

HOMES FOR A WORLD OF STRANGERS

Hospitality and the Origins of Multiple Dwellings in Urban America

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Our historical understanding of the origins and development of multiple dwellings is incomplete. The standard account involves people struggling to establish permanent homes despite overcrowding and hypercompetitive housing markets. But there was another line of development for multiple dwellings in America—one that followed the spatial logic of hospitality rather than domesticity. Instead of evolving out of residential structures, it arose from the practice of providing travelers and strangers with temporary shelter, food, refreshment, and household services. Empirically, this article offers a significant revision of the history of urban housing, one that involves a distinctive set of imperatives and a different morphology. Theoretically, it contends that our analysis of the urban landscape, with its longtime emphasis on the production and distribution of goods, would benefit from another look at the interrelated phenomena of mobility, transience, and anonymity—classic symptoms of urbanism that were foundational concepts in early urban theory.

Keywords: *hotel; apartment; housing; hospitality; architecture*

Multiple dwellings like tenements and apartment buildings are among the most characteristic features of the American urban landscape. This category of housing is functionally linked with many of the conditions we think of as distinctively urban, including the geographic concentration of large populations, high-density living and working arrangements, industrialization and other forms of economic intensification, and the emergence and reproduction of street life and public culture. Not every city in the United States fits this model, since many municipalities still consist mainly of single-family detached houses. But most cities, and all of the larger ones, have multistory urban cores or continue to build multiple dwellings as part of their ongoing growth. Collective living, whether at the scale of three- and six-unit buildings or apartment towers, is an integral part of past and present urbanism.

Our historical understanding of the origins and development of multiple dwellings is nonetheless incomplete. The standard account of purpose-built congregate housing in the United States begins in the working-class neighborhoods

of industrializing cities. In the 1830s, urban landlords who had packed workers into subdivided townhouses and converted warehouses realized that they could collect higher rents by building a new form of high-density multiunit dwelling, the tenement house. The conventional narrative of the emergence of the apartment building involves an analogous process. The continued rise of real estate prices in the 1860s and 1870s made single-family houses too expensive even for the upper-middle and lower-upper classes, creating demand for a new type of residence that was both affordable and respectable. In both cases, multiple dwellings are presented as the outcome of people's struggle to establish permanent homes despite the constraints imposed by overcrowded neighborhoods and hypercompetitive housing markets.

The purpose of this article is not so much to contradict these findings as to suggest that there was a second, equally important line of development for multiple dwellings in America—one that followed the spatial logic of hospitality rather than domesticity. Instead of arising from spaces intended for long-term residence, it evolved out of the practice of providing travelers and strangers with temporary shelter, food, refreshment, and other services and goods usually obtained within a household. As a result, it had an earlier origin, a different set of imperatives, and a distinctive morphology. As early as 1809, a quarter-century before the first tenements, people were living in large, multiunit buildings; by the 1820s, these were being designed specifically to accommodate resident families. The structures in question were hotels. They were not a response to urban crowding, but rather were designed to facilitate human mobility. Hotels not only functioned in their own right as multifamily habitations, they also served as the pre-eminent architectural and organizational models for apartment buildings. In short, I argue that multiple dwellings in the nineteenth-century United States were shaped not only by how people settled down, but also by the way they moved around.

This exploration of the origins and development of multiple dwellings is intended to address both urban history and urban theory. In basic empirical terms, it offers a significant revision of the history of urban housing, one that involves additional actors and different paths of causality. The residential use of hotels and the relationship between hotels and apartment buildings have been studied by Paul Groth, Elizabeth Collins Cromley, and Dolores Hayden, among others, but we still need an explanation of the origins of the hotel spaces that were used as dwellings and a better account of the precise mechanisms by which they were articulated into apartment buildings. By focusing on the function and form of urban space and the reasons for its production and reproduction, I seek to provide such an explanation.¹

This mode of inquiry also leads to broader theoretical questions involving urban form under capitalism. Urbanists have generally seen industrialization as the primary point of articulation between large-scale economic forces and the lived experience and physical form of the American city, and with good reason. But this emphasis can sometimes lead us to overlook other ways that

capitalism shapes urbanism. We need to revisit the interrelated phenomena of mobility, transience, and anonymity—classic symptoms of urbanism that were foundational concepts in the works of urban theorists like Max Weber, Georg Simmel, Robert Park, and Louis Wirth—and apply them not only to the culture of cities, but also to the built environment. I hope thereby to reveal an alternate means by which macro-historical change is manifested in the experience of everyday life, a task which lies at the heart of urban and social history.²

THE STANDARD HISTORY OF MULTIPLE DWELLINGS

Tenement houses and apartment buildings have been the subject of a considerable volume of research by urban and architectural historians. In many respects, these two forms of multiple dwelling represent a study in contrast, since they were home to very different classes of residents and left opposite impressions on the public imagination. Yet their origins and development also demonstrate a number of underlying similarities. (Note that this article does not address boardinghouses. While these were exceptionally common institutions that played an indispensable role in the urban fabric, they were adaptive uses of traditional single-family homes rather than a distinct, purpose-built architectural type.)³

Tenement houses emerged alongside the nation's industrial working class. In her synthesis of American housing history, Gwendolyn Wright explains that the process began "in the early 1830s, [when] landlords in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and other cities converted warehouses into cheap housing for Irish and black workers." The purpose-built tenement house "emerged . . . as landlords constructed buildings initially intended to house numerous groups of residents." In little more than fifteen years, she continues, "every American city had concentrations of crowded tenement houses and converted buildings."⁴ Elizabeth Blackmar sets forth a detailed description of how the process worked in New York City. She demonstrates how changing patterns of land use, the rise of wage labor, transformations in household structure, and new real estate investment strategies led to rising rents and a chronic housing shortage. Under these conditions, Blackmar explains, "tenements—the first purposely built multifamily housing—rationalized three decades of tenants' ad hoc crowding into a new housing form."⁵ Other urban and architectural historians have provided accounts that differ only in a few particulars and their depth of analysis.⁶

Industrialization is the primary structural determinant in these narratives: people crowd into cities seeking business or employment opportunities, wage labor breaks apart integrated households of masters and journeymen, the advent of factories and outwork drives down incomes, and workers have less to spend on housing. The most thorough account, Blackmar's, also documents the pivotal role of renters, landlords, and builders, among others, but the

transformation of labor relations is still the indispensable condition for the emergence of purpose-built multiple dwellings. The resultant building type, the tenement house, is occupied by poor and working-class families who are unable to afford better quarters. Tenements thus originate as something of a social problem and stay that way for a century despite reformers' efforts to make them more liveable. Tenement houses also influence the residential choices of middle-class and well-to-do urbanites by convincing them that congregate dwellings are intrinsically working-class and therefore socially unacceptable; this in turn establishes cultural resistance to future multifamily homes.

The origins of the apartment building are rather more contested. Architectural historians, whose professional training led them to seek out individual exemplars of building types, traditionally identified one of two structures as the first apartment building: either Boston's Hotel Pelham of 1857 or the Stuyvesant Apartments, completed in New York City in 1869. Elizabeth Collins Cromley has taken a more nuanced social-historical approach that avoids emphasis on particular buildings and instead looks for the cultural expectations and architectural precedents that gave rise to the new building type. Her 1990 study of early apartment buildings in New York City emphasizes the middle-class desire for familial privacy and social respectability (defined as always in opposition to workers and the poor) as the cultural seedbed of apartment living, and names French apartment houses as the leading influence on American apartment buildings: "in their first decade," Cromley writes, "they were always linked to Paris...early apartment buildings were called 'French flats[.]'"⁷ More recently, however, Paul Groth has identified the hotel as the primary architectural progenitor of the apartment building. His history of residential hotels points out the frequent overlap between the two building types—the "intertwining evolution of hotels and apartments"—and argues the hotel's preponderant influence on a number of levels. "The fashionable apartment's role in reinforcing social class, its architectural form, its façade styles, and especially its mechanical accoutrements before 1900," Groth concludes, "owed far more to the American residential hotel than to the distant Parisian flat."⁸

These are significant interpretive disagreements (and I shall return to them in detail shortly), but there remains a consensus regarding the basic conditions that surrounded the creation of the apartment building. The fundamental dynamic is urbanization, articulated through competition for residential space. Burgeoning urban populations propel a continued rise in housing costs, and an increasing proportion of city dwellers are priced out of the market for single-family homes. The growing middle class, which has fetishized domestic privacy, is placed in a particularly difficult position: many cannot afford the separate houses that their cultural values demand. Apartment buildings resolve this conflict by providing reasonably priced private residences, but they are adopted only slowly and reluctantly because

middle-class tenants continue to associate multiple dwellings with the moral improprieties of the poor and the working class.

Notwithstanding the socioeconomic contrasts between tenement houses and apartment buildings, existing histories of multiple dwellings are still predicated on three underlying commonalities. The first of these is that both tenements and apartments were created to squeeze more people into homes on increasingly expensive plots of land. As Blackmar expresses it, apartment buildings “followed the same logic of absorbing land costs through intensified occupancy which had prompted the production of ‘tenements.’”⁹ The second assumption is that people only moved into multiple dwellings out of necessity; since only those whose incomes limited their selection of housing would live in this way, multiple dwellings originated as an architecture of undesirability. Third and finally, multiple dwellings were always intended as residences: they were designed as permanent abodes, used as long-term housing, and evaluated in terms of their function as stable homes. The conventional account of multiple dwellings is thus driven by population concentration, economic duress, and the pursuit of domesticity.

AN ALTERNATE HISTORY OF MULTIPLE DWELLINGS

There is a different story of multiple dwellings, however, one that follows its own chronology and morphology and involves different imperatives. Long before the first tenement houses, Americans had begun to live in hotels, which soon became a common type of multiple dwelling in cities across the United States.¹⁰ Hotels also influenced the subsequent development of multiple dwellings by pioneering the most innovative and important idea that went into the creation of the apartment building. In this section, I set forth the basic facts of this alternate history; in the next, I will provide a detailed analysis of how this history was shaped by the spatial dynamics of hospitality.

Americans made homes in hotels from an early date. The hotel had only existed as an architectural type since the 1790s, but was in residential use at least as early as the following decade. An 1809 description of the Exchange Coffee House in Boston noted its many “bed Chambers, occupied by travelers and resident boarders.”¹¹ In 1818, a British visitor to New York City wrote of his hotel: “Like the other hotels it is the residence of a good many permanent boarders, some of them men of considerable wealth, who sit down every day at the public table. The inn is with us, proverbially, the travelers’ home, but here it is the home of a great many besides travelers.”¹² When it opened in 1829, Boston’s Tremont House included a number of suites designed for long-term occupancy by families, and within two years, fourteen heads of household were listed in the city directory as permanent residents there. Four years later, a New York newspaper reported that the newly-built Holt’s Hotel “combines all the advantages of a hotel and boardinghouse” and included

numerous “apartments judiciously constructed for the use of families[.]”¹³ And in 1836, Horace Greeley’s *New Yorker* informed its readers that even before the Astor House was completed, half of the rooms at the hotel had already been reserved as family residences.¹⁴

The people who moved into these early multiple dwellings were by no means poor or working-class, and were not forced to do so by the high cost of living. A close look at the relative price of hotel housing as compared with other residential options suggests that the decision to live in a hotel was an active, voluntary choice in the 1820s and 1830s, one that could have been made only by reasonably prosperous urbanites. New York City, the most expensive housing market in the nation, provides an instructive example. According to Blackmar, the rental cost of a newly built Manhattan row house in this period ranged from \$275 to \$500 per year. At this time, hotels cost about \$2 per day; yearly rates were of course discounted, but rarely by more than about 35 percent. Using these figures, we find that a single room at the heavily residential Astor House would have cost nearly \$600 per year, while boarding at the more affordable Holt’s Hotel would still have come to just over \$350 annually. What this suggests is that a person or family who could afford to live at a hotel could have lived less expensively (far less expensively in the case of a family, since they would need a suite of rooms) elsewhere in the city or the new suburbs. Moreover, such a household would have had to be fairly well-off, with an annual income of \$1,000 to \$2,000, a figure which would have put them solidly in the middle class. Indeed, the cost differential between hotels and houses in this period was probably even wider than these figures suggest, since hotels in Boston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia cost just as much as in New York even though housing costs were lower in the smaller cities.¹⁵

Hotel living began in luxury establishments, since for almost four decades virtually all hotels were of the expensive palace variety. As hotels diversified into a number of forms serving a broad-based clientele, however, hotel dwelling gradually spread into the urban middle class. Hotel advertisements and guidebook descriptions increasingly included room rates not only by the day or week, but also by the year. In the upstart towns of the trans-Appalachian West, hotels often served as homes for recently arrived respectable families. In Chicago’s city directory of 1844, for example, fully one listing in six was for an individual or family living in a hotel. The practice was not limited to developing cities: an 1856 newspaper article by Walt Whitman stated that nearly three quarters of middle- and upper-class New Yorkers lived in hotels or boardinghouses. Indeed, by the time of his 1860 visit to the United States, Anthony Trollope was so struck by this practice that he could say (with considerable exaggeration, to be sure) that long-term hotel residents were so numerous as to render travelers’ and other transient guests “not generally the mainstay of the house.”¹⁶

The widespread use of hotels as homes made them a frequent point of reference when city dwellers began around mid-century to call for new forms of residential architecture. In New York City, the fast-rising real estate prices of the 1830s had fallen sharply after the Panic of 1837, but by the late 1840s and early 1850s, housing costs were climbing quickly once again. As soaring prices shut a growing proportion of people out of the market for single-family homes, journalists and architects embarked on a decades-long debate over how best to create a new building type for urban America. Some observers saw the hotel as a promising architectural model. In 1853, the author of the regular “New-York Daguerrotyped” feature in *Putnam’s Monthly Magazine* noted, “Society is rapidly tending toward hotel life . . . the advantages of a cluster of families living together under one roof, are everyday more apparent.”¹⁷ A year later, the same column shifted its position slightly when it proposed applying hotel design to an entirely new kind of edifice:

Splendors of architecture are not to be looked for here . . . until we shall have been educated to the point of discovering the superior advantages of a combination of interests in our private dwellings, to the present independent and isolated style of construction; when it shall be found that twenty or thirty families may live in a palace by combining their means, in the construction of one capacious dwelling, while they would be compelled to live in an inconvenient and plain house, if each one built separately. Our hotels are an indication of what might be done by the plan we have hinted at . . .¹⁸

While hotel architecture was a constant reference, it was not always by way of endorsement. When Calvert Vaux addressed city housing needs in a speech to the first meeting of the American Institute of Architects in 1857, he noted that while “a family may live at a hotel or in a boarding-house, the ceaseless publicity that ensues, the constant change, and the entire absence of all individuality in the everyday domestic arrangements, will always render this method of living distasteful[.]” Instead, Vaux advocated adapting European precedents. “In Europe,” he noted, “extensive buildings, several stories high, are frequently arranged with all the rooms required for a family grouped together on one level . . . this Continental plan, as it is called, seems to possess so many advantages, that it deserves more attention than has hitherto been accorded to it in America.”¹⁹

These divergent responses to the problem of middle-class urban housing represented two very different lines of development for multiple dwellings in the United States. The one corresponding to Vaux’s preferences generally involved taking self-sufficient household spaces and aggregating them—usually horizontally, but sometimes vertically—within a single architectural envelope. Vaux’s speech was accompanied by preliminary drawings (Figure 1) for what he called “Parisian Buildings”: eight units sharing a common entrance and stairway, each consisting of a parlor, dining room, kitchen, bedrooms, and bath distributed along a corridor running from front to back.

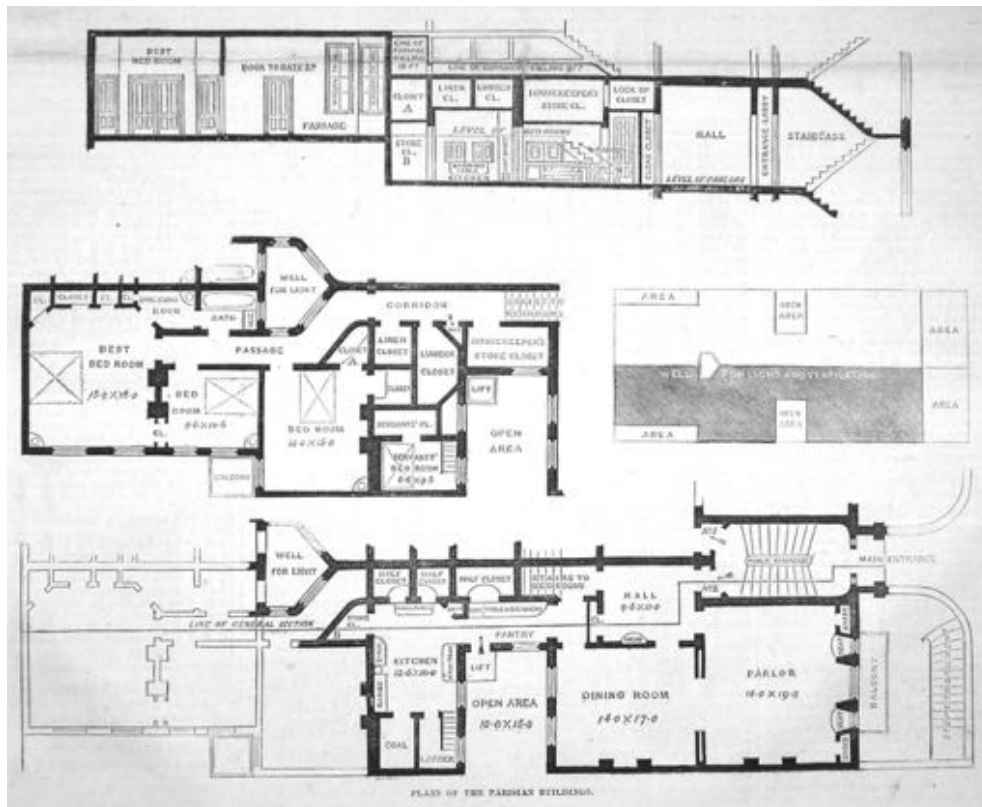


Figure 1: “Parisian Buildings” Calvert Vaux’s 1857 design for “Parisian Buildings” called for self-contained single-family apartments, each with private kitchens and servants’ quarters.

SOURCE: Harper’s Weekly, December 19, 1857, 809. Courtesy University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research.

A slightly different approach to the same idea was taken in Alexander Jackson Davis’s House of Mansions (1859), an array of “eleven independent dwellings” of “twelve to eighteen rooms each” that were built into a single, coordinated neo-Gothic block.²⁰ The Stuyvesant Apartments of 1869, noted above as a recurrent candidate for the title of first American apartment building, also corresponded to this basic type. They comprised a five-story building containing sixteen units, each featuring a parlor, dining room, kitchen, servants’ room, and three bedchambers (Figure 2). While the architects and builders of these structures often claimed novelty for their creations (Davis called his creation “altogether unique in its character and plan”), the fact remains that they undertook no spatial innovation more notable than establishing private households on a single- or split-level plan.²¹

The other approach to the apartment building, which was far more path-breaking in its arrangement of domestic space, was explicitly modeled on the hotel. The prototype was Boston’s Hotel Pelham (1857), the other most frequently cited candidate for America’s first apartment house (Figure 3).

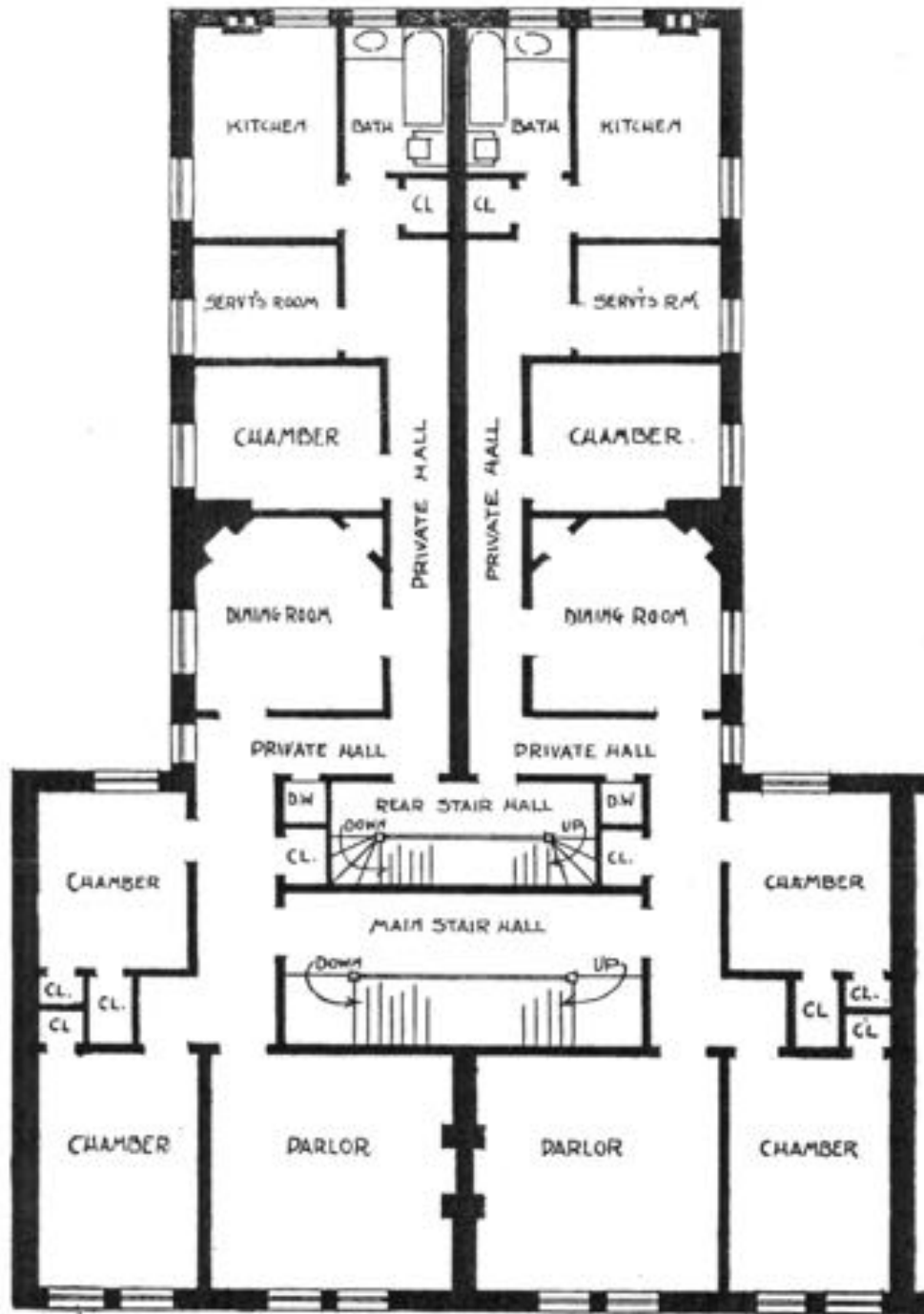


Figure 2: New York City's Stuyvesant Apartments Units in New York City's Stuyvesant Apartments of 1869 were also fully privatized family homes with their own in-house work areas.

SOURCE: Architectural Record, July 1901, 479. Courtesy University of New Mexico Fine Arts Library.



Figure 3: The Hotel Pelham The Hotel Pelham (1857; photograph 1868) was designed for permanent residence and did not accept transient guests. Tenants nonetheless enjoyed many hotel-like features, including ground-level shops and a professionally-staffed kitchen and dining room. Source: Boston Streets Photograph Collection #2202. Courtesy of the Bostonian Society/Old State House.

While it was specifically designed as a residence and did not offer shelter to travelers or other transients, the Hotel Pelham's resemblance to an actual hotel went far beyond its name. Its apartments had no kitchens, so tenants ate together in a common dining room served by a centralized kitchen. The building also offered laundry services, housecleaning, and room service, and its ground floor contained stores and employed a concierge and porter. Indeed, given these features, it comes as no surprise that the Hotel Pelham's architect previously worked at a firm that had designed a number of transient hotels. Some of the same architectural ideas that went into the Hotel Pelham were replicated in subsequent Boston apartment buildings, including the similarly-named Hotel Hamilton (1869), Hotel Kempton (1869), Hotel Boylston (1870), Hotel Agassiz (1872), and Hotel Cluny (1876). The frequent use of the term "hotel" in naming apartment buildings probably resulted from the fact that prominent Boston families had used transient hotels as residences for many years and continued to do so through the end of the century. What this suggests is that perhaps the top one-quarter or

one-third of Bostonians had consciously embraced the hotel as a common and appropriate model and identifier for their other multiple dwellings.²²

The hotel was adopted as the architectural and functional basis for the apartment building in other cities, as well. In New York, the Haight House (1871) offered an architectural rejoinder to the Stuyvesant Apartments (which the *Real Estate Record and Builders' Guide* had criticized because “each family must of necessity keep a cook or do their own cooking”) by putting in the basement a “general kitchen . . . where meals, prepared by a first-class cook” would be sent to each apartment; the Haight House also provided a shared steam laundry.²³ The Stevens House, completed in New York the same year, similarly divided the household by housing servants apart from their families. In Washington, D.C., the Portland Flats (1880) included a number of communal kitchens located throughout the building. The Cairo Apartments of 1894 were even more like a hotel, featuring a lobby, front desk, drugstore, lounge, and reading room; the building also housed a large public dining room, since only a few of the apartments had kitchens. Other apartments followed suit: “During the 1880s and early 1890s,” notes the leading historian of the city’s apartments, “few Washington apartment houses contained kitchens.”²⁴ In Chicago, early apartment buildings like the Ontario Flats (1880), the Mentone (1882), and the Argyle (1886) were designed with, or were renovated to include, common dining rooms, central kitchens, public parlors, and other spaces modeled on hotels. Hotel-like elements continued to be built into apartment houses into the twentieth century, though with the passage of time, rising prosperity, and technological change, they were used less and less frequently, and apartment architecture increasingly resembled Vaux’s more privatized vision of the 1850s.²⁵

This new narrative suggests the need to revise some of our expectations regarding the origins and development of urban housing in America. At the most basic level, it demonstrates that people were living in multiple dwellings, some of them purpose-built, many years before the creation of the tenement house. It also makes clear that those who first moved into multi-family buildings came from the ranks of the prosperous rather than the poor. This suggests in turn that collective living was not initially the last resort of the dispossessed—though it certainly did become that in tenement-house districts—but a deliberate choice made by people who enjoyed other options.²⁶ More broadly, this account calls into question a commonplace of American cultural history: that respectable people shunned the publicity of hotel life and the communalism of apartments. To be sure, this sentiment was often expressed in books, magazines, newspapers, and sermons.²⁷ When we turn from textual sources to the more reliable evidence of actual behavior, however, we see that many urbanites actively embraced hotel and apartment living. It may be that domestic privatism was a value which (like their professed beliefs about business ethics and sexual morality) nineteenth-century Americans honored mainly in the breach. But there is also good reason to

believe that their thinking was conscious and deliberate. For example, if middle-class Americans' antipathy toward hotel living had been as common as Vaux suggested, it is hard to imagine that Boston developers would have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars to construct apartment buildings, only to endanger their investments by calling them hotels. The more plausible interpretation is that when America's public moralists condemned multiple dwellings, they were not describing people's beliefs so much as lashing out against an increasingly popular practice that they disapproved of but were powerless to stop.

THE SPATIAL ORIGINS OF MULTIPLE DWELLINGS

This alternate history of multiple dwellings makes clear the popularity of hotel living and its influence on subsequent housing forms, but it also leaves key questions unanswered. What was the source of the hotel's distinctive institutional form? Why did it attract permanent residents? And precisely how did this translate into a new residential building type? The key to answering these questions is to focus on the production and modification of space. This approach reveals the imperatives and mechanisms through which hospitality generated new kinds of living arrangements.²⁸

The most important aspect of this process was the way hotels reorganized household space. In pursuit of a more efficient means of providing hospitality, hotel builders broke the household apart, disaggregating its spaces and functions and reconfiguring them into a new kind of plan. In some respects, this process paralleled contemporaneous changes familiar to social historians: the departure of apprentices from their masters' households, the removal of many forms of production from the home, and the emergence of a feminized realm of domesticity. But the hospitality-driven reorganization of the household was the only process that actively transformed the *spaces* of the home. It not only influenced who was at home, when they were there, and what they did, but also changed the shape of the spaces they occupied.

A house or dwelling is a collection of spaces that corresponds to the residential needs or wants of the people who occupy it. In a simple house, one or two rooms could contain areas for sleeping, cooking, eating, and socializing. In more elaborate houses, residents might assign one or more rooms to each of these functions and use additional spaces for bathing, storage, craft production, and the like. For example, the hall-and-parlor houses of colonial America (Figure 4) consisted of two rooms. A person would enter directly into the hall, the more public of the two rooms, which contained a hearth and was used for cooking, eating, and sociability. The parlor, separated from the hall by a door, was a more private space devoted to rest and intimacy. In a more elaborate dwelling, like this townhouse designed by Asher Benjamin in the early nineteenth century (Figure 5), each function was given its own space: a kitchen for

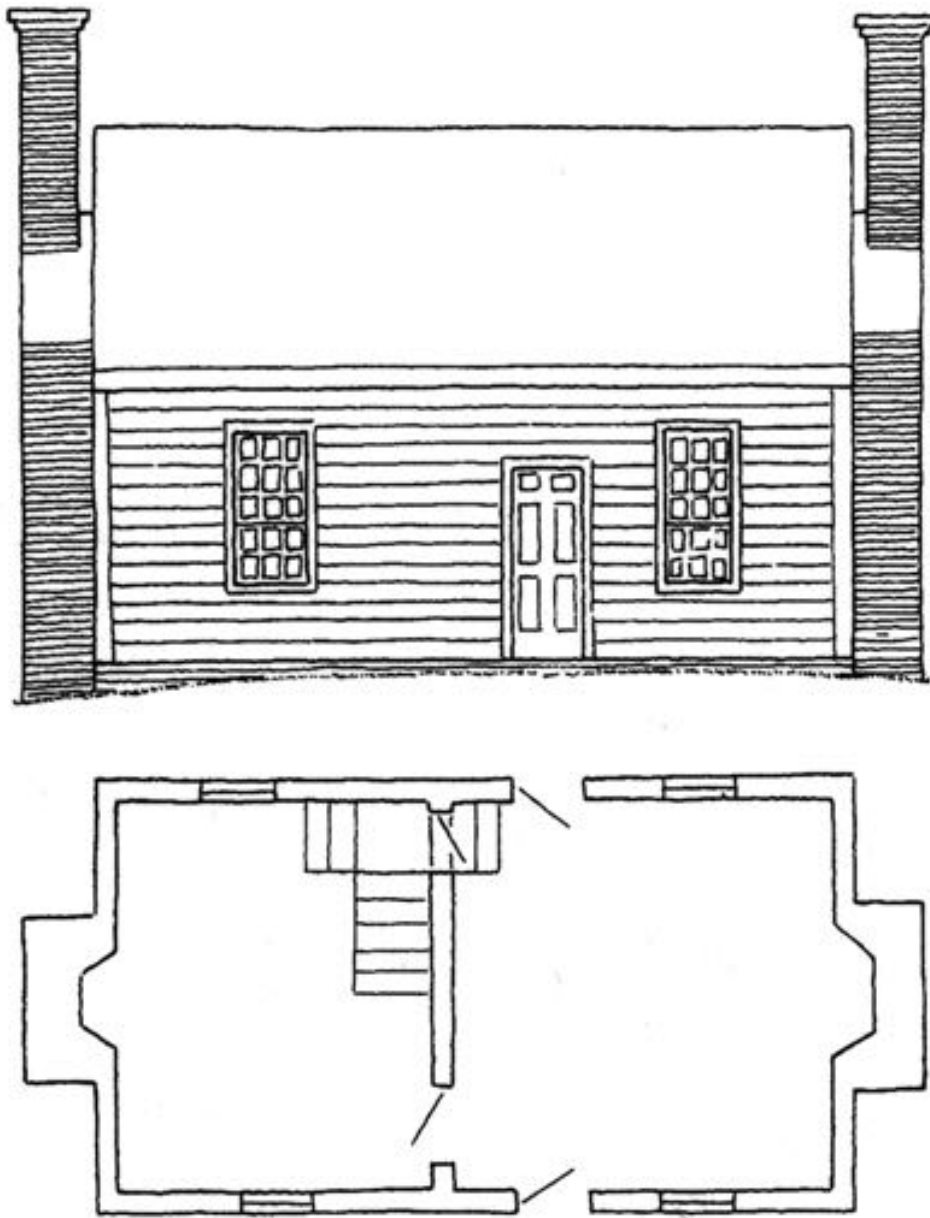


Figure 4: A Hall-and-Parlor House A simple hall-and-parlor house separated the public hall (right) from the private parlor (left), but both were otherwise multifunction spaces. SOURCE: Image from Henry Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture*, 119. Courtesy Indiana University Press.

cooking, a dining room for eating, parlors for entertaining, and bedchambers for sleeping. Different uses were sometimes located on different floors, but all were grouped together for the exclusive use of a single family. When Americans designed and built houses, they typically did so with the specific intention of providing long-term shelter for relatively settled occupants.²⁹

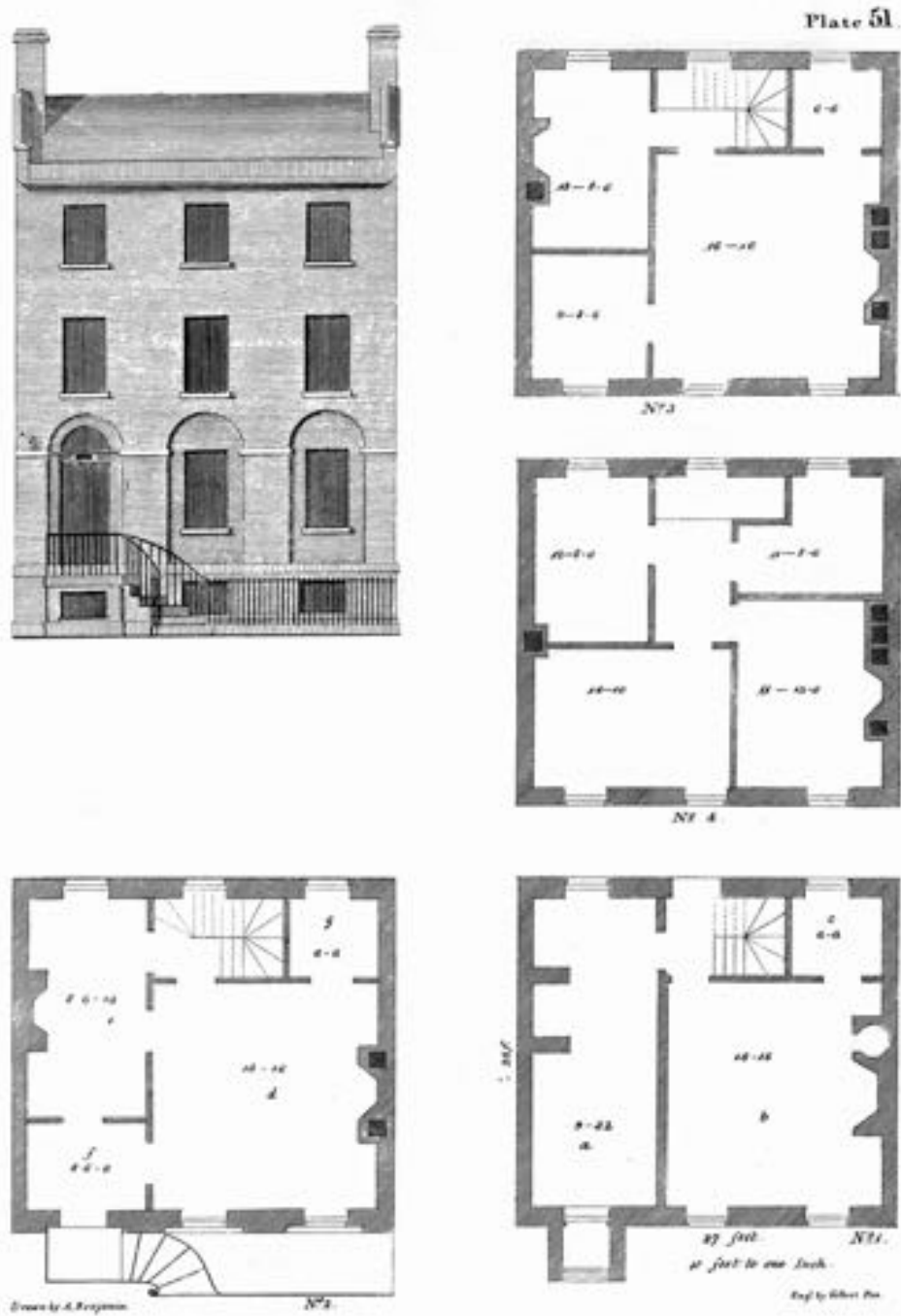


Figure 5: Asher Benjamin Townhouse More elaborate urban dwellings, like this 1806 townhouse design by Asher Benjamin, contained purpose-specific spaces arranged on multiple levels for a single family. SOURCE: Plate from Benjamin's American Builder's Companion (Courtesy University of New Mexico Fine Arts Library).

For the first two centuries of European settlement in North America, hospitality was given or sold in houses. Early American inns and taverns were architecturally indistinguishable from dwellings because the vast majority were simply homes with liquor licenses and makeshift bars (hence the classic hanging tavern sign, deployed to help travelers identify places of accommodation). Hospitality was thus provided in domestic spaces: guests shared bedrooms, ate food prepared at the family hearth, and drank and socialized in converted living rooms.³⁰

But when Americans set about creating a new kind of public house intended for a greatly increased volume of travelers, they transformed the architecture of hospitality. Hotel builders began with the basic functional spaces of the household but drastically altered their arrangement and scale. The same spatial organization is present in Asher Benjamin's 1809 Exchange Coffee House (Figure 6) and Isaiah Rogers's 1829 Tremont House (Figure 7). The most dramatic redistribution of household space involved the sleeping areas, which were greatly multiplied in number and placed side by side in the form of dozens or hundreds of hotel bedchambers. These guest rooms remained individuated, private spaces that were separated from the more public functions of hotels by being placed on upper floors or in separate wings; they were not, however, as private as house bedrooms because they opened directly onto circulating hallways. The other functions of the household underwent a very different transformation: they were greatly amplified in size and capacity so that they could be used in common by the hotel's numerous guests. Enormous kitchens were outfitted with hypertrophied stoves, ovens, and sinks (Figure 8), and served customers in huge common dining halls with long tables and scores of chairs (Figure 9); centralized laundries collected, washed, ironed, and folded clothing for numerous hotel guests. Similarly, the family-size halls and parlors of the private house expanded into sitting rooms and lounges big enough to accommodate large groups (Figure 10); reading rooms became libraries, porches became verandas (Figure 11), hallways became galleries. These more public areas remained together, usually arranged on the lower floors of a hotel where they were shared by guests and locals alike.

Hotel design also involved changes in the spatial distribution and organization of labor. The basic purpose of hotels was to provide travelers with the kinds of goods and services normally obtained in the home, and that purpose was reflected in their internal architecture. In a move that prefigured the removal of many types of production and provision from the household, hotel space created a clear and systematic separation of living space from work space. Hotel rooms were usually no more than bedchambers with occasional attached sitting rooms. They contained no cooking facilities, since the work of food preparation was centralized in the hotel kitchen. The washing of clothes was likewise taken out of the hands of guests and relocated in basement-level laundries that employed wage-working cleaners; the same went for tailoring. Housecleaning could not be spatially separated from the

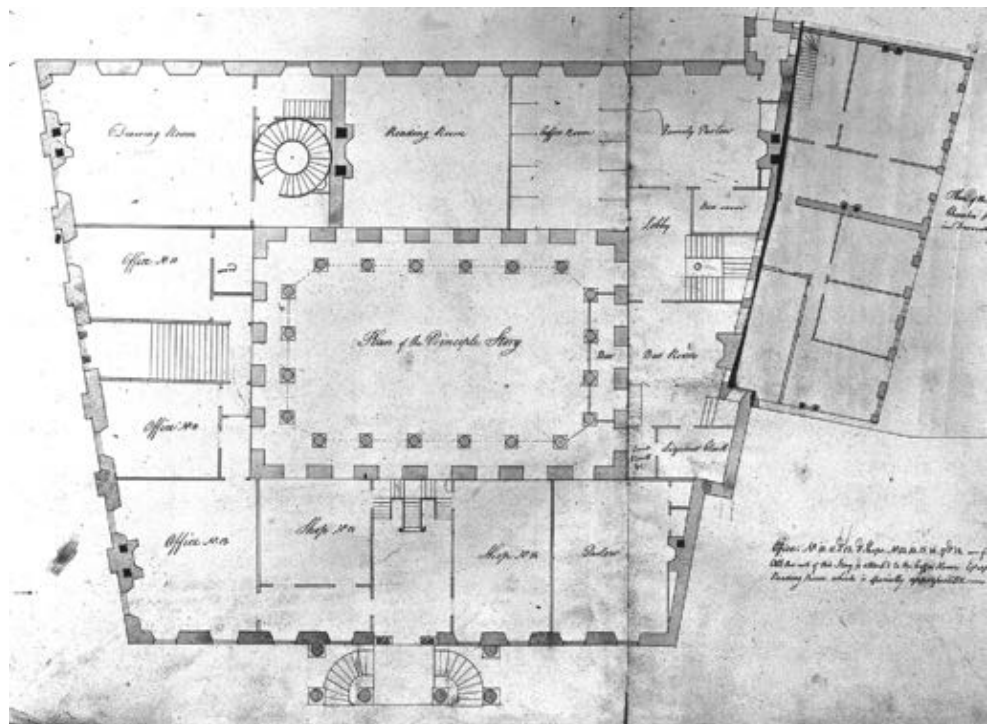
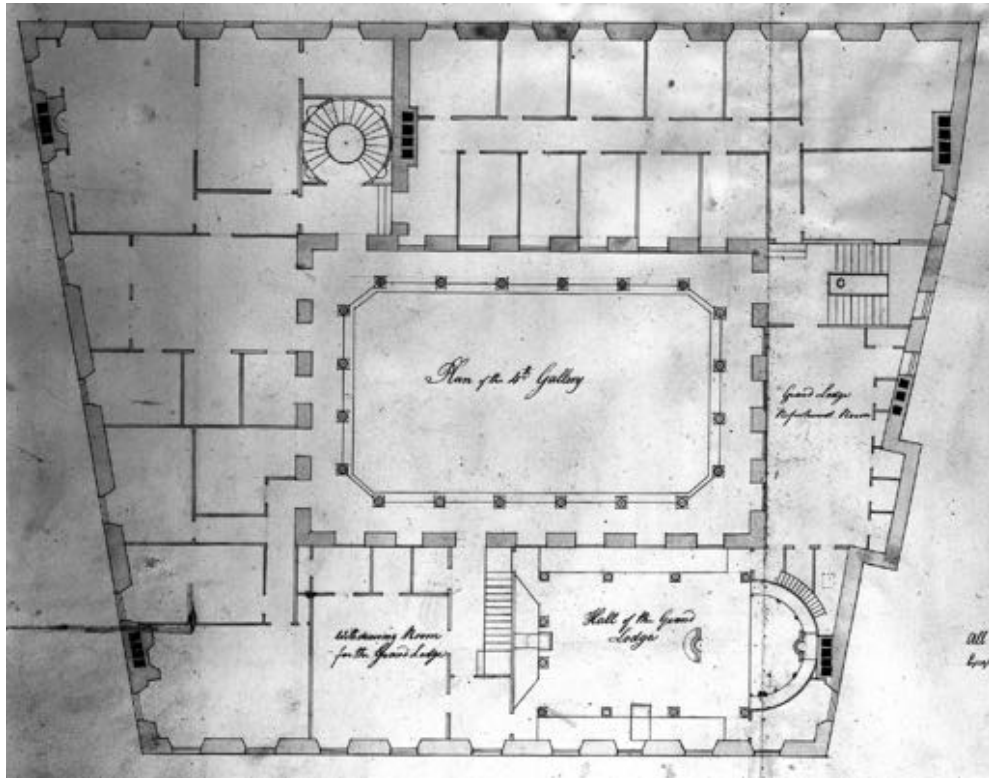


