2003 Annual Meeting
Pioneer America Society
October 12 - 16
Almond Bay Conference Center
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Frank Ainsley
Department of Earth Science
University of North Carolina
Wilmington, North Carolina 28403-3297
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Pioneer America Society Mission Statement

As a professional organization, the Pioneer America Society exists to promote the serious study of material culture remaining from the North American past. The Society is a national, non-profit, educational organization supported entirely by membership dues and contributions. Its membership is drawn from people representing many different disciplines—anthropology, architectural history, folklore and folklife, historic preservation, historical/cultural geography, history, and museology, primarily—and from informed lay people with an abiding interest in the study of the material past.

The mission of the Society is an urgent one. With each passing day, the objects of material culture are disappearing rapidly. As members of the Society gather for each annual meeting, we lament this indisputable fact. The interest in and concern for these objects is transformed into action as the members work to research and report on various aspects of our material past. One of the goals of the membership is to share research findings with a larger audience, so that others may come to understand and to appreciate our past and to work for the preservation of significant elements of that past.

Through the publication of Pioneer America Society Transactions and Material Culture, the Society’s journal, the findings are shared. People with similar interests are invited to join in the exciting work of the Society and to present papers at our meeting and/or submit material for the journal.

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PIONEER AMERICA SOCIETY TRANSACTIONS
Editorial Offices
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Eagle, Wisconsin 53119
ANNUAL MEETINGS

An annual meeting is held each fall at various locations in the United States. The meetings are often thematic and are held in historical settings in order to include tours. The meetings are intended to inform those who attend, to produce papers of value to be published in *P.A.S.T.*, and offer occasions to meet others with similar interests.

Thirty-four meetings have been held. A partial list of meetings includes:

2002  Springfield, Illinois  
2001  Bardstown, Kentucky  
2000  Richmond, Virginia  
1999  Washington, Pennsylvania  
1998  Wilmington, North Carolina  
1997  Dearborn, Michigan  
1996  Austin, Texas  
1995  Fredericksburg, Virginia  
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W. Frank Ainsley  
Department of Earth Sciences  
University of North Carolina at Wilmington  
Wilmington, NC 28403-3297

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THIRTY-FOURTH MEETING OF THE
PIONEER AMERICA SOCIETY

October 17-19, 2002
Springfield, Illinois

Program Conference Committee
Keith Sculle and Tracey Sculle
Illinois Historic Preservation Agency

Floyd Mansberger
Fever River Research

Robert Sherman
Illinois Emergency Management Agency

PROGRAM

Thursday, October 17
Registration
Pioneer America Society Board Meeting

Friday, October 18
Papers
Luncheon
Pioneer America Society Banquet
Address: James E. Davis, Illinois College
“Imprints: People, the Land and Settlement”

Saturday, October 19
Field Trip: Springfield – Lincoln and Beyond
Preface

Members of the Pioneer America Society joined together in October of 2002 for the organization’s thirty-fourth meeting. Held in Springfield, Illinois, the conference attracted participants from throughout the country. Those in attendance were treated to a stimulating blend of research papers, professional camaraderie, and historic sites, including New Salem and the Lincoln Home in Springfield.

Volume 26 of Pioneer America Society Transactions furnishes a lasting record of the 2002 annual meeting. As such, it includes six articles presented as papers at the conference and abstracts of eighteen other papers also shared with the attendees. The articles reflect a variety of topics related to the analysis and interpretation of historic landscapes and material culture. Readers will find a distinct Midwest flavor to this year’s subject matter.

I greatly appreciate the cooperation and conscientious effort extended by the authors in preparing their manuscripts for Volume 26. Carol Kneisley at Wittenberg University has again done a most admirable job in the final readying of the material for publication. The Pioneer America Society is extremely fortunate in having her on its publication team. Finally, I must extend my gratitude to the Wisconsin Historical Society for the annual support it lends to the publication of Pioneer America Society Transactions.

Martin C. Perkins
Editor
The single-unit farmstead, or housebarn, providing shelter for both farm families and their livestock, while relatively widespread in Europe, was rare in North America. Only a few examples have been documented, several in Wisconsin, a German housebarn in Missouri, and several others scattered across the Great Plains (Tishler and Witmer, 1984, 102-104; Marshall, 1986, 67-72; Price, 1989, 39). This paper presents the documentation on the only two housebarns found in the southeastern United States.

Valdese, North Carolina, looks like any other small Southern Piedmont industrial town. But upon closer examination, the casual observer of cultural landscapes recognizes this is a very different place. This community is characterized by boccia games, winemaking, French toponymy and surnames, and occasionally the melodic sounds of a remnant French patois. The folk architecture on the landscape is also rather unusual. Scattered about are the stark, bare fieldstone buildings that preserve the unique heritage of these late nineteenth century colonists.

These original settlers of Valdese were the Waldenses, pre-Reformation French-speaking Protestant Christians. The Waldenses Church is perhaps the oldest “Protestant” church in existence, dating back at least to the 12th century and thus anticipating the Reformation by at least four hundred years. Peter Valdes (hence Valdese, Waldenses) was a merchant of Lyons who, following a deep spiritual crisis, decided to live the experience of the apostles as a follower of Christ. Accordingly, he sold all his possessions and dedicated himself to the preaching of the Gospel. It was not his intention to defy the Church when he made this decision but rather, following the example of the apostles, he wanted to help bring about its renewal; instead, he and his adherents were excommunicated as “schismatics” in 1184 (Stephens, 1998).

The Waldenses, also known as “the poor of Lyons” in France and “the poor Lombardi” in Italy, continued to spread through Europe, meeting with favor among the people. Like all “heretical” movements, it was violently repressed by the civil and religious authorities. During the 13th century, mass persecutions began and continued intermittently for the next five hundred years. The Waldensian population came close to almost total extermination.

Eventually the Waldenses found refuge in the high valleys of the Cottian Alps, between Torino (Turin) and the French frontier. February 17, 1848, marked the beginning of a better time for the Waldensian Church. Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, issued a proc-
lamination granting the Waldenses certain religious and civil liberties. This action ushered in a period of peace and relative prosperity for the people. They grew in population to the point that it became difficult to have enough land to provide a living for their growing families. This caused many to make plans to leave their native valleys and emigrate to other parts of the world. Beginning in 1856, groups went to Uruguay, Argentina, and the United States. A small number of Waldenses moved to the United States, where they established enclaves in New York City, Chicago, Missouri, Texas, and Utah. Two Waldensian men went to North Carolina to inspect some lands offered by a Pennsylvania industrialist who had landholdings near Asheville.

On May 29, 1893, eleven families, led by Reverend Charles Albert Tron, arrived in Burke County, North Carolina. Within a few days, the contract for the purchase of land from the Morganton Land Improvement Company was complete, and with a charter granted by the State of North Carolina, the Valdese Corporation was founded and the town established. About ten thousand acres of land were purchased at a cost of $20,000. It was a vast expanse of hills and forests for eleven families, but the hardy mountaineers from the Italian Alps set immediately to work clearing, digging, plowing, cutting timber, and running a sawmill. Valdese became the site of the largest Waldensian colony in the world outside of the Italian valleys. By the end of 1893, a total of 222 Waldenses had moved to North Carolina (Watts, 1965, 20-41). Local reactions to the new settlement were favorably expressed in a contemporary newspaper article:

“Valdese—A great deal of interest is of course felt by Morganton people in the Waldensian colony in this county, and now that the first of the colonists have arrived and are settled in their new homes, there is a disposition manifested by our people to aid these interesting people in every possible way. . . . They speak both French and Italian very fluently, and are all apparently very bright and intelligent and very anxious to learn the language of this new country. . . . The little company of men, women and children who are now on the lands are but the fore-runners of many hundreds who will follow, and who will become important factors in building up and beautifying our county and State. This Waldensian colony, the first foreign settlement in the State of any importance since the Moravian settlement at Salem, is we hope the precursor of many such movements—of the influx of an industrious, economical, God fearing people, such as are these hardy vine growers from the rugged Italian Alps.” (Morganton Herald, 1893).

The Waldensian settlers brought their traditional folk building patterns to North Carolina, as well as applying their stone masonry skills to early twentieth century popular house styles, such as the
foursquare house and the bungalow. The identifying features of the local landscape are distinctive rock buildings that dot the hillsides both in and around Valdese. Waldensian craftsmen had developed a long tradition of building with the indigenous stone in the Italian Alps. Fitting together the rough and irregular fieldstones, the masons built solid thick walls (18 to 24 inches) without using mortar. This “dry stack” technique was a process in which the field rocks were carefully stacked horizontally to conceal the mud or mortar that held them in place. This “dry stack” tradition was adapted, using the reddish mica schist fieldstones they found on the North Carolina hillsides. They laid these odd-shaped rocks with the flatter sides facing outward, using red clay-mud mortar, to build houses, barns, single unit housebarns, outdoor ovens, schools, and churches. These buildings stand as monuments to a craft that was both picturesque as well as practical.

The Waldenses brought with them their unique “Old World” folk architecture, typically building their first rough farmstead structures into the hillsides. The single-unit farmstead was common in Europe, and in the rugged valleys of the Cottian Alps, the Waldenses built a traditional folk structural form that consisted of a stone house with family living quarters above the barn which was underneath. It was usually set back into the steep hillside, with the entrance to the animal stalls on the downward slope. Also facing out to the valley side was typically a balcony-porch that overlooked their small terraced fields. For example, the traditional European peasant houses in upper Provence are often three-storied, the animal sheds and the common room are on top of each other, the sleeping lofts and the barn on the third floor (Bromberger, 1997, 1347). Having the dwelling unit and animal sheds together had practical value. In the tight confines of the Waldenses valleys, the arrangement helped to conserve valuable ground for cultivation. Better protection was provided for the animals and easy access was available to provide to the animals in case of heavy snow. Finally, the animal heat helped to warm the living quarters for the family.

When they arrived in North Carolina, several families built similar stone housebarns as their first shelters. Typically, their housebarns were built into the steep hillsides, with the animal stalls at ground level and the family’s living quarters above. As in the European antecedents, some houses had a balcony-porch that overlooked the valleys. The best-preserved example of this type is the Refour housebarn (ca. 1894), so reminiscent of the housebarns of the valleys in Italy. When Jean Refour and his wife, Marie Pons, first came to Burke County and settled on their land, they lived in a rough wooden “sawmill shack” while they prepared for the construction of their single-unit farmstead. Refour selected a site on the hillside and then built the house of fieldstone gathered from his farm (Fig. 1).

The downhill elevation is a full two-and-a-half stories, with the two animal stalls occupying the ground level. The main floor, directly above the livestock pens, is one large room that served as the family’s
living quarters. Ceiling beams are exposed; the windows have simple wooden lintels; and the batten front and back doors are aligned across from each other. Above this room is the sleeping loft, accessible by way of a stair in the corner of the common room, to the left of the fireplace.

The upslope elevation is one-and-a-half stories, with access to the main living quarters through a shed addition where wine vats were stored. And on the front side, Jean Refour built a cantilevered, façade-width balcony-porch covered by a shed roof with wooden shingles that overlooks the valley to the northwest. The balcony is supported on the projecting ends of the main floor beams that support the common room.

The Refour house is a pure “transplant” of the Italian prototypes, as is evidenced by the following description of European house-barns:

“The houses are built of stones laid without mortar. Steps lead up to the wooden balcony, invariably running the full length of the house on a level with the first floor, where the family eats and sleeps. Everything within is of the simplest character. The ground-floor is devoted to a varied assortment of livestock, hay, farm produce and agricultural implements. The balcony will be gay with its climbing roses, wisteria or vines.” (Stephens, 1956, 24).
Located further down the valley slope is a large two-story barn (ca. 1915) with the ground level of fieldstones and a frame second story. This Refour barn is 24 by 84 feet, and the second floor is accessible directly from the upslope side (Fig. 2).

![Refour Barn, built ca. 1915. The Refour Housebarn is visible up the hill to the right. (Photo by W. Frank Ainsley).](image)

On the upland farms in the valleys of their alpine homeland, the finished look of most of the housebarns and other structures was the rough fieldstone wall. In the Valdese area, many of the Waldensian settlers eventually stuccoed their homes, as had been the traditional look of the larger homes on the farms lower down the Italian valleys and in the villages of the Cottian Alps. Just a few yards from the stone Refour housebarn is the larger stuccoed stone house that Refour’s son, Francois, built ca. 1925 when he moved out of the older family home. This two-story hip-roofed structure is a classic “four-square” with vernacular Colonial Revival styling inspired by American fashion with one unusual twist—the rock masonry walls are 24 inches thick.

Just to the northwest of the Refour housebarn, across the creek, is the adjoining Pascal farm. Here sits the only other still-existing housebarn—the Pascal housebarn—a long rectangular structure with animal stalls underneath and one long common family living room above (Fig. 3). Built ca. 1894 by John H. Pascal, this was his
family’s first home. Later, he built the large three-by-one bay, two-story rock house farther up the hillside. This house, now the home of Willie Pascal, has been enlarged and stuccoed over the years.

![Fig. 3 Pascal Housebarn, built ca. 1894. (Photo by W. Frank Ainsley).](image)

Also on this farm is another magnificent smaller, two-story, fieldstone building—a “dwelling house” with a wine cellar and laundry house (Fig. 4). Just downslope from the present Pascal dwelling is an old fieldstone blacksmith shed/workshop, inside of which is one of the traditional Waldensian-style bakeovens. A most interesting Waldensian structure is the free standing outside bakeoven built of fieldstone. This bakeoven contains a beehive-shaped chamber in which a fire was built to heat the stones of the oven. Then the coals were scraped out and replaced by bread dough and pies for baking. Besides this one at the Pascal House, there still exist two other bakeovens in Valdese.

In conclusion, the folk architectural heritage of the Waldenses can be categorized into three phases: (1) the earliest, irregular fieldstone structures duplicating the heritage of the Italian Alpine valleys (Refour house); (2) the more formal, finished stuccoed styles of public buildings in their homeland (Waldensian Presbyterian Church); and (3) the application of fieldstone stone masonry to early twentieth century Americanized building forms such as the bungalow. This
unique material cultural record emerged over one hundred years ago on the western North Carolina landscape. The Refour and the Pascal housebarns epitomize the rare, interesting and valuable surviving re-creations of a unique traditional folk architectural type that was transplanted as part of the cultural baggage of the Waldensian settlers from the valleys of northwestern Italy to the foothills of the North Carolina Blue Ridge.

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Illinois Grain Elevators in the Early Twentieth Century: Era of Expansion and Experiment

Keith E. Roe and Eunice M. Roe

Grain elevators serve as indicators of agricultural expansion in the Midwest, especially from the late 1800s and well into the 1900s. They symbolize the dramatic changes in agriculture that were taking place during that time, plus the westward shift of production and expansion of cropland, due in part to drainage of the vast wetland prairies. The early twentieth century was also a period of experimentation with new construction materials, including tile, steel, and concrete. Monolithic concrete attracted both industrial engineers and architects alike, including Frank Lloyd Wright and Thomas Edison. The diversity in building designs and materials used in elevator construction at the time can be found throughout the Midwest, but seems exemplified by the country elevators of Illinois.

Wood and timber, post and pegged beam were the materials and construction methods of choice for elevators in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Large terminal elevators, such as those in Chicago, along with their country cousins were built primarily of wood. Studded construction was commonly used for smaller grain elevators around the turn of the twentieth century while cribbed construction grew in popularity. Cribbed bins are built up of two-inch thick lumber overlapped and spiked together, creating interlaced walls that are stronger than studded ones. Both methods were employed until the abundant timber supplies of northern forests were depleted and construction became more practical using other materials. Wood elevators and storage bins were built well into the 1940s, but the modern steel bin predominated by 1950. Earlier use of welded or riveted steel plate for elevator bins was less successful because of cost and poor storage conditions, primarily dampness, before artificial drying became common (Fig. 1).

Another construction material used for both domestic and industrial buildings, including grain elevators, was vitreous, hollow clay tile. This material became popular in regions having the proper clays accessible for their manufacture. Hollow clay tile was touted as a fireproof alternative to wood construction. However, it was inferior to wood for storage, tending to dampness like steel, and also was subject to cracking or breaking. Clay tile elevators are interesting architecturally but most sit abandoned, as they have for decades (Fig. 2).

The most important developments for grain elevator construction involved the use of reinforced concrete. Construction of monolithic
Fig. 1  Studded elevator with typical reinforcing ties on outside walls. Note concrete cob burner in foreground. Cornland, Illinois. (Photo by Keith Roe - 2002).

Fig. 2  Clay tile elevator with concrete roof. St. Jacob, Illinois. (Photo by Keith Roe - 2002).
grain elevators grew in popularity after the first such experimental bin was erected in Minneapolis in 1900. It proved to be not only durable but kept the grain in good condition, and it was fireproof. Concrete grain elevators are erected by three primary methods. In one the concrete mix is poured continuously into slip-forms that outline the walls. Hydraulic or screw jacks attached to vertical reinforcing rods slowly raise the forms, leaving the exposed new walls to harden. A second method uses fixed forms, which are filled in stages and the concrete mix is left to solidify before moving them to the next level. Both methods form a structure of great strength.

Grain elevators constructed by the use of slip-forms can be identified by the vertical striations left in the walls by the gradually rising forms. Fixed form construction leaves a checkerboard impression in the walls since the form sections are usually about two to three feet square. Different from either of the poured, monolithic types of concrete construction is the use of prefabricated sections or interlocking staves that are held together by encircling steel rods to form a cylindrical bin.

The early decades of using concrete for both commercial and domestic structures witnessed considerable experimentation among builders. Engineers sometimes patterned their concrete grain elevators after familiar wood designs, resulting in a traditional looking country elevator, including the gable roof, but one of monolithic concrete (Fig. 3).

Another example of transition in design and construction that shows a merging of new methods with traditional needs was found in

Fig. 3  Concrete grain elevator in typical gable roof design, built 1913. The roof here is of wood; other examples are all concrete. Morris, Illinois. (Photo by Keith Roe - 1998).
the elevator at Pesotum. Although it was common in the early twentieth century to have wooden corncribs adjacent to grain elevators, the designers here incorporated that function into the structure itself. One of its eight cylindrical concrete bins was built with a perforated outer wall for storage of ear corn (Clark, 1942, 307).

Expanded production of grain during the early twentieth century created an opportunity for engineers and builders to get into elevator construction. Many local firms were involved, judging by phone and city directories and advertising from the teens and twenties, but most of them were active for only a few years. However, it is possible today to recognize the patterns of individual contractors in the landscape because of the unique features of their work.

The concrete grain elevators designed by the Decatur firm Miller & Holbrook are noted for having a large cylindrical headhouse, giving an overall appearance of a “can-on-can” structure. Many also have a wide overhanging eave and walkway lip at the base of the headhouse, and a short conical roof instead of the more characteristic flat one. An innovation of this company was to integrate concrete elevator leg casings as part of the structure; the first of this design being at Cuba, Illinois and another at Farmersville, both constructed about 1919. Each of these grain elevators has a distinctive headhouse, with the leg casing jutting out from the cylinder (Clark, 1942, 301).

A further noteworthy feature of Miller & Holbrook designs is seen in the office at Sheffield, another formerly at Cuba, and those at Fiatt and Bentley. These offices were built entirely of reinforced concrete to harmonize with the new concrete elevators. However, instead of the very modern, plain and simple lines of their adjacent elevators, each office was given a classic appearance, with pilasters on the corners and on each side. Furthermore, “A parapet roof adorns the building, as well as giving it a substantial finish” (Anonymous - 1, 1920); (Fig. 4).

Perhaps the most striking display of individuality in Illinois grain elevators is seen in the many examples that are castellated, i.e., adorned with battlements. There are or were at least nineteen decorated elevators in the state, fourteen of them with battlements. They date from the late years of World War I or shortly thereafter and can be found from the Chicago area on the north to East St. Louis on the south. Many are found in the central counties. At least six decorated Illinois grain elevators were designed by the Miller & Holbrook firm (sometimes including other partners). Two of these had battlements, the others embellished with corner buttresses (Fig. 5).

Only one decorated elevator with battlements and corner buttresses is known from Indiana (Boswell, Benton Co.), though we expect others existed or yet remain. Reliance Construction Co., which advertised their “Victory design” after the war, was an Indianapolis contractor for that one (Anonymous - 2, 1920).

The battlements or similar decorative elements rarely suggest a
Concrete grain elevator designed by Miller & Holbrook, Decatur, built ca. 1919. Note wide eaves and “double can” look. Conical roof is not evident from this angle. Front corner of concrete office is seen on the far right. Sheffield, Illinois. (Photo by Keith Roe - 1998).

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*(d) = demolished*

Decorated grain elevators in Illinois.
function beyond the symbolic. They are generally too short, by themselves, to provide an adequate safety railing. There are exceptions of course, such as the balustrade originally atop the Plainfield Grain Co. elevator, which served as railing as well as decoration (Clark, 1942, 333). Then too, corner buttresses were sometimes used as anchor-age for steel pipe railings or lightening rods, but were not essential for those purposes (Figs. 6 & 7).

The rationale for embellishing grain elevators with decorative elements may have differed for each site. They might have been added as a symbolic touch of pride or patriotism on what was likely the tallest structure around, perhaps even higher than any local churches. Likewise, such adornment could have been a sign of protecting the stored grain from destruction by fire, theft, or sabotage. These were all concerns of rural areas during the period of the Great War.

Fig. 6 Concrete grain elevator with battlements and rooftop corner buttresses. Barnes, Illinois. (Photo by Keith Roe - 2002).
It may seem ironic and a contradiction that grain elevators, which helped inspire modern architecture, would be adorned with frills, let alone Gothic fragments. Constructed, however, during the formative years of the modernist movement, their designers, builders, and owners may have been less concerned with perceptions of pure function than they were with their own whims or community concerns. In any case, they added a decorative touch to some grain elevators, even a hint of castles from medieval Europe.

Midwest grain elevators from the early twentieth century reflect the growth of agricultural production and the use of new construction methods and designs. The decorated concrete elevators of Illinois and elsewhere show us that individual designers, builders, and owners
often put a distinctive character or unique stamp on their structures. There are patterns in the built landscape, and general rules of architectural styles, but the individuality of some grain elevators adds a sense of independence and a vernacular aspect to this ordinary building type.

References Cited

ANONYMOUS - 1

ANONYMOUS - 2

CLARK, Charles S., editor
The Cultural Landscape 
Along a Traverse of the 
Greenville Treaty Line 

David T. Stephens and Alexander T. Bobersky 

The Greenville Treaty was a significant event in the history and settlement of the Ohio Country. It was occasioned by the defeat of an Indian confederation in 1794 by General Anthony Wayne at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The treaty, signed the following year, brought a temporary truce to the conflict between Indians and Americans in the Ohio Country by defining a line that was to separate the combatants. The line’s establishment quickened the march of the Ohio settlement frontier north from the Ohio River and westward from the Pennsylvania border. Over time, the rising tide of settlers and subsequent lines of separation pushed the Indians out of the Ohio Country. However, the treaty line remains as a relict in the landscape, testifying to a time when Native Americans and an advancing stream of settlers were engaged in a life and death struggle for control of the Ohio Country.

The line began at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River on Lake Erie, ran southward to the summit between that stream and the Tuscarawas River and then followed the Tuscarawas to a point near Fort Laurens. From this location it ran southwestward to Loramie’s Store, then northwestward to Fort Recovery and thence southward to a point opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River on the north bank of the Ohio River (Fig. 1). To the north and west of the line was to be Indian country, while the area to the east and south was to be available for settlement by the westward surging American population.

This paper reports the results of observations made during a May, 2002, traverse along that portion of the treaty line that extends from Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas River to the Ohio-Indiana boundary on the west. The intent was to examine the landscape along this once important line of partition to see what, if any, evidence of it remained and to observe changes in the cultural landscape that occurred along the route.

This trek passes through a variety of physical and cultural regions. Parts of both the Glaciated and Unglaciated Appalachian Plateaus were crossed, as was a segment of the Till Plains. The Ohio Department of Transportation’s Cultural Regions Map indicated the traverse crossed three subregions of the Midlands: the Backbone, Amish, and Lower Midlands (Ohio Department of Transportation, 2000). The same source indicated that the route passed through four subregions of the Midwest: Upper Scioto, Miami Valley, Auglaize-Saint Mary’s, and Northwest Ohio. The treaty line abuts or crosses several differ-
ent land survey systems including those of the Congress Lands, the U.S. and the Virginia Military Districts, and the survey known as, Between the Miamis. The route passed through the location of several of the foreign settlement groups mapped in Wilhelm’s examination of the distribution of settlement groups in Ohio based on the 1850 Census of Population (Wilhelm, 1982, 94). The settlements shown on the map were those of the Germans and the Irish. At least five distinct Amish communities were encountered along the way. Given this array of diversity, one would anticipate finding an interesting montage of material culture.

Prior to going into the field we examined various historic cartographic representations of the boundary. Thomas H. Smith’s, The Mapping of Ohio, afforded an opportunity to explore the early cartographic manifestations of the line. Based on this source, the first maps to show the treaty line were drawn in 1796 by Abraham Bradley and Samuel Lewis in 1802. Bradley’s, “Northern Parts of the United States,” appeared in Jedidiah Morse’s third edition of The American Universal Geography (Smith, 1977, 152). It labeled the boundary line as, “General Waynes [sic] Treaty 1795,” and incorrectly located Loramire’s Store north of Fort Recovery and on a tributary of the Miami River (Maumee) and not on the Great Miami River. Bradley’s 1804, “Map of the United States,” corrected the location of Loramire’s Store and identified the line as being the “Indian Boundary Line” (Smith, 1977, 154). Lewis’ map that appeared in the 1802 edition of Carey’s American Atlas, placed Loramire’s Store on the correct river, but indicated the boundary was a straight line between Fort Laurens

Fig. 1 The Greenville Treaty Line.
and Fort Recovery (Smith, 1977, 156). He labeled the line, “Indian Boundary Line agreeably [sic] to Treaty of Greenville in 1795 to Major General Anthony Wayne and the Several Nations and tribes of Indians of these Parts.” His 1805 map continued to show the boundary as a straight line between Ft. Laurens and Fort Recovery, however the line is now labeled, “Indian Boundary Line” (Smith, 1977, 155). A map by W. Baker also published 1805 represented the treaty boundary as a straight line labeled, “Indian Line” (Smith, 1977, 157). Mansfield’s 1807 map drawn from actual surveys of the state showed the correct alignment of the treaty line but labeled it, “Indian Boundary” (Smith, 1977, 160). None of the maps shown in Smith’s work used the label, Greenville Treaty Line. We are still seeking to discover when this term first appeared on maps. To date, the earliest appearance we can document is on an 1854 map of railroads and townships for Ohio drawn by George W. Colton and found in the map collection of the Library of Congress (Colton, 1854).

Although the line has long passed its role as a separator of warring factions, the United States Geological Survey still identifies the Greenville Treaty Line on contemporary topographic maps. The Bolivar 1:24,000 topographic sheet shows the line’s junctions with the Tuscarawas River. Since the line crosses the river twice near the site of Fort Laurens, we wondered which of the crossings was the actual point of origin for the original line. The Ohio Historical Society apparently has opted for the eastern most, as that is where they have erected a historical marker. That Bolivar sheet also includes another significant line associated with Ohio’s land survey systems, the Geographer’s Line that was run in conjunction with the Seven Ranges, the first area surveyed using the Congressional Survey System. Another interesting view of the line and its connection to the land surveys in Ohio occurs in Logan County on the Huntsville sheet. Two lines that are a part of the boundary of the Virginia Military District are shown crossing the treaty line. The origin of this part of boundary line of the Virginia Military District was to be the headwaters of the Scioto River. This stream rises in a swamp and two different surveyors of parts of the line opted for different points of origin; hence, two different and offset intersecting lines, Robert’s Line and Ludlow’s Line.

What other evidence remains of the treaty line? Fort Recovery one of the points mentioned in the boundary’s description is no longer a military outpost but now is a village of 1273 souls, while Loramire’s Store gave rise to the community of Fort Loramie, a place of 1344. Two townships along the line have a toponymic connection to the treaty line - Recovery in Mercer County, named for the fort in the same county, and Wayne Township in Tuscarawas County, named for the victorious general.

The Greenville Treaty Line’s purpose was that of separating combatants. It does not fulfill that role today, but continues to help define territorial differences. The line makes up twenty-five miles of boundaries for parts of eleven Ohio counties and constitutes nearly forty miles of township boundary. Thirty-five townships have parts
of their boundaries along the line.

More often than not, no road coincides with the boundary. None of the boundary is a part of a U.S. highway, only 2.9 miles are a part of the state highway system and local and county roads make up 54.4 miles of its length. Obviously, it was never a patrolled border.

Roads coinciding with the line carry a variety of names, but most of the road names have no association with the treaty. One such name, Yankee Road, seems a bit out of place so far removed from the Ohio’s Yankee stronghold of the Western Reserve. In Marion County the name, “Boundary Road,” is used for a road that follows the treaty line. Union County has a road with the designation of “Greenville Treaty Line Road;” strangely that road does not follow the treaty’s boundary. It does, however; intersect with the boundary. In Mercer County, Indian Trail Road follows the line, while in the village of Fort Recovery one can follow the line along Boundary Street.

Several entities have erected markers to explain or commemorate the boundary. A double-sided marker erected jointly by Tuscarawas County and Ohio Historical Society is near a crossing place on the Tuscarawas River up stream from Fort Laurens (Fig. 2). In the midst of their community the Fort Loramie Business Men’s Association and American Legion Post 355 have erected a marker sketching the history of the line. A marker is also found in Logan County where that county’s Archeological and Historical Society were responsible for the placement, while in Marion County the Colonial Dames have marked the line with a commemorative plaque. In their recognition

![Historical Marker near Fort Laurens. (Photo by David T. Stephens).](image)
of the line, Holmes County used a more frugal approach, opting only for a generic street-sign-like designation.

In Fort Recovery town platters failed to coordinate their cross-boundary surveys, resulting in an offset of north-south streets along the line, much like the previously mentioned situation with the boundary of the Virginia Military District. At least two commercial ventures have sought to capitalize on the fame of the line. Treaty Line Furniture fronted along the line in Holmes County and came equipped with a rather poorly executed mural depicting a frontier scene. Venturing far a field from the line led to the discovery of Treaty Lanes in Greenville, a bowling alley situated in the town where the treaty was signed, but located a good fifteen miles away from the line.

What of the variations in the material culture along our route? What we have chosen to share is only a fraction of what we saw. But, by the end of our venture, two things stood out: barns and religions related features.

Part of the reason for opting to follow the Greenville Treaty Line was that it passes through rural areas. According to the 2000 Census, the largest place along the line is Fort Loramie with a population of 1344. As would be expected, given the rural nature of our traverse, the most prominent aspects of built environment were barns. We classified a total of 263 barns along the route. Variations of English barns dominated, accounting for 56 percent of the total number of barns. Of these, about a fifth were of the raised variety. The English barn was pervasive along the entire route except in the western most part of our trek, where in Mercer County a corporate-poultry-mega-farm environment with extensive collections of long, one-story chicken houses dominates. There was evidence of the trend toward modernization in barn roof design as 15 percent of the barns along our route were fitted with a gambrel roof. This was most likely a response to the need for enlarged storage capacity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These gambrel roof barns showed a strong spatial association with the flatland segment of the traverse and were concentrated along the western segment of the route. Along the same portion of the traverse a later roofing innovation, the round or arched roof, was occasionally observed. The turn of the century need for larger haylofts and barns was also apparent in the number of T-barns we encountered. They constituted 14 percent of the observed barns and were concentrated along the eastern segment of the traverse. Rather disappointing was the limited number of German barns. Only six percent fit into this class. As would be expected, most occurred in areas identified by Wilhelm as early centers of German settlement (Wilhelm, 1982, 94). One structure from Logan County was noteworthy for its unusually long right angle forebay extension below the roofline. Several other interesting barns or barn features turned up along the way. A few pent roofs were encountered. There were several instances of painted arches on barns and even a happy face. We encountered several dated roof barns that were not discovered during our previous fieldwork aimed
at documenting decorative slate roofs. Without a doubt, the most sensational barn along the route was a stone beauty with shed and “T” additions discovered in northern Holmes County (Fig.3).

The other landscape element that attracted our attention was associated with religion. There is a distinctive geography of religions along the route. Protestantism dominates along most of the line,

![Fig. 3](image)

**Fig. 3** Stone Barn, Holmes County, Ohio. (Photo by David T. Stephens).

...but in the extreme west Catholicism reigns supreme. We counted 35 churches. Most were country churches that dated from late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Those Methodist circuit riders must have been busy folk, because their houses of worship still dot the eastern and central Ohio countryside. They accounted for nearly half the enumerated churches. Lutheran and Brethren Churches were associated with German settlement areas, while the Church of Christ showed the greatest strength in the Virginia Military District. By far the most impressive religious landmarks are those associated with the Catholic faith. That is especially true of the so-called cross-tip churches of western Ohio (Ware, 2002, 154). Saint Michael’s Catholic Church towers over the community of Fort Loramie much like grain elevators do in the communities of western Kansas. The analogy continues as the various rural churches of this genera resemble the solitary elevator one finds along railroad sidings in wheat country. The treaty line passes through the realm of the Society of the Precious Blood (Ware, 2002, 155). Saint Francis
Catholic Church, one of the cross-tipped churches associated with the order, is located astride the treaty line in Mercer County. Several others are clearly visible from the line. These brick edifices stand as a monument to the religious zeal of Rev. Francis de Sales Bruner, the Swiss born head of the Society. Before looking at one last element of the religious landscape, mention must be made of the most intriguing church name we encountered. The Eternal Rose Church of Old Regular Baptist of Jesus Christ of Faith and Order. According to the sign in front, this place of worship was established in 1998. One wonders if it will endure till the next century.

The Protestant-Catholic geographical dichotomy is also manifested in the care of the dead. Two cemeteries served to illustrate the difference. The verticality and cross tipped markers of the Saint Michael’s cemetery is the hallmark of Catholicism, while horizontal logs of the tree of life hold sway over the protestant internments at the Harper Cemetery in Logan County (Figs. 4 and 5).

The cultural landscape along this line is varied and reflects changes in cropping, livestock production, barn types, and barn building technology. The landscape also reflects variations in the ethnic origins of its earlier settlers. There is little variation in the material culture to the immediate north or south of the line to suggest it was not a significant cultural divide. Change in the landscape is apparent as one travels east to west along the line. This change is related to variations in the terrain, soil quality, and settlement

Fig. 4 Saint Michael’s Cemetery, Fort Loramie, Ohio. (Photo by David T. Stephens).
The warring factions have long since ceased their hostilities, but the line drawn over two hundred years ago to separate two peoples remains as a landscape element preserved on modern maps, separating political entities, commemorated in road names and on historical markers and the names of commercial ventures. The line also serves as a reminder of a less than glorious chapter in the history of our country, when boundaries were created to separate warring parties.

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Impressions of Black St. Louis: Concrete Markers in St. Louis’ Greenwood Cemetery

Brett Rogers

Black St. Louis and the Development of African-American Burial Grounds

Before the Civil War, enslaved blacks in St. Louis were mainly house slaves for aristocratic white families and lived scattered throughout the better areas of the city. Here, as elsewhere in Missouri, slaves were generally buried with the families who owned them, in cemetery grounds adjacent to the white family cemetery. The city’s free blacks were usually buried in potters’ fields, city-owned cemeteries, or Catholic cemeteries. After Emancipation these practices began to change, as segregation of blacks and whites continued to be customary and subsequently enforced by law. Concentrated primarily in the city’s central wards, the black community began to develop churches, and individuals were interred in church cemeteries (Morris, 2000, 22).

The failure of Reconstruction in the South in the 1870s brought an early wave of migration from Mississippi, Alabama, and other Southern states. This general growth of the St. Louis black community made the timing right for the establishment of commercial cemeteries for African Americans. Greenwood, just west of the city, founded in 1874 by Herman Krueger, was the first of this type of cemetery in the area—possibly the first in the state of Missouri. In 1890 Krueger sold Greenwood to his son-in-law, Adolph Foelsch, whose family operated the cemetery until 1981 (Greenwood Cemetery Records, 1999; Morris, 2000, 22).

The early decades of the twentieth century witnessed yet another mass migration from the Deep South, as blacks sought industrial jobs in northern cities. The so-called Great Migration had a profound impact on St. Louis, both socially and culturally, as the city witnessed a visible transplantation of African-American culture from its well-spring in the agricultural South. On the eve of the First World War, blacks lived in six distinct areas of St. Louis, and in Elleardsville, the rapidly developing hub of local black culture. The occupational profile of African Americans in St. Louis was similar to that of blacks in other northern cities: many now worked at factory jobs and other menial industrial work, while black women continued to have very limited employment opportunities, still largely as household servants or laundresses. Clearly the African-American population in St. Louis was entrenched in a situation of economic and educational poverty created by the legacy of slavery. Here, racism excluded even skilled
blacks from good jobs. Consequently, from the 1920s through the 1950s, most of black St. Louis lived at, and often slipped below, the poverty line (Christensen, 1972, 66 ff).

The influx of African Americans fostered the establishment of two other black commercial cemeteries: Father Dixon Cemetery in south St. Louis County (1903), and Washington Park Cemetery (1920). Although some of Greenwood’s more elaborate markers illustrate the growing presence of a black middle class, especially in sections dating from around the turn of the century, most of the people interred there were ordinary laborers whose culture was deeply rooted in black Southern tradition (Greenwood Cemetery Records, 1999). St. Louis’ rapidly developing black middle class, who, through the channel of assimilation traditionally sought to distance themselves from the black working class and their own African-American past in general, began to find Washington Park the fashionable place for burial. Conversely, the folks buried in Greenwood were, by and large, more likely to embrace and preserve traditions passed down from previous generations; cultural ways and beliefs were inseparable from the rhythms of everyday life. Despite the twentieth-century ethos of assimilation even within the black working class, segregation in St. Louis and elsewhere fostered the preservation of black Southern tradition in one form or another, as it was transplanted from rural areas of the South and adapted to a new environment outside its traditional cultural confines. To be sure, the downside of desegregation was an apparent and tragic discontinuation of black tradition in the face of white cultural hegemony. But even then, tradition was not completely lost.

With desegregation, however, the need for separate cemeteries eventually ended, as did the commercial viability of St Louis’ black privately owned cemeteries. By the 1980s all three commercial black cemeteries had been sold to new owners, who soon discovered that there were no perpetual-care funds to maintain the facilities. The result was that Greenwood, Father Dixon, and Washington Park rapidly declined and became dumping grounds and targets for vandals. On May 1, 2000, the Missouri Attorney General declared Greenwood “abandoned” under a new law. The corporations that owned it were dissolved, and the St. Louis County Court transferred ownership of the property to St. Louis County and subsequently to the Friends of Greenwood Cemetery,* a grass-roots coalition of concerned citizens, academics, and members of the descendant community who are currently reclaiming and restoring Greenwood yard by yard. What has emerged so far says much about the development of black St Louis and the traditions that survived within it.

Concrete Grave Markers and Black Tradition at Greenwood

Of the more than 50,000 estimated graves at the thirty-one-acre site, an estimated 8,000 are marked by grave markers of various kinds, including wooden crosses, Victorian carved stones and monu-
ments, modern slants, flushes and upright stones in granite and limestone as well as organic markers in the form of shrubs. But even more prevalent are concrete markers. These concrete markers include “house stones” manufactured on the premises by the Foelsch family for African-American patrons, vernacular homemade markers created by members of the surviving family or by individuals commissioned by the family, and manufactured concrete ornaments that have been adapted for funerary use. Concrete markers initially proliferated at Greenwood because the Foelsches offered relatively inexpensive markers, manufactured in a small barn on the southwest corner of the property from about 1910 through the 1950s (Britt, 2002). These simple monuments with upright head marker and attached enclosure, spanning the length of the grave, were often customized by the patron. Beyond a prescribed inscription, personal expression was usually limited and was confined primarily to the use of the planter portion where loved ones planted iris, periwinkles, and other flowers. The present condition of the site makes it difficult to estimate the actual number of concrete grave markers, since many have been toppled, broken apart by erosion, or buried under debris, dirt, or overgrowth. However, in sections dating from 1910-1950, the type is seemingly ubiquitous.

Referring specifically to the use of concrete in African-American grave markers in the South, John Michael Vlach has rightly observed that “novelty provides a new format for the expression of tradition” (Vlach, 1978, 145). Extant vernacular concrete markers at Greenwood Cemetery supports this claim in several ways—from the embedding of shells and various grave goods in numerous markers, to the bold use of ready-made or recycled concrete objects as markers in and of themselves. The majority of the markers in Greenwood, especