in the United States, but in Cornwall, UK. It will be argued that experience in Cornish mines in the early to mid-nineteenth century provides lessons for an understanding of the evolution of industrial relations in the Western American mining districts at a slightly later date and why initially harmonious relations might gradually breakdown. In a 2007 paper it was argued that:

1. By comparison with coal miners and coal mining districts, British metal mines maintained relatively peaceful and harmonious industrial relations through until the very end of the nineteenth century. While coal mining had become heavily unionised, metal miners, across the UK, had developed no broad and continuing union organisations. Occasional strikes took place in metal mines, but they were usually very locally confined and short-lived and motivated by 'reactive/defensive' concerns - defending established work practices/income levels - rather than 'pro-active/offensive' attempts to secure better conditions.⁴
2. These patterns of behavior appear to have been sustained when metal miners migrated to overseas districts, even where strong local unionisation was taking place. Rowe noticed, for example, that, 'In California as in the Old Country, the (Cornish) Cousin Jack, as a rule, was not a good union man' and that they had brought with them, 'to the mining camps of the Rocky Mountains and Pacific Coast the highly independent individualism which had hampered the effective development of unionism in Cornwall.' A small number of miners argued for greater working class solidarity, but for most, 'Their conception of co-operative action ... did not go much further than the fraternal organisation of mutual benefit and aid societies'. Todd also noticed that the Cornish were not 'union minded', suggesting that they separated themselves from, rather than combine with, other mining labour in order to maximise the returns for their superior skill and experience. Randall, writing about a British mining venture in Mexico in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, emphasised that the company's difficulties with its British labour derived more from their independence

⁴ See, for example, Bernard Deacon, 'Heroic Individualists? The Cornish Miners and the Five Week Month 1872-74' *Cornish Studies* (1986):39-52

and ill-discipline than any form of collective bargaining or well-organised strikes. Metal miners' lack of interest in collective bargaining also appears to have been matched by a reluctance to engage in radical political/revolutionary activity.

Various explanations were suggested for this behaviour:

1. The nature and attractions of the traditional employment contract. British metal miners – not just the Cornish – made use of a 'contract' system that had evolved of centuries and gave them a position more like independent contractors than a wage labour force. It reduced the impact of direct managerial control; created the chance, if not the expectation, of near life-changing bonuses; divided them one from another through the regular 'settings' process; and created opportunities for 'career progression' as they graduated from successful tributer to lower management positions. While mines were small and shallow and used simple hand technology, the system was also favoured by the mine owners who saw it as a means of spreading the considerable risks of metal mining.⁵
2. The opportunities for migration and emigration – displacement as an alternative to conflict.⁶ When domestic mines became deeper and required more fixed investment, and the owners started to demand more regular and directed labour, the contract miners could look for alternative employment, either locally or in 'early stage mining' overseas. Generally they chose migration and emigration over amalgamation, even where it meant facing the privations of the most primitive frontier districts. It might be compared to the 'frontier effect' seen more widely in American history, with the opportunities for flight undermining the forces of conflict.
3. The influence of Wesleyan Protestantism in binding groups together and creating a common emphasis on fellowship, mutual support and improvement. Many churches brought miners and managers together, creating opportunities for dialogue and a basis for mutual understanding. Some groups did become more radical than others – the Primitive Methodists in the UK being a nursery of much early union organisation but generally they promoted conservative attitudes and, through austerity and self-discipline, the means of economic and social improvement.⁷
4. The significance of ethnic homogeneity. Where people worked together, prayed together and played together they constantly reinforced other aspects of a common cultural heritage that kept them together. The Cornish were particularly effective at sustaining these cultural bonds and while this could have provided a basis for conflict unionism with other competing groups, where those separate interests had not yet emerged, it helped to sustain stability and mutual respect.

⁵ See John Rule, 'The tribute system and the weakness of trade unionism in the Cornish mines' *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labor History* 21 (1971):24-29.

⁶ See Gill Burke, 'The Cornish diaspora of the nineteenth century', in Sheila Marks and Peter Richardson (eds), *International Labor Migration in Historical Perspectives* (London, 1984):57-75.

⁷ For a discussion of these issues in Cornish migration within Britain, see Colin C. Short, 'Migration, Methodism and Mining in the North' *Journal of the Trevithick Society* No.18 (1991): 1-28.

5. The role of clubs, fraternal and benevolent societies, and other similar institutions that laid the foundations of effective civil society in mining communities. It was argued that they provided both a physical and social space for regular communication between a wide social spectrum, both within and beyond the mining sector, and that in so doing, they helped to prevent the emergence of irreconcilable differences. In particular, it was suggested that by bringing together miners and mine managers they provided what were effectively ‘works councils’ where issues could be signalled, discussed and resolved without conflict.