Figure 6: Asher Benjamin's Exchange Coffee House Asher Benjamin's Exchange Coffee House (1809) displays the basic spatial innovation of hotels: disaggregating the private household. Individual bedchambers were placed on the upper stories, shared public spaces on the lower floors.
 SOURCE: Drawings by Thomas W. Sumner, 1817. Courtesy of the Bostonian Society/Old State House.

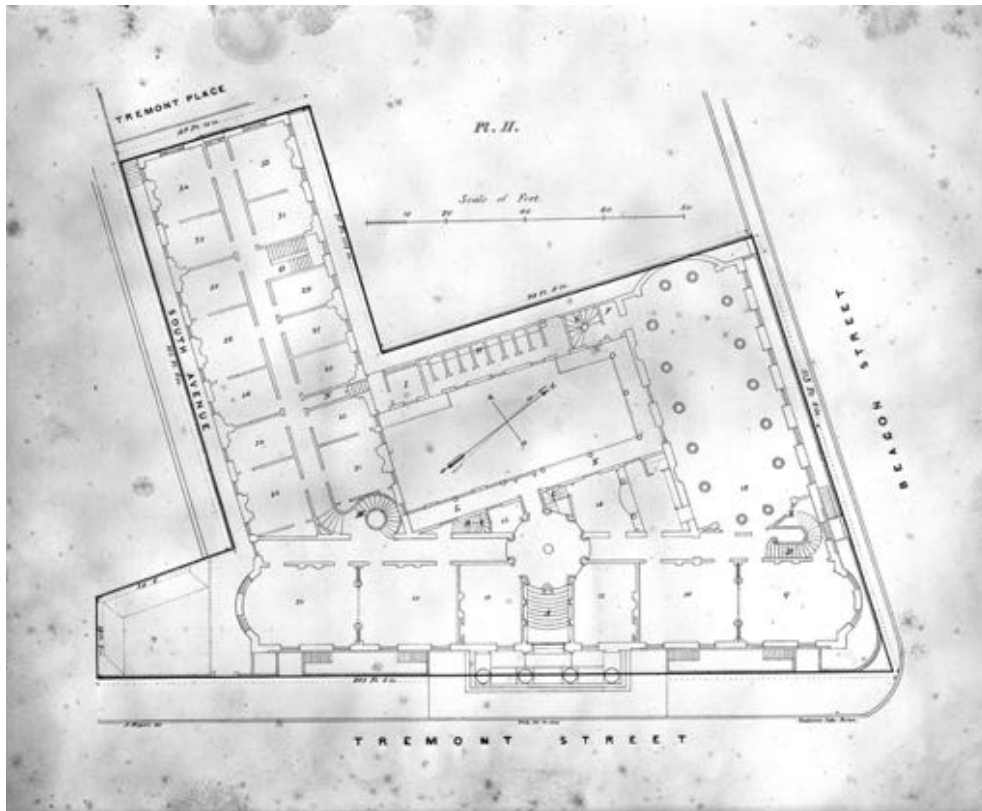


Figure 7: Isiah Rogers's Tremont House Isiah Rogers's 1829 Tremont House grouped small guestrooms together in their own wing (rear left), separated from the reception area, parlors, and ballrooms of the hotel's main section.

SOURCE: Plate from William Havard Eliot, *A Description of the Tremont House* (1830). Courtesy of the Bostonian Society/Old State House.

guest rooms, but it could be contracted out to chambermaids who did their work while guests were out to minimize the evidence of human labor in the upper floors of the hotel. The hotel's innovative new architecture of hospitality thus arranged space and labor in such a way as to make it unnecessary or impossible for guests to perform any sort of traditional housework.³¹

How did these arrangements come to be adapted for residential use? The mere existence of hotels did not, after all, dictate that they would become dwellings. Hotel living arose from the intersection of the microeconomics of hotel-keeping, the residential needs of urbanites, rising real estate prices, and changing notions of gender and work. The supply side is the most easily understood. Hotel-keeping was a highly competitive business characterized by instability and uncertainty, and hotel proprietors sought long-term occupants as a way to ensure some level of stable income. They had to offer resident guests substantial discounts on room rates, of course, but during the winter off-season or in the event of a slow week or month, a reliable contingent of boarders could mean the difference between survival and bankruptcy.³²

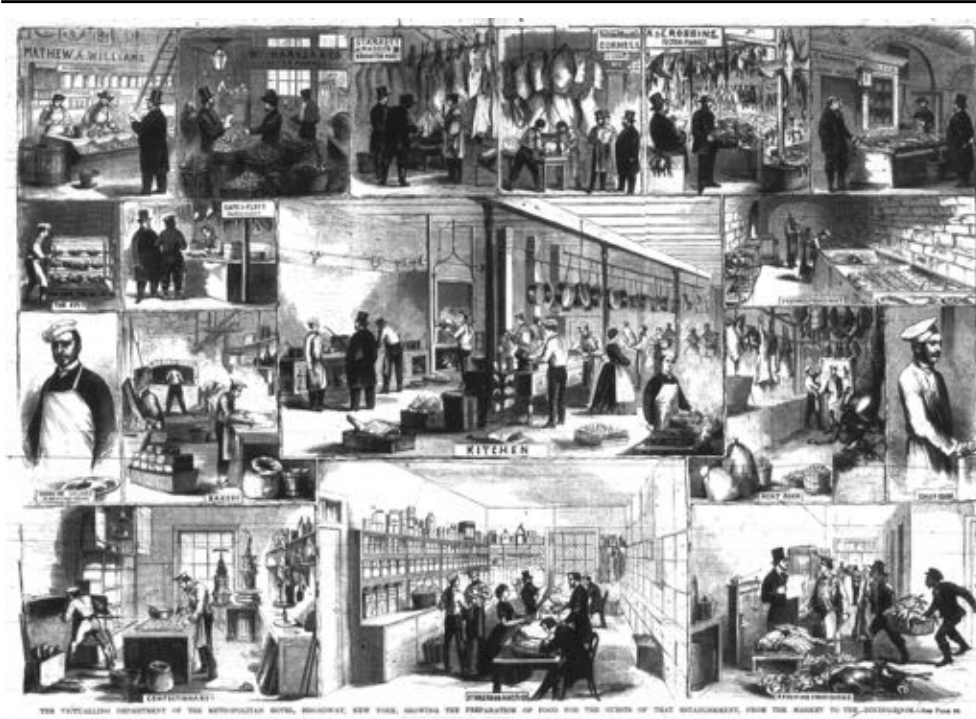


Figure 8: Hotel Kitchen Hotel cooking facilities were essentially scaled-up versions of household kitchens, designed to serve scores or hundreds of guests rather than a single family.

SOURCE: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, December 15, 1860, 52. Courtesy General Research Division, New York Public Library.



Figure 9: Hotel Dining Room Hotel dining rooms, like this one at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York, were proportioned to accommodate huge volumes of travelers and other guests.

SOURCE: Harper's Weekly, October 1, 1859, 632. Courtesy HarpWeek.



Figure 10: Ladies' Parlor The Fifth Avenue Hotel's ladies' parlor typified the way people in hotels socialized in large, shared public spaces rather than in their rooms.
SOURCE: Harper's Weekly, October 1, 1859, 633. Courtesy HarpWeek.

Supply does not create its own demand, however, and hoteliers had to find people interested in living on their premises. Political sojourners may have been their earliest residents. Elected officials and the aides and favor-seekers surrounding them required accommodation for the duration of the legislative season, and many found it at hotels. In nineteenth-century Washington, for example, so many members of Congress lived at the city's hotels that these became vital loci of political activity.³³ The growing ranks of single men in the nation's cities also provided a ready clientele: for those who could afford it, hotels offered them shelter and meals without need of a family or servants.³⁴ For these early hotel residents, and for the families who followed them into hotels in the 1820s and 1830s, the expense of city living was not likely a prime motivation; as noted above, hotels remained quite expensive in these years. Toward mid-century, however, as more affordable hotels were constructed and the cost of housing continued to rise, hotels did become affordable alternatives to private homes. The reason for this was that the same spatial arrangements that made hotels effective providers of hospitality also offered competitive economic advantages. Because they were multistory, multiple-occupant buildings with many shared spaces, hotels made efficient use of land: they could shelter more people than would be possible in houses built on an equivalent number of city lots. In an environment of fast-rising



Figure 11: Veranda at the Grand Hotel, Saratoga, New York House porches were scaled up into verandas like this one at the Grand Hotel, Saratoga, New York.

SOURCE: Robert N. Dennis Collection of Stereoscopic Views #G91F147-003F, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints, and Photographs. Courtesy New York Public Library.

real estate values, hotels were well positioned to realize savings on ground rents and pass them on to guests.

There were other reasons why people chose hotel living. One set of incentives was based on gender and labor. As Dolores Hayden and Elizabeth Collins Cromley have pointed out, certain kinds of multiple dwellings offered women the possibility of liberation from the household work that was expected of them in the domestic ideology of the day. Some observers came to the same conclusion in the 1850s, attributing to wives a particular affinity for hotel life. One male observer grouched on behalf of his sex that “if property rises in the neighborhood, we will yield to our wife’s solicitations,

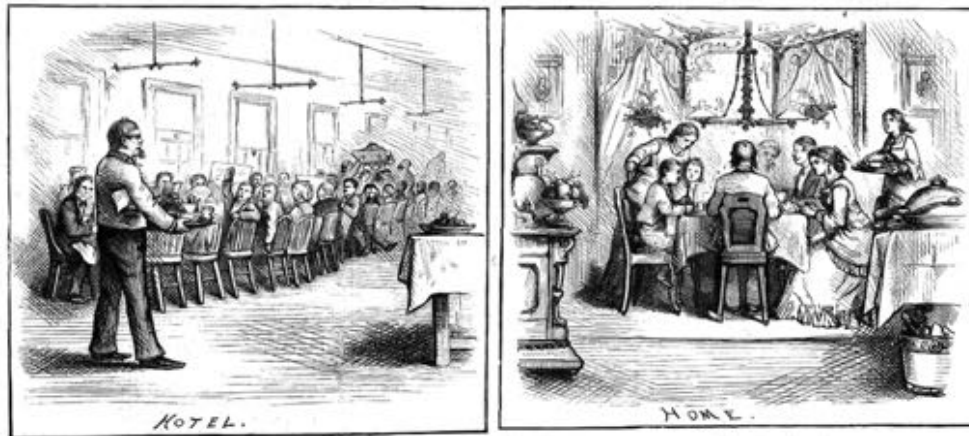


Figure 12: Life at Home and in a Hotel Two panels from a full-page illustration comparing life at home and in a hotel. Note that women do the work of serving in the home, whereas at the hotel, such tasks are performed by waiters.

SOURCE: Harper's Weekly, August 12, 1871, 744-45. Courtesy HarpWeek.

sell it, and go to live in a hotel.”³⁵ In a fictional account of hotel living published in 1857, the narrator explained how he and his wife “went to live at the St. Thunder Hotel.” Even though he had “wanted to keep house, having an eye to my own comfort,” his wife “declared that her health was not equal to the task, and her mother asked me, in a fierce manner, if I wished to be the means of making her childless.”³⁶

It was precisely the imperatives of hotel hospitality that had made such domestic emancipation possible. In organizing themselves to serve travelers, hotels inverted the gendered order of labor within the household. Wives had long been expected to perform unwaged work in the home, and the value of their labor was the property of their husbands, who were not expected to pay for it. The household economy thus involved a constant transfer of value from wives to husbands. But in a hotel, or in an apartment building that had been modeled on one, wives did not need to cook, do laundry, or clean, because those tasks were done by the hotel staff and paid for out of their husbands' income (Figure 12). The exceptional severity with which middle-class male commentators criticized hotel wives—who were variously accused of being lazy, losing their femininity, neglecting their children, and even straying into the arms of other men—suggests just how radical a change this was, and how much danger such men thought it posed to the patriarchal family.³⁷

This new organization of space and labor became a key factor in how multiple dwellings were categorized: it was the pivotal issue in the first legal definition of the difference between tenement houses and apartment buildings. The apartment building emerged in the shadow of the tenement because middle-class families feared that their multiple dwellings might be mistaken for, or even become, working-class housing. In the early developmental years of the

apartment building, however, the legal distinction between these building types did not depend on income or occupation, but on a hotel-like division of labor and space. The case of *Musgrave v. Sherwood* began in 1873, when John Sherwood sold Fannie Musgrave one of a row of houses he had built on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. The title to all the houses specifically prohibited the construction of tenement houses on their lots. In 1875, Sherwood began to convert two of his houses into an apartment building, whereupon Musgrave accused him of violating their purchase agreement and filed for an injunction to halt construction. The ruling in the case, issued by the Supreme Court of New York and upheld by the state's Court of Appeals, stated that Sherwood's building was not a tenement house because it had shared facilities for cooking and washing. As the deciding judge put it:

The house is not . . . designed for the accommodation of transient guests or casual boarders. Rooms in suit[e]s or singly, on the different floors, are taken by families or individuals for some period. The cooking for all guests or residents of the hotel is done by the proprietor on the premises, the house having been provided with all the means and appliances for this purpose; no cooking or laundry work is allowed in the rooms of the guests.

The judge's application of the word "hotel" to a building that he was ruling was an apartment house also bears on the question of whether American hotels or French apartments were the preponderant influence on apartment buildings in the United States. While I have described apartment buildings as having followed either of two distinct lines of architectural development, it is telling that even in New York City, home to the French-influenced Stuyvesant Apartments, and less than ten years after their completion, the legal classification of multiple dwellings placed hotels and apartment buildings on one side, tenement houses and other self-contained residences on the other.³⁸

A close analysis of the spatial characteristics of multiple dwellings in America reveals that in the initial phase of their development, they were shaped as much by hospitality as by domesticity. The structures that became the first purpose-built multiple dwellings were designed for transience rather than residence, and it was the special requirements of large-scale hospitality that created new arrangements of space that were adapted into apartment buildings. It is important to recognize the distinctiveness of this tavern-hotel-apartment path (as opposed to the house-boardinghouse-tenement path) because it represents a second major trajectory of multiple dwellings in the United States; and because it clearly shows how the architecture of hospitality influenced residential space. The upshot of this process was a remarkable reversal. For nearly two hundred years, Americans had offered and received hospitality in structures that looked like private homes. But in the last third of the nineteenth century, the nation's urbanites created a new kind of home that was modeled on spaces of hospitality.

TRANSIENCE, HOSPITALITY, AND URBAN THEORY

This transition from homelike hospitality to hospitality-influenced homes suggests a new way to look at the urban landscape. Alongside industrialization, consumer culture, and other economic processes that shaped cities, we need to consider the influence of the changing human geography of capitalism. In particular, I want to call attention to the gradual weakening of links between people and place, an epochal transformation that gained momentum starting in the latter eighteenth century. The increasing prevalence of human mobility was a distinct and important point of articulation between large-scale structural change and the everyday lives of city dwellers. Thinking carefully about how people responded to the constant presence of outsiders can yield new and useful perspectives on familiar spaces and institutions in urban life.

Urban and social historians have traditionally seen industrialization as the dominant influence on the development of modern American cities, and with good reason: it provides well-grounded explanations for numerous aspects of nineteenth- and twentieth-century urbanism. In terms of urban form and function, industrialization accounts for the fast growth and high density of cities and the elaboration of complex urban infrastructures.³⁹ In the realm of politics, it reveals the origins of organized labor, class-based politics, and the Progressive and New Deal electoral coalitions that created the welfare state.⁴⁰ For students of urban culture, it helps explain large-scale immigration, the emergence of distinct subcultures of sociability and leisure, and the persistence of racial segregation.⁴¹ Historians have also posited other factors that shaped cities, including municipal leadership, architecture and urban planning, and federal policy, but none has as much causal breadth and interpretive power as the incentives, geography, and daily routines dictated by industrial production.⁴²

More recently, however, scholars have sought out other ways of explaining American urbanism. While the Marxian emphasis on wage labor and modes of production remains an important explanatory framework, historians have discovered different mechanisms by which the rise of capitalism generated change in both everyday life and public affairs. Some have explored the home and the family, discovering that transformations once attributed directly to industrialization were better understood through changes in household structure and gender relations.⁴³ In a related development, others have shifted their focus from the working class to the urban middle class, which they portray as the most dynamic and influential social grouping of the nineteenth century. Middle-class families' income typically came from participation in expanding commodity markets, and their identity was most strongly tied to the domestic realm; it was thus commerce and home rather than industry and the workplace that shaped their worldview and activities.⁴⁴ Most recently, scholars have studied the way consumption defined social classes and urban landscapes. According to the consumer synthesis, identity and space were shaped less by

income and occupation and more by the selection and purchase of goods and entertainment.⁴⁵ Urbanists using any of these interpretive frameworks are fundamentally concerned with the rise of markets and capitalism; they differ primarily in what they think are the points of articulation between these structural changes and the lived experience of the past.

The main theoretical goal of this article is to outline another of these points of articulation, one based on transience.⁴⁶ It depended neither on the production nor the consumption of goods, or on goods at all; rather, it operated through human geography. My claims for it are modest; I do not mean to suggest that it is as broadly applicable as the historical syntheses just mentioned. But it does explain key features of the American urban landscape in a way that they do not. The basic mechanism worked as follows: capitalism tended to dissociate people from place, intensifying human transience and calling forth a wide range of institutions dedicated to serving people outside households by providing hospitality for pay.

As with other long-term transformations associated with the rise of capitalism, this process reached a critical stage in the second half of the eighteenth century. For hundreds of years, most people in Europe and North America moved around relatively little. A small minority did travel, to be sure, but the great majority were essentially attached to a single location by their work, their kin, or their duty to serve; notably, scholars in a number of academic disciplines have implicitly or explicitly cited geographic immobility as a common characteristic of pre-capitalist societies.⁴⁷ Beginning around 1750, however, economic and political change loosened bonds between people and places, with theorists and governments alike increasingly rejecting customs and laws that restricted human mobility.⁴⁸ These changes had many different manifestations over the following century and a half, including the end of feudal work regimes and the rise of free labor; the decline of mercantilism and the expansion of unrestricted international trade; the abrogation of land entail; the various abolitions of chattel slavery; massive uncoerced migration to the Americas; and the development of new technologies of travel like steamboats and railways. The result was that people in search of employment or other opportunities moved from place to place in unprecedented numbers and with unprecedented frequency. This did not mean that people were completely severed from place, separated from each other, and set adrift in the world; but it certainly did mean that their relationship to geographic locations was more tentative and temporary than ever before.

Cities were among the most popular destinations of people on the move; indeed, urban population growth depended on the dissociation of people from place. Both because more cities were growing so quickly and because urban populations were so uncommonly transient, their inhabitants regularly found themselves surrounded by people whom they did not know. Under such conditions, traditional forms of personalized, household hospitality were no longer sustainable, and it was in cities that merchant capitalists established new institutions to serve transients and other strangers.

For migrants and city dwellers alike, urban anonymity was an unaccustomed condition, and it was no coincidence that the stranger, whether in the singular form of the unknown individual or the plural form of the anonymous crowd, became a frequent referent in the literature of the period. E. T. A. Hoffmann's brief tale "Cousin's Corner Window" (1822), Edgar Allan Poe's short story "The Man of the Crowd" (1840) and Charles Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal* (1857), *Tableaux Parisiens* (1861), and *Le Spleen de Paris* (1864) all focused on individuals adrift among the urban masses of Berlin, London, and Paris.⁴⁹ Urbanization in the nineteenth-century United States elicited similar responses, with works like Lydia Maria Child's 1840s book series *Letters From New-York* and Herman Melville's *The Confidence-Man* (1857) dwelling at length on the experience of living among strangers.⁵⁰

Decades later, the founding theorists of urbanism also came to regard transience and anonymity as characteristic features of city life. In *The City* (1905), Max Weber recognized the constant presence of strangers as a basic feature of large cities, observing that "the city often represents a locality and dense settlement of dwellings forming a colony so extensive that personal reciprocal acquaintance of the inhabitants is lacking."⁵¹ Georg Simmel's essay "The Stranger" (1908) developed the concept at length, and his seminal article "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1908) and other writings demonstrated a recurrent preoccupation with the stranger as the classic urban citizen. A similar focus was evident among leading figures of the Chicago school of urban sociology. Robert Park cited what he called the "mobilization of the individual man" as a primary determinant of the culture of cities, using an apt residential metaphor to describe the anonymity of urban life: "A very large part of the populations of great cities," he wrote, "including those who make their homes in tenements and apartment houses, live much as people do in some great hotel, meeting but not knowing one another."⁵² Park also used the figure of the stranger as a constant symbol and model in his efforts to understand the experiences of migrants and immigrants in the city. And Louis Wirth, in his widely-read 1938 article "Urbanism as a Way of Life," cited Weber and Simmel in discussing the loss of "mutual acquaintanceship" and the "superficiality, the anonymity, and the transitory character of urban social relations."⁵³ These and other major writings on urbanism demonstrate that scholars searching for a theoretical understanding of the city were keenly aware of the problems and opportunities presented by human mobility, transience, and anonymity.⁵⁴

This approach has been developed further by a small but influential number of urban historians and historically-minded urban sociologists. Lyn H. Lofland's *A World of Strangers* (1973) takes the presence of strangers as its central problematic and explains how new kinds of perception and behavior emerged in response. Richard Sennett's *The Fall of Public Man* (1976) also addresses the fact of urban anonymity and the kinds of social performance it engendered. Paul Boyer's *Urban Masses and Moral Order* (1978) describes how the menace of unruly urban crowds led to widespread fears of

social disorder and spurred efforts to create stability through urban reform movements. Karen Halttunen's *Confidence Men and Painted Women* (1982) demonstrates how urban conditions of constant interaction with strangers generated a cultural crisis of authenticity and honesty and fostered a desire for emotional self-revelation. John Kasson's *Rudeness and Civility* (1990) also explores modes and manners of behavior created to convey meaning and status under conditions of widespread anonymity.⁵⁵

All of these writings, from literature to theory to history, emphasize transience and anonymity as basic characteristics of urban life, but none has considered their influence on urban space. These texts thoroughly explore the difficulty of living among strangers and consider how people learned to cope with what for many was a bewildering social condition. Their emphasis, however, is almost exclusively affective and behavioral: they are concerned with new psychological states, new cognitive styles, new ways of performing the self. Yet these were by no means the only products of the urban world of strangers; as I have tried to demonstrate, it also exerted a permanent influence on the cityscape because it led people to rearrange the spaces in which they lived.

RETHINKING THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

In this article, I have posited an alternate line of development for multiple dwellings in the United States. In addition to the well-understood path from house to boardinghouse to tenement, there was also a path that ran from taverns to hotels to apartment buildings. This developmental trajectory was shaped more by hospitality than by domesticity, and as a result it took place earlier and involved different motivations and uses of space. The key to understanding this relationship between hospitality and multiple dwellings is to focus on how and why people produced and modified the spaces they occupied in everyday life. More generally, I have proposed a new mechanism by which macroeconomic change shaped the built environment and lived experience of the city. In response to the decoupling of people from place and the consequent rise of human transience, Americans created new institutions by disaggregating and reorganizing the spaces and functions of the household. Hospitality thus became a key point of articulation between the rise of capitalism and the physical form of the urban landscape.

These findings also suggest a way to interpret one of the basic turning points in the history of the American urban landscape: the rather sudden diversification of a few building types into a complex array of specialized structures. Cities of the colonial era were made up of a limited number of architectural types. Because the household was the basic unit of economic production and social reproduction, the cityscape was mostly composed of simple structures that served as both dwellings and workplaces. These were

joined by a few specialized edifices, including churches, market houses, warehouses, and town halls. It was only after the Revolutionary War that Americans created additional purpose-specific architectural types, making the early national and antebellum periods exceptionally innovative years that saw the creation of a multitude of spatial forms. This process can be interpreted as the result of well understood changes in the household economy, most notably the decline of household production. But this only accounts for some of the new building types. If we think of the household economy in spatial terms and place as much emphasis on personal service as on the production of goods, a more complete picture emerges. Like the hotel, many new urban institutions involved removing particular spaces and services from the household, reconstructing them on a larger or smaller scale, and offering them for sale in their own specialized spaces. The emergence of institutions of this kind was essential to the making of the modern cityscape: a complex and unpredictable terrain in which a broad array of activities and spaces generate the most stimulating environments in the world.⁵⁶

In this connection, we might reinterpret a variety of familiar urban institutions as spaces of commercialized hospitality, places where individual components of home life were offered for sale. Restaurants provided a generous selection of fare (and exemption from the subsequent clean-up) at times and places of their patrons' choosing. Commercial laundries commodified the work of washing clothes. Saloons proffered refreshment and sometimes free lunches, and provided workingmen with spaces and opportunities for sociability that were often unavailable in the cramped quarters of their homes. Dance halls, amusement parks, and similar entertainment establishments afforded people (especially young people) places where they could socialize away from the stifling surveillance and control of family and neighborhood. A similar dynamic was involved when city-bound "women adrift" sought out rooming houses and apartments where they could obtain shelter and food away from the quasi-familial supervision of boardinghouses. Contrariwise, YMCAs and YWCAs were established to provide wholesome medium-term residential and social environments to young people who might otherwise be corrupted by the danger and immorality of life outside a respectable home. All these institutions made functional sense precisely because cities were places increasingly populated by, and catering to, people outside traditional households.⁵⁷

Understanding how transience and hospitality shape the landscape may also offer a useful perspective on the present and future of American urbanism. The processes that shape the cityscape continue to change. On occasion, entirely new dynamics emerge; more often, we see existing imperatives rise or fall in importance. We therefore need to pay close attention to a range of mechanisms at work in our cities. As manufacturers continue to move jobs away from cities, offshore work to foreign lands, or transfer labor into high-invisible domestic sweatshops, the industrial growth that fueled urbanization

for the past two hundred years has less and less to do with how cities look today. Many municipalities in search of a new economic base have tried to harness human mobility in the form of tourism—hence the construction of convention centers, the renovation of historic downtowns, the marketing of distinctive local cultures, and the promotion of heritage travel. Such initiatives demonstrate that people's relationship to place and their patterns of travel are increasingly significant determinants of how wealth is generated and distributed. With the livelihood of settled populations becoming more dependent on visitors, hospitality is becoming an even more critical part of the nation's fast-growing service sector. As we look to the future, we can foresee a global economy of unprecedented transience in which human beings are almost as mobile as goods and money. In a world where capturing the flow of people is as vital to cities as commanding the flow of commodities and capital, and where many communities are shaped as much by who passes through them as by what is produced in them, hospitality will be an increasingly vital imperative.⁵⁸

NOTES

1. Paul Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States* (Berkeley, 1996); Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *Alone Together: A History of New York's Early Apartments* (Ithaca, 1990); and Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, 1981).

2. My methodology draws heavily on the work of J. B. Jackson and his associates and students. For an introduction, see J. B. Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven, 1986); Michael P. Conzen, ed., *The Making of the American Landscape* (New York, 1990); Paul Groth and Todd Bressi, eds., *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes* (New Haven, 1997); J. B. Jackson, *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America*, ed. Helen Horowitz (New Haven, 2000); and Chris Wilson and Paul Groth, eds., *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J. B. Jackson* (Berkeley, 2003).

3. On boardinghouses, see Wendy Gamber, "Away from Home: Middle-Class Boarders in the Nineteenth-Century City," *Journal of Urban History* 31 (2005), 289-305; Wendy Gamber, *Houses, Not Homes: Boardinghouses in Nineteenth-Century America* (forthcoming); and Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent, 1785-1850* (Ithaca, 1989), 60-63, 88, 134-135.

4. Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge, 1981), 117-18.

5. Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent*, 185.

6. Wright, *Building the Dream*, 117-18; Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent*, 185; and James Ford, *Slums and Housing* (Cambridge, 1936), 95. See also Roy Lubove, *The Progressives and the Slums: Tenement House Reform in New York City, 1890-1917* (Pittsburgh, 1962) and Richard A. Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City* (New York, 1989). There had been slightly earlier forms of large-scale worker housing in the United States, but these consisted of repeating units of small-scale family homes. See Wright, *Building the Dream*, chap. 4 and John Coolidge, *Mill and Mansion: A Study of Architecture and Society in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1820-1865* (New York, 1942), 9-57.

7. Cromley, *Alone Together*, 2.

8. Paul Groth, *Living Downtown*, 51-52. Andrew Alpern, *Apartments for the Affluent* (New York, 1975); Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1980), 45-53; Richard Plunz, ed., *Housing Form and Public Policy in the United States* (New York, 1980); John Hancock, "The Apartment House in Urban America," in Anthony D. King, ed., *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment* (London, 1980); Robert A. M. Stern, "With Rhetoric: The New York Apartment House," *Via* 4 (1980), 78-111; Amy

Kallman Epstein, "Multifamily Dwellings and the Search for Respectability: Origins of the New York Apartment House," *Urbanism Past and Present* 5 (1980), 29-39; Jean Follett, "The Hotel Pelham: A New Building Type for America," *American Art Journal* 15 (1983), 58-73; C. W. Westfall, "From Homes to Towers: A Century of Chicago's Best Hotels and Tall Apartment Buildings," in John Zukowsky, ed., *Chicago Architecture, 1872-1922* (Munich, 1987); James M. Goode, *Best Addresses: Apartments in Washington* (Washington, 1988); Cromley, *Alone Together*, 2, 65n4; and Groth, *Living Downtown*, 51-52. See also Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley, 1999) and Neil Harris, *Chicago Apartments* (Chicago, 2004).

9. Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent*, 252.

10. Paul Groth's earliest citation on residence in hotels dates from 1836 (*Living Downtown*, 26); a small part of my intended contribution is to date hotel dwellings from more than a quarter-century earlier.

11. "A Description of the Boston Exchange Coffee-House, written in 1809," (1818). Reprint held at Massachusetts Historical Society.

12. John M. Duncan, *Travels Through Part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819* (Glasgow, 1823), II.247.

13. *Mechanics' Magazine and Journal of the Mechanics' Institute* (January 1833), 1.

14. Groth, *Living Downtown*, 38; Molly W. Berger, "The Modern Hotel in America" (PhD thesis, Case Western Reserve University, 1997), 81; and Jefferson Williamson, *The American Hotel: An Anecdotal History* (New York, 1930), 116. For more detail on the Boston Exchange Coffee House, see Jane Kamensky, *The Exchange Artist: A Story of Paper, Bricks, and Ash in Early National America* (forthcoming).

15. Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent*, 194. On hotel rates, see I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York, 1915-1928), III.528; *Baltimore Sun*, May 17, 1837; King, "Hotels of the Old South," 208n93-95; Williamson, *American Hotel*, 28; James Logan, *Notes of a Journey through Canada, the United States of America, and the West Indies* (Edinburgh, 1838), 67; *The Picture of New York* (New York, 1828), transcript at New-York Historical Society, Quinn Collection, 1828 folder.

16. Anthony Trollope, *North America* (New York, 1862), II.174. Picture of New York transcript; Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (New York, 1973, reprint 2002), 145; and Groth, *Living Downtown*, 56-57. For other sources on hotel residence, see Carolyn R. Bruckner, "Consuming Luxury: Luxury Hotels in Antebellum America, 1825-1860" (PhD thesis, George Washington University, 1997), chap. 7; Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (New York, 1989), 168.

17. Putnam's Monthly Magazine (April 1853), 367.

18. Robert A. Margo, "The Rental Price of Housing in New York City, 1830-1860," *Journal of Economic History* 56 (1996), 617; and Putnam's Monthly Magazine (April 1853), 367 and (March 1854), 1.

19. Vaux's speech was reprinted in *Harper's Weekly*, December 19, 1857, 809-810.

20. "For Sale on Moderate Terms: The Block of Dwelling Houses upon Murray Hill," advertisement, Andrew Jackson Davis Collection II, item 43-1, Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University.

21. Cromley, *Alone Together*, 28-31, 82-83; "For Sale on Moderate Terms."

22. Follett, "The Hotel Pelham"; Douglas Shand-Tucci, *Built in Boston: City and Suburb 1800-2000* (Boston, 1978), 101-106; *American Architect and Building News* I.290, November 18, 1876 (shared laundry) and II.188, June 16, 1877 (kitchenless rooms).

23. Epstein, "Multifamily Dwellings," 37-39.

24. Goode, *Best Addresses*, 5-7, 29, 536-540.

25. Westfall, "From Homes to Towers," 269-273. See also Andrew S. Dolkart, "Millionaires' Elysiums: The Luxury Apartment Hotels of Schultze and Weaver," *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 25 (2005), 15-17.

26. It also suggests that the initial reason for people's misgivings about multiple dwellings was not the comparison to tenements, though that may have become the reason subsequently.

27. See, for example, Cromley, *Alone Together*, chap. 2; Harris, *Chicago Apartments*, 13. A notable exception to this interpretation is Anne C. Rose's assertion that "Victorians relished the sociability of boardinghouses and hotels." See *Victorian America and the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1992), 175.

28. While Paul Groth's *Living Downtown* has given us an invaluable account of how hotels were used for residences, the book's temporal and analytical focus—on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially the attitudes and policy decisions that led to a late-twentieth-century housing crisis brought on by the destruction of hotel homes—dictated that problematizing the origins of hotel spaces was not a priority.

29. Henry Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture* (Bloomington, 1999), 79-90, 116-131 and Asher Benjamin and Daniel Raynerd, *The American Builder's Companion* (Boston, 1806), Plate 33.

30. A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, "A Public House for a New Republic: The Architecture of Accommodation and the American State, 1789-1809," in Alison K. Hoagland and Kenneth A. Breisch, eds., *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IX* (Knoxville, 2003), 54-70.

31. Boardinghouses, which also provided short-term hospitality to nineteenth-century travelers, were not purpose-built structures and did not pioneer significant hospitality-driven innovations in spatial arrangement.

32. Turnover is evidenced by year-to-year changes in the names of hotel proprietors at a given address. See, for instance, New York City directories for 1850-1860. For examples of bankruptcies, see R. G. Dun ledgers, Baker Library, Harvard University, especially Sidney Sea (Chicago, 1860-1871), Jas Barker (New Haven, 1870-1877), and Norman W. Rood (New Haven, 1878-1881).

33. Jane Boyle Knowles, "Luxury Hotels in American Cities" (PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1972), 237-239. See also James Sterling Young, *The Washington Community* (New York, 1966) and Garnett Laidlaw Eskew, *Willard's of Washington: The Epic of a Capital Caravansary* (New York, 1954).

34. On bachelor residences, see Howard Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor: Creating an American Subculture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 27-35 and chap. 3.

35. Harper's Weekly, September 5, 1857, 563.

36. Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution*; Cromley, *Alone Together*; Harper's Weekly, September 5, 1857, 563 and December 26, 1857, 824.

37. Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent*, 53-59, 112, 122-125; Cromley, *Alone Together*, 20-24; and Groth, *Living Downtown*, 208-211.

38. *Musgrave v. Sherwood*, 53 How. Pr. 311, N.Y. Sup., 1877 (granting Musgrave a temporary injunction); *Musgrave v. Sherwood*, 23 Hun 674, 54 How. Pr. 338, N.Y. Sup., 1878 (lifting the injunction and dismissing Musgrave's suit); *Musgrave v. Sherwood*, 76 N.Y. 194, 1879 WL 10612, N.Y., 1879 (affirming the previous ruling). Note that in New York, the Court of Appeals rather than the Supreme Court is the highest court in the state. The relevant tenement house law is found in Laws of the State of New York, passed at the Ninetieth Session of the Legislature (New York: Banks & Brothers, 1867), vol. II, chap. 908, p. 2273. The lawsuit was remarked on in *American Architect and Building News* II. 290, September 8, 1877 and III.45, February 9, 1878. The latter AABN article is cited in Cromley, *Alone Together*, 6.

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46. A careful defining of terms is in order here to clarify distinctions among different categories of human mobility. I use the term transience to indicate a state of regular coming and going in which people travel to different places but stay only briefly, for a few days or weeks. Transience is closely related to (and for the purposes of this article subsumes) sojourning, which involves a more prolonged yet still temporary presence at a location. Transience and sojourning are thus different from migration, which generally denotes a permanent or at least long-term relocation to a new place of residence. Hotels were designed primarily for transients, frequently patronized by sojourners, and occasionally used on a temporary basis by migrants.

47. Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (New York, 1944), 81-82, 87, 90-93; C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Oxford, 1962), 49-51; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1980), 114-115; John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845* (New Haven, 1982), 19-24; James E. Vance, *Capturing the Horizon: The Historical Geography of Transportation Since the Transportation Revolution of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1986), 3-7; and William Leach, *Country of Exiles: The Destruction of Place in American Life* (New York, 1999), 9-11. See also George W. Pierson, "The M-Factor in American History," *American Quarterly* 14 (1962), 275-289 and Howard P. Chudacoff, *Mobile Americans: Residential and Social Mobility in Omaha, 1880-1920* (New York, 1972).

48. William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Oxford, 1765-1769), book I, chap. 1, "Of the Absolute Rights of Individuals"; Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (London, 1776; reprint Chicago, 1976), 157-8; and Immanuel Kant, "Toward Perpetual Peace," in Mary J. Gregor, ed. and trans., *Immanuel Kant: Practical Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1996), 313, 328-331. See more generally John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State* (New York, 2000).

49. These representations of the crowd are memorably analyzed in Walter Benjamin's *On Some Motifs in Baudelaire* (Frankfurt, 1939). Also representative of European literary interest in the crowd and the stranger are Honoré de Balzac's "The Girl with the Golden Eyes," Victor Hugo's various descriptions of Paris crowds, and Søren Kierkegaard's *Diary of a Seducer*.

50. Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women*, 36; Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order*, 73-74; Herman Melville, *The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade* (Boston, 1857).

51. Max Weber, *The City*, trans. and ed. Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth (Glencoe, Illinois, 1958), 65.

52. Robert Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment," *American Journal of Sociology* 20 (1915), 607.

53. Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology* 44 (1938), 11-12.

54. Max Weber, "The City," 65; Georg Simmel, "The Stranger" and "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, trans. and ed. Kurt Wolff (Glencoe, 1950); Robert Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior," 607 and "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology* 33 (1928), especially the metaphor on page 892: "The emancipated Jew was, and is, historically and typically the first marginal man, the first cosmopolite and citizen of the world . . . Most if not all the characteristics of the Jew . . . are the characteristics of the city man—the man who ranges widely, lives preferably in a hotel—in short, the cosmopolite."; and Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as

a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology* 44 (1938), 11-12. See also S. Dale McLemore, "Simmel's 'Stranger': A Critique of the Concept," *Pacific Sociological Review* 13 (1970) and Zygmunt Bauman, "Strangers: The Social Construction of Universality and Particularity," *Telos* 88 (1988-1989).

55. Lyn Lofland, *A World of Strangers: Order and Action in Public Space* (New York, 1973); Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York, 1976); Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America*; Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women*; John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (Chapel Hill, 1990).

56. Richard Longstreth, "Architecture and the City," in Howard Gillette, Jr. and Zane L. Miller, eds., *American Urbanism: A Historiographical Review* (Westport, 1987), 165. Leading surveys of American buildings and architecture include Vincent Scully, *American Architecture and Urbanism* (New York, 1969); Leland M. Roth, *A Concise History of American Architecture* (New York, 1979); Spiro Kostof, *America by Design* (New York, 1987); and Dell Upton, *Architecture in the United States* (New York, 1998).

57. Richard Pillsbury, *From Boarding House to Bistro: The American Restaurant Then and Now* (Boston, 1990); Arwen P. Mohun, *Steam Laundries: Gender, Technology, and Work in the United States and Great Britain, 1880-1940* (Baltimore, 1999); Perry R. Duis, *The Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston, 1880-1920* (Urbana, 1983); Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*; John F. Kasson, *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York, 1978); Joanne Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago, 1988); and Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt, eds., *Men and Women Adrift: The YMCA and the YWCA in the City* (New York, 1997).

58. Dennis Judd and Susan Fainstein, eds., *The Tourist City* (New Haven, 1999); Hal Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1998); and Saskia Sassen, *Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money* (New York, 1999).

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