Stuart, Florida, 2011

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PAST consists of papers and abstracts of papers presented at the annual meeting of the Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes. Any paper that was presented at the previous year’s annual meeting is eligible for publication in this Journal. Manuscripts are not peer-reviewed, and the Editor will make grammatical corrections only. Authors should consult the most recent edition of PAST for examples of the preferred editorial style. Manuscripts should be submitted directly to the Editor via email as Word attachments or via conventional mail on disk or CD-ROM as Word documents. Photos and illustrations should be submitted electronically as .jpg files. “On the Road” is an annual collection of photographic essays devoted to topics relating to material culture in the Americas, and the editor will consider submissions from any member of the Pioneer America Society. Address inquiries, including copyright permission, reprints, inquiries about manuscript and “On the Road” submissions, and letters, to the Editor.

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Table of Contents

Echoes of the Past
Paul Marr, Co-Editor

ANNUAL MEETING
Abstracts of Papers Presented at the 2011 Conference
Meet the 2011 Award Recipients

ARTICLES

Boom and Bust: Landscapes of Economic and Cultural Transition (A Field Trip along Florida’s Treasure Coast)
Wayne Brew, Montgomery County Community College, and Scott C. Roper, Castleton State College

“Oh what a rotten name:” Toponymic Change in Northeast Ohio
Chris W. Post, Kent State University at Stark

Between Booms: the Commercial Identity and Heritage Tourism of Mineral Point, Wisconsin
Andrea Truitt, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities

Britain’s Ambitious Florida Venture: Turnbull’s Smyrnéa Settlement (1766-1777)
Arlene Fradkin, Florida Atlantic University; Roger T. Grange, Jr., University of South Florida; and Dorothy L. Moore, New Smyrna Beach, Florida

Rebuilding Philadelphia’s Gold Mountain: Themed Space and Living Community in Transition
Kathryn E. Wilson, Georgia State University

A Work in Progress on the Basic Gasoline Station
Keith A. Sculle
Echoes of the PAST

In this issue of Pioneer America Society Transactions (PAST) we have included five manuscripts from the 2012 PAS:APAL Conference at Stuart, Florida. The sessions were held at Wolf High-Technology Center, Chastain Campus, at Indian River State College, where eighteen papers were presented. Additionally, Wayne Brew and Scott C. Roper hosted a regional field trip and their field guide, Boom and Bust: Landscapes of Economic and Cultural Transition, A Field Trip along Florida’s Treasure Coast, is included in this issue. Although the field guide stands alone as an engaging historical-geographical take on coastal Florida, we also hope that this guide will provide an example that can be used by others who are contemplating organizing a field excursion.

Christopher Post examines the political and economic setting surrounding the town of New Berlin’s name change to North Canton after the United States entered World War I in his manuscript “Oh what a rotten name:” Toponymic Change in Northeast Ohio. In particular, the role of the Hoover Suction Sweeper Company (later the W.H. Hoover Company) in bringing about the eventual name change is examined.

Andrea Truitt examines the economic changes that occurred in a boom-and-bust mining town in her manuscript Between Booms: the Commercial Identity and Heritage Tourism of Mineral Point, Wisconsin. The arc of these structural changes are examined in light of the town’s new role as a heritage tourism center for the historic lead-zinc mining economy.

In their manuscript Britain’s Ambitious Florida Venture: Turnbull’s Smyrnéa Settlement (1766-1777), Arlene Fradkin, Roger T. Grange, Jr, and Dorothy L. Moore investigate the archaeological remains of a British agricultural enterprise along Florida’s Indian River. Although a substantial amount of development has occurred in the area, over 40 significant archaeological sites have been recorded.

In Rebuilding Philadelphia’s Gold Mountain: Themed Space and Living Community in Transition, Kathryn E. Wilson examines the competing interests of preservation and redevelopment of Philadelphia’s Chinatown, an historically disadvantaged community. Of particular interest is her treatment of the often competing interests of preservation and revitalization efforts.

Keith A. Sculle continues his research into the American gasoline service station in his manuscript A Work in Progress on the Basic Gasoline Station. His current efforts focus on service station reuse and adaptation, using historic and modern photographs to document this process.

Finally, I would like to thank Deborah Slater for her work on this issue of PAST. In particular, her web skills have allowed authors to incorporate multiple images, graphics, and photographs into their work in a way that truly benefits the manuscripts. I hope you find this issue of PAST as enjoyable as I have.

– Paul Marr, Professor of Geography, Shippensburg University
Abstracts of Papers Presented

Sabotage, Fraud, or Mere Misfortune? The Mysterious Case of the Mammoth Cave Mushroom Company
Katie Algeo, Western Kentucky University

This paper explores the material culture and landscapes of culinary mushroom production in the U.S. during the latter half of the nineteenth century in order to shed light on a short-lived experiment at Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, using the cave as a site of mushroom production. It identifies European antecedents, particularly an extensive mushroom industry in the limestone catacombs of Paris, and attempts to trace the diffusion of culinary mushroom production to the U.S. This background is then used to explore the particular history of the Mammoth Cave Mushroom Company, which was formed in August 1881 during a particularly contentious period of family struggle for control of the cave, its resources, and tourism operations. The Mushroom Company came to an end shortly after December 1881, when coal oil was poured by an unknown person on the mushroom beds. Was this an act of sabotage by the jealous hotel manager? Was it an attempt by the manager of the mushroom company to save face when bad spawn failed to inoculate the mushroom beds? Or was it an attempt by the family member who started the company to defraud his co-investors? Ultimately, the historical record is insufficient to reach a conclusion, but repercussions of this incident continued to poison family relations for decades, compounding disagreements about cave management.

Transformational Processes in the Development of the Pennsylvania-German Material Culture Landscape in Central Ohio during the Federal Period, 1790-1850
The regional cultural landscapes of Ohio reflect the legacy of the migration of three major population groups from the East Coast during the early, formative period of the state’s settlement between 1790 and 1850. Pennsylvania-Germans, numerically the most numerous of these groups, settled primarily in the central and east-central regions of the state. This presentation first delimits the geographical extent of this subculture area in Ohio and defines the characteristic material culture elements related to Pennsylvania-German settlement in the region. Next, divergence from original forms of these material culture elements within Ohio during the early nineteenth century is discussed and framed within the context of important national transformational processes taking place during the Federal and early National eras. Finally, the development of this cultural landscape is discussed within the context of various American historical “metanarratives,” especially as they relate to the development of cultural landscapes in interior, “secondary” regions of settlement during the Federal and early National periods.

**The Search for “Cracker Architecture” in Southern Florida**  
*Wayne Brew, Montgomery County Community College*

Armed with Ronald Haase’s book ‘Classic Cracker; Florida’s Wood-Frame Vernacular Architecture’ and a sense of adventure, Scott Roper and I set out to plan the field trip for this year’s meeting in Stuart. There are several interpretations of origins of the term ‘cracker’ that will be discussed. Various vernacular house forms documented by Haase will be briefly explored including indigenous structures (Seminole Chichee), log structures (single pen, saddle bag and dogtrot), I-House, Four-Square ‘Georgian’, and pyramidal roofs. This presentation will summarize what we found, along with what we did not find in our quixotic search.

**Picturing the Road: Historic Images of the Dixie Highway**  
*Jeffrey L. Durbin, National Park Service*

During the early twentieth century, numerous private associations formed to promote the improvement of all-weather automobile highways. These Good Roads organizations understood the commercial value of these highways to communities along their routes through increased tourism, but they also recognized the appeal that long-distance auto travel would have to the automobile tourists.

One of the most famous of these—though not well-represented in the scholarship on the subject of named highways—was the Dixie Highway, an important automobile route connecting northern Michigan with Miami, Florida. Unlike transcontinental routes such as the Lincoln Highway, the Dixie’s promoters envisioned the highway to be a north-south route to connect the Midwest with the Southeast. As a result, almost one fourth of the highway traversed Florida, where the route brought considerable automobile commerce to the Orange State, but also helped to secure the state’s role as a wintertime vacation destination.

This paper will describe the impact of the Dixie Highway on the Florida landscape and how the route is remembered. The presentation will also include historic and present-day views of the highway and associated extant roadside resources located along the route.

**Britain’s Ambitious Florida Venture: Turnbull’s Smyrnéa Settlement (1766-1777)**
Arlene Fradkin, Florida Atlantic University; Roger T. Grange, Jr., University of South Florida; and Dorothy L. Moore, Independent Scholar, New Smyrna Beach, Florida

Established by Dr. Andrew Turnbull, a Scottish physician and entrepreneur, the Smyrnéa settlement was an agricultural enterprise that existed from 1766 to 1777 during the British occupation of Florida and whose primary purpose was to supply Britain with commercial crops, especially indigo. Turnbull recruited approximately 1,100 indentured servants from the Mediterranean island of Minorca along with an additional 300 from Greece, Italy, Corsica, and Turkey. Within the Smyrnéa settlement, the developing cohesion of these various Mediterranean groups over time eventually led to the emergence of a distinctive “Minorcan” cultural community on the Florida frontier. Although there is substantial historical documentation pertaining to this settlement, archaeologists have only recently begun to uncover its structural and material cultural remains and add to our knowledge of colonial life in 18th-century Smyrnéa. In this presentation, we give an historical overview of Turnbull’s Smyrnéa settlement and describe the archaeological findings uncovered to date.

From Oranges to Orange Juice: A Transformation in Florida Agriculture, 1945-1965
Robert M. Hutchings, Carnegie Mellon University

In 1945, a small handful of scientists created frozen concentrated orange juice (FCOJ), bringing to fruition what had been a veritable pipe dream for so many citrusmen in Florida’s orange industry. For decades, citrusmen fought with nature not merely over the basic agricultural problems of irrigation and fertilizing, but over the production of marketable fruit. Oranges had to have the right size, color, shape, and flavor to sell at good prices in Northeastern markets, but most often growers had to settle for just two or three of those characteristics, and received corresponding prices. Further complicating matters, growers had to get their oranges to those markets before they started to turn if they wanted to sell them at all. The development of FCOJ resolved all of these problems. As juice rather than fruit, the aesthetic concerns of size, color, and shape vanished, and the poor flavor of some individual oranges became less relevant as the juice of these oranges was blended with that of better oranges. Moreover, as long as FCOJ received constant cooling, it was essentially a non-perishable product. These characteristics combined to make FCOJ a product consumers loved, and they began drinking far more oranges than they had ever consumed fresh. This created an agricultural boom, which in turn resulted in both a major spike in land used for groves and an increased emphasis on intensive production methods. In short, the creation of FCOJ resulted in nothing less than an industry revolution.

Black Migration to Tampa in the Booming ’20s: Black Newspapers’ Decision Input
Jennifer Kopf, Independent Scholar, Tampa, Florida

Florida, where large portions of the population have historically immigrated from other states, grew by 51% in the 1920s, with black and white populations arriving at roughly similar rates. Even in a state with double digit population increases nearly every decade of its existence, this rate is exceptional. Past research on this boom focuses on economic reasons for expansion and on enticing images of Florida in national leisure periodicals with predominantly white readership. Black people moving to Florida from other states moved against the overall flow of the Great Migration to Northern industrial centers such as Chicago and Detroit.
In this paper, I enquire into reasons for black migration to the region. Tampa’s commercial
districts, recreation facilities, housing, education, health care and employment opportunities for its
black citizens are compared to those of other similarly sized US cities. The focus of the paper is an
analysis of representations of Tampa and Florida in major black newspapers and in publications in
sending regions, such as the Chicago Defender, the Atlanta Daily World, the Pittsburgh Courier
and the New York Amsterdam News.

The image that emerges in the black press is more complex than the “beautiful gardens” or “winter
playgrounds” represented in white publications of the day. Beside articles such as “Sunny Florida”
or “Beautiful Tampa” extolling the agricultural bounty available while it’s winter up North, there are
others that elucidate the realities of daily life in the South in plain words. Violence in by mobs and
individuals in rural areas, city and suburbs, attempts to prevent the development of black
neighborhoods, legal injustices and discrimination in employment are all depicted, as are attempts
at driving out Night Riders or solving racial tension. This breadth of coverage enabled black
consumers and workers to make informed decisions about a possible move to Tampa.

Art and I: Fun in the American Cultural Landscape
Chris Mayda, Eastern Michigan University
Since 1999 Artimus Keiffer and I shared a special relationship about the cultural landscape. We
sponsored sessions on Art and Geography at the AAG and did our own geographing tours where
ever we met for conferences. This presentation will display the geography of Artimus as it was
shared with me.

An Environmental History of Florida’s Indian River Lagoon
Nathaniel Osborn, Florida Atlantic University
Late nineteenth and early twentieth century settlers in Florida’s Indian River Lagoon (IRL) region
adapted to life in a simultaneously fertile and hostile environment. Facing heat, mosquitoes,
malaria, interaction with Native Americans, and most importantly, near-total isolation from the
rest of the world, the Lagoon’s nineteenth-century settlers adapted by agricultural experimentation,
altering the ecology of their environment, hunting non-traditional food sources and modifying
traditional boats to meet their needs in this watery environment. The last decade of the nineteenth
century saw the coming of Henry Flagler’s railroad and with it the outside world, ending the
isolation which had forced the Lagoon’s settlers to be largely self-reliant. The sweeping changes
ushered in at the turn of the century dramatically altered the industry and culture of the Lagoon.
These early settlers opened two inlets connecting the mostly fresh water Lagoon with the Atlantic
Ocean, forever changing the composition and face of the region. Not merely a narrative of
declension, this paper presents a nuanced discussion of a biophysical system that has always
existed in a state of flux and shows how the settlers were changed by the IRL and how the Lagoon
was changed by the settlers by focusing on the opening of the inlets and construction of canals.

“Oh, What a Rotten Name”: Toponymic Change in Northeast Ohio
Chris W. Post, Kent State University at Stark
In 1918, the Stark County, Ohio, Court of Common Pleas granted the village of New Berlin the legal
authority to change its name to North Canton. Many such actions of anti-German sentiment
occurred throughout the United States and Canada during this time, effectively minimizing the impact of German immigrants on the continent’s scriptorial landscape. This paper dissects the political and economic reasons for this particular name change in North Canton, as used in the rhetoric of, and letters received by, the W.H. Hoover Company and local newspapers. New Berlin’s change reflects two critical geographic points. First, the change symbolically annihilated the German heritage of Stark County, one of its key demographics and forces in successful agricultural and industrial development. Second, the rhetoric of the Hoover Company employed the geographic concept of scale to relate the change to 1) the war in Europe 2) the name’s impact on Hoover’s international economics, and 3) the village’s burgeoning relationship with the nearby metropolis of Canton. Despite this change, several villages and townships in the region still retained their Germanic names, an illustration of how big business can change the landscape of small town America.

**Mule, Railroad and Automobile: Social Change in North Georgia, 1870-2011**
*Thomas Rasmussen, Gainesville State College*

In 1870, Gainesville GA was a small population center serving a few largely self-sufficient subsistence farmers. Mule drawn wagons labored over rough roads, and buying goods and services at the general store in Gainesville or marketing farm surplus there was prohibitively expensive.

After 1870, the railroad reduced transportation costs dramatically. Farmers shifted from subsistence to cash crop farming and spent their cash on a wide variety of goods and services in Gainesville. Low cost transportation also stimulated resort tourism from Atlanta and points south to the healthful springs and cool air of the Appalachian foothills. Rail transportation was also essential to development of the textile industry around the turn of the century.

By the 1930s, the automobile dramatically reduced the cost of transportation again and displaced the railroad. New neighborhoods grew in Gainesville’s outskirts, and residents enjoyed the flexibility of driving between home, work, and shopping center in an increasingly suburbanized environment. They easily drove 50 miles to Atlanta, a commercially diverse, specialized regional city, and returned home the same day.

Gainesville’s South Main Street illustrates the social change that followed from the collapse of the railroad and the ascendancy of the automobile. South Main Street connected the Southern Midland railway terminal and the city square six blocks to the north. In 1911, South Main Street flourished, with more than 60 residential and commercial buildings lining the street. By the late 1930s, the railroad had shut down and South Main Street had fallen on hard times as the automobile opened up new suburban neighborhoods. Today, South Main Street is a barren landscape of vacant lots, abandoned buildings and low rent thrift shops.

**Discovering Irwinton**
*Paula S. Reed, Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc.*

Irwinton, a ca. 1780 stone house, part of a flour mill complex, stands along the Conococheague Creek in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, about 10 miles northwest of Hagerstown, Maryland. Scotch-Irish Presbyterian settlers began populating what was to become Franklin County in the 1730s. James Irwin arrived as part of this group and accumulated land in the vicinity of present-day Mercersburg. His son, Archibald took up 217 acres along the Conococheague Creek and by 1766 was
operating a flour and saw mill. Presumably he lived in a log house near the mill. By the time of the American Revolution, Archibald Irwin’s mill became an important provisioning station for the Continental Army serving in western Pennsylvania. Archibald Irwin worked for the Army’s quartermaster. His eldest son, James, served in the Revolution as commissary, and traveled and lodged in and around Philadelphia. Around 1780, toward the end of the war (or perhaps after the end of the war in October of 1781), Archibald built a large and grand house with extraordinarily exuberant woodwork reminiscent of Philadelphia’s finest houses of the 1750s and 1760s. Could Irwinton’s fancy, but slightly out-of-date interior woodwork have been inspired by Archibald’s son James’ time in Philadelphia? Did wealth accumulated through buying and selling of supplies for the Army pay for such an extravagant building in 1780, in an area where in 1798 over 90% of the population was living in small log dwellings?

This presentation explores the possible motives for Archibald Irwin’s design and construction of such a house, a rarity in 1780 Franklin County (Cumberland County until 1786) and examines changes over time that brought the house to its current state as it came into my possession in May of 2011.

**Vero Beach, Gifford, Brooklyn, and Los Angeles: Four Communities and the Development of Dodgertown**
Scott C. Roper, Castleton State College

Dodgertown, the spring-training home of the Brooklyn and Los Angeles Dodgers from 1948 to 2008, originally was created, in part, to help the Dodgers train and integrate their many minor-league teams. Yet the development and Dodgers’ eventual abandonment of the site reflects at least three important geospatial realities of the 20th and early 21st centuries: the segregation of Vero Beach; the Dodgers’ roots in Brooklyn through 1957; and the team’s relocation to Los Angeles in 1958. In this paper, I will discuss how those realities relate to Dodgertown’s location and eventual abandonment, and to material artifacts such as Holman Stadium, on-site housing, and the Dodgertown golf course. I will also suggest that the ways by which Dodgers players and management related to Vero Beach and the African American community of Gifford affected the overall development of Dodgertown.

**A Work in Progress on the Basic Gasoline Station**
Keith A. Sculle, Illinois Historic Preservation Agency (Retired)

Several aspects of the basic gasoline station are proposed here for future study, not only in the presenter’s ongoing work but as a potentially new interest to the audience. The basic gasoline station is defined as a gasoline station with some, but not all the collateral services—food, beverages, personal supplies, and car wash—that define the convenience store. Copious attention has been paid to the basic gasoline station, yet leaves much to be desired. Two aspects of those inviting topics are discussed herein. Extensive field work is required for both.

What was the origin of gas stations with a canopied drive-in out front of the office building and occupying nearly identical space on the ground as in the office’s building’s floor with the volume of the drive-in nearly identical to the height of the building up to its hipped roof? Some have understood this building type’s derivation from the domestic bungalow. Preferring the term cube and canopy, instead, will invite examination of a type influenced by the Roadside as a unique
Adaptive re-use of the basic gasoline station is also needed, less to find out what satisfies architect’s thoughts; an incipient literature exists for that. Instead, what do the often more utilitarian thoughts of contractors, owners, and business occupants of the re-used gasoline station comprehend about adaptively reused gasoline stations?

Both the building type and the building treatment discussed in this paper should help shift perspective to Roadside enablement. The cube and canopy or bungalow and adaptive reuse are not only ends in themselves. They can join with other businesses of the Roadside to sustain its vitality as a unique landscape.

**Between Booms: the Commercial Identity and Heritage Tourism of Mineral Point, Wisconsin**
*Andrea Truitt, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities*

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Mineral Point, Wisconsin has been known for its two mining cycles: the first, coal (1820s to 1848), and the second, zinc (late 1880s to mid-1920s). Mining has been the predominant identity of the town, for both its residents and the writers of local and regional histories. Outside of those two mining booms, the town has sustained itself through commercial activities. In this paper, I argue that the current identity of the town relies on the period between mining booms, referred to as “The Middle Years” (1849-1882), when the town functioned as a supply depot for the region and for miners moving west, and as a regional railroad transportation center, among other short-lived industries. I also discuss this history in reference to Mineral Point’s heritage tourism, its current sustaining industry. I will give a brief history of the two mining booms, and the Middle Years, as it pertains to Mineral Point’s commercial history, tying it to the town’s heritage tourism industry.

Since 1971, downtown Mineral Point has been designated a historic district by the National Register, the first in the state of Wisconsin. This designation has allowed the town to survive and flourish, becoming a center of heritage tourism in southwestern Wisconsin. The city’s early preservation efforts show the commitment to their history and identity; it is this commitment that has kept the town from alienating its own residents. The town avoids this alienation because of its successful adaptive reuse of buildings and services. Elements marketed to the tourists are the same as those marketed elsewhere: specialty shops, architecture, history, art and craft galleries, and service businesses, such as restaurants and bed and breakfasts. Yet residents also take part in these shops and events, making them a vital and meaningful part of the community. This effort is an integration of tourism, not a surrendering to it.

**The Legacy of Negro Professional Baseball at Hinchliffe Stadium, Paterson, New Jersey**
*Edie Wallace, Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc.*

Hinchliffe Stadium was constructed in 1931-32 in Paterson as a municipal stadium, designed to bring hope to the city’s population during the Great Depression. Paterson was an industrial city largely populated by European immigrant laborers. Like the larger northern industrial cities, Paterson also included a small, but growing population of African-Americans, the result of several waves of the “great migration” from the South. Hinchliffe Stadium served as the venue for high
school sports, semi-pro baseball and football, boxing, motorcycle and midget car racing, as well as entertainments and rallies. More significantly, however, the stadium hosted Negro professional baseball. Hinchliffe Stadium was the weekend home field for the New York Black Yankees from 1933-1935, for the New York Cubans in 1936, and Newark Eagles in 1941. The Black Yankees and Newark Eagles shared the home field at Hinchliffe in 1937 and 1942. The home teams and their various opponents brought with them to the Hinchliffe field star players such as Josh Gibson, “Biz” Mackey, Oscar Charleston, Martin Dihigo, Buck Leonard, Willie Wells, “Mule” Suttles, and “Cool Papa” Bell, all of whom were later inducted into the National Baseball Hall of Fame. Local future Hall of Famers, Larry Doby and Monte Irvin, were said to have been scouted by the Newark Eagles at Hinchliffe Stadium.

Current research has identified 188 venues in the United States historically associated with Negro professional baseball during the era of racial segregation. Of those, only 31 venues are still standing. Of the 31 extant venues only 12 venues hosted Negro professional baseball for an extended period of time and maintain visual integrity to that period of use. Among these 12 remaining venues, Hinchliffe Stadium stands out as exceptional for its long association with Negro professional baseball, and in particular, for the high quality of play there associated with the Negro National League, considered the dominant league of the two Negro major leagues by some Negro baseball scholars.

**Rebuilding Philadelphia’s Gold Mountain: Themed Space and Living Community in Transition**

*Kathryn E. Wilson, Georgia State University*

Located in the heart of Center City, Philadelphia’s Chinatown has since the 1960s actively struggled against various downtown redevelopment plans to preserve the area as a living community for resident families, preserving important community spaces (such as a much-beloved church and school) and continually drawing on its legacy of activism to mobilize against various threats. Since the 1980s Chinatown has been “boxed in” by large-scale developments on all but its northern border. At the same time, community organizers have been working with the city to economically develop the neighborhood as a themed space, installing a traditional gateway, sidewalk medallions, a plaza guarded by “foo” dogs and other Chinese inflected imagery on the landscape. This paper will focus on competing needs of the urban landscape embodied in two recent developments in the community, the proposed development of “Chinatown North” abutting (and sometimes conflicting with) an emerging loft district and an attendant adaptive reuse initiative, and efforts of the local Chinatown CDC to draw on the preservation, commemoration, and interpretation of its own heritage and history to promote community-driven investment. While the former seeks to intervene in the traditional urban landscape, building single family homes and open green spaces, the latter seeks to celebrate a dense historical landscape that, although seemingly intact, is inadequately preserved. Chinatown is a rich example of the complicated relationship between ethnic landscape and urban renewal, and the role that alternative histories can play in negotiating spaces within and against larger processes of gentrification and redevelopment to express historic identity, address contemporary needs, and balance the area’s multiple existences as an intergenerational family community, immigrant entry point, ethnic touchstone, tourist destination, and prime real estate.
Maps provide copious information; nevertheless, perceptions of human experiences and meanings of ordinary landscapes often remain unnoticed in maps. Mental maps characterize pertinent discourse regarding individual experiences, perceptions, and imaginations, further allowing researchers to allocate subjective meaning(s) of particular vernacular landscapes interacted with frequently. In total, 11 mental maps produced by sports participants in Villa Ascension, a community located in the province of Puerto Plata, Dominican Republic, represent the analysis. What makes the sports space in Villa Ascension unique is that this one space is shared by both soccer and baseball participants. Through sketched perceptions of Villa Ascension’s sports landscape, drafted by participants who commonly recreate, differing meanings of this sports landscape emerge. This site is one of importance to soccer players, as the field is designated for the sport. Baseball players add another layer of identity meaning to this site; they perceive the field as too small for baseball participation, so they have modified the sport, conforming to the field’s physical limitations.
The Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes (PAS: APAL) is pleased to announce the recipients of its 2011 Awards.

And the winners are...

**Henry H. Douglas Distinguished Service Award**

The Award is named in honor of the founder of the Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts & Landscapes, Mr. Henry H. Douglas, and is given to an individual who has made significant contributions over the years in furthering the Society’s goals through service, teaching, publications, and/or the promotion of historic preservation.
The recipient was the late Artimus Keiffer, the Society's Executive Director from 2006-2011, the editor of the Society's journal, Material Culture, from 2002-2008, and an independent scholar of Stuart, Florida. Christina Keiffer, his widow, accepted the award.

The Fred B. Kniffen Book Award

The Allen G. Noble Book Award

PAS:APAL Historic Preservation Award
The Historic Preservation Award, established in 2000, recognizes the preservation, interpretation, instruction, celebration, or exhibit of American material culture. The Historic Preservation Award winner was the Friends of the Lyric, Inc. for the organization's rehabilitation of the 1926 Lyric Theatre of Stuart, Florida. http://www.lyrictheatre.com/.

The Historic Preservation Certificate of Merit recipients were:
1) The City of Fellsmere, Florida in recognition of its outstanding efforts to preserve and restore the 1916 Old Fellsmere School. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q8cDQm1T2dI

2) The Rio Civic Club in recognition of its outstanding efforts to preserve and restore the 1926 Stuart Welcome Arch in Jensen Beach, Florida.
Warren E. Roberts Graduate Student Paper Competition Award
The Warren E. Roberts Graduate Student Paper Competition, established in 2001 in memory of folklife scholar Warren E. Roberts, a longtime PAS: APAL member and former member of the Board of Directors, is an annual competitive award that recognizes excellence in original graduate student fieldwork, documentary research, and writing in the area of traditional North American material culture.

*There was no award presented in 2011.*

Hubert G. H. Wilhelm Student Research Award
The Hubert G.H. Wilhelm Student Research Award, established in 2006 in honor of long-time PAS: APAL member, Hubert Wilhelm, a cultural geographer, whose enthusiasm for teaching has had a global impact, is an annual competitive award in the field of American material culture which is open to both undergraduate and graduate students.

*The award was not offered in 2011.*
Boom and Bust: Landscapes of Economic and Cultural Transition

A Field Trip along Florida’s Treasure Coast

Wayne Brew, Montgomery County Community College, and Scott C. Roper, Castleton State College

Introduction

In early 2011, the authors were asked to plan a day-long field trip in the Stuart area as part of the Pioneer America Society’s annual conference. The theme, “Boom and Bust: Landscapes of Economic and Cultural Transition,” had been chosen by Artimus Keiffer prior to the 2010 annual meeting in Castleton, Vermont. But with Artimus’s passing in 2011, the Pioneer America Society’s conference committee lacked anyone with more than cursory knowledge of South Florida. In fact, those of us familiar with the intense development of the region over the last half-century wondered if we would be able to locate significant “landscapes of economic and cultural transition” to justify a full-day tour.

We need not have worried, for Artimus’s “Boom and Bust” theme perfectly lends itself to a field study of South Florida. We see this theme in Dodgertown, the influential Spring Training facility of the Brooklyn/Los Angeles Dodgers from 1948-2008, the rise of which accompanied the post-World War II boom in Vero Beach. In Fellsmere we witness a community shaped by human responses to nature — early drainage attempts that allowed the land to be settled proved less than successful in the 1920s — as well as to economic incentives relating to sugar and transportation. The “Stuart Arch” on what formerly was the border between Stuart and Jensen (and which today is located in neither community) illustrates the growth and decline that accompanied the boom-and-bust cycles of the 20th century. We see effects of similar cycles in the small communities scattered along the Florida East Coast Railroad, the Old Dixie Highway, and US Route 1 — communities such as Quay/Winter Beach, Wabasso, Viking/Fort Pierce Farms, Jensen, and Hobe Sound/Picture City in which remnant landscapes less than a century old are quickly disappearing.

Yet in our travels, we also identified a second theme, one probably encapsulated to some degree by Artimus’s idea of cultural transition: landscapes of race and racial segregation. Florida was segregated until the 1960s, a situation that transcended the boom-and-bust cycles of the early- to mid-20th century. We attempt to address this theme in stops at Dodgertown and in downtown Vero Beach, Gifford, Fellsmere, and Fort Pierce, all of which bear scars of segregation.

Overall, Atlantic South Florida is a historic region with significant historical landscapes. Economic and cultural pressures inevitably cause change, and the changes in South Florida threaten to obscure or destroy many of the region’s relic landscapes. This field guide is an attempt to document some of the landscapes that existed in 2011, and hopefully raise awareness of Atlantic South Florida’s cultural heritage.

Taken for a Ride (Part 1)

The geologic history of Florida is an interesting one. With the break-up of the super-continent
Pangaea about 225 million years ago (give or take; what is a few million years amongst friends?) a sliver of Africa joined North America and hitchhiked a slow ride to where it is today. Florida now shares the same latitude as the Sahara, but has a much wetter seasonal climate (summer rain, winter drought) because it receives moisture from large bodies of water on both sides. The pay-back to North America stealing (or is it borrowed?) this bit of land is that the storms that become hurricanes get started of the west coast of Africa and travel across the Atlantic to sometimes hit Florida. If you read beyond this paragraph you will see that “stealing” and “land” become major factors and a recurring theme in the human history of Florida.

But first, we have a few more things for you on the physical setting of Florida. Get ready for a shocker: Florida is flat, especially in the area we will be exploring on our field trip. The highest elevation is 345 feet above sea level at Britton Hill, which is in the far northwestern part of the state on the border with Georgia. The highest elevations in the Stuart area are most likely the overpasses and landfills we will see along I-95. Much of South Florida would be under water (like many of the current home mortgages) if not for the extraordinary efforts to drain the swamps (please refer to our first stop on the tour below). To paraphrase one early settler, “I have bought land by the acre before, but in Florida you by it by the gallon!”

The earliest occupants of Florida are reflected in the amazing diversity of flora and fauna that has evolved to thrive in a wet, tropical environment. A summary of such a biological smorgasbord is beyond the scope of this essay, but it did eventually attract humans at least 13,000 years ago. In fact, the Treasure Coast was home to “Vero Man,” an archaeological discovery of fossilized human remains existing among remains of Pleistocene animals that some believed to have provided the first proof that humans had inhabited North America prior to the end of the Wisconsin Ice Age. Unfortunately, the remains were lost in 1947, prior to the invention of C-14 dating. In 2011, however, researchers announced that a carving of a mastodon on a piece of bone found at a nearby site dates from 13,000 to 20,000 years ago, possibly making it the oldest piece of artwork found in North America.

The earliest Native Americans occupied different environments and practiced different adaptive strategies. Evidence (in the form of large shell middens) suggests that some Native American groups led a settled existence without growing crops and were able to live from the abundant plants and animals readily available. Later groups took advantage of the abundant game, but also practiced a settled way of life that included growing corn. Researchers have also found evidence of more nomadic lifestyles employing all the strategies for living described above.

Historians debate how many Native Americans lived in the Americas prior to the first European contact, but it appears that there was perhaps 20,000 or so in South Florida. Several encounters with Spaniards and the diseases they carried greatly reduced in the number of Native Americans, so that fewer than 200 remained by 1750. Not until the late 1800s (and the building of the railroads) would the number of humans in South Florida once again reach 20,000.

**Taken for a Ride (Part 2)**
Florida became a pawn in the global reach of European colonizers. Spain came first (1513), with a brief flirtation by the French (1565), a short period of control by the British (1763-1784), before
Spain returned. Florida then became part of the United States after Andrew Jackson (first provisional governor) marched in unopposed, as he was wont to do when no one was looking. A final treaty was negotiated by John Quincy Adams, and the United States officially purchased the peninsula from Spain for $5 million. (Prior to the collapse of the real estate market in 2007, this was considered a bargain.) At the end of Spanish control Florida became a haven for escaped African slaves and Creek Indians from nearby states. The estimated number of 5,000 runaways living in Florida by 1821 were referred to as “Cimarrons” by the Spanish, a word which was corrupted to “Seminole” in English.

The relationship between the Spaniards and Native Americans was mostly hostile, and this dysfunction continued when the United States became the landlord. This situation was exasperated when the U.S. demanded the return of runaway slaves and began to demand more land from the Seminoles. A series of broken treaties, fort building (Fort Myers, Fort Pierce, etc.) and conflict ran hot and cold until 1855, in the process involving up to 40,000 U.S. Army and militia cycling through against about 1000 Seminole warriors. Some historians refer to this as America’s first Vietnam-style conflict.

The Civil War continued the disruption as the U.S. Navy played cat-and-mouse with the blockade runners. The end of the war brought peace, but South Florida had still not “developed,” at least not according to accepted Western standards of so-called “civilization.” A bankrupt Internal Improvement Fund, which Florida had set up in 1850, impeded development. A very wealthy Philadelphia saw manufacturer (also may be referred to as a carpet-bagger depending on your point of view) named Hamilton Disston was lured in and invested a million dollars to make the fund solvent again. In return Disston ended up with 4 million acres of Florida land. Now that the fund was solvent Florida was able to give land to investors as an incentive to build railroads. It worked; in 1880 there were 500 miles, in 1890 2500 miles, and by 1900 3200 miles had been completed.

**Water Does Run Downhill (and so do Other Things)**

While the relatively higher elevations and dryer land of Northern Florida continued to attract settlers, very few ventured into South Florida. In the late 1800s and early 1900s many characters (politicians, frontiersmen, investors, and shysters) developed or promoted plans to drain the swamps. All these schemes were sold with the promise that draining the Everglades would be quick, simple and cheap; not one of these assumptions was true. Not until the Federal Government (US Army Corps of Engineers) was lured in were drainage schemes successful, almost completely destroying the natural treasure of the Everglades. It may hard to believe, but the Corps of Engineers did not want to get involved with projects that did not directly relate to navigation, but that changed as more of their projects fell under the umbrella of flood control. Reluctant at first, the Corps eventually became enthusiastic participants as more people demanded protection from flooding from their federal politicians which meant more money in US Army Corps of Engineers coffers. The amazing details of this story are told extremely well in Michael Grunwald’s book, The Swamp.

**Early Industries**

The early industries of Florida were primary in nature, namely agriculture (citrus, sugar, and cattle), fishing, and timber. Some of these early industries first depended on ships, but the extension of the railroads changed the way these products were shipped. One of the early crops
grown for export in this part of Florida was pineapples which were referred to as “pine plantations.” Though short-lived, the legacy of this crop can be seen in the local landscape with names of businesses. Growing pineapples quickly depletes soil fertility and the railroads, which controlled shipping rates, soon found a cheaper supply grown in Cuba. Oranges and other citrus were also grown in this area, but freeze events have pushed more of this activity further south and most of the citrus groves you will see have been abandoned. One devastating freeze event in 1893 killed almost three million trees in Florida. The groves near the Indian River were protected by the warm waters and many survived this freeze. Citrus is still a significant part of the agricultural economy, especially in Indian River County where farmers have branded their citrus products and sell under that well-known name. Sugar is also a significant crop in Florida, but most is grown in the interior of the state. Sugar played a significant role in the survival of Fellsmere, as we will see later.

Timber and related products were harvested in scattered areas through Florida starting with the Spanish. Florida was a leading producer of “naval stores” (resin from pine trees used to seal wooden ships) and turpentine from the 1890s to the 1930s. However, many of the people responsible for working the camps were convicts (prior to World War I) or debtors (between 1919 and 1946). In fact, it was not uncommon for turpentine companies to entice poor (particularly African American) laborers into working in a camp, then transporting them to the camp and charging them for the transportation. Once in debt, it was almost impossible for the laborer to repay the company and regain his freedom.

This brief and exhaustive use of the pine forests soon depleted the resources and is no longer practiced. The same can be said for the export fishing industry. The fish supply along the shores and inlets of the east coast of Florida seemed inexhaustible and the fishing industry (fishing and fish houses for processing) thrived with nineteen fish-processing plants between Stuart and Titusville in 1895. The fish proved to be exhaustible and the degradation of the waters by the influx of pollution and fresh water coming from drainage projects had a profound effect on this industry.

When it comes to the development of the East Coast of Florida it was not until a fabulously wealthy former oil man (and partner of J.D. Rockefeller of Standard Oil) named Henry Flagler got involved with building hotels and railroads in the 1890s did things really take off.

**You’ve been Flaglered!**
Prior to Flagler, one found little railroad construction in South Florida. Yet Flagler spent the fortune he made with Standard Oil on a railroad, the Florida East Coast Railroad (FEC), from Jacksonville to Miami. He reached Miami in 1896, three months before the city was incorporated. He then financed (at a cost of $27 million, or the equivalent of a half-billion dollars today) and built the “Eighth Wonder of the World” by connecting Miami to Key West. A nearly blind and deaf “Uncle Henry” rolled into Key West in 1912 (the year before he died) on the road bed (and bridges) to which critics had referred as “Flagler’s Folly.” It did prove to be a folly when the trade possibilities he imagined would open up with the completion of the Panama Canal did not materialize. The final straw came in 1935, when large portions of the rail line were destroyed by a deadly Category 5 hurricane that hit the Keys in 1935. The line through the Keys was officially abandoned in 1936 and portions formed the roadbed (and bridges) of US Route 1.
Flagler’s legacy (beyond the town name “Flagler Beach” and a handful of grand hotels) was in creating the east coast of Florida by making this area accessible to rest of the United States. Eventually he was able to shorten the trip from New York to Miami to 24 hours. As a result, Florida became a destination for snowbirds and retirees. By the 1920s roads were built to accommodate the many auto travelers, the rich were building second homes, and many were attracted to try their luck in the booming real estate market.

**Taken for a Ride (Part 3)**

Most people are familiar with the story of the Florida real estate boom in the first three decades of the 20th century, so the terms “taken for a ride” and “underwater” may suffice to summarize this story. A combination of factors caused the boom to go bust, namely a growing public awareness that they were being swindled, incomplete drainage projects, the devastation brought by two hurricanes, and the global economic depression of the 1930s. The federal government, starting with President Herbert Hoover, stepped in to improve the infrastructure to alleviate flooding, and during World War II the government built military bases in the region. The drainage/flood control projects and other infrastructure (Interstate Highways) created new areas for farming and housing which boomed after World War II. Today one can safely say that South Florida is one large upside-down U-shaped conurbation with the degraded, but now better-protected Everglades in the middle.

The factors that created this post-war boom are familiar to most, and the statistics are staggering. During the war approximately two million soldiers were stationed and/or trained in Florida. The invention of DDT and cheap reliable air-conditioning made South Florida a bit more attractive to these military personnel (and many others) who had experienced “sand in their shoes.” Of course many other factors played a part, including the post-war economic boom, the generous GI bill and FHA mortgages, huge investments in road-building, drainage and flood control projects, cheap air travel, and Social Security and other retirement pensions. All these factors supported education, mobility, and home ownership (as long as you were white) along with low taxes, and they fueled a renewed boom for South Florida.

And boom it was (which can readily be seen outside the bus window). Florida grew at four times the national rate, from approximately two million residents in 1930 to over 16 million today — making Florida the fourth-largest state, and giving it the power to occasionally wreak havoc in national elections. In 2004 Florida attracted over 76 million tourists, and you, the reader, are likely one. Need we say more?

**One More Diversion that is Not Water-Related**

There are some interesting stories behind many of the place names we will be visiting or passing on our trip. Some of these places will be discussed in more detail later on, but some need to be mentioned here. We will be passing through three different counties; all smaller versions or pieces of larger counties of the past. When “Old Hickory” became the first governor of the territory in 1821 he split Florida into two large counties; St. Johns (everything east of the Suwannee River) and Escambia County to the west. By 1925 Florida stopped new county creation at 67. Interestingly (only because there are several connections that are discussed) this is the same number of counties as Pennsylvania (just trivia or conspiracy; we will let the reader decide).

Being honest and/or not thinking that it may put a damper on immigration (as Homer Simpson
would say, “D’oh!”) much of this area was in “Mosquito County” until 1845. Present day Indian River County (the northern-most part of the field trip) went through three more name changes after Mosquito County lost favor — including St. Lucia County, Brevard County, and St. Lucie County. Indian River County broke off of St. Lucie County in 1925, as did part of Martin County.

**Martin County**

In the southern end of our field trip is Martin County, which was carved out of Palm Beach County and St. Lucie County in 1925 during the height of the real estate boom. The good people of Stuart (county seat named after Homer Stuart Jr. the son of an early resident and land owner) felt that all the improvements from their taxes were being spent in Palm Beach to the south put together a group of local dignitaries to petition the state for a new county. The committee was having little success with the legislature proposing the names “Inlet” and “Golden Gate” before making a direct plea (and a strategic name change) to the incumbent governor John Wellborn Martin who thought it a grand idea to have a county named after himself.

**St. Lucie Canal and Lock System (2710 SW Canal Street, Stuart)**

Our first stop on the field trip is part of the large investment in infrastructure made in South Florida for flood control, drainage, and transportation. The current St. Lucie canal and lock system was completed in 1941; an earlier lock was constructed in 1925. The buildings associated with the locks are the utilitarian concrete art deco style that the federal government often used in the 1930s. The canal leads to Lake Okeechobee and connects the Intracoastal Waterway from the East Coast of Florida to the Gulf of Mexico (keep that in mind when we see the Stuart Arch later today). This is one of five locks in the system and for the real canal geeks has a lift of 14.5 feet and is used by approximately 10,000 vessels a year, 91 percent of which are recreational in nature.

**“No Sleep ‘Til Brooklyn”**

No naps yet, for we are now heading north along I-95 toward Dodgertown, the former Spring Training home of the Brooklyn and Los Angeles Dodgers (thus the Beastie Boys song reference above). You can witness some of the agricultural landscapes along the way, namely cattle ranching (still exists) and citrus trees (much of it abandoned). If you do stay awake during our trips along I-95 you can see the highest local elevations, namely overpasses and landfills a bit larger than the Native American middens. Speaking of shell middens, these proved to be a valuable resource for archeologists (see link below), but unfortunately many were used for more “practicable” reasons before they could be studied: to build shell roads.

**Dodgertown/Vero Beach Sports Village (3901 26th Street, Vero Beach)**

Spring baseball has been a continuous part of Florida culture since at least 1913, when the Chicago Cubs first opened a pre-season training camp in Tampa. (The first recorded spring training camp took place in Jacksonville in 1888 and involved the National League’s Washington team.) The practice of “spring training” in Florida grew through the Florida boom years of the 1910s and 1920s, and despite competition from Arizona, continues today. In fact, fifteen major-league teams — or exactly one-half — call Florida home each February and March.

“No Dodgertown,” in Vero Beach, has often been cited as the prototypical spring training facility in Florida, and was listed as the tenth most important destination in Josh Pahigian’s book *101 Baseball Places to See Before You Strike Out*. Now known as Vero Beach Sports Village (because
the Dodgers won’t allow the county to use the name anymore), Dodgertown was the spring-training home of the Brooklyn and Los Angeles Dodgers from 1948 through 2008, as well as the preseason training facility for the National Football League’s New Orleans Saints for much of the 1970s. The site is important as a reflection of baseball’s integration process (the Brooklyn Dodgers were the first major-league baseball team with a racially integrated roster), and the training complex influenced the design not only of current spring-training facilities across Florida and Arizona, but also of major-league baseball’s third-oldest stadium — Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles.

In October, 1945, Brooklyn Dodgers president Branch Rickey made national headlines when he signed Jackie Robinson to a contract to play in the Dodgers’ organization. This move, followed by the signing of four additional African American players, led to the integration of minor-league baseball in 1946, and to the integration of baseball at the major-league level a year later.

When Jackie Robinson reported to Dodgers spring training camp in Daytona Beach in 1946, he faced intense racism. Segregation proved a problem not only in restaurants and hotels in Daytona (Robinson could not stay at the same hotel or eat in the same restaurants as the team’s white players), but on and off the field in other cities as well. For instance, during an exhibition game in Deland, a police officer came onto the field and told Robinson to leave the field or risk going to jail. As the Dodgers’ Montreal minor-league club (for whom Robinson played in 1946) traveled north, it found its games in Jacksonville, Savannah, and Richmond cancelled. As a result of these and other problems, Rickey arranged for the Dodgers to train in Havana, Cuba in 1947. But even here, Robinson, Roy Campanella, Don Newcombe, and other African Americans found themselves living in a hotel separate from their white teammates, and several miles from the ballpark. Rickey sent his Brooklyn players to train in the Dominican Republic in 1948, but he still hoped to find a location in Florida where the organization’s other 700 players could train without racial problems.

Meanwhile in Vero Beach, the end of World War II led to a number of changes. Most important for the development of Dodgertown, in 1947 the federal government returned the Vero Beach Naval Air Station to the city, which subsequently leased the airport to Bud Holman. Holman, a Vero Beach auto dealer, had previously been responsible for the creation of the airport and the establishment of commercial service in the 1930s via Eastern Airlines. (At 3600 people, Vero Beach was the smallest city in the United States with regular commercial air service.)

Rickey apparently became interested in Vero Beach on the recommendation of his daughter. Bud Holman learned of Rickey’s interest from an Eastern Airlines executive and invited Rickey to see the city and vacant city-owned property adjacent to the airfield. Rickey was impressed, but not convinced; therefore, in November, he dispatched Emil “Buzzie” Bavasi to Vero Beach, Fort Pierce, and Stuart.

Bavasi was an important part of Rickey’s plan to integrate the Dodgers. He was one of four men chosen to investigate Jackie Robinson before Rickey decided to assign Robinson to Brooklyn in 1947. He had also been largely responsible for the smooth integration of Brooklyn’s New England League farm club in Nashua, New Hampshire, in 1946. In January of that year, Bavasi chose Nashua as the location of the club because of its large French-Canadian population, open-minded newspaper editor (whom he would name club president), and relatively small population — in fact,
at about 36,000 people, Nashua was roughly half the size of the league’s next-largest city. Bavasi hired the unknown Walter Alston to manage the team, correctly believing him capable of looking beyond race. Eventually, the Dodgers would send Roy Campanella and Don Newcombe to Nashua, making it the first integrated professional baseball team based in the United States. Because of his success in integrating the Nashua Dodgers, Bavasi found favor with Rickey and Brooklyn’s other owners, including Walter O’Malley.

In November 1947, after closing out the year’s business in Nashua, Bavasi boarded a train for Vero Beach. But once in Vero, Holman refused to allow him to continue on to Fort Pierce or Stuart, instead inviting him to a stag party at his ranch 30 miles west on Blue Cypress Lake. It did not matter; Bavasi felt that the barracks were suitable for use by the Dodgers (he did not notice the leaking roofs or the fact that plumbing and heating fixtures had been removed), and that playing fields could be built. The location was also ideal not just because of the proximity to the airport (the Dodgers were the first team to own an airplane), but also because it was within walking distance to the downtown, yet theoretically far enough away to enable the Dodgers to avoid racial incidents such as those they found elsewhere in Florida. The Dodgers agreed to a lease that had Brooklyn’s minor-league players train in Vero beginning in 1948, and the team’s major-league players starting in 1949, though the Dodgers would continue to play most of their exhibition games at larger facilities throughout Florida into the 1960s. Like Nashua in the New England League, Vero Beach would be by far the smallest among Florida’s ten spring-training communities.

That Vero Beach was not as amenable to the Dodgers’ African American players as Rickey had hoped soon became clear. Bars, beaches, golf courses, some restaurants, and the town’s better stores remained off-limits. African-Americans who wanted to see a movie or have a drink might have to travel to Gifford (see below). Police segregated African-American fans from whites at Dodgertown, and in one incident, when Don Newcombe began to argue with a light-skinned catcher for the Philadelphia Athletics, he set off a furor that led to rumors that he would be lynched. Yet the arrival of Jackie Robinson in Vero Beach in 1948 helped to galvanize Gifford. In fact, members of that community paid for a full-page advertisement (most other ads were considerably smaller), signed by 36 residents, welcoming Robinson. The ad appeared in the game program printed for the first exhibition at Dodgertown between Brooklyn and its minor-league affiliate from Montreal. Robinson responded by hitting a home run on the game’s second pitch. The ball landed in the African American section of the crowd.

Holman Stadium
In 1950, Walter O’Malley bought out Branch Rickey and became the Dodgers’ majority owner. He immediately began a program to develop Dodgertown even as he stepped up efforts to secure an improved playing facility for his team in Brooklyn. In Vero, his first major project was the construction of Holman Stadium, named for Bud Holman and completed in 1953.

Holman Stadium was designed by famed New York architect Norman Bel Geddes and equally famed engineer Emil Praeger. Built in 90 days at a cost of $100,000, the stadium was considered innovative for its open-air dugouts, a roofless grandstand that put people close to the playing field, and — most important — the excavation of the playing surface and the re-use of soils both to support the structure of the grandstand and to form the outer edge of the outfield. A row of palm
trees originally bounded the outfield, but a 1989 freeze and the 2004 hurricanes destroyed many of
them. (The trees and the mound beyond the outfield fence were in the field of play until the early
1970s, when outfielder Dick Allen ran into a palm tree while chasing a batted ball. The fence was
added soon thereafter.)

When the stadium was dedicated in March 1953, Boston Braves owner Lou Perini called on
O'Malley and Major League Baseball Commissioner Ford Frick, all of whom retreated to a nearby
conference room and missed the opening game. Within a week, Perini would announce that he was
moving the Braves to Milwaukee for the 1953 season. At an owners’ meeting, O’Malley made the
motion to allow Perini to move the team, making the Braves the first major-league team to change
cities since 1903. This precedent allowed O’Malley to move the Dodgers to Los Angeles in 1958,
after his attempts to construct a domed stadium in Brooklyn failed. When O’Malley constructed
Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles between 1959 and 1962, he hired Emil Praeger, who incorporated
many of the ideas he first on Holman Stadium. (Praeger also designed New York’s Shea Stadium
and the Tappan Zee Bridge.)

Ironically, although Dodgertown was racially integrated, the stands and other public facilities at
Holman Stadium remained segregated until 1963, when community leaders from Gifford brought
the matter to the Dodgers’ attention.

Subsequent Changes and Vero Beach Sports Village
Subsequently, O’Malley and his son Peter made other improvements to Dodgertown. They replaced
the infamous barracks with residential-style housing (inspired by Holiday Inn motels) in 1973, and
added a conference center (1974), offices, and batting cages (1980s-2003). Walter O’Malley also
designed a 9-hole golf course west of Holman Stadium as well as an 18-hole course nearby, a pool, a
heart-shaped pond (dedicated to his wife) to the south of the stadium, and a small housing
development to the northwest. In addition to Holman Stadium, the complex incorporated six
practice fields.

The Dodgers first explored a move to Arizona after the O’Malley family sold the team to Rupert
Murdoch’s News Corp. in the mid-1990s. The team’s latest owners, Frank and Jamie McCourt,
finally moved the team’s spring-training facilities after 2008, prior to the start of their highly
publicized divorce proceedings. Today, the Dodgertown site is owned by Indian River County,
which is prohibited from using the name “Dodgertown” by the Dodgers and Major League Baseball
(the Dodgers plan to use the name to designate the area around Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles).
The re-christened “Vero Beach Sports Village” is currently operated by Minor League Baseball as a
training facility for high-school and college athletes. The former 9-hole golf course, which is now
abandoned, is being developed into additional sports fields, including a softball field just south of
Holman Stadium.

Vero Beach Municipal Airport (3400 Cherokee Drive, Vero Beach)
The Vero Beach Municipal Airport opened in 1930. Unlike many small-town airports that opened
during that time, however, the airport has remained opened, aided by several factors: the decision
of Eastern Airlines to operate a passenger and mail service out of it in the 1930s; takeover of the
airport by the United States Navy as a training ground in the 1940s; use by the Brooklyn/Los
Angeles Dodgers during spring training; the decision of Piper Aircraft to establish its home there;
and the development of an affluent tourist industry. (Well-known seasonal residents/visitors reportedly include Michael Bloomberg, The Rock, Gloria Estefan, Tommy Lee Jones, Fred Barnes, Jon Bon Jovi, Billy Graham, and Prescott Bush Jr. When he was alive John F. Kennedy Jr. often visited as well, and he received his flight certification at the Vero Beach Municipal Airport).

**Downtown Vero Beach**

Before we go to the Dixie Highway we will pass through downtown Vero Beach, which first saw service by Flagler’s Florida East Coast Railroad (FECRR) in 1893. The Town of Vero was a boom town (the word “Vero” means “truth” and was chosen by the wife of the town’s postmaster, probably to advertise the “truth” supposedly found in the wild promotional literature related to the town). Incorporated in 1919, the name was changed to Vero Beach in 1925 to cash in on the tourism trade during the boom years. Vero grew quickly during 1920s, establishing a downtown during that period and becoming the largest city in Indian River County.

**Vero Beach Depot/Indian River County Historical Society (2336 14th Avenue, Vero Beach)**

The first Vero railroad station was constructed circa 1893. In 1916 a new and larger one was built at the original location on Commerce Avenue between 18th and 19th streets. The station was enlarged in 1936 and is typical of the designs used by the FECRR. It has been moved and restored, and was added to the U.S. Register of Historic Places in 1987.

**Vero Beach Heritage Center/Indian River Citrus Museum (2140 14th Avenue, Vero Beach)**

The Vero Beach Heritage Center and Indian River Citrus Museum occupy a building which began its existence in 1925 as a small public-park facility with restrooms. Ten years later, the building was expanded with meeting rooms, a stage and kitchen. In 1943, with the coming of the Naval Air Station to Vero Beach and the increased use of the facility by servicemen, a wing was added to the building to provide amenities for the military.

**Vero Theater (2036 14th Avenue, Vero Beach)**

Designed by Frederick Trimble in the Mediterranean Revival style, the Vero Theater opened on October 14, 1924 as the city’s first motion-picture theater. (At the time, the Mediterranean Revival style was popular in Florida, and particularly in Vero Beach, because promotional literature of the period compared the local climate to that of the Mediterranean.) Because Sunday blue laws prohibited the showing of films on Sundays, the theater became the center of the movement to secede from St. Lucie County. As a result, when Governor John W. Martin created Indian River County, he did so by signing legislation in the theater in May, 1925. The theater remained active until 1985, when owners found that they could not compete with a multiplex theater that had opened in the area.

The first film shown at the theater was Hunchback of Notre Dame in 1924; ignominiously, the final film was the Madonna vehicle Desperately Seeking Susan in 1985. The theater was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1992. It is currently vacant.

**Vero Beach Diesel Power Station (1246 19th Street, Vero Beach)**

The Vero Beach Diesel Power Plant was constructed in 1926 to provide power to the growing community during the 1920s boom period. Designed by Carter and Damerow, Architects, this building was the city’s first public utility building, and remains the city’s oldest municipal building.
By the 1950s, a new power station was built several blocks to the east along the Indian River, and the diesel plant became outmoded. The 1926 structure was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1999, and was extensively renovated in the 2000s.

**A final word about Vero Beach (and another on Stuart)**

Prior to the Coast Guard, the U.S. established the Life-Saving Service who constructed “Refuge Houses” along the east coast of Florida. Five were completed by 1876 with five more added later. Each house had a keeper and they were built approximately 25 miles apart with numbered wood posts every mile posted along the beach to guide shipwreck survivors to the nearest one. The first one was constructed on the coast near Vero Beach and was referred to as Bethel Creek House of Refuge (it burned down in 1917). The only house of refuge still standing is near Stuart on Hutchinson Island, the Gilbert’s Bar House of Refuge. If you have time before you leave on Sunday (and have a car) check out the house (museum) and the interesting rock outcropping on the beach (Anastasia Formation) nearby.

**Old Dixie Highway (Gifford to Wabasso)**

The Old Dixie Highway stretched from Michigan and Chicago southward to Miami. Inspired by the Lincoln Highway, the Dixie Highway was planned in 1914 and created by local governments between 1915 and 1927. The route was marked with a red stripe (usually on telephone poles) containing within it the letters “DH” in white and usually with a thin white stripe above and below. As the main road through eastern Florida, it was not uncommon to find monuments or other structures along the road marking county or city boundaries.

The portion of road on which we are traveling was completed in 1924 as part of the highway system’s Eastern Branch. This branch connected Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan with Miami via Saginaw, Detroit, Toledo, Dayton, Cincinnati, Lexington, Knoxville, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Savannah, Jacksonville, and West Palm Beach. Soon after its completion, however, the importance of the Dixie Highway in this section was supplanted by US Route 1, which connected the Florida Keys with Calais, Maine, and portions of which run along the same route as its predecessor. US1 became a 4-lane highway in the 1950s.

**Gifford (4000 Old Dixie Highway)**

Located less than three miles from downtown Vero Beach, Gifford is the first of three railroad stops along the Old Dixie Highway between Vero and Sebastian, and is among the oldest African American villages in Indian River County. It was first settled by Georgia farmer William Brown, who brought his wife Duloris and eight children to Gifford in the 1890s. Soon after, James T. Gray established a general store there, and in 1904 began offering lots for sale east of the railroad. Twelve years later, W.E. Geoffrey offered two hundred lots of sale near Gray’s division. Most settlers were native Southerners, and many were railroad employees or farm hands. This continues to be the African American section of Vero Beach; today, most residential buildings are located to the east of US Route 1. Many of the businesses in this community are related to agriculture, particularly oranges. Although a grocery store and other businesses may be found elsewhere in the community, the business blocks at the corner of the Old Dixie Highway and 41st Street constitute the town’s old commercial district — which, in 1948, included a movie house, a drug store, a barber shop, and a pool hall.
Winter Beach (6500 Old Dixie Highway)
Located less than three miles north of Gifford, Winter Beach was first organized in 1894 as “Woodley,” a name provided by settler J.T. Gray, who had owned a plantation in Georgia by that name. In 1902, residents — who by this time included farmers, farmhands, railroad employees, and a few storekeepers — renamed the settlement “Quay” in honor of U.S. Senator Matthew Quay of Pennsylvania. Quay, an ally of Theodore Roosevelt who sometimes was referred to as Florida’s “Third Senator,” maintained a winter home in St. Lucie Village near Fort Pierce. Quay was particularly beloved in the area for sponsoring an appropriation to improve the Indian River for transportation. Then, during the land boom of the 1920s, land promoters renamed the unincorporated settlement “Winter Beach,” and advertised it as the place “Where Sunshine Spends the Winter.” The late-1920s bust curtailed the town’s growth. Although the community still is not incorporated, it does maintain a post office along the Old Dixie Highway.

Pleasant Ridge School/Quay School (6514 Old Dixie Highway, Winter Beach)
The Quay School was built in the Spanish Mission style in 1919, during the Great Florida Boom. (In the context of Florida, this style is a Mediterranean Revival style.) It was designed by Vero contractor J. Hudson Baker and constructed for $5000. Once completed, the school included two classrooms and an auditorium. It was expanded in 1927 for $5200. It was heavily damaged in the 2004 hurricanes (Francis and Jeanne), and has been abandoned since that time.

Update: The Pleasant Ridge/Quay School was demolished during the week of December 25, 2011, just over two months after the PAS:APAL tour.

Wabasso (8500 US Route 1)
Located a little more than two miles north of Winter Beach, Wabasso was originally known as Lowanna when it was settled in the 1880s. For unknown reasons the name was changed to “Wabasso” by 1897. The community’s first subdivision came in the 1890s, and the community seems to have been settled primarily by southerners (particularly from Georgia) who established successful citrus farms in the area. In fact, the large African American community that continues to occupy an area west of the FEC tracks owes its origins to the migration of African Americans and West Indies laborers who worked for citrus farmers James Dodge and Alfred Michael in the early 20th century.

By 1925, the town had grown to the point at which 36 registered voters met in the Deerfield Groves Company hotel and voted to form a municipal government. Subdivisions brought new residents, and orange and grapefruit growers met with unbridled success. At the same time, a new $75,000 bridge brought citrus products to Wabasso from the barrier island. In fact, agriculture was so successful that the American Fruit Growers established its main east coast packing house in Wabasso.

Despite the continued importance of citrus to this area, the late-1920s bust and the construction of US Route 1 significantly altered the town’s character, as has development along that route since the 1950s. Some signs of the past can be still be seen, however: the old Grace Methodist Episcopal Church (1917, near US Route 1 on the left) and several 1910s-20s Bungalow-style houses attest to the Great Florida Boom of the 1910s-20s.
Sebastian and Pelican Island
Sebastian was a fishing village as early as the 1870s and known for a time as Newhaven, but was founded officially as St. Sebastian in 1882. (For reasons unknown, the “St.” was dropped when the town was incorporated.) Although some early settlement seems to have been German in origin, the town became part of Florida’s nineteenth-century English colony movement at least as early as 1883. By the 1890s, thanks to the FEC, the area became part of an early land boom and also produced turpentine and naval stores from the region’s pine trees. Drainage projects commenced during the Progressive Era, however, allowing the area from Sebastian to Oslo (south of Vero Beach) to become an important citrus producer.

One of the extractive (and wasteful) early industries not mentioned above is the “harvesting” (a polite way to describe the massive slaughter) of plumage from birds. This was easy money for locals and the hat manufacturers loved the steady supply of feathers. In some cases, like the buffalo of the American West, tourists would indiscriminately take pot shots at birds for “sport.” A few were not so happy and after the practice was exposed nationally, laws were enacted (with steep fines) to protect the water birds in Florida. A former plumber who “saw the light,” Guy Bradley, ended up losing his life, shot while attempting to arrest a man killing birds. The man was later was exonerated by a local jury, having claimed “self-defense.”

Pelican Island, in the Indian River adjacent to Sebastian and accessible only by boat, was one place where birds were being slaughtered indiscriminately. Concerned by this situation, a group from the Audubon Society visited with President Theodore Roosevelt in 1903. As a result of that meeting, President Roosevelt created a National Bird Sanctuary on the island on March 14, 1903. This would be the first National Wildlife Refuge established in the United States.

County Road 512 (a/k/a Fellsmere-Sebastian Road)
In 1917, motorists traveling to Fellsmere from the South along the Dixie Highway turned left just before they arrived at an archway advertising “Fellsmere — West Nine Miles.” The “Fellsmere-Sebastian Road” was designed by a Fellsmere Farms engineer and completed in 1916, and boasted of one mile paved with Ojus rock imported by rail from Miami and the remaining eight miles with marl or crushed shell. At nine feet wide, the road was considerably thinner than today’s four-lane road. Soon after it was constructed local travelers started clamoring for a 15-foot-wide road.

Fellsmere-Brookside Cemetery (9765 Watervliet Avenue, Sebastian)
The Fellsmere Cemetery dates from the late nineteenth century, and was given to the City of Fellsmere after the city’s founding in 1911. Despite its location seven miles east of Fellsmere, the city gladly accepted the gift, as the high water table within the city makes burials there impossible.

The oldest part of the cemetery lies toward the north (rear), and many of the graves are unmarked. The Indian River County Historical Society believes the first interments to have been African Americans and prisoners who worked in the local turpentine camps nearby. (Florida did not have a prison system until after World War I; prior to that, convicts worked in labor camps.) It continued to serve as the African American section of the cemetery during the Jim Crow era, and still sees the occasional burial as recently deceased are buried near loved ones. The lack of markers, misspellings, and vernacular markers produced during a period in which commercial gravestones were common speak to the relative poverty of many of those buried here. The apparent lack of
spatial order in burials here is similar to the lack of order found in antebellum slave cemeteries in Virginia and elsewhere in the South.

The older “white” sections of the cemetery are somewhat more typical of twentieth-century cemeteries in the lowland South, though not perfectly so. In such grounds, bodies are typically oriented with feet pointed to the East (toward Jerusalem), often with the wife positioned to the left of her husband. Above-ground crypts (which are usually more decorative than functional) might be present on some graves, and many might feature a casket-length slab of stone or concrete over the grave. Unlike Upland Southern graveyards, which may feature scraped-earth, grave houses (or “grave sheds”), and fences with lichgates to separate the dead from the living, the Fellsmere cemetery features only one of these characteristics: a fence, which was added to the grounds in the last decade to help keep supposed “devil worshippers” out of the grounds at night.

“The Dinky Line”
County Road 512 roughly parallels the path of the 9.83-mile-long Fellsmere Railroad (in fact, this line ran between the Fellsmere-Brookside Cemetery and Burger King). This line connected Fellsmere to the Florida East Coast Railroad line in Sebastian up to four times per day, hauling express, mail, and agricultural tools and products between the two communities. The original rail line was built in 1896 when the Cincinnatus Glades Company attempted to create a settlement in the area of Fellsmere, a project which was abandoned after the destruction caused by hurricanes in 1907 and 1908. The Fellsmere Farms Company took over and repaired the line in 1909.

The original plan to run traditional locomotives over the track proved economically problematic, particularly after 1915 when the company extended the line six miles westward to its proposed town of Broadmoor. Flooding and the subsequent failure of the Fellsmere Farms Company led to cost-cutting measures, at which time the railroad ran its locomotive only to haul heavy loads (particularly as peat and sugar became important exports). In its place, the company operated converted automobiles capable of carrying 12 passengers and express shipments. By 1928 the renamed Trans Florida Central Railroad owned three cars built from Ford one-ton Model A trucks, and within a few years operated a converted International Harvester truck capable of pulling a full-size railcar. As a result of these small, unusual vehicles, sometimes referred to as “critters,” the line became known as the “dinky line.”

The Trans Florida Central continued to operate the line until 1952, and the Fellsmere Sugar Producers for a few years after that.

“Head South Young Man?”
Actually we are heading west, but when Turner proclaimed the closing of the frontier in 1893 boosters in Florida called out to attract settlers to the new final frontier in the interior of South Florida. One of those men was originally from New Zealand and and was the namesake of the development we are going to visit next: Fellsmere.

Fellsmere
Although Florida set up publicly funded drainage projects, three local, large, privately funded projects existed in this area: Fort Pierce/Viking (see below), Indian River, and Fellsmere. The largest of these projects was master-minded by E. Nelson Fell (born 1858), an engineer originally
from New Zealand who was trained at the Royal School of Mines in England. Fell traveled widely, employed for projects in Brazil, Colorado, and Siberia, among others. In the 1880s he moved to Narcoosee, Florida to supervise a drainage project for the growing of sugar cane. There he established a home and became involved in local politics. He was lured to the Klondike Rush in 1897 and soon after moved to Siberia to manage copper mines. Fell retired from the family business in 1907 and moved to Virginia, but ended up back in Florida to establish the Fellsmere Farms Company in 1910 as part of the English Colony movement. The company bought over one hundred thousand acres of wetlands and pine forest and proceeded to start draining them for agriculture. Approximately one square mile was reserved for the town of Fellsmere, with elaborate plans for a bustling community designed on a grid with divided boulevards and parks. The east-west streets are named after states (one of which is Pennsylvania, but Scott asks, “where is New Hampshire?”) while the north-south streets are named after trees, except for the main north-south street named Broadway. (It appears that the tree-named streets are opposite of Philadelphia). The town’s African American section also diverges from the town’s naming convention, with roads named for Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant. Fellsmere was the first incorporated town (1915) in what became Indian River County.

Within a few years of its founding Broadway became a business district, complete with a paved road, sidewalks, and electric street lighting (all by 1915), and several churches were established. For a brief period Fellsmere grew rapidly and thrived, becoming the county’s largest city. But the growth slowed as major flooding events and the crash of land prices put a damper on the development of Fellsmere. Although the gravity-based drainage system was designed well, Fell never anticipated the amount of rain that could arrive in one event. In 1915 a 9-inch rainfall overwhelmed the system and Fellsmere flooded. The flooding was so bad that Broadmoor, a town five miles west that was established (ironically) by Dutch investors, was abandoned.

In 1917 the Fellsmere Farm Company declared bankruptcy and Fell “fell” out of the picture, leaving only his name behind. The torch for the town was picked up by Frank Heiser, who migrated to the area as a young man in 1912 and became a successful citrus grower. In 1918 he re-organized the Fellsmere Drainage District and teamed up with Oscar Crosby (an original investor with Fell) to promote sugar cane production.

**Sugar Buzz**

Florida and sugar cane have a long history, starting when the Spanish introduced sugar cane to Florida in 1565 when it was grown for local consumption in St. Augustine. The British established small commercial operations from 1767 to 1776, but a long gap followed before the U.S. started short-lived operations in the 1850s. After the Civil War, Disston (remember him?) backed a mill that closed in 1896. The stop-and-go nature of sugar cane production in Florida did not dampen Heiser’s enthusiasm for sugar. Although several attempts in Fellsmere failed, Heiser was determined to prove that sugar could be successful as a commercial operation north of Lake Okeechobee where it was already established. Heiser faced many challenges including the failure of Fellsmere, the end of the land boom (1925), and the stock market crash (1929), but with the support of a Texas investor (Edward Hughes) he was able to convince some New York investors to provide limited capital.
In 1931 Heiser got started and with a shoe-string budget was able to take advantage of depressed wages to improve the infrastructure (drainage, land clearance, and roads). He was also able to piece together parts of dilapidated sugar mills from Cuba and Louisiana along with sections of a failed on-site “muck” (wet organic peat dried to make a fertilizer stabilizer) processing plant to create a sugar mill on the cheap. The effort was a success and helped to stabilize the local economy by offering year round employment and capital to maintain the drainage system.

Despite setbacks from a hurricane (1933), a deep freeze (19 degrees Fahrenheit in December 1934), and unfavorable federal agricultural quotas, the operation continued to be successful. Up until 1934 the plant sent the partially processed sugar to Philadelphia for final processing. Heiser then rolled the dice, put up his citrus farm and was able to get other investors to construct a refinery and had it up and running by 1935. By the summer of 1936, five-, ten-, 25-, and 100-pound sacks of “Florida Crystals” were being sold all along the east coast of the U.S. You can see some of the artifacts and pictures of sugar production while you have lunch at Marsh Landing.

Sugar Buzz-Kill
Fluctuating prices, the start of World War II, and federal quotas made for unstable conditions, but in 1943 a group of Puerto Rican sugar producers bought the Fellsmere operation, bringing a tidy profit for Heiser and the other investors. Heiser left Fellsmere for Jacksonville, but periodically returned to consult for the new owners. Sugar production continued for 20 more years, until the new owners shut down the Fellsmere plant.

Remains of the sugar operations and Broadmoor no longer exist, but there are many buildings of interest in Fellsmere. Many of the buildings date from 1911 to 1925, and are indicative of the variety of styles that were popular during this period.

Fellsmere School (S. Orange Street, Fellsmere)
Our first stop will be a brick school completed in 1916 at a cost of approximately $40,000. The Prairie-style school was designed by Frederick Trimble and continued to serve as a school into the 1970s. This is Fredrick Trimble’s first major project and he went on to design many other major buildings in Florida (including the Vero Theater we saw earlier) during the boom period of the 1920s. Trimble was born in Canada in 1878 and worked as an architect for the Methodist Episcopal Church in China for several years before moving to Florida in 1914. He practiced out of Fellsmere until 1916 when he moved his practice to rapidly growing Orlando. By 1930 Trimble had designed 50 schools in Florida. He also designed dormitories and hotels using a variety of styles (Classical, Colonial Revival, Craftsman, Prairie and Mediterranean) popular during this eclectic time period. He has also been attributed in the design of the Fellsmere Post Office (since demolished), the library (see below), and several homes in Fellsmere.

The City of Fellsmere took possession of the school and used the building for various purposes until the 1990s. Fellsmere did not have the funds to undertake a restoration and considered selling the building. A number of stakeholders got together to save the school and collected well over $100,000 to pay for the architectural services that provided a basis for the restoration. The City of Fellsmere’s decision to undertake the restoration was cemented by a planning session conducted by Florida Atlantic University’s Design Institute. During this initiative concerns arose about the prospect of moving the City Hall from its existing location in the City’s historic center to recently
annexed lands along I-95. If such a relocation occurred, it was hypothesized, the downtown might wither and lose its rightful focus. This study generated a discussion by Council that resulted in a policy statement to utilize the Old School as the City Hall. The restoration took over two years and $3.2 million and created a true focal point for the City of Fellsmere. The building served as the focus of the city's centennial in 2011. As a City Hall and Boys & Girls Club, this historic structure will continue to affect the lives of residents for years to come. The school is listed on the National Register of Historic Buildings.

**On Broadway**
The oldest building in the business district is the Fellsmere Inn which was constructed circa 1910 by the Fellsmere Farms Company. The building has survived floods, many foreclosures, and name changes over the years. Nearby, the Bank of Fellsmere was built in 1913 in a Masonry Vernacular Style and the Hall and Saunders building was constructed in 1914 using a wood frame vernacular style.

While most of Florida boomed during the 1920s Fellsmere saw limited growth. Despite little growth two major existing buildings were constructed in the 1920s. The Spanish Mission-style Fellsmere Estates Corporation Building was completed in 1926, and the Craftsman-style First Methodist Episcopal Church in 1924.

**Off Broadway**
Outside the Broadway Business District are many wood-frame vernacular and Craftsman-style houses, along with a few Mission houses. One of the more interesting structures is the Marion Fell Library. Marion, the daughter of Nelson Fell, was never a resident of Fellsmere, but wanted to promote literacy and donated money she made from the translation of Russian Literature. Her donation resulted in the construction of a small library and the acquisition of books. The library was completed in 1915 in a wood-frame vernacular style and remains open to this day. It was listed on the National Register in 1997.

After lunch, we will depart Fellsmere and head south along I-95 past the Vero Beach/Dodgertown exit toward...

**Indrio and the Fort Pierce Farms Schoolhouse (4852 Emerson Ave, Ft. Pierce)**
Indrio was first settled in 1892 by Major B. Daniels. Daniels was joined a few years later by Jens Helseth and other Scandinavian settlers, because of whom the growing village along the Indian River became known as Viking. (Only a few miles north along the Florida East Coast Railroad line, another Scandinavian settlement developed at the same time; that one is still known as Oslo.) The new settlers developed a healthy pineapple industry in the area, and before long the village boasted a post office, a school, and a flag stop on the FEC.

During the Great Florida Boom, a land developer named R.N. Koblegard initiated a scheme similar to the one at Fellsmere Farms, this one called Fort Pierce Farms. Although located much closer to the Florida East Coast Railroad than Fellsmere, it, too, would have included a short railroad running westward from the FEC tracks near Indrio. Koblegard proposed to develop 36,000 acres, and began by digging approximately fifty miles of canals which drained water into the Indian River. Canal diggers were generally African Americans. Had it been successful, the settlement would have
greatly dwarfed Fort Pierce to the south. However, the hurricanes of 1926 and 1928 slowed the boom, and the stock market crash of 1929 ended it altogether. Nevertheless, at least one building remains from the development: the Fort Pierce Farms Schoolhouse, which was constructed in the early 1920s. Today the building it is one of St. Lucie County’s recreational facilities, and is rented out to groups throughout the year.

The cheap importation of pineapples from Cuba (after the completion of the FEC railroad extension to Key West in January, 1912) helped lead to the failure of the pineapple industry in Viking/Fort Pierce Farms, after which local farmers turned to citrus. Yet during the boom years of the 1910s and 1920s, the area continued to grow. For instance, in 1911 Edwin Binney (inventor of the Crayola crayon) bought 1,000 acres of citrus groves at Fort Pierce Farms and split his time between Florida and his northern home in Greenwich, Connecticut. In 1922, Binney played an important role in establishing Fort Pierce as a port and an inlet, complete with a refrigerated terminal for holding fruit. At some point prior to his death, his wife Alice came up with a new name for Viking: Indrio, which combined the Spanish word for “river” with the first three letters of the Indian River. (Alice Binney similarly came up with the name “Crayola,” from the French word “craie,” or chalk, and “ola,” “short for oleaginou or oily, as Crayola crayons are made from a petroleum-based wax.)

The Highwaymen

The Highwaymen, a name coined by art historians in the 1990s, were a group of African American landscape painters based in Fort Pierce and other nearby communities from the 1950s-1980s. The group consisted of at least twenty-five men and one woman, all of whom were directly or indirectly influenced by Fort Pierce landscape painter A. E. “Beanie” Backus, whose house can be found near the city’s downtown historic district. Yet while Backus had been influenced by the Hudson River School of painters, the Highwaymen developed their own recognizable styles which at times fused realism with elements of impressionism, pop art, and (in rare cases) cubism.

A typical Highwayman work of art consisted of a Florida landscape (usually variations on places known to the artists painted from memory) painted in oil on upson board and framed with white-painted (and sometimes antiqued) crown molding. An artist might be able to complete more than a dozen works over the course of a day, then sell them — often before the oil had cured — out of their cars, on street corners, or in business lobbies. The standard-sized painting might be sold for $25-$35, a sum which — though modest — enabled many of the artists to escape work in the orange groves. (During the Jim Crow era, few African Americans could expect a better fate.) Yet because of the commercial nature of these paintings, color palettes changed with popular taste, from bright oranges and teals in the 1950s to earth tones in the 1970s. In fact, most Highwaymen pieces were dismissed as “motel art” until toward the end of the twentieth century. Today, these paintings are highly sought.

The Highwaymen produced and sold more than 150,000 paintings. According to art historian Gary Monroe, the Highwaymen played an important role in solidifying an image of Florida in the popular imagination. Their paintings “had the essential ingredients with which to imagine the state: wind-swept farm trees, billowing cumulus clouds, the ocean, the setting sun. The intense and vivid colors of the images seemed otherworldly, just as an idealized Florida must have appeared to northerners. The Highwayman’s work became a popular representation of how Floridians wanted to see
themselves and how they wanted others to see the state.”

**Fort Pierce**

Fort Pierce was founded in 1838 as — you guessed it — a fort, named for Col. Benjamin K. Pierce of Hillsborough, New Hampshire. (This trip is full of New Englanders and Pennsylvanians, isn’t it?) Pierce was the fort’s builder and first commander, not to mention the oldest brother of future US President Franklin Pierce. The original fort was erected along Indian River Drive, just south of the current downtown area, during the Second Seminole War. It was decommissioned in 1842 at the war’s conclusion, and burned a year later.

The first non-Native American civilians to live in the area arrived in 1842. Most were farmers who experimented with a variety of export crops, but after the Civil War many people in St. Lucie County turned to cattle. Cattle were driven westward to the Gulf of Mexico along the line of forts that had been established during the Seminole Wars, starting at Fort Pierce. Florida cowboys wore felt hats, large yellow oiled slickers, and cow whips with a foot-long wooden handle and woven cowhide whip tipped with a buckskin strip, called a “cracker” due to the sound it made when properly utilized. This could be the reason why rural Florida farmers and ranchers were known as “crackers,” though other theories abound. (Far fewer theories exist to explain why so many St. Lucie County ranchers were known by the nickname “Teet” — as in Teet Alderman and Teet Holmes.) Yet the growth of Fort Pierce had less to do with cracker-ranchers than with its strategic location on one of the Indian River’s few inlets to the Atlantic, not to mention the arrival of the FEC Railway in the 1890s and drainage projects that permitted agricultural development in places like nearby Viking/Indrio. Prior to the railroad, and even after its arrival, Fort Pierce provided a safe harbor from which to ship agricultural products, while the FEC encouraged tourism in the area.

Today, in addition to being the place where Wayne and Scott moor their yachts during the summer, Fort Pierce boasts of a vibrant historic downtown (which is well worth the time to see — unfortunately, our trip will not allow us that time). Notable buildings include Historic City Hall (constructed 1925 in the Mediterranean style; architect William Hatcher), the Platts/Backus House (1895, home of A.E. Backus in the latter half of the 20th century), the Arcade Building (1926, Spanish Revival), the Boston House (1909, Neo-Classical/Georgian Revival styles, built by FEC engineer William T. Jones after receiving a settlement for a work-related accident), the P.P. Cobb Building (built as a trading post in 1882 by Benjamin Hogg), and the magnificent Sunrise Theater (constructed 1924 in the Mediterranean style, architect John N. Sherwood).

Downtown Fort Pierce received the National Trust for Historic Preservation’s 2011 Great American Main Street Award. |

**Hutchinson Island**

In the 1880s, Hutchinson Island — a barrier island bordered by the Atlantic Ocean and Indian River — was home to a pineapple plantation owned by Captain Thomas E. Richards of New Jersey. The venture failed, however, when the pineapples all died or were eaten by bears. Today you won’t see pineapples or bears here, but at Jaycee Park you can walk on the beach or visit the modern bathrooms.
However, Capt. Richards was successful at growing pineapples on the mainland. There, he even constructed a building to produce and bottle a “pineapple digestive” to “help relieve indigestion.” In this way Richards could use the pineapples that had become too ripe to ship. Unbeknownst to the Captain, however, the digestive became so strong that it had the alcoholic content of wine. He closed his pineapple digestive company when government officials notified him of this fact.

**St. Lucie Nuclear Power Plant (6375 S Ocean Drive, Jensen Beach)**
Located on Hutchinson Island about eight miles southeast of Fort Pierce, the power plant consists of two units: Unit One dates from 1976, and Unit Two from 1983. The plant generates 1.7 billion watts of electricity, reportedly enough to supply 500,000 homes with electricity for an entire year. (Currently, the population within 10 miles of the plant is 206,596; within 50 miles the population is nearly 1.3 million.) Three-quarters of the property remains a wildlife preserve and is home to about 180 species of birds and animals.

Located on a barrier island with exposure to both the Atlantic and the Indian River, the plant is elevated 20 feet above sea level and was built to withstand earthquakes “stronger than ever recorded in the region,” according to FPL’s web site. (The Nuclear Regulatory Commission’s estimate of the risk each year of an earthquake intense enough to cause core damage to the reactors is 1 in 21,739.) In case the plant loses power, several on-site systems can provide emergency power to the plant’s critical systems for about seven days. Operating licenses for the two reactors were renewed in 2003, to 2036 for Unit One and 2043 for Unit Two.

Notably, the plant does not have the classic hyperboloid cooling towers found at many inland reactor sites because it uses ocean water to cool the secondary system.

**Jensen Beach (SR 707)**
Jensen Beach is an unincorporated settlement in Martin County. Settled in 1881 by John Laurence Jensen of Denmark, Jensen Beach became known as the “Pineapple Capital of the World” by 1895, shipping one million boxes of pines (pineapples) annually by that time and attracting hundreds of immigrant laborers from the Bahamas. Yet a freeze that year devastated local pineapple plantations, and fires in 1908 and 1910 did not help matters. The completion of the FEC line to Key West, which made Cuban pineapples more readily available helped to finish off the industry, and local farmers turned to citrus. Yet Jensen’s former status as an important pineapple producer is commemorated today in the annual pineapple festival, which is held in downtown Jensen Beach in November.

**Stuart Arch (2387 NE Dixie Highway, Rio)**
So wake up, think, and answer the question, “Is Stuart really the gateway from the Atlantic to the Gulf?” And while you are thinking of that, figure out why the arch is so freakin’ far from downtown Stuart! The Stuart Arch was built in 1926 over the Dixie Highway on the border of the expanded city limits (that answers one question; you have go back to the first stop to answer the first question). Stuart shrunk in the 1930s, so now the arc is entirely in unincorporated Jensen Beach. Go ahead take a picture, and while you’re at it take one of the abandoned ice cream business. We know you want to.

**Jupiter**
Today, Jupiter is the full- or part-time home of Burt Reynolds, Tori Amos, Jack Hanna, Bill Parcells, and lots and lots of athletes, and was once home to the late Perry Como and “Trapper” Nelson. Originally the area was called Hobe, or “Ho-Bay,” after the Native Americans (a branch of the Jeaga) who lived in the area. Spanish cartographers spelled the name “Jobe,” but later English cartographers assumed the name to be a variant of “Jove,” the Latin name for the Roman god. In their effort to claim Florida as their own, the name was Anglicized as “Jupiter.”

The first documented European incursion into this area was by Ponce de Leon on April 21, 1513, though some researchers believe John Cabot may have sailed into the inlet in 1496 or 1497. Either way, they would have found a Native American population of no more than 300 people, who were joined by a contingent of Spanish settlers who established Fort Santa Lucea in 1566 (the year after the founding of St. Augustine). Unfortunately, the Spanish did not get along well with the Hobe, so the Spanish abandoned the fort. The English did not permanently colonize the area either, nor the Spanish after them. In fact, the town of Jupiter was not settled until 1855, when it was incorporated into a 9,088-acre military reservation centered on Fort Jupiter and its 85 officers and enlisted men.

Jupiter Inlet Lighthouse and Museum (500 Captain Armours Way, Jupiter)
In 1853, Congress appropriated $35,000 to build a lighthouse of the “first order” (the most powerful of six lighthouse categories) in Jupiter, whose reefs lie close to the Gulf Stream. George Meade, who later led Union forces against Robert E. Lee at Gettysburg, designed a 90-foot brick tower with iron stairway, a Fresnel illuminating apparatus, and a one-storey, 26-by-30-foot building for the lightkeeper and his family. Illness among workers and the Third Seminole War delayed construction, but on July 10, 1860, the $60,860 lighthouse finally opened.

According to journalist and local historian James Snyder, the red-brick tower “stood 105 feet atop the 48-foot dune. It was double-walled both for greater strength against a hurricane and for circulating air to keep bricks as dry as possible in the constant humidity. The outer base was 31 inches thick and the top 18 inches. It was 65 feet around the base and 43 at the top. Inside were 105 cast-iron steps twisting around to the top. ... The first-order lens stood eight feet, six inches in diameter and weighed 12,800 pounds.” On a clear night, its light could be seen by ships 18 miles out to sea.

Because Florida seceded from the Union in January, 1861, a group of Confederate sympathizers were able to extinguish the light and hide pieces of the lamp until after the Civil War. The lighthouse was relit in 1866. Today, it is lit by a 1000-candle-power electric lamp set behind the Fresnel lens.

The lighthouse is surrounded by a 126-acre reserve, Congressionally designated as an “Outstanding Natural Area” — part of National Landscape Conservation System administered by the Bureau of Land Management. The lighthouse is also part of the Jupiter Inlet Lighthouse and Museum complex, which is managed by the Loxahatchee River Historical Society. The museum is housed in a World War II-era military barracks building, and the grounds include the George and Mary Tindall Pioneer Homestead, a one-time pineapple plantation whose buildings are among the best surviving examples of 1890s South Florida “cracker” architecture.

Hobe Sound/Picture City (1200 SE Old Dixie Highway)
What would Hollywood have looked like if it had developed in Florida? A possible answer can be found in Hobe Sound’s “Picture City.”

Hobe Sound was founded by pineapple and citrus growers in the late 19th century. In 1894, the property was purchased by a group of English investors acting as the Indian River Association, Ltd.; the investors acted as absentee owners while the farmers continued their activities as tenants. The timing was not good, however, as an 1895 freeze ruined the citrus and pineapple industries of the area. By 1905, the group had reorganized its Jupiter-area holdings under the name of the Hobe Sound Company, and during the land boom of the next two decades (aided by the arrival of the FEC Railroad) it developed the area as a winter tourist destination.

In 1923, the Hobe Sound Company sold its property to another investment group, the Olympia Improvement Company, whose vision for the town was to create an east-coast Hollywood. The company planned a classical Greece-themed town called Picture City, and attempted to attract production companies and film stars to the community. Streets were given names of gods and other characters from Greek and Roman mythology, and the company oversaw the construction of the Picture City School, a railroad station, ice plant, roads and sidewalks, and concrete light posts. However, the land boom collapsed in 1926, and the Hobe Sound Company abandoned its Picture City plans after the 1928 hurricane. Although the Hobe Sound name was restored to the town after 1928, the school (now known as the Apollo School, last used as a school in 1962), a water tower, lamp posts, street names, one Italianate business block, and a handful of 1920s houses continue to serve as reminders of Picture City today.

Conclusion
The landscapes of the Atlantic coast between Jupiter and Fellsmere are representative of most of South Florida. Access by rail and road, drainage and flood-control experiments, and segregation have left notable marks, but each successive boom-and-bust cycle threatens the region’s historical landscapes. While a few organizations do attempt to preserve that history (most notably in Jupiter, Stuart, and Fellsmere), many sites in smaller communities or at isolated locales are ignored. We hope that this field guide will help to promote appreciation for the region’s heritage and historic landscapes.

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**Author Biographies**

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“Oh what a rotten name:” Toponymic Change in Northeast Ohio

Chris W. Post, Kent State University at Stark

Abstract
In 1918, the Stark County, Ohio, Court of Common Pleas granted the village of New Berlin the legal authority to change its name to North Canton. Several such actions of anti-German sentiment occurred throughout the United States and Canada during this time, effectively minimizing the impact of German immigrants on the continent’s scriptorial landscape. This paper dissects the political and economic reasons for this particular name change in North Canton, as used in the rhetoric of, and letters received by, the W.H. Hoover Company and local newspapers. New Berlin’s change reflects two critical geographic points. First, the change symbolically annihilated the German heritage of Stark County, one of its key demographics and forces in successful agricultural and industrial development. Second, the rhetoric of the Hoover Company employed the geographic concept of scale to relate the change to 1) the war in Europe 2) the name’s impact on Hoover’s international economics, and 3) the village’s burgeoning relationship with the nearby metropolis of Canton. Despite this change, several villages and townships in the region still retained their Germanic names, an illustration of how big business can be an impetus of change on the landscape of small town America. Keywords: toponyms, Ohio, symbolic annihilation, scale

One of cultural geography’s central roles is to bring about a better understanding of how individuals and societies inscribe their cultural values and identity on the landscape. In return, this “built environment” becomes a normative agent that informs us about what we are to believe and how to live as a society (Mitchell 2000).

An integral part of the landscape is its scriptorial, or linguistic, presence that includes signs, street names, art (e.g., graffiti), and perhaps most essentially, place names, or toponyms (Alderman 2008; Berg and Vuolteenaho 2009; Drucker 1984; Gade 2003; Ley and Cybriwsky 1974). Named after people (Columbus, Washington), the natural environment (Great Falls), ideals (Independence), or other historical influences (Western Reserve, Athens), toponyms reflect and reinforce the local identities of residents and the place they create through time (Tuan 1991). Present on the landscape, maps, and in our social conscience, place names are inherently geographical and have received much attention from scholars in geography and other fields such as anthropology, sociology, and general cultural studies (Basso 1996; Bourdieu 1991; Drucker 1984). Until recently, however, little of this attention has critically analyzed the messages that are presented through the cultural landscape of place names (Berg and Vuolteenaho 2009; Monmonier 2006; Radding and Western 2010; Rose-Redwood, et. al. 2009; Zelinsky 2002).

This research builds on previous toponymic work by evaluating the name change of New Berlin, Ohio, a German-settled Midwestern town. In 1918, New Berlin (pronounced Burlin) changed its name to North Canton in a move that, superficially, appears to have been motivated by a simple desire to avoid association with German aggressions in Europe, a move not uncommon in America at the time. In New Berlin, however, interests beyond mere nationalism took on the most important
role in the community’s name change.

Figure 1. New Berlin Post Office in 1914 (approximation). Courtesy of North Canton Heritage Society.

New Berlin’s Origins and the Hoover Companies
Located only six miles north of Canton, New Berlin’s plat was recorded, and the village was created, on February 19, 1831 (Figure 1). Unlike its larger industrial neighbor Canton, New Berlin survived as a small farming village surrounded by a heavily German-American populace who had migrated to the area from Pennsylvania if not directly from Europe. The community remained rural and even evaded incorporation until 1876 (Figure 2).
One of the early families to make a home in New Berlin were the Hoovers, who owned a farmstead east of New Berlin. In 1908 William Henry Hoover established the W. H. Hoover Company, manufacturing primarily leather products. Over time, it also fabricated sporting goods and early automobile accessories. During World War I, Hoover’s production expanded to include munitions for the war effort. More importantly, however, Hoover also started the Hoover Suction Sweeper Company which pioneered the upright vacuum and its mass production. Combined, at the start of World War I, both companies employed 500 out of New Berlin’s approximately 1,300 citizens, an astonishing rate of 38.5% (Canton Daily News, 1918a; Figure 3)
Canton newspapers not only noted New Berlin’s industriousness thanks to the Hoover companies. More crucial to this analysis, Cantonites also praised their neighbor’s patriotism and contribution to the war effort. By February 3, 1918, New Berlin residents had purchased $86,000 worth of U. S. Liberty Bonds and 75 local young men had volunteered for Army (*Canton Daily News*, 1918a).

A national movement was also underway at the time to wipe German names from the American map. H. R. 11,950, introduced by Representative John Smith (R) of Michigan moved “That the names of all cities, villages, counties, townships, boroughs, and all of the streets, highways and avenues in the United States, its Territories or possessions, named Berlin or Germany to the name of Liberty, Victory, or other patriotic designation.” Obviously this bill failed. But it is worth noting that New Berlin was not alone. It was part of a large national effort to ostracize German-Americans and German heritage (*New York Times* 1918).

Both of these factors — patriotism and industriousness — combined to influence the town’s decision to change its name in the winter of 1918. The balance of these factors, however, is worth a deeper discussion. Simply looking at a map of Ohio and the Midwest illustrates the impact of German settlements: Frankenmuth, Michigan; New Berlin and Germantown, Wisconsin; Steubenville, Berlin, and Berlin Heights, Ohio. All of these settlements remain reflective of their German heritage. Two names, however, exist only on pre-World War I maps: New Berlin and Osnaburg, Ohio. Both are located in Stark County and both changed their names in 1918. Once New Berlin changed its name, Osnaburg followed, changing its name to East Canton. Name changes of streets, cultural relics, and towns was not uncommon during World War I. But the questions for this study is: Why New Berlin? Why 1918? What was the balance of national and economic interests in this change?

**The Name Change**

Patriotism and industry mixed constantly in the Hoover manufacturing facilities in New Berlin. W. H. “Boss” Hoover considered all of New Berlin’s Army volunteers his “boys” and took on the responsibility of informing them of their hometown’s efforts to support them and their efforts overseas (Figure 4). To this end, the Hoover Company published the Newsy News starting in September of 1917. During peacetime, the News became the company paper. Thus, it is clear Boss Hoover was aware of his business’ role in not only New Berlin, but also Stark County and Ohio.
Figure 4. A Veteran Flag flies outside the Hoover offices during World War I, indicating the number of volunteers from New Berlin and the number of those killed in action.

As the war progressed, the W. H. Hoover Company started to receive letters in reference to the name of the community it called home. These letters came from across the country and expressed concern over the name New Berlin and the identity of the company with its community. Several suggested that the company become proactive with a name change drive. One letter from the offices
of Hardware Dealers' Magazine in New York City claimed, "In the province of Ontario, Canada, before the war, there was a city called 'Berlin.' The citizens of that place have changed the name....It seems that you citizens of New Berlin ought to change the name of your town and we suggest that you start something." A second letter from the Fort Lupton Light and Power Company in Colorado suggested, "P.S. why don't you change the name of that town, Hoover and Berlin don't sound good together." Even the First Michigan Cavalry Association (a General George Armstrong Custer memorial association) even advised an alternative:

I am indeed sorry to know your town's name is Berlin. For Heaven's sake do something towards having the name changed to an American one. Oh, what rotten name, New Berlin. I suggest the name "Custer City" as General Custer was a native of Ohio being born in Ohio. See the members of your city council about the matter.

Two of these three letters came from business partners of the W. H. Hoover Company ad these disgruntled customers could take their business elsewhere if they felt that was in their best interest.

Hoover, however, was proactive prior to receiving these letters. According to Frank G. Hoover, the push for a name change was led by H. W. Hoover (also W. H's son and Frank G's father)." In February 1917, the company initiated a public petition to change the name. Titled "Concerning the Change of the Name of New Berlin," the petition explained why the change should be made from New Berlin and to North Canton:

Because of the present war in which the United States of America is now engaged with Germany, and more especially because of the many atrocities and the frightful barbarities committed by the army of the Imperial German Government, the “Berlin” has become obnoxious to many Americans. We the following inhabitants, of New Berlin, Ohio therefore hereby express our desire that the name of our village be changed.

The petition effectively used peer pressure to influence citizens to sign. It noted that several German banks in Cincinnati had already changed their name, for example the German National Bank had become the Lincoln National Bank. In addition, it keyed in on the anti-German sentiment taking place at the national scale, saying, “Our government is doing all it can to Americanize America...every patriotic citizen would immediately adopt the new name.” Finally, it noted what repercussions may come against New Berliners if the change were not made by claiming, “Surely we will lay ourselves open to the suspicion of [b]eing Pro German rather than Pro American in our sympathies...” The question, of course, was whether or not this explanation worked for the citizens of New Berlin.

The original petition material also listed several reasons as to why the town’s future name should be North Canton. During the turn of the century, New Berlin became more economically ingrained with its larger and industrial neighbor to the south. Canton ranked as the 82nd largest city in the country in 1920 with 87,000 citizens (for comparison, that rank today belongs to Colorado Springs, Colorado; U.S. Census Bureau 1998; U.S. Census Bureau 2012). By the time of the war, Canton and New Berlin shared gas and electric lines, postal services, a rail connection, a telephone exchange, and an interurban trolley. New Berlin high school students even took classes in Canton that were
not offered in their own school. The petition put it frankly and thusly, “Canton has the largest factories in the Country...most of our merchants feel that they will be more likely to attract this new trade if our name is North Canton...”

Upon filing the original petition, several regional newspapers expressed their opinions on the potential change. Both the Canton Evening Repository and the Cleveland Plain-Dealer called the New Berlin name a “stigma” (Canton Evening Repository, 1917; Cleveland Plain-Dealer 1917). The Canton Daily News claimed the town “patriotic” for both its contributions to the war effort and the move to change it’s name from New Berlin (1917b).

The original petition garnered 648 signatures, but needed 696, or three-fourths of the village’s population. Immediately after filing the original petition on 3 December, 1917, a remonstrance petition made its way around New Berlin stating:

The undersigned, being residents within the corporate limits of the Village of New Berlin, Stark County, Ohio, remonstrate against and object to the change of name of said village to the village of North Canton and represent that such change is not desirable and that such change is not desired by the three-fourths of the inhabitants if said corporation.

A total of 365 citizens signed this petition between 15 and 20 December, 1917, and it was filed on December 29. The Canton Daily News came out swinging, calling the counter movement to keep the New Berlin name an “alien symptom” that “disturbed” the local community (1917a). Still, the question of New Berlin’s name was not settled.

On 19 December, one day before all the signatures on the Remonstrance petition were collected and 10 days before it was filed, 221 citizens claimed they were unsure of what they had signed in remonstrance. These citizens signed and filed an additional petition asking that they be released from the Remonstrance Petition. This release petition read:

We, the undersigned having been hurriedly persuaded to sign a petition remonstrating against changing the name of new Berlin, now appreciate after fuller consideration that the name of our village is a handicap to the interests and growth of the Hoover Suction Sweeper Co., and the W.H. Hoover Company, and because of our being loyal American citizens, and interested in the growth of our village and its industries, hereby cancel our endorsements of the above referred to petition and that our names be with-drawn from same.

When added to the original petition, those in favor of changing New Berlin’s name had garnered enough signatures — 869; 173 more than necessary — to move forward and bring their case to the Court of Common Pleas in Canton. Judge Robert Day approved the name change to North Canton on 1 February and it was made effective on 3 February, 1918 (Figure 5). The court fee totaled $23.15 and was paid through the Canton-based law firm of Harter and Harter, who represented the Hoovers and original petitioners. A copy of the check was available in the Hoover company’s files at the North Canton Heritage Society, anecdotally indicating that Hoover paid for the legal services throughout the hearing in front of Judge Day. The Newsy News reported the change to troops in Europe immediately. In addition, the Canton Repository, Canton Daily News, and Cleveland Plain Dealer all ran extensive stories or editorials about the name change. The Canton Daily News ran an
entire section on North Canton’s new identity, its contribution to the war effort, and the impact of the Hoover companies on the village (1918b). It ran an additional editorial calling North Canton an “enterprising little community,” a “hot bed of pure American patriotism,” and saying that it possessed an “inspiring zeal” thanks to the name change (Canton Daily News, 1918a). H. W. Hoover even wrote a short piece of his own in the Newsy News for the troops in Europe on 6 February (1918).