To a very large degree, many of these characteristics of metal mining and mining communities in Britain were replicated across the world’s mining frontiers during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Relatively small-scale mining operations where masters and men were known to each other, flexible working arrangements, ever wider opportunities for alternative employment, either at home or elsewhere, cultural homogeneity, and generally community-wide facilities for mutual support and recreation, created the background conditions for general industrial quiet. Of course, the harmony often broke down, mining communities experienced deep rifts, strikes and lock-outs took place – but those rifts were generally spontaneous and not part of a widening and regularising rift between capital and labour, managers and men.

All of this began to change during the decades around the turn of the new century – in Britain as well as the United States. Lankton has shown, for example, how the attack on the traditional miner’s contract system produced new and bitter conflict on the Keweenaw: Pike’s Peak and the Klondike provided the last hurrah of the long succession of rushes that always provided new hope to the discontented; waves of immigration from culturally different parts of southern and eastern Europe created new strains within established communities; and the changing structure of fraternal and benevolent societies began to reduce, rather than to enlarge, the opportunities for the creation of peaceful civil society. There is no space here to look at all of these issues, so attention will be focused on just one – the latter issue of the changing role of social Orders. This is not because it is claimed that they played a particularly important role – they may have done so, but that is not the current issue – but because their influence has previously received very little consideration. They are introduced here as much to provoke thought and future consideration as to suggest positive conclusions. However, a conclusion will be suggested. It is that these institutions played a similar, if not more influential role, in promoting industrial relations harmony in the early stage development of mining communities in America than they previously had done in Britain (from where most were originally derived). However, as those communities evolved and became more diversified and complex, the multiplication of these institutions and their increasing specialisation began to be divisive rather than conciliatory, increasing rather than reducing divisions, and adding to emerging industrial relations problems.

For this part of the discussion, attention will be given firstly to the role of fraternities in facilitating dialogue between management and labour in Britain. Secondly, how that facility also developed in early western mining communities in the United States. Thirdly, how the

structure of fraternal and benevolent association changed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and fourthly, how it began to play a divisive rather than cohesive role in industrial and community relations. The initial focus will be on the role of Freemasonry and masonic lodges but it will widen to include some of the other major benevolent societies.

Cornwall saw numerous fraternities and benevolent societies take hold among mining communities during the nineteenth century. The most important in terms of membership were, in that order, the Ancient Order of Foresters, the Independent Order of Oddfellows, the Independent Order of Rechabites and the Ancient and Accepted Order of Freemasons. Together with many smaller Orders they had a total membership in 1871 of nearly 12,000 members, or around 33 in every thousand of the Cornish population at that time.⁸ The majority of the members were drawn from the better off members of the working and the middle classes and were commonly the heads of families, so their representation of the Orders among these groups might have been as high as one in ten or better. Unfortunately there are few surviving records for most of these Orders so it has been difficult to examine their overall occupational structure. However, there is very complete data available for the Freemasons and a detailed study has been conducted of the membership of 13 lodges in the main mining area of West Cornwall. Given the relative 'elite' nature of Freemasonry, findings for this group may not be entirely accurate for the Orders as a whole, but they should be indicative.

The membership of masonic lodges reflects almost every aspect of the economic life of the communities in which they were based, other than the lowest unskilled strata of male employment and those activities primarily undertaken by women, who were not permitted to join. Professional and retail trades were particularly common and there were large numbers of skilled artizans, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinet makers and stone masons. Those working in the mining industry were particularly strongly represented, from mine managers, agents and engineers to miners and tin dressers. While providing entertainment, spiritual and, occasionally, financial support for their members, they also provided an excellent vehicle for business networking – not simply through the lodge meetings themselves, but also the common meals that followed them and numerous outings, picnics, ladies festivals etc.⁹

Evidence of the significance of business networking in attracting men to Masonry can be found in the applications for membership made by ordinary miners. Within Cornwall, the lodges contained very large numbers of mine captains and under-managers. Social access to them would no doubt have improved employment and career progression opportunities. Similarly, it is notable that a very large number of the working miners that became members of lodges in the mining districts had either had previous international experience (they often gave their occupation as 'gold miner' – there is no gold in Cornwall) or were leaving very shortly to go to overseas mining districts. They clearly thought that a masonic identity would help them to travel and particularly to facilitate their job-finding prospects on arrival. In this

⁸ Roger Burt, 'Membership of West Cornwall Masonic Lodges During the Victorian Period' *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* Vol. 122, 2009:39-74.

⁹ Roger Burt, 'Freemasonry and Business Networking During the Victorian Period' *The Economic History Review* LVI No.4 (November 2003):657-688.

context, their Master Masons certificate, issued after three degrees of initiation, became an indispensable ‘passport’ for travel and all were extremely anxious to receive it before they set off.

Once they were on the road, migrating miners would find masonic lodges in every established mining community and springing up in new camps within a very short time of first settlement. They usually pioneered fraternal development in the new communities but were generally followed quickly, particularly from the 1870s, by other organisations. Like the masons, most of the other Orders usually had a strong international and national dimension and further assisted the process of movement and end point integration. Table 1 shows the evolution of fraternal/benevolent societies on the Keweenaw which roughly approximates to the chronology of development in similar districts like Virginia City, Nevada.

Table 1¹⁰

**Fraternal Orders Operating in the Keweenaw
Copper District of Michigan, U.S.A.
in the late nineteenth century¹¹**

Ancient Order of Forester	from 1876 (Court Rising Sun)
Ancient Order of Foresters of America	from 1876
Ancient Order of Hibernians	from 1879
Ancient Order of United Workmen	
Calumet Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks	from 1898
Calumet Fraternal Order of Eagles	from 1903
Free and Accepted Masons	from 1860 Houghton Lodge, No.218 1861 Quincy Lodge, No.135 1869 Calumet Lodge, No.271
German Aid Society	from 1876
German Benevolent Association	from 1860
Grand Army of the Republic	
Independent Order of Oddfellows	from 1867 (Mystic Lodge)
Independent Order of Rechabites	
Italian Aid Society	from 1874
Knights of Maccabees	
Knights of Pythias	from 1864
Modern Woodmen of America	
Order of Hermann's Sons	from 1865
Robert Emmet Young Men's Benevolent Society	
St. Joseph Society	from 1877
St. Patrick's Society	from 1871
St. Stanislaus Kostka	from 1874
Soldiers' and Sailors' Association	from 1879

¹⁰ from *History of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan* (Chicago, 1883) and *Biographical Record* (Chicago, 1903)

¹¹ Lodges of nearly all of these Orders, and some of their sub-Orders, occupied space in the Union Building in Calumet between 1895 and the First World War. See Karla M. Kaulfuss, ‘An Historic Structure Report on the Union Building, Calumet, Michigan’ MSc Thesis, Historic Preservation Program, School of Art, Institute of Chicago, May 1999)

Sons of St. George

While travelling, masons could call on the support of brethren in lodges through whose jurisdiction they passed en route. They might receive small cash hand-outs to support their travel – buy food, short-term accommodation, a ticket to the next town – and possibly be cared for if they became ill, or buried if they died. On arrival they could attend the local lodge and look for advice on where to find work. They could expect assistance (part of the masonic obligation) from all who they encountered but might particularly seek out fellow Cornishmen already established in the area. Men like Samuel B. Harris and Thomas Wills, both born and raised as miners in Cornwall and immigrating to Michigan in the early 1850s. They eventually had charge of a range of major mines across the Keweenaw, including Calumet and Hecla, and took a leading role in the foundation of Calumet Lodge.¹² If they wanted to move away from mining, they could look to the many other masonic managers and employers in the area – such as Stephen Paull and H.B. Rogers - who, as in Cornwall, had links into every aspect of the regional economy. Indeed, over a quarter of all of the notable figures in the regional biographical record of the Keweenaw were active masons at some point in their careers and as likely to help ‘brother, Jack as ‘cousin’ Jack. See Table 2. If the new arrivals thought that their stay in the area would be short, they might simply visit the local lodges or, if staying longer, they would seek full membership. See Table 3. For many, in remote frontier mining camps with long shut-in winters, local lodge membership was just as essential for entertainment and social interaction as it was for business or employment networking. As Larry Lankton has explained, nowhere was this truer than on the Keweenaw.¹³ Here the learning and constant re-enactment of complex rituals on lodge nights, periodic celebrations and dinners, the organisation of concerts and numerous other events provided happy diversions not just for members but also, frequently, family members. As one of the few alternatives to monies and souls lost in the saloon and bordello, they also strongly recommended themselves to wives and pastors.

Table 2

**Freemasons Included in the
*Biographical Record of Houghton, Baraga and Marquette Counties, Michigan (Chicago, 1903)***

<i>Name</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
John Senter	Pioneer Mine Promoter
William Matchette	Doctor
William Walls	Registrar of Deeds*
M.C. Getchell	Banker
William Condon	Banker

¹² See A. Holland, *Handbook and Guide to Hancock, Michigan* (Marquette, 1887) and *Biographical Record; Houghton, Baraga and Marquette Counties* pp.259-60

¹³ Larry Lankton, *Beyond the Boundaries: Life and Landscape at the Lake Superior Copper Mines, 1840 – 1875* (Oxford, 1997)

Carlos D.Shelden	Congressman
William Henry Dodge	Doctor
A.M.Wheeler	Doctor
J.F.Hambitzer	Lawyer
William F. Uren	Mine Captain*
Benjamin F. Chynoweth	Mine Owner/Banker*
G.H.Nichols	Druggist/Banker*
J.G.Turner	Doctor
H.B.Rogers	Merchant
Jay A. Hubbell	Congressman/Judge
James C. Dunstan	State's Representative*
John Jolly	Mine Captain*
William B. Hoar	Merchant*
Joseph Wills	Sheriff
Charles H. Moss	Banker
William Polkinghorn	Mine Captain*
Allen F. Rees	Attourney
William Van Orden	Insurance Business
F.J. Bawden	Director Street Railway Co.
August Pelto	Tailoring Co. Owner
L.H. Richards	County Clerk
Philip D. Bourland	Doctor
Mathias Sailer	Postmaster
Robert Shields	Mine Captain
John E. Jones	Banker
John A. Danielson	Surface Captain
Nathan M. Kaufman	Mine Owner/Banker/Mayor of Marquette
Arthur E. Delf	Railroad Manager**
John Duncan	Mine Captain
John Amesse	Postmaster
James Sinclair	Building Contractor**
Charles Harvey Rodi	Doctor
James W. Young	Property Owner
F.S. Carlton	Hardware Company Owner
Col. James Nye Cox	Military Officer
Arthur F. Fischer	Surgeon
Archibald B. Eldredge	Attourney
Frederick Mackenzie	Newspaper Editor**
A.W. Kerr	Lawyer
Charles Kelsey	Judge
Elbridge G. Brown	Mine Manager
J.B. Smith	Merchant
Robert Peters	Insurance Business**
Thomas Wills	Mine Captain*
Rev. W.B. Coombe	Methodist Minister*
Sivert Olson	Furniture Manufacturer/Undertaker
Charles Retailic	Manager of Power and Light Co.
Edgar H. Tower	Banker
Louis G. Kaufman	Banker/Investor in Utilities and Mines
Sylvester J. Hollister	Machine Shop Foreman

D.H. Merritt	Engineering Co. Owner
Francis Moore	Clerk of the Court
Frederick G. Brown	Brewery Manager
Adelin Gasser	Doctor
Andrew Johnston	Merchant
P.W.Phelps	Insurance Co. Owner
James Hoar	Merchant*
John D. Crawford	Undertaker/Embalmer
Edward J. Chegwin	Doctor
R.M. Burdon	Doctor
Alexander Martin	Hotel Owner
Gen. Frank B. Lyon	Military Officer

*Born in Cornwall

** Born elsewhere in Great Britain

Table 3

Some Cornish Visitors to Quincy Lodge No.135 A & FM
(from Lodge Visitors Registers, Houghton, Michigan)

11 th July 1865	W.J. Babcock	Mount Olive, No.52
21 st March 1876	J. Vissick	Fortitude Lodge, No.131
25 th June 1877	D. Bailey	Cornubian Lodge, No.450
20 th March 1888	P.J. Pearce	Friendship Lodge, No.38
1900	G. Roberts	Boscawen Lodge, No.699
1902	E. Williams	Gold Fields Lodge, No. 2478 Johannesburg

It was not only miners and not only the Cornish that immigrated to the Keweenaw during the 1860s and 1870s and it seems that almost everyone looked for fraternal and benevolent associations. Benevolent associations – those which provided guaranteed insurance against ill-health, unemployment and death – were particularly popular with the average working family man, while freemasonry – simply a charitable Order – probably offered superior networking advantages and ‘tramping’ support. Unfortunately, not everyone would be admitted. Most Orders excluded Native Americans, African Americans, Mexicans, South Americans and Asiatics. Women were not permitted to be Freemasons but could become members of many of the benevolent societies, such as the Oddfellows. Catholics excluded themselves from Freemasonry, and were excluded from some other Orders, but frequently joined groups such as the Hibernians. However, given the low incomes of most of these unskilled groups, it is unlikely that many would have been able to afford the membership even if it had been open. For example, the common cost of all three degrees of initiation necessary to become a Master Mason was in excess of \$80, the equivalent of many weeks’ wages. Annual subscriptions were usually only a few dollars thereafter, but the cost of membership of benevolent societies could again amount to tens of dollars, depending on the

society and the level of insurance required. Taken overall, though looking divisive, the early fraternities in most mining districts actually embraced most of the incoming skilled, semi-skilled and emergent mercantile groups without major divisions. Most of these groups came from the Eastern and Mid-Western United States, the British Isles, Scandinavia and North Western Europe, and the lodges played a leading role in bringing them together and melding them into new coherent and homogeneous communities. They were at the cutting edge of the great American melting pot – as far as it related to the white population.

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to dissect the ethnic and occupational structure of the Keweenaw lodges for these first twenty or thirty years of mining because of a lack of access to the necessary lodge membership lists. However, such research has been conducted for other mining districts during a similar period of early development and might prove instructive by analogy. Particular consideration could be given to the situation in Nevada City, California in 1860. Here the earliest stage of gold mine development was in the past and the district was moving into larger scale deep mining – it's experience was therefore not far different from that of many of the communities in the Keweenaw. Details of the membership of Nevada Lodge No.13 have been found and complemented with information derived from the 1860 census. Ralph Mann's detailed background study of the demography of the Nevada City community provides excellent context.¹⁴ There we find a lodge that is mainly comprised of young but mature men – mostly in their thirties – just over half of whom were married. There was still a considerable turnover of members as they passed on to other districts but there was also a large continuing core of members. The great majority – over two thirds – were native born Americans, drawn largely from the northern and eastern states but the remainder were drawn almost exclusively from England and Wales, the German States, Scandinavia and Canada. This roughly approximated to the ethnic complexion of the white population of the community as a whole at that time, though within the mixture, the British Isles was underrepresented in the Lodge (largely because of Irish catholic exclusion) and the German/Scandinavian group were slightly over-represented. Members of the lodge represented more than 60 different occupations, stretching into every corner of the local economy that mining and mining related occupations dominated. Most notably, the membership included every 'grade' of mining occupation, from miner to manager, to mine owner, and from those with little or no accumulated wealth to the very rich. Average asset values of lodge members were slightly higher than those for the community as a whole but this might be expected because of the high joining costs and the 'elite' reputation of masonic membership. The overall impression for Nevada Lodge No.13 is that it reasonably well reflected the community in which it resided and that it created a place within the community where all new economic and social issues could be realised, represented, freely communicated, and possibly resolved.

The masons were not the only fraternity in Nevada City in 1860. At this point there were very few others but the Independent Order of Oddfellows was active nearby. Details of their membership are sketchy but it would appear that they also represented all parts of the white

¹⁴ Ralph Mann, *After the Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California 1849 – 1870* (Stanford, 1982)

populations but were more ‘blue collar’ and working class than the masons. However, they were not isolated from each other with the two lodges sharing several members. Again, these links enabled possible areas of conflict to be shared and avenues were available for them to be discussed and understood.

The earliest detailed lodge returns that have been found so far for communities on the Keweenaw relate to a much later period, in the early 1890s. Attention has been focused on the Calumet community and its Calumet No.271 Masonic lodge and the Calumet No. 134 I.O.O.F. lodge. The nature of the data is currently less complete and reliable than that for California, but preliminary results suggest a lodge structure that was very little changed from that of Nevada City more than 30 years earlier. Both remained primarily ‘Anglo-Saxon’ – American and British origin - with less than ten percent of their members carrying non-British names and many of them probably second generation immigrants, nearly all from north Western Europe and Scandinavia. See Appendix. Both reflected a wide range of occupations across the local economy, with the Oddfellows slightly more ‘working class’ than the Masons. For example, from a sample of around half of the 168 members of Calumet Lodge No. 134, I.O.O.F. , only six were white collar workers, mainly low grade clerks, while the remainder were principally skilled craftsmen or semi- and unskilled labourers: viz. Blacksmiths 8; Carpenters 10; Labourers 8; Miners 24; Surface workers 9; Engineers 5; Foreman/Manager 6. Others included a janitor, a jeweller; a painter, a butcher and an undertaker/furniture salesman. Calumet Masonic lodge also had a significant ‘blue collar’ contingent – with numerous machinists, miners and engineers – but it also had far more clerks, mercantile and ‘white collar’ members. Overall it appears as a more economically and socially successful group, including the Vice-Presidents of the Merchant and Miners’ Bank, as well as the First National Bank, the owner of two local newspapers¹⁵, and the proprietor of the Calumet Hotel, to say nothing of several attorneys and physician/surgeons, including those to the Tamarack and Osceola mines and Tamarack hospital. Contractors and a carriage dealer seemed to think it better to be a Mason than an Oddfellow as did the ‘Village Marshall’. Perhaps symbolically, the janitor at Calumet school was an Oddfellow, while a teacher at the school was a Mason. In a number of cases, members of the masonic lodge assumed positions of administrative responsibility in other Orders – Sivert Olson, for example, became the Treasurer of I.O.O.F 134 while James Cox became the Captain of Calumet Knights of Pythios, suggesting that they were held in high and reliable regard.

As in California in the 1860s, there was also a significant cross-over between the two lodges. Many men belonged to two or more different lodges, encampments, divisions, etc., and ensured a regular level of interaction between them. Table 4, for example, shows some of the multiple involvements of members of Calumet lodge No. 271. It is noticeable that masons often became trusted officials in some of the other benevolent associations, possibly suggesting that their masonic membership gave them an elevated status of trust within the community.

Table 4

¹⁵ The Copper Country Evening News and the Calumet and Red Jacket News.

**Some members of Calumet Masonic Lodge No.271, who had other
Fraternal and benevolent society interests in that town in 1892¹⁶**

James M. Cox, a clerk at the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company, was also a member of the Calumet Division No.52 of the Knights of Pythius (K of P), where he was the chief officer.

Charles Geiger, a stone mason, was also a member of Encampment No.77 and Hecla Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (I.O.O.F). He was the Permanent Secretary of Hecla Lodge.

James Haley, was also a member of Encampment No 77, I.O.O.F.

William Harris, was also Secretary to the Tamarack Co-Operative Association

William Holman, a general insurance agent, was a member of Calumet Division No.52, K. of P, where he was the Treasurer.

Frank Klepetko, was also a member of the Calumet Lodge No.124 of the Ancient Order of Workmen (A.O.U.W.)

Duncan McDonald, a foreman carpenter, was also a member of Encampment No.77, I.O.O.F.

James Nankervis, a book keeper, was also a member of Calumet Lodge, No.134 I.O.O.F. and Calumet Lodge No.124, A.O.U.W.

J.P. North, the proprietor of Calumet Hotel, was also a member of the Calumet Division No.52 K of P and Calumet Lodge No.124, A.O.U.W.

Sivert Olson, an undertaker/furniture salesman, was also a member of Encampment No.77 I.O.O.F. (where he was a senior officer) and Calumet Lodge No.134, where he was Treasurer. He was also a member of the Calumet Division No.52, K. of P.

John Pascoe, a foreman at Tamarack Mining Company, was also a member of Calumet Lodge No.134, I.O.O.F.

Homer J. Ostrader, was also a member of Calumet Division No.52, K. of P.

William Reed, a mine captain, was also a member of Calumet Lodge, No.134, I.O.O.F.

J.W. Williams, an engineer, was also a member of Calumet Lodge No. 124, A.O.U.W.

William H Williams, a post office clerk, was also a member of Calumet Lodge No.134, I.O.O.F.

Thomas Wills, a miner, was also a member of Calumet Lodge No. 124, A.O.U.W

¹⁶ Information derived using the *Upper Peninsula Lodge Directory* 1892 and R.L. Polk & Co.'s *Calumet Directory* 1895-96

It should be noticed that it was not only the masons that maintained multiple involvements, but also those of other Orders. William Craze, for example, appears as a member of Encampment No.77 of the I.O.O.F., as well as an officer in the Calumet Knights of the Maccabees, while H.J. Vivian was a member of both Hecla Lodge I.O.O.F as well as Conglomerate Lodge No. 131 of the Knights of Pythius and Calumet Lodge No.124 of the A.O.U.W.

While all of this helped keep communications open for a dialogue between the ‘older’ sections of the town’s community, it failed to accommodate dramatic changes within the socio-economic mix of that community, in terms of its ethnicity, scale of enterprise, and range of occupations. The older fraternities had stayed the same while the world in which they operated changed dramatically. The same kinds of people talked to each other in the same kinds of organisations and reached out to other similar organisations but failed to accommodate new arrivals and new conditions. Fraternal relationships became increasingly based on national identities, religious and sectional identities rather than broader inclusive groups, even for the older ‘WASP’ fraternities. Thus whereas Calumet Freemasons’ lodge counted around 100 members in the early 1890s and the I.O.O.F. Lodge 168 members, Red Jacket’s Sons of St. George, One and All Lodge, listed 288 members. To the extent that many of these groups drew their membership mainly from semi- and unskilled occupations, they would also have frustrated the flows of communication from the employed to the employer. The whole situation was further complicated by what Gist described as ‘schismatic differentiation’ within the older established orders, as groups within them quarrelled and split to form new sub or separate organisations.¹⁷ Certainly it was not all a movement from the general to the particular. Newer inclusive Orders such as the Ancient Order of United Workmen, had larger cohorts of ‘new immigrants’ – the membership of Calumet Lodge No.124 of A.O.U.W. appears to have been as much as a third foreign born- but generally the established power elites of the community remained isolated from them, talking more to each other than across the social spectrum. This was not simply by accident, but frequently by design. The Knights of Columbus, for example, was established in New Haven, Connecticut, in the early 1880s specifically to compete with the many largely protestant-based fraternities and prevent young Catholic families from being absorbed into that culture through a gradual process of association.¹⁸ Whereas fraternity and benevolent organisations had once drawn the communities together, they now increasingly began to divide them.

None of the latter part of this argument is new. Rosenzweig’s study of Freemasonry in Boston during the early decades of the twentieth century argued, for example, that masonry was increasingly sinking into the defence of what they now saw as a traditional order rather than reaching out to embrace newcomers. Seeing their established power threatened by the

¹⁷ See Noel P. Gist, *Secret Societies: A Cultural Study of Fraternalism in the United States* (University of Missouri Studies XV No.4 (Oct.1940), p.47. Gist gives an example from the Forester Orders. In the US in the early twentieth century there were branches of the Ancient Order of Foresters, the Independent Order of Foresters, the Independent Order of Foresters of Illinois, the Catholic Order of Foresters, the Irish National Order of Foresters, the Foresters of America, the Bohemian American Foresters, and Les Forestiers Franco-American.

¹⁸ See Christopher J. Kauffman, *Faith and Fraternalism: The History of the Knights of Columbus 1882-1892* (New York, 1982).

rising influence of new immigrants and trade unionism, they identified more and more with nativist movements and anti-Catholicism to embrace conservatism in all of its moral and gender forms. This ethno-religious homogeneity was further complemented by an increasingly uniform middle-class occupational structure as the previously inclusive employer/employee spread gave way to a strengthening majority of middle range white collar workers. The latter might not have been as true in the industrial districts of the Keweenaw but it is certainly quite likely that lodges there became more like refuges from, than the engines of, social change and progress. As Rosenzweig concluded, 'Just as their ethno-religious homogeneity reflected ethnic cleavages, so did their occupational homogeneity reflect economic divisions.'¹⁹

More recently Jason Kaufman wrote in a similar vein about fraternity in America more generally. Intent on de-bunking the traditional view that associationalism had a beneficial effect in heating the American socio-cultural melting pot, he proposed instead that it provided the, 'organisational apparatus for social segregation' and that it, 'helped to channel American identity group formation along ethnic, racial, religious and gender lines and undercut the [political] parties and the unions in their efforts to form broad political coalitions mobilised behind common goals.' For him, fraternities, benevolent societies, ethno-national and ethno-religious organisations were one of the principal causes of America's failure to develop a European class consciousness, and, more specifically, that they help to explain the failure of broad encompassing labour unions, such as the Knights of Labour. Their membership was simply 'competed away' by the many and various other groups.²⁰ All of this may be going too far. It certainly fails to take into account that the effects of associationalism may have changed from positive to negative over time, but it certainly suggests that these are issues that must be taken into account when reviewing industrial conflicts during the early twentieth century.

Conclusion

As far as the great strike of 1913-14 is concerned, this paper has suggested hypotheses rather than clear conclusions. To what extent were there fraternal dimensions to the origins of the strike, to its main supporters and to its final breakdown and collapse? The tragedy at the Italian Hall certainly suggests that there may have been some linkages and that perhaps they played a role in the organisation and support for strikers. Equally, did fraternity play a role in maintaining the solidarity management? Did the Citizens' Alliance have fraternal origins? Their vigilante-like activities are somewhat resonant of the masonic inspired groups that combated anarchy in the early mining camps of Montana. How did the aftermath of the strike and civic breakdown affect the membership and activities of fraternal and benevolent groups? Hopefully some of these questions can be explored with further research in the Copper Country Archive.

¹⁹ Roy Rosenzweig, 'Boston Masons, 1900-1935: The Lower Middle Class in a Divided Society' *Journal of Voluntary Action Research* Vol.6 (1977):119-126 p.121

²⁰ Kaufman, *Common Good?* Pp .57, 83,103.

Perhaps it is sufficient to observe here that strikes are rather like acrimonious divorces. They are usually precipitated by immediate and proximate causes but represent a much deeper and long-term breakdown in a once much closer relationship. To avoid catastrophic conflict, divorce courts usually advise a renewal of communication – to sit down and talk to each other, begin to understand each other’s problems, and work towards more peaceful compromises. The fraternities of the early mining communities provided such opportunities but as economic and demographic conditions changed, they fractured from inclusive to divisive forces and contributed to the rising range of problems that frustrated harmonious industrial relations.

Appendix

Occupations of Some Members of Calumet Lodge 271 A&FM

circa 1892

John Berryman	Miner	Jesse Butler	Contractor
William.E. Carpenter	Machinist	Robert Clark	Carpenter
James N. Cox	Clerk	John S. Dymock	Banker (1 st National)
William Daniel	Miner	John A. Danielson	Foreman
Frederick Eaton	Clerk	Richard Edwards	Miner
Julius Fleige	Machinist	James Grierson	Machinist
Thomas Gribble	Engineer	Charles Geiger	Mason
William M. Harris	Sec.Tamarack Co-Op	William J. Holman	Gen. Insurance Agent
Iver Hegardt	Machinist	Andrew Johnson	Carpenter
E.D. Johnson	Grocer	W.C. Kinsman	Carriage Dealer
William Lowe	Skip Lander	George Loranger	Baggage-man
George C. Lewis	Grocery Manager	A.D. Lawbaugh	Surgeon Tamarack Mine
James Merton	Machinist	Duncan McDonald	Foreman carpenter
Frederick MacKenzie	Newspaper Owner	M.M. Morrison	Blacksmith
J.W. Millegan	Mine Captain	William Moore	Engineer

John Merton	Machinist	L. McNab	Watchman
James Nankervis	Bookkeeper	Charles W. Niles	Physician
J.D. North	Hotel Proprietor	R.H. Osborn	Banker (Miners')
Sivert Olson	Undertaker/Dealer	Stephen Paull	Bookkeeper Miners Bank
Samuel Pope	Engineer	William Phillips	Machinist
E.H. Pomeroy	Physician	Frederick W. Pepler	Machinist
John Pascoe	Foreman (Tamarack)	John B. Quick	Teacher (Calumet School)
Jacob Reuther	Foreman	James Robey	Engineer
Charles Rupprecht	Druggist	David Roberts	Surface Man
William H. Reed	Mine Captain	James Ritchie	Driver
Paul P. Roehm	Plasterer	C.H.Rodi	Hospital Assist Physician
William Stephens	Mine Captain	A.T. Streeter	Attorney
Thomas Soddy	Machinist	Vivian Veale	Supply Clerk, Tamarack
W.H. Williams	Post Office Clerk	Richard Wareham	Foreman
Thomas Wills	Mine Captain	Francis Ward	Village Marshal
J.W. Williams	Engineer	James Wilson	Carpenter
Edward Ziegeler	Clerk		

List of 63 members out of a total of 100.

Occupations of Some Members of Calumet Lodge 134, I.O.O.F

circa 1892

William E. Andrews	Blacksmith	James Allen	Blacksmith
William Berryman	Driller	Thomas Brown	Labourer
John Brown	Labourer	Robert Burrows	Carpenter
William Craze	Clerk	Edwin Craze	Miner

James Chynoweth	Capt. Tamarack Mine	James Cruze	Mine Captain
William Cruze	Timber Boss	William Chapman	Carpenter
John Carter	Labourer	James Cowan	Engineer
John Curtis	Notary/Collector	Robert Dobbie	Janitor Calumet School
Michael Doring	Painter	Neil Dick	Solicitor
William Dunstan	Helper	John J. Ellis	Jeweller
Charles Ellis	Clerk	John Eddy	Miner
Victor Engstrom	Clerk	Matthew Farrish	Carpenter
Thomas Gray	Carpenter	John Govette	Dryer
William H. George	Brakeman	William Hicks	Miner
William Hill	Blacksmith	Harry Hartman	Miner
William Jacka	Teamster	Edwin Jory	Blacksmith
John Jory Jnr	Labourer	Richard Jory	Labourer
Henry James	Miner	David Jane	Engineer
John Jones	Miner	Christian Kohn	Hammerman
Woodman Knight	Machinist	John Kennedy	Labourer
William Love	Skip Lander	Charles G. Larson	Carpenter
Philip Lawry	Watchman	John Lalone	Miner
John Michaelson	Miner	William Morgan	Machinist
August Newberg	Labourer	Thomas Nelson	Foreman
David R. Osborn	Blacksmith	Sivert Olson	Undertaker
Ole Oleson	Miner	Charles Petersen	Miner
Thomas Penhallegon	Miner	Thomas Penhall	Engineer
Joseph H. Phillips	Carpenter	John H. Peters	Miner
John Pascoe	Foreman Tamarack	John Reed	Miner
William H. Richards	Fireman	Donald Ross	Blacksmith
Thomas Rundell	Carpenter	Walter Sanders	Carpenter

Thomas O. Stephens	Miner	Albert Sibilisky	Engineer
Antoine Strand	Miner	Simon Trestrail	Blacksmith
John M. Thomas	Miner	William Trevorrow	Machnivist
Isaac Tingman	Blaster	Samuel Thomas	Engineer
Charles Thomas	Blacksmith	Peter Taylor	Labourer
John L. Vivian	Foreman Tamarack	James Wilcox	Butcher
W.H. Williams	Post Office Clerk	Matthew Williams	Miner
Charles Wills	Miner	Thomas Wills	Miner
Thomas Wilcox	Pumpman	Joseph Williams	Miner
W.T. Williams	Carpenter	William Yates	Miner

A list of 85 members out of a total of 168