Figure 5. North Canton Post Office after the name change, 1919 (approximation). Courtesy North Canton Heritage Society.

Again mail flooded the Hoover offices, this time in gratitude of the change. As one letter praised, “Hooray North Canton, All true Americans will admire your citizens for the Patriotic spirit in changing your name to the above. It will greatly assist the ‘Hoover Suction Cleaner Co.’ in its efforts to put your town on the great map again say I.” Even U. S. Senator Atlee Pomerene wrote the company in sincerity. Another letter came from Captain Charles R. Morris, a Quartermaster in the War Department, who looked forward to “an opportunity to…tell [the Kaiser] that Mr. Hoover and fellow citizens have wiped New Berlin off the map.” Hoover’s work paid off. It called North Canton home and criticism turned to praise.

**Analysis**
The United States has played home to many ostracized groups throughout its history: the homeless, poor, American Indians, African Americans, Japanese Americans and women have been but a few. European groups less frequently have experienced such marginalization, though some groups, such
as the Irish, have experienced such marginalization (Marston 1989). Due to World Wars I and II
Germans and German-Americans became the target of extreme xenophobia. Threats and actions
made against German heritage by the American public revealed themselves on the cultural
landscape via many changes, particular in place names. Even street names changed. Berlin Street in
New Orleans, according to a 1908 map from the Perry-Casteñeda Library Map Collection at the
University of Texas (http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/united_states/new_orleans_1908.jpg)
became General Pershing Street. In Ohio alone, several towns changed their names in addition to
New Berlin. As mentioned above, Osnaburg changed its name to East Canton. In addition, Berlin in
Shelby County switched to Fort Loramie. New Berlin was, thus, not alone. Its name change,
however, offers an opportunity to study an uncommon confluence of several geographic concepts:
language, landscape, scale, symbolic annihilation, and symbolic capital.

Beyond the concept of landscape and language’s presences on it, as covered in the introduction, the
concept of scale stands crucial to this particular study and underlines that no landscape is built or
changes merely at one geographical level (Herod 2010; Mitchell 2008). In all these examples,
particularly New Berlin, local officials made these toponymic changes in response to global events.
Due to the fact that several communities throughout the country, especially in the Middle West,
made these change almost simultaneously adds the element of a national scale phenomenon.

The name change’s effect on the German imprint throughout the Middle West is clear: it actively
erased a component of heritage that this large collection of European groups contributed to
America. Jennifer Eischedt and Stephen Small’s concept of “symbolic annihilation” identifies this
action nicely. According to these two sociologists and their work on sites of Southern heritage,
preservation managers minimized the role of African American slaves on plantations and other
large urban estates (2002). The lives of slaves were effectively annihilated from memory and
visitors subsequently reproduce this same cultural “amnesia” (see also Alderman and Campbell
2008). New Berlin’s name change does the same to the role of German Americans in establishing
Stark County in general and North Canton in particular. The new name eliminated that role in a
real and potentially material way by obliterating it from the landscape (Foote 2003).

Finally, the change from New Berlin to North Canton also illustrates the role of symbolic capital in
making such changes in the cultural landscape. According to Pierre Bourdieu, symbolic capital is “…
those practices and goods that are defined as socially distinctive, desirable and powerful”
(Alderman 2008; Bourdieu 1991). The Hoovers and the New Berlin community at large, including
the village council, saw their town’s name as a burden on how their home was perceived. They saw
the potential for change as a positive move to unload this burden in the midst of global conflict.
They saw it as both a literal and figurative investment in their community and their identity with it.

**Concluding Thoughts**

Geographically, place names are potent symbols of identity, territory, and cultural, economic, and
political power. Their presence on the landscape, on maps, and in our everyday written and verbal
communications make them effective normative agents. Historically speaking, of all the immigrant
groups in American history, Europeans and their descendants have experienced the least
marginalization. The history of North Canton, Ohio, brings both of these historical geographic
axioms to a confluence. If not for Hoover and its active role New Berlin may still be on the
toponymic landscape of Ohio and America. Instead, only a single laundromat still displays the New Berlin title (Figure 6). Indeed, the heritage of New Berlin has been nearly annihilated.

Figure 6. New Berlin Bubbles and Suds, the only landscape evidence that remains of North Canton’s historical identity. Photo by Author. View this photo larger.

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Between Booms: the Commercial Identity and Heritage Tourism of Mineral Point, Wisconsin

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Although local and county histories make much of the lead and zinc-mining booms that occurred in and around Mineral Point, Wisconsin during the early- and late-nineteenth century, these booms were short lived (Figure 1). Between them, local histories refer to a period called the Middle Years, approximately 1849 to 1882, in which various forms of manufacturing failed to impact the economy as much as mining. Still, this period is important because the town adapted to changing circumstances by becoming a regional supply depot and trade center, thereby establishing a commercial, not mining, identity. It is this identity that continues to bolster the town through a different type of commerce, heritage tourism, which serves dual purposes depending on resident or tourist status.

Figure 1. Google map of Mineral Point, WI. The town sits one hour southwest of Madison, WI and two and a half hours southwest of Milwaukee. View this image larger.

Commerce, then, is a site in which we can interpret identity, heritage, and tourism, all of which dynamically interact together in Mineral Point. The town’s history provides an identity that allows it to comfortably enter into the economic enterprise of heritage tourism in order to sustain the town without creating a static environment that alienates its residents. Mineral Point is an exemplary place that takes advantage of the system of tourism by using its cultural resources which includes a commercial past. This naturalizes tourism so that it becomes a contemporary manifestation of the commercial heritage that already existed in the town beginning in the nineteenth century.

In 1971, Mineral Point became the first town in Wisconsin to have a designated historic district
approved by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. (1) This demonstrates the commitment that the town has to its cultural history, but maintaining the town as a historic district also opened up the use of heritage tourism as a source of income. An earlier effort beginning in 1935 also shows the pervasive role that commerce plays in identity formation. Residents Robert Neal and Edgar Hellum rehabilitated a group of stone cottages in order to preserve the Cornish heritage that initially shaped the town. Cornish immigrants began to settle in the lead region around 1835 because of their skill in deep mining, thus beginning Mineral Point’s ethnic and mining identity. Their stone masonry style was also adopted by the town and is seen in the numerous examples in the historic district. Neal and Hellum also ran a restaurant in one of the houses, serving Cornish food, notably the pasty. The site, known as Pendarvis, is now operated by the Wisconsin Historical Society, which shows the importance that Mineral Point has to not only regional history but to state history as one of the first settlements in the territory (Figure 2).
Figure 2. Curator Tamara Funk talking with Tom Carter in front of the Pendarvis Home. The historic site consists of the Pendarvis, Trelawny, and Polperro Houses, along with the Kidlaywink Pub and Martin Cabin. There is also a visitor’s center and gift shop. Photograph by the author.

Adapting and reshaping a place-based identity is a tense issue when marketing a place through heritage tourism, as historical identity can be heavily modified in the service of economics. Tourism may become a town’s main source of income, and the ability to package the town through its features, history, and identity is very important for survival. (2) In order for it to succeed, many places create a generic historical experience similar to that of other locales, in order to market themselves to particular audiences that expect a recognizable narrative. (3) Tourist towns sometimes face a paradox: in order to preserve a local identity, it simultaneously must transform into an easy-to-consume object.
New Glarus, a town 30 minutes east of Mineral Point, markets itself with a Swiss identity, based on the town’s original settlers. Its tourism literature insists that it is “America’s ‘Little Switzerland,’” and many of its commercial establishments push items associated with Switzerland, such as cheese and chocolate, and its architectural facades contain stereotypical Alpine elements such as half-timber, dark paneling, and Gothic-style sign typography. Its self-consciousness runs into excess, creating a seemingly disingenuous identity.

Mineral Point avoids much of this problem because of its successful adaptive reuse of buildings and services. Elements marketed to the tourists are the same marketed elsewhere: specialty shops, historic architecture, heritage festivals, art galleries, craft studios, restaurants, coffee shops, and bed and breakfasts. (4) However, residents take part in these shops and events, making them a vital and meaningful part of the community. Other businesses necessary to the community reside amongst the specialty shops, including a doctor’s office, a pharmacy, and a post office, making parts of the historic district more useful to its residents than its visitors. Mineral Point has managed to integrate tourism, not surrender to it (Figures 3-4).

*Figure 3.* The Mineral Point Medical Center, High Street. Photograph by the author.
This balance creates a sustainable community that mindfully employs its past but has modified itself for a contemporary middle-class American lifestyle, saving it from kitsch through reuse and adaptation. This makes Mineral Point not a tourist town, but a vernacular town, with the agency to adapt and change over time, a place fully aware of its past and knowledge of the importance of its older structures to its identity and future. (5) Most of the cultural content that is visible to the outsider visiting Mineral Point is the domestic and commercial architecture of the historic district, whose structures date from the mid- to late-nineteenth century. High Street and Commerce Street, the primary business streets, contain most of the shops (Figures 5-7). Because of this, Mineral Point can also be thought of as an “actively preserved heritage landscape,” defined by geographer Richard Francaviglia as a product of preservation legislation and an impetus to preserve the historic character. (6) Key elements include buildings, historical sites, design integrity, and other features which demonstrate a place’s past. (7) As with the writing of history, many factors, including local preference, local emphasis, and remaining artifacts contribute to the identity formed and what is actively preserved. Choice in preservation says a lot about what the town wants to remember about itself, and it is in architecture that we see the historic commercial identity of Mineral Point.
Figure 5. Google Map showing some of the current businesses on High and Commerce Streets. View this image larger.

Figure 6. Midway Bar, High Street. Down the block are the Atomic Ice Café and the Red Rooster Café. Photograph by the author.
In the time between the peak of the lead mining in 1848 and the full-scale operation of the Mineral Point Zinc Works, beginning in 1891, commerce took center stage as the town’s primary source of income, cementing its mercantile legacy. Lead mining’s apex in the region occurred just in time for news of the California Gold Rush. (9) Mineral Point’s role changed with this news: instead of being a mining center, the community now served as a supply stop on the way west, and this brought temporary financial wellbeing. (10) The town supplied everything that one could possibly need, including clothes, rifles, food, and tools. (11) *The Story of Mineral Point,* published in 1941, laments this as a period of reduced circumstances. (12) However, this was a fruitful and formative time that drastically shaped contemporary perceptions of Mineral Point. Advertisements placed by businesses during the gold rush demonstrate their desire to capture both the transient population and the local market. Shops declared their fidelity to community members by promising not to leave, all the while peddling goods suitable to the journey west. (13) As men who traveled to California sent money back to their families, the commercial sector received much of it. (14)

Mineral Point’s economic legacy began in earnest in 1857 with railroad service coming to town. (15) It allowed for more self-sufficiency and a move away from mining, and the town became “the shipping center and supply depot for a large and fertile farming land.” (16) Throughout the nineteenth century an increasing connection to regional and national markets gave merchants more civic power and status, and the same could be said of Mineral Point, whose professionals, merchants, and tradesmen lived in homes that demonstrated their middle- and upper class status. (17)

Jail Alley, located one block north of High Street, contains three, two-story homes: the Kinney House, the Meadows House, and the Parley Eaton House, all constructed between 1846 and 1851, right at the beginning of the transformation from a mining town to a goods and services town.
(Figures 8-10). Professionals and tradesmen built and lived in all of them, using them as places of work in the case of the Parley Eaton House and the Meadows House, for a law office and tailor shop, respectively. All reflect a middle class lifestyle through size, building materials, and interior finish. For example, the Meadows House contains a built-cabinet and a fireplace with carved mantel, and decorative crown molding. Although the houses function differently and offer different services than the shops on High and Commerce Streets, they still function together to more fully illustrate the commercial history of Mineral Point.

*Figure 8.* A row of houses on Jail Alley. The Kinney House is in the center. Photograph by the author.
Figure 9. The Samuel Meadows House. Although the home appears small, it original façade on the other side is two stories. Photograph by the author.

Figure 10. The Parley Eaton House. Photograph by the author.

The decade between 1860 and 1870 experienced much growth, with businesses, homes, streets, and sidewalks constructed. (18) Various industries came to town, including a flourmill, woolen factory, multiple breweries, a paper mill, and rubber plant, but none of them thrived for long. (19) Although short-lived, the manufacturing sector cannot be excluded from Mineral Point’s history, as it, like tourism, is another manifestation of the town’s commercial history. An 1880 Sanborn map, along
with subsequent maps, displays the diversity of High Street’s shops, which included grocers, milliners, clothiers, and a cigar shop, to name some (Figure 11). Interestingly, author George Bechtel marks 1915 as the peak year for commercial development. (20) Although this is outside of the Middle Years’ range, the early twentieth century developments are crucial to the development of Mineral Point’s commercial identity as well, even when they ran parallel to zinc mining.

![Figure 11. High Street, ca. 1915. Photograph courtesy of the Wisconsin Historical Society. WHI-37525.](image)

In the midst of the transition away from lead mining and to commerce, the first zinc furnace opened in 1860, and a decade later, zinc was the predominant ore mined from the area. (21) Small-scale mining occurred throughout the Middle Years, although the depletion of easily extracted ore slowed the industry, which was supplanted by commerce. In 1882, the Mineral Point Zinc Company began operation. Created in 1891, the Mineral Point Zinc Works soon dominated the local zinc industry; it steadily increased manufacturing facilities, which included mines, smelting furnaces, and a sulfuric acid plant, built in 1899 (Figure 12). The site covered the land just south of town and across the creek. Even with a vast manufacturing operation, the mining only lasted until the late 1920s, when the Zinc Works only processed ore. Shortly after in 1935, the physical dismantling of the Zinc Works began. (22) Today, no physical evidence of the mining tradition remains. The lack of visible trace on the landscape contrasts sharply with the written and visual record, which offers evidence of such a large-scale operation. It is the commercial buildings that remain, just as commerce has remained the town’s economic stronghold.
What is left is the commercial architecture of High and Commerce Streets, and the houses in proximity them, which also served as places of economic transaction. This is the history of Mineral Point chosen for preservation and presentation to the community and to outsiders. Without the past and current local business owners, which occupy many of the same buildings, this town would not thrive as it does. Architecture is vital to this history, allowing us to bear witness to the past and understand the role that middle-class shop owners and tradesmen played in sustaining the town and in creating its current identity. Shops have changed, and certain goods and services are no longer needed, but these buildings serve as evidence of the importance of the Middle Years, and they preserve the town’s legacy and identity for the future.

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Britain’s Ambitious Florida Venture: Turnbull’s Smyrnéa Settlement (1766-1777)

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Abstract
Established by Dr. Andrew Turnbull, a Scottish physician and entrepreneur, the Smyrnéa settlement was an agricultural enterprise that existed from 1766 to 1777 during the British occupation of Florida and whose primary purpose was to supply Britain with commercial crops, primarily indigo. Turnbull recruited approximately 1,100 indentured servants from the Mediterranean island of Minorca along with an additional 300 from Greece, Italy, Corsica, and Turkey. Within the Smyrnéa settlement, the developing cohesion of these various Mediterranean groups over time eventually led to the emergence of a distinctive ‘Minorcan’ cultural community on the Florida frontier. Although there is substantial historical documentation pertaining to this settlement, archaeologists have only recently begun to uncover its structural and material cultural remains and thus add to our knowledge of colonial life in eighteenth-century Smyrnéa. An historical overview of Turnbull’s Smyrnéa settlement is presented followed by a description of the archaeological findings uncovered to date.

Introduction
The Smyrnéa settlement was an agricultural enterprise that existed from 1766 to 1777 during the British occupation of Florida at the location of what eventually was to become the modern cities of New Smyrna Beach and Edgewater on the central east coast of Florida (Figure 1). Founded by Dr. Andrew Turnbull, a Scottish-born physician and wealthy member of London society, the settlement was populated with indentured servants, the majority recruited from the Mediterranean island of Minorca along with additional laborers from Greece, Italy, France, Corsica, and Turkey (Griffin 1991; Panagopoulos 1978; Rasico 1990). Within the Smyrnéa settlement, these various Mediterranean groups eventually coalesced over time into a distinctive ‘Minorcan’ cultural community (Griffin 1991:16,21). Indeed, common geographic origin, intermarriage, and common religion were important factors contributing to this melding of cultures. Moreover, the sharing of deprivations and hardships throughout the duration of the settlement was another significant unifying force (Griffin 1991:101). Together, these peoples endured strenuously difficult work and harsh punishments and suffered from chronic shortages of food supplies (Griffin 1991).
Although there is substantial historical documentation pertaining to the Smyrnéa settlement, only within the past 15 years have archaeologists been able to locate and systematically uncover its structural and material cultural remains (Grange 1999; Grange and Moore 2003). In this paper, we give an historical overview of Turnbull’s Smyrnéa settlement and describe the archaeological findings.

**Historical Background**

Britain acquired Florida and the Mediterranean island of Minorca from Spain and France, respectively, as stipulated in the Treaty of Paris of 1763, at the end of the Seven Years’ War, or French and Indian War in North America (Rasico 1990:10-11). Britain, in turn, divided Florida into two administrative districts, East and West Florida, and St. Augustine was selected as the capital of East Florida (Rasico 1990:12,14; Tebeau 1971:75-77).

Almost immediately, Britain began a concerted effort to stimulate interest in and attract new settlers to both Floridas (Griffin 1991:4; Panagopoulos 1978:10-11). Britain’s desire to colonize Florida was spurred in part by the need to offset her costly dependence on imported commodities, such as indigo, silk, cotton, rice, cochineal, wine, and oil. By having these crops grown on British-owned soils rather than purchased from other nations, the Crown could provide its people with these highly desired products directly and thus lower its expenditures. To promote agricultural development, the Crown offered land grants at easy terms to prospective plantation owners and bestowed financial rewards upon those planters willing to grow cash crops for export to Britain (Rasico 1990:14-16).
Dr. Andrew Turnbull, who had important and influential connections in British government circles, accepted the challenge to establish a large plantation in East Florida as a business venture (Tebeau 1971:82). He partnered with two other prominent members of British society, Sir William Duncan and eventually Sir Richard Temple, and they were awarded a substantial amount of land as well as government support. Turnbull was to serve as plantation manager, handling all the practical aspects, recruiting and transporting colonists, and personally overseeing the plantation operation (Griffin 1991:7; Panagopoulos 1978:13,18; Rasico 1990:16-18; Tebeau 1971:82).

In fall 1766, Turnbull sailed to East Florida to choose the location and begin preparations for the plantation settlement. He selected an area 121 km (75 mi) south of St. Augustine (see Figure 1), along the Indian River (then called Hillsborough River) at Ponce de Leon Inlet (formerly Mosquito Inlet) as the location for the settlement (Griffin 1991:7,8-9; Panagopoulos 1978:15; Rasico 1990:17,36; Tebeau 1971:82). Turnbull hired a skilled planter as head agricultural overseer, employed a number of carpenters to build houses and other structures, purchased 40 black slaves, and ordered several hundred cattle from the Georgia colony (Panagopoulos 1978:17; Rasico 1990:17; Turnbull 1767a, 1767b). The governor of East Florida named the new settlement New Smyrna after the birthplace of Turnbull’s wife, María Gracia Dura Bín (Rubini), who was born in Smyrna (Griffin 1991:10), now known as Izmir, a port city in western Turkey. But Turnbull changed the name to Smyrnéa which, he claimed, was ‘bad Greek for New Smyrna’ (Turnbull 1768a).

Upon returning to Britain in March 1767, Turnbull began searching for capable laborers to work on the plantation. He preferred enlisting Mediterranean peoples as he thought they were accustomed to farming in a hot climate (Griffin 1991:3,6; Panagopoulos 1978:13). He turned to the island of Minorca where a three-year crop failure had left many subsistence farmers starving and destitute (Panagopoulos 1978:44; Rasico 1990:24; Tebeau 1761:82). Turnbull recruited about 1,100 Minorcans as well as an additional 200 laborers from Greece and another 100 from Italy, France, Corsica, and Turkey (Rasico 1990:26-27; Tebeau 1761:82). These prospective colonists were required to agree to a contract specifying that they would serve as indentured servants in the new settlement (Griffin 1991:24-26; Panagopoulos 1978:46-48; Rasico 1990:28-31).

The Smyrnéa Settlement
In April 1768, Turnbull assembled his 1,403 prospective colonists, loaded them onto eight ships, and set sail from Gibraltar for East Florida (Griffin 1991:13,28; Panagopoulos 1978:48; Rasico 1990:23-24). The voyage took 2 to 4 months (Griffin 1991:28). Many deaths occurred at sea, particularly from scurvy and infections. The number of colonists who arrived in Florida had been reduced to 1,255 people (Griffin 1991:28-29; Panagopoulos 1978:54; Rasico 1990:31,42). To worsen the situation, housing and supplies had been readied for only about half this number of people (Griffin 1991:45; Panagopoulos 1978:58,82; Rasico 1990:36).

Feelings of hopelessness, disillusionment, and anger were prevalent among the colonists even in the very early days of the settlement. From the onset, they suffered from inadequate and insect-infested housing, insufficient food, and rampant sickness and disease. In addition, they endured arduous working conditions and had to adapt to an unfamiliar wilderness environment (Griffin 1991:32; Panagopoulos 1978:58-59,82-83; Rasico 1990:36-37). Unfortunately, their arrival was also during Florida’s hurricane season, and they soon experienced a major storm that lasted three days.
Very strong winds and rains destroyed the roofs of most of the newly built houses, thereby exposing the new settlers to the elements and causing further sickness among them (Turnbull 1768b). Within the first few months of the settlement, discontent among the colonists culminated in open rebellion, but the rioting was quickly quashed (Griffin 1991:31-35; Panagopoulos 1978:59-62; Rasico 1990:37-38). No further insurrections were attempted, though living conditions worsened and the colonists continued to suffer (Griffin 1991; Panagopoulos 1978; Rasico 1990).

The Smyrnéa settlement was laid out in a linear orientation along the west bank of the Indian River. Colonists’ houses were built on a narrow strip of land extending from the northern limits of present-day New Smyrna Beach south into the modern community of Edgewater, a distance of about 13 km (8 mi). Plantation fields were located immediately west of the settlers’ dwellings. The dispersed residential pattern at Smyrnéa was unlike the concentrated residential pattern to which the colonists were accustomed in their homeland (Griffin 1991:43-44,46-48).

Many buildings were constructed during the settlement’s existence, including houses for colonists, slaves, and overseers as well as for Turnbull and his family; a Catholic church; workshops such as blacksmith, cooper, and carpenter shops; wharves for loading and unloading ships; storehouses; and agricultural buildings. Also a network of canals was dug for irrigating agricultural fields, draining swampy lands, and serving as inland transportation routes within the settlement (Panagopoulos 1978:76).

Although such crops as rice, corn, sugar, hemp, and cotton were raised by the settlement, the primary agricultural focus was the growing and processing of indigo (Panagopoulos 1978:74; Rasico 1990:41). Considered the ‘king of dyestuffs,’ this brilliant blue dye commanded a high price in Europe. Because of the expensive equipment and complicated processing required for its production, indigo was profitable only on large plantations. After the indigo plant was harvested, it was placed in a tiered vat system used to steep and ferment the vegetation and extract the dye. The liquid was then drained off and the residue allowed to dry. The dried material composing the dyestuff was then cut into small bricks for shipment to Britain (Griffin 1991:51-54; Panagopoulos 1978:74; Rasico 1990:41,42).

Maintaining adequate food supplies to feed the overpopulated settlement was a perpetual problem. Historical documents frequently mention the delivery of livestock and barrels of meat to the Smyrnéa settlement from the other British colonies (Laurens 1768; Turnbull 1768c,1770,1771). Nevertheless, provisions provided by the British were not sufficient. Consequently, the colonists planted vegetables in kitchen gardens by their houses (Griffin 1991:58; Turnbull 1768b) and, more essentially, resorted to fishing, hunting, and gathering wild foods at every available opportunity. They took advantage of the rich resources available in the Indian River Lagoon where they collected shellfish and fished for mullet, sheepshead, and drums. Also, they exploited terrestrial resources in the wooded areas surrounding the settlement where they gathered wild plants such as nuts and fruits, hunted deer, and trapped smaller mammals such as rabbit and opossum (Griffin 1991:60-63). Because the colonists were required to work very long hours, often including nights and holidays, and had little spare time, balancing cash cropping and subsistence activities was a continual challenge for them throughout the duration of the settlement’s existence (Griffin 1991:63).
The plantation experienced a cycle of bad and good years during its brief existence. Initially, there were many deaths due to poor nutrition and ill health. Approximately 40 percent of the original 1,255 settlers died within the first two years. Several good years followed, characterized by a drop in the death rate and an increase in agricultural crop yields. During the final few years, however, severe droughts and soil depletion resulted in much lowered crop yields and hence a shortage of food supplies, and the death rate began to climb again (Griffin 1991:37-38; Rasico 1990). Eventually, weather conditions improved and crop yields rebounded, but, by this point in time, discontent among the colonists had come to a critical head. Periodic food shortages coupled with strenuously hard work in a hostile mosquito-infested environment had taken its toll on the colonists (Panagopoulos 1978:150). There was a growing concern that Turnbull would never honor the contracts under which they had agreed to immigrate to Florida, and there was a lack of understanding as to the obligatory period of indenture (Griffin 1991:26,91-92; Rasico 1990:52). The colonists resented their overseers, who often mistreated and inflicted extremely cruel punishments on them (Griffin 1991; Panagopoulos 1978:87-89; Rasico 1990:36,47). Problems with the Indians further exacerbated the situation (Griffin 1991:31,83-86; Panagopoulos 1978:96-98; Rasico 1990:45,51). Finally, Turnbull’s inability to produce marketable crops in quantities sufficient enough to satisfy his investors cost him their support, as well as that of the British government (Tebeau 1971:83).

Sworn depositions against Turnbull taken from a selected group of indentured settlers during Smyrnéa’s final days were filed with the British authorities as the settlers sought permission to evacuate the settlement (Griffin 1991:97-99; Panagopoulos 1978:149-150). Having learned of their dire circumstances from these depositions, the governor of East Florida had the colonists’ indentures cancelled and invited them to settle in St. Augustine (Panagopoulos 1978:150-152; Rasico 1990:52-53; Tebeau 1971:83). Consequently, the people left, and the Smyrnéa settlement came to an end in 1777. The plantation was virtually abandoned by most of the surviving colonists, who fled en masse to the safety and security of St. Augustine (Panagopoulos 1978:152; Rasico 1990:53-54). In this new environment, they further consolidated as a distinct cultural community as they began reforming lifestyles taken away from them at Smyrnéa back to the more familiar traditional Mediterranean way of life (Griffin 1991:113).

Archaeological Findings
The search for archaeological evidence for Turnbull’s Smyrnéa settlement has only been seriously conducted over the past 15 years. Archaeologists had felt that few intact deposits associated with the settlement could have survived modern development. Remnants still visible today include coquina foundations for a massive structure located at Old Fort Park in downtown New Smyrna Beach, remains of the Old Stone Wharf, and a network of canals, believed to have been dug by Turnbull’s colonists, which run through areas of New Smyrna Beach and unincorporated Volusia County (Grange 1999:73; Moore and Ste. Claire 1999:42-44).
In 1996 and 1997, a colonist’s house was located and excavated, the first residential site of the Turnbull settlement to be identified (Grange 1999) (Figure 2). This two-room building, which may have housed two families, was rectangular, measuring 4 m (13.1 ft) wide and 8.4 m (27.5 ft) long. The house had a central chimney, fireplaces, and hearths made of coquina and a floor consisting of mortar mixed with sand and shell. Charred posts set at regular intervals indicated that the building had a post-and-beam framework. The walls were made by nailing horizontal split-wood lathing to the vertical posts and covering these with mortar. No identifiable roofing material was recovered, but the house probably had a cypress shingles roof (Grange 1999:77-81; Grange and Moore 2003:223-225) (Figure 3). Refuse midden deposits were located outside and west of the house (Grange 1999:82-83). Food remains recovered from these middens indicate that the residents consumed some pork, chicken, and beef but relied primarily upon fishing and hunting of wild animal foods for most of the meat portion of their diet (Fradkin 2010).
The search for Turnbull’s settlement continued in 1998 and again in 2002 when, with grant funding, comprehensive surveys were conducted to further locate archaeological remains associated with the settlement. Over 40 Turnbull-related archaeological sites have been documented, including coquina foundations, tabby floors, collapsed chimneys, a possible indigo-processing complex, lime kilns, midden refuse, and eighteenth-century artifacts, such as ceramics, buttons, wrought-iron nails, and gun parts (Austin, Grange, and Moore 1999; Grange and Moore 2003). Since then, analysis of the first colonist’s house as well as excavations of other Turnbull sites continues. Archaeological research thus has added a visible, material dimension to the documented history of the plantation settlement.

Nevertheless, although the archaeological findings have shed some light on the Turnbull settlement, the artifact assemblage is typical of eighteenth-century British in North America. Except for one religious medal, the assemblage lacks distinctive ethnically Minorcan artifacts because the settlers were totally dependent upon what Turnbull provided. It is possible that any Minorcan heirlooms were taken to St. Augustine when Smyrnéa was abandoned.

**The Minorcan Community in Florida**
The Smyrnéa settlement represents the seeds for the development of the Minorcan cultural community in Florida. Situated on the Florida frontier, this settlement was a melting pot of people from various Mediterranean cultures. During the life span of the settlement, these colonists, over time, melded together as a result of intermarriages, godparent exchanges, common religion, language accommodation (creolization), and especially by the sharing of anxieties and hardships in an isolated and often adverse environment (Griffin 1991:101).

The Minorcan natives constituted an overwhelming majority of the colonists in the community, and hence their numbers set the cultural tone within the Turnbull settlement. The lifeways developed by the colonists were built upon the dominant cultural themes of these Minorcans. It was the Minorcans’ version of the Mediterranean lifestyle and their social organization and cultural patterns into which the others blended and adapted their ways. Consequently, it was their
namesake that was used for designating the community as a whole (Griffin 1991:16,21).

Today, the term ‘Minorcan’ thus refers to this mixed group of people brought to Smyrnéa who coalesced to forge a new cultural identity on the Florida frontier. The Minorcan heritage would further develop after Smyrnéa’s abandonment and the movement of this group to St. Augustine. The Minorcan community continued to survive in Florida from colonial up to modern times and still maintains its cultural traditions and native language. The descendants of these original ‘Minorcans’ today constitute one of the most traditional and important segments of St. Augustine’s population (Griffin 1991).

Conclusion
The Smyrnéa settlement turned out to be one of Britain’s most ambitious ventures in colonizing the New World. But the Smyrnéa enterprise was also noteworthy for the magnitude of its failure as the settlement was abandoned after only 11 years. Nevertheless, out of this venture emerged the addition of a new cultural community on the Florida frontier. And, over the past 235 years, this Minorcan community has continued to thrive in Florida, preserving its cultural and linguistic heritage, up to the present day.

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Author Biographies
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Roger T. Grange, Jr. (Ph.B., M.A. University of Chicago; Ph.D. University of Arizona) is a Professor Emeritus at the University of South Florida where he founded the Anthropology Department and taught for 30 years. Since his retirement in 1994, he has been a volunteer archaeologist at the New Smyrna Museum of History and has focused on excavations at the eighteenth-century Smyrnéa Settlement in east Florida.

Dorothy L. (Dot) Moore is an avocational archaeologist and historian. She has been involved in many archaeological projects with professional archaeologists in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. She has devoted the past 20 years to fieldwork and historical research on the British eighteenth-century Smyrnéa Settlement in east Florida.
Rebuilding Philadelphia’s Gold Mountain: Themed Space and Living Community in Transition

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How are the competing interests of preservation and redevelopment of urban space to be reconciled, particularly when historically disadvantaged communities are involved? This paper explores this question in terms of the competing needs of the urban landscape embodied by historic structures and recent developments in the community of Philadelphia’s Chinatown by focusing on 1. efforts of the local Chinatown CDC to draw on the preservation, commemoration, and interpretation of its own heritage and history to promote community-driven investment and 2. the proposed development of “Chinatown North” abutting (and sometimes conflicting with) an emerging loft district and an attendant adaptive reuse initiative. While the former seeks to celebrate a dense historical landscape that, although seemingly intact, is intermittently preserved, the latter seeks to intervene in the historical landscape, building housing and green space to revitalize urban blight with a link to the themed historic past. Thus the landscape of Philadelphia’s Chinatown is deeply hybrid, compressed yet fragmented, embodying the dilemmas of ethnic themed urban space in economic and social transition. Its hybridity embodies its multiple lives as an historic neighborhood, themed ethnic space, touchstone for former residents, and a launch for new immigrants.

Philadelphia’s Chinatown, like many in the eastern US, had its roots in the “driving out” of Chinese from the western states that followed the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869 and culminated in the Exclusion Act of 1882. Throughout the 1870s, violence and intimidation against Chinese laborers in California, Washington, and Oregon sent many east to cities like Chicago, St. Louis, New York, and Boston (Pfaelzer 2008). In Philadelphia Chinese merchants found a home along the 900 block of Race Street, adjacent to the central business district, where multiple generations of the same extended family or kin network -- mostly single men aged 25-60, since women were largely barred from entry – lived in tightly shared quarters (Culin 1887, Census 1910) (Figure 1).
By 1900 this block and its surrounds exemplified the basic pattern of spatial use that came to characterize the Chinatown cultural landscape (Yip 1995, 2001). Structured primarily around the templates of the late 19th century commercial block and the Philadelphia rowhouse, the spaces of Chinatown were mixed residential-commercial use. Each building was anchored by first floor businesses – laundries, groceries or other shops, and eventually restaurants – that provided livelihood and a focus of public commercial activity. The second, third and attic floors were devoted to living quarters as well as a variety of social functions: association and common room, often family, for recreational activities such as gambling, feasting, gossip and tea drinking. Sundays animated the spaces of Chinatown, as men from around the region gathered on their one day off. While much of early Chinatown’s social and cultural activities were hidden from the larger public’s notice, in second floor rooms, attics, basements, and back rooms, the community also claimed the public street as a space for Chinese themed activities. By the 1920s and 30s, Chinatown businessmen and leaders were actively combating police attention and negative publicity by creating exotic themed space, a kind of “strategic self-orientalism” that would come to construct and characterize much of the community’s identity over time (Record 1936, Light 1974, Umbach and Wishnoff 2008) (Figure 2).
The bachelor society became a family community after World War II, and the neighborhood landscape changed to accommodate this change. Boarding houses and rowhouses on streets adjacent to 900 Race were increasingly incorporated into the landscape of Chinatown as residents purchased homes. Churches, businesses, and social and cultural organizations were established to improve neighborhood life, preserve Chinese culture, and provide services to growing numbers of immigrants. This growth in family and community life led to the creation of new spaces in Chinatown, such as Holy Redeemer Catholic Church and School, and the Chinese Christian Church and Center (CCCC), which, along with new businesses, served the needs of American-born youth. These spaces, much more than outward symbols of ethnicity, represent the identity of Chinatown to second and third generation Chinese, places that embody remembered histories or lived community relationships, such as family homes, churches and temples, a senior citizen center, family associations, a district fire station, family businesses, second floor apartments where they were born. This lived neighborhood also contrasts dramatically with the neighborhood as a themed cultural attraction, identified by primarily restaurants and gift shops. The lived neighborhood is also largely the result of continued activism on the part of the community since the 1960s to preserve important neighborhood institutions and claim territory in the face of urban redevelopment.

This activism was originally galvanized in the post-war period when the city’s strategies of “slum clearance” were escalated to make way for downtown attractions and a new system of cross-town expressways to move suburban traffic into and through the city. By the 1960s, widespread relocations and demolition of housing put Chinatown residents on alert. A proposed expressway along Vine Street, Chinatown’s northern border, would entail the destruction of a beloved neighborhood church, school, and playground, Holy Redeemer Catholic Church. Various Chinatown constituents formed a coalition to “Save Chinatown” and pursued a variety of strategies,
from protest to political lobbying. While the expressway was still completed, it was delayed over 15 years, the church was saved, and a new community development movement in Chinatown was born, represented by the Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation (PCDC). Today, memories of this struggle inform current attempts at community development, and “Save Chinatown” is often invoked when new threats face the community (most recently, a proposed nearby casino). In this respect, memory serves as a means to maintain a tradition of activism by drawing on the legacies of the “Save Chinatown” movement in its various incarnations. It also marks the changes in the community and its landscape over time as a result of that struggle.

Those changes were largely the result of PCDC’s active work with city agencies, such as the Philadelphia City Planning Commission (PCPC) and the Redevelopment Authority (RDA), to rezone, plan for, and redevelop Chinatown. PCDC received designation as a developer and secured special zoning for Chinatown as a distinct district in the early 1970s. This new zoning allowed PCDC to control what kinds of businesses existed in Chinatown and the nature of new structures that were built. Zoning required that all structures have a specific community benefit, as determined largely by PCDC. PCDC rejected historical designation as a viable option for the neighborhood, then worked for several decades to buy back land from the RDA and develop it for community needs, specifically mixed income housing, senior housing, and some mixed use development (Figures 3 and 4).

![Figure 3. Gim San Plaza, an example of PCDC’s themed mixed-use development on formerly demolished lots. Photograph by author.](image-url)
Of particular importance were a series of housing projects constructed on lots where early demolitions had taken place. In addition to housing, PCDC also invested in improvements that ethnically marked the landscape as Chinese-themed. The cornerstone of this theming was the Friendship Gate, constructed in 1983-4, which forms a gateway to the southern entrance to Chinatown at 10th and Arch Streets (Figure 5). Like those before them, Chinatown’s leaders in the late 20th century employed a strategy of themed space to help insure the neighborhood’s survival and identity. Over time, the Gate has come to symbolize Chinatown almost exclusively in tourist brochures and websites and is perhaps the most photographed landmark in the neighborhood. In Chinatown, then as in other branded neighborhoods, themed space like the Gate is a fragment that stands for the whole, excluding disharmonious elements in the name of cultural authenticity or
historic “integrity” becoming a hyperreal truth in of itself (Hamer 1998, Lukas 2007, Jameson 1990). Themed space been a mode of community preservation in the face of ongoing urban renewal but it also effaces the other elements of the neighborhood that fit less neatly into an historic or even historically timeless image of Chinatown, elements that are critical to the neighborhood’s survival as a family oriented living community. In addition, these intentionally themed structures also live amidst other less-Orientalized spaces: condos, postmodern Asian bazaars, sleek contemporary sushi and tea houses, and stock row and town housing.

*Figure 5.* 10th Street showing the Friendship Gate. Photograph by author.

The tensions around theming, history, and community needs are more acute as Chinatown contemplates larger urban changes and forces, both for redevelopment and preservation. These
tensions are embodied by the challenges in redeveloping an area north of Vine Street, where the blighted landscape presents a different but related set of issues and competing thematic imperatives, what PCDC now calls “Chinatown North.” Here sits Holy Redeemer Church, a site of history and memory. But more frequently and dramatically it is the site of Chinatown’s future, the only area into which Chinatown can grow (the neighborhood is blocked in other directions by Independence Mall to the east, Gallery East to the south, and the Philadelphia Convention Center to the west) (Figure 6). Planned expansion of the neighborhood focuses on constructing mixed income housing (a critical need in a neighborhood that still serves as an entry point for new immigrants and a symbolic return for retirees) and a community center housed in a modern glass high rise with no discernible “Asian” characteristics. John Chin, the executive director of PCDC, describes the center as a “statement building” signaling the vibrancy of the Chinatown community and resonating with contemporary Asian architecture:

the identity of Chinatown, some people, well the stereotype is red and gold with pagoda eaves and that exotic image of Chinatown. Right, but if you go to Asia now, you don’t see that (laughter). I mean you see the Forbidden City... That is also old. So what’s the new design and trends for Asian culture and Asian communities? (Chin 2009).

Figure 6. Crossing Vine Street to Holy Redeemer Catholic Church, 2009. Photograph by author.

The so-called “Eastern Tower” would be a 23-story, 265-foot-high residential and office tower, with a community center on the ground floor, on two parcels at the northwest corner of Vine and 10th streets. As John Chin explains, the lack of identifiable Chinese elements is deliberate: “I always believe that it comes down to, well, we are the ones who should be telling the story. If we tell the story then we should feel safe that anybody that comes and visits should walk away with the right feel and history and the attitude and sense of this community”(Chin 2009).
The planned expansion of the neighborhood north of Vine is increasingly conflicting with a parallel movement to gentrify a former warehouse area northwest of vine now known as Callowhill. Callowhill and Chinatown North initially collided in 2004 when the Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission began a planning process for Chinatown North. The point of contention was and still is the fate of a 19th century viaduct historically used by the Pennsylvania Railroad that cuts diagonally across the area in a larger Y pattern (Figure 7). Darkened with age and overgrown with weeds, it is seen by Callowhill residents as a valuable historical feature of the landscape and possible site for an elevated greenway along the lines of New York City’s Highline. To Chinatown residents, it is an unsightly, hulking edifice which casts a long shadow over an already blighted neighborhood, impeding redevelopment (Figure 8). While Callowhill residents seek transformation of the viaduct, PCDC would like to see the edifice destroyed to make way for a neat residential grid populated with new mixed-income housing (Delaware Valley 2009).

*Figure 7.* Reading Viaduct. Photograph by author.
The conflict over the viaduct would seem to cast PCDC as an adversary to history and preservation, but this is not actually the case. Although John Chin, PCDC’s executive director, told me in 2009 that “we can’t afford history,” PCDC has pursued historical strategies in a variety of ways over the years. For over a decade, the community sought and was finally granted in 2010 a Pennsylvania state historical marker for the area. The marker reads: “Founded in the 1870s by Chinese immigrants, it is the only Chinatown in Pennsylvania. This unique neighborhood includes businesses and residences owned by and serving Chinese Americans. Here, Asian cultural traditions are preserved and ethnic identity perpetuated.” The marker does not mention anything about the struggle of the community or the historically contingent nature of the surrounding neighborhood, perpetuating the essentialized Chineseness of themed nature without signaling how vulnerable that themed space has been, or the community’s efforts to maintain and preserve it. Nevertheless, for some in Chinatown, the marker represents an important recognition of the neighborhood: “This is an exciting step for the Chinatown community because it is finally receiving public acknowledgement of its historical significance. It is important that we continue to educate the public that Chinatown is a historic, residential neighborhood, and not just a tourist attraction” (Chin 2009).

PCDC has likewise been pursuing funding from local preservation sources to document and preserve meaningful spaces in the Chinatown. Most recently, PCDC received a grant from the Preservation Alliance of Greater Philadelphia to complete a video project collecting residents’ place memories. This project highlighted the importance of less-visible places such as churches, playgrounds, and family associations. Funding has also been secured to restore the façade of the former Far East Restaurant, 907-909 Race, which was for many decades a visible neighborhood landmark and the most “Chinesey” façade of Chinatown’s historic block, featuring an elaborate second floor balcony adorned with brightly painted decorative ironwork and phoenixes (Figure 9).
These preservation activities are being pursued hand in hand with PCDC’s plans for new streetscape enhancements through its participation in the National Trust’s Main Street Program. In 2011 PCDC installed “foo dog” statues at the northern entrance to the historic core of the neighborhood at 10th and Vine Streets (geographically they speak to the Gate to the south) and enhanced the streetscape with bronze medallions in the shapes of the Chinese zodiac, pedestrian lights in the style of a “Chinese palace lantern,” trees, and cultural elements “designed to promote the ethnic identity of the neighborhood” (PCDC website 2011). These elements are Chinese-themed, but within an aesthetic that PCDC feels is more contemporary and less literal than past efforts:

We have the Streetscape Project you know, we’re not doing the bright red for our street lamps but we’re doing a muted traditional kind of red that’s almost brownish red that you see in a lot of artwork during a certain time period. We’re moving more towards classic Chinese that’s less about color and more about texture, feel and design.... some people are more sensitive to the message, right, that this sends, the ongoing stereotypes...(Chin 2009).

![Figure 9. 907-909 Race Street, site of the former Far East Restaurant, targeted for restoration. Photograph by author.](image)

For Chinatown developers, the task is to carefully balance the need to maintain themed space and identifiable cultural distinctiveness with changing community needs, aesthetics, and empowerment.

Chinatown’s historic and contemporary challenges illustrate the hybrid needs and strategies that characterize ethnic urban space as a themed attraction but also a living community for multiple generations of immigrant families. This hybridity presents dilemmas when preservation and development are considered. To what extent are the two processes compatible or competing? How much coherence and cohesiveness can be expected of a living community which must serve the needs of everyday life over its larger image making?
References


Author Biography

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A Work in Progress on the Basic Gasoline Station

Keith A. Sculle

Introduction
Research proposals often begin modestly. So it is in the instance of this paper about certain aspects of the basic gasoline station. Definitions first. The building type in this venture is not the gas station with extensive collateral services (Figure 1), principally, food, beverages, personal supplies, and a car wash — although a basic station may sell a few of the former three (Figure 2). Repair garages in proximate location or joined to the station and the sales of lubricants, tires, and batteries are included in the basic type (Figure 3) (Jakle and Sculle 1994, 131). This restricts focus to historical examples (Figure 4), those stations at least 20 or more years old, preceding the convenience store (Figure 5). The gas stations here can be either one-of-a-kind that contractors built (Figure 6) or that architects designed for replication throughout petroleum company chains (Figure 7).

We have all seen them. But how much attention to details have scholars paid? What has the basic gas station yet to yield about its creators’ original design concepts? If we turn to the altogether new
Perhaps it is easily understandable that scholars of the Roadside have not plumbed the topics proposed here despite the considerable progress made since the field opened in the 1970s. Critics of the Roadside still attack it as cheap, ephemeral, and, withal, ugly. Disparaging prose has dumped it in with “sprawl” and just more “pop culture.” Would-be scholars might be scared off. Then, because the Roadside is a dynamic place, constantly in extension into new real estate and in the revitalization of old locations, historically oriented scholars in various disciplines, at least, have concentrated heavily on origins and less on current processes. Preservationists lately have been encouraged to maintain gas stations’ “historic features,” ranking as afterthoughts their contributions to the economy (Randl 2006, 14). Where planners are concerned with economic issues, gasoline stations adapted for profitable new businesses can yet be overlooked in favor of city center revitalization versus automobile-generated strip malls (Eubanks 2010). Aficionados of roadside architecture, by contrast, have incessantly renewed interest in basic gas stations because aficionados proceed primarily through feeling, searching for what they like, and barely through a research agenda except as it may take the form of searching out other examples on the classic, light-hearted “road trip.” Planners and aficionados usually pursue their interest without deliberately sharing information to build a widely based body of knowledge. Despite the work on gas stations since the 1970s, close structural tracings and small-scale locational information comparable to the large bibliography about log construction, barns, or Colonial Virginia houses still merits examination. I invite improvement of this undertaking through your searching questions and answers.

Because the agenda outlined here is still in progress, I will rely upon numerous photographs taken on my own surveys (Figure 10). I will add what I have learned as I looked at the buildings and talked with the people who owned these basic gas stations, freely offer my intuition, and relay, where possible, some insights from those more advanced in their own established and structured studies of vernacular architecture. This is not to waste your attention here. Henry Glassie acknowledged in his now renown *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* over 40 years ago: “This is not a survey of a well-ordered subject field with an impressive bibliography, definite methods, and goals. It is an impressionistic introduction — an essay with which I have fussed for a year and a half in hopes of stimulating work in an area which has not received the study it needs” (Glassie 1968, vii). I suffer no illusion that a favorable comparison with Glassie will result but I do have faith that modest beginnings can eventually yield valuable insights. Indeed, they may be your own work in regions beyond where John Jakle and I have laid a foundation.

**The Cube and Canopy**

Easily apparent, and intriguing because of their shape, is the cubic form of the many basic gas stations within my view. It is a sub-category of the house with canopy shown here (Jakle and Sculle 1994, 134 and 137-141). Look from the front (Figure 11); you see a building usually as wide as it is high. With no tall roof at its apex, this watershed hardly competes for attention with the building’s mass. From the side, the view imparts an identical relaxed feeling; for an area beneath the canopy formed of the overhang from the enclosed building is the same volume as the enclosed building
Again, no steeply pitched roof draws much attention to itself, in fact, giving a sense of gently resting upon the same sure-footed frames beneath it in the enclosed building and its canopy. Might the name “cube and canopy” be fitting for the lexicon of Roadside architecture (Figure 13)? I proposed it some time ago (Sculle 1981, 60). “Bungalow” may serve, as one example was classified in a National Register nomination (Figure 14) (McDaniel and Maserang, sec. 8, p. 10-11), but “bungalow” is a term too charged with the association of domestic architecture to allow the possibility of vernacular origins peculiar to the highway.

If people routinely have taken soaring spires for a yearning to touch God’s heavens in church design, is it preposterous to ascribe mundane yearning in the cube and canopy gas stations? (Wikipedia ascribed this symbolic function with certainty at the same time it asked for a footnoted source. [“Spire”].) Is the cube on which the type appears to be based a consequence of utilitarian efficiency? Was it easiest to draw plans for and construct a building that represented little challenge to getting bids on siding and framing materials? Was it more readily accessible to furniture for the inside, perhaps including makeshift use of items appropriated from home or other businesses?

At a time when gas stations were suspect as incompatible in domestic neighborhoods — often branded a “bad neighbor” — did the cube and canopy calm feelings subconsciously? It looked like the trustworthy sheds which people relied on for storing tools beside their houses. Gasoline pumps were poised foursquarely in front of the station and projecting no farther than the perimeter of the outer cube forming the canopy fit tightly within the building’s visual frame (Figure 15). This the pumps did from any sightline. They never intruded their commercial implication beyond the reserve of the cube and canopy’s humble demeanor.

Without any discussion with those who built a cube and canopy only such speculation can be offered by the daring. Unfortunately, I have interviewed no one who built one, nor has anyone else to my knowledge (Sculle 1981, 60). Might the cube itself as a basic aesthetic element of design help explain the design?

How far throughout the nation did the cube and canopy exist? A heavy concentration existed in Illinois and Wisconsin when I methodically surveyed small towns in Illinois and Wisconsin 30 years ago and they were compatible there with small town housing. Examples scattered throughout the nation in rural areas have been photographed — here in Kentucky (Figure 16) and Mississippi (Figure 17) — as I happened on to them without any intention of a methodical survey the farther they were from my home in central Illinois. Were any built in urban areas?

Adaptive Re-Use
How does the original form and styling limit or enable re-use of basic gas stations? Are they re-used as much in cities (Figure 18) as in rural areas? A rigorously ordered survey is required but an impressionistic one based on examples that happen to be seen can suffice until an ordered study. Proceeding now is essential because as time passes so too do the types of gas station preceding the C-store. Eleven years ago, Norris and Coffey warned of this in the earliest study of adaptively re-used gas stations (Norris and Coffey 2000, 43-44). Re-use advocates of one building type, the barn, have gone beyond the urgency of the passing years and economic and environmental wisdom to champion a mission of cultural salvation, claiming barns are iconic (Endersby, Greenwood, and...
Larkin, 2003). For some reason, advocates of the gas station’s re-use have not laid that cultural claim although the potential exists.

Re-use may initially be a function of a former gas station’s location (Figure 19). If the volume of passing traffic still carries enough customers (Figure 20), then adaptation can be a cost-effective strategy. Notwithstanding the comparatively recent ethical strategy of “green preservation,” adaptation may be comparatively inexpensive for a merchant vis-a-vis new construction.

Little geographical and historical perspective exists on re-used gas stations of any kind. Jakle and I have only briefly alluded to the re-used stations as single museum-like elements that could be forerunners to a Roadside museum (Figure 21) (Jakle and Sculle 2011, 117-20) A. L. Kerth, an architect, published as long ago as 1974 and again eight years later on gas stations re-used but his good work was intended to promote re-use and not to produce geographical, historical, or other academic insights except future architectural design (Kerth 1974 and 1982). Recently, here and there on the web, brief synopses of re-used examples are given by businesses operating in one, design firms advertising their services, at least one city’s news, several cities’ historic preservation surveys, and an AIA award turn up. Design advocates look forward more than in retrospect. Surveys outline the building’s past but most often show what the examples looked like when they were surveyed. Occupants may briefly outline their building’s past but they emphasize the current services. Everything on the web I have seen exudes, in a chamber of commerce spokesperson words about an example, “lots of personality” (Figure 22) (Clark 2010). Basic stations without some artful application are absent from my viewing on the web. To help structure a discriminating scholarly approach to the basic gas station’s re-use about the past, I offer almost exclusively what owners, renters, or lessees learned from daily use and related to me (Figure 23). Architects can build a body of useful information within their categories of knowledge, for example, cost and materials. In contrast, random categories and only some of the architects’ thoughts are anticipated by laymen. Again, modesty characterizes my presentation here because the lay-professional comparison will be drawn later, elsewhere. The following examples of two basic gas stations re-used I find illustrative of the many fostering work toward meaningful geographical and historical generalizations. Essential to the selection of useful cases is the fact that their occupants be well informed about the adaptation and willing to share fully what they know.

Susan Willis in Shamrock, Texas, is but one of those respondents. Since 2001 (Figure 24), she has operated Olde Station Antiques in a previous owner’s adapted basic gas station which I saw in 2008 when I initially spoke with her. It was a cube and canopy when built in 1926 (Figure 25) and the man who started the now famous U-Drop Inn several blocks north on tourist-flooded Route 66 operated it. Willis’ store also has a second advantageous location because it is just east, across the street from what is purported to be the nation’s tallest water tower. The city has made the tower the focus of attention in this already popular Route 66 town by maintaining the well landscaped Water Tower Park. Willis has increasingly learned, however, that her building has its own charms, for example, its tin ceiling (Figure 26). People not especially interested in antiques often stop in because they see that the shop was once a gas station and ask her questions about its history. It “does its own advertising,” Willis asserts. Others “relate antiques to a building that has history” (Figure 27). Sales and history reinforce each other. Route 66’s short distance may bring in
aficionados primed for acquaintance with an existing material manifestation in a building otherwise unnoticed. Surely, Willis herself admits her appreciation of the building’s appeal (Figure 28) has grown each year since she went into business there (Willis 2010).

To balance this buoyancy, hear about the re-fitted Pure Oil “English cottage” station in Paris, Kentucky, where I stopped in 2009 en route to the Pioneer America Society meeting (Figure 29). A New Leaf Florist and Gifts, as it was renamed, seemed smartly adapted to the small scale business operated there. Less than a year later, the building was emptied and was up for sale while its owner oversaw it from his successful restaurant immediately across the street and hoped something would go right with his former floral and gift shop. Front-door traffic had presented no hurdle.

The narrative of Joe Watkins, the shop’s owner, is one of declining fortunes and personal tragedy associated with its attempted re-use. When he and his wife bought the building in 1991, it already had been adapted and they planned it for a retirement investment. When they were too old to run the business there, they planned to rent it. Primarily the front-door parking and somewhat its cottage architecture made the exterior attractive, but Watkins gradually learned the interior was too small and further hampered by too many walls dividing the interior to render it useful for anything but a “trinket business,” as he called it (Figure 30), or a gas station. And this is a building with two former garage bays in addition to the office space. Nine years before Watkins’ interview, a fire in the adjacent building caused it to collapse on Watkins’ building and that cost $194,000 to rebuild. Beneath the building rest two 2,000-gallon tanks filled with gasoline and a 250-gallon tank of used motor oil still undrained. Oil leaks out and, to add instability to the building’s foundation, is the fact that stones lie beneath it. The building’s back wall is also cracked. Five years before I interviewed him, the death of his wife, who Watkins has faith would have made it a successful business location, was not the only coup de grace; for an aggressively mean public official and property owner schemed to acquire the property and still plagued Watkins at the time of my interview. Before Watkins itemized these troubles, he perplexedly summarized there has “been a stigma about the building” (Watkins 2010). What will happen to this building (Figure 31)?

**Conclusion**

On the two topics alone here treated, considerable work is needed. What did the cube and canopy enable or signal about the Roadside? Is it to forever remain an enticing form related only to what was? Are its builders and owners of a generation long deceased so that information recovered via interviews of its builders and owners is impossible? Is there any folk tradition about this type of station? On the other hand, adaptive re-use has enabled basic gas station buildings to be one of the most resilient Roadside building types. As to re-used basic gas stations, could any one of their shells work for new businesses so long as traffic past the front door was brisk? Are architecturally deemed “historic features or materials” essential to re-use? Who decides? What will failed adaptive re-use tell? Why did some fail? How many cases failed because the road succeeded and the stations were razed because the corridor serving the road succeeded with a consequent road widening? How can instances of failure even be identified if the primary strategy for identification has been field survey of standing buildings or ruins? Remember too, adaptive re-use does not just occur along the way and it is not something of secondary interest; re-use enables the Roadside. For the moralists it replaces the perspective of the Roadside as a negative environment where a nearly neurotic novelty precludes a healthy growth over long durations. While the cube and canopy’s future may be in
research about its past, the adaptively re-used gas station has a re-use past also worth researching while its future re-use continually unfolds.

Finally — a serious challenge for this project is to get people to answer questions while their business is still going, unlike the challenge of the cube and canopy to find people who know why it was so built. Somewhere between a silent past and the unfolding present lies the ideal hunting ground for this project.

References
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Eubanks, Steve, partner in Main Street Kitchens, Elmira, New York. 2010. Email to the author, November 17.


Willis, Sandy. 2010. Telephone interview with the author, September 1.

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Keith A. Sculle, historian, geographer, and historic preservationist, has been interested in the America Roadside since 1973. Retired from the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency after 34 years, he still actively pursues his research interests.
All figures are courtesy of the author unless otherwise noted.

**Figure 1.** Amoco convenience store, Las Vegas, Nevada (1993)

**Figure 2.** Conoco station, Silver Plume, Colorado (1984).
A Work in Progress on the Basic Gasoline Station  Photos  Keith A. Sculle

Figure 3. Tesoro station, Anchorage, Alaska (2007).

Figure 4. Hollandale, Wisconsin (1989).

Figure 5. Amoco convenience store, Springfield, Illinois (1997).
Figure 6. Edgerton, Wisconsin (1980).

Figure 7. Texaco, Chicago, Illinois (1984).
Figure 8. Church, Detroit, Michigan (1999).

Figure 9. Church, Detroit, Michigan (2005).
Figure 10. House with canopy become a pie shop, Wimberley, Texas (2007).

Figure 11. Cube and canopy, Edgewood, Illinois (1980).
Figure 12. Cube and canopy, Annapolis, Indiana (1982).

Figure 13. Cube and canopy, west of Pittsfield, Massachusetts (1982)
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Figure 14. “Bungalow” on National Register of Historic Places nomination, New Cambria, Missouri (1985).

Figure 15. Cube and canopy, Teheran, Illinois (c. 1930).
Figure 16. Pleasant Hill, Kentucky (1982).

Figure 17. Cube and canopy, Natchez, Mississippi (1990).

Figure 18. Mediterranean Cafe, Santa Fe, New Mexico (2005).
Figure 19. Java Lane, Wilmington, North Carolina (1998).

Figure 20. Sir Benedict's Food [,] Spirits [, and] Gifts, Duluth, Minnesota (2010).
Figure 21. Plaque on gasoline station converted to a gasoline station museum, Lafayette, Indiana (2010).

Figure 22. Dan’s Barber Shop, Maquoketa, Iowa (2010).
Figure 23. McNamara’s Market, Olean, New York (2010).

Figure 24. Olde Station Antiques, Shamrock, Texas (2008).
Figure 25. The station from which Olde Station Antiques was converted (c. 1929) (courtesy Sandy Willis).

Figure 26. Tin ceiling, Olde Station Antiques (2010) (courtesy Sandy Willis).
Figure 27. Looking to the front door inside, Olde Station Antiques (2010) (courtesy Sandy Willis).

Figure 28. Store interior, Olde Station Antiques (2010) (courtesy Sandy Willis).
Figure 29. A New Leaf Florist & Gifts, Paris, Kentucky (2009).

Figure 30. Interior, A New Leaf Florist & Gifts (2009).
Figure 31. Daughter of the owner standing beside the station’s original door, A New Leaf Florist & Gifts (2009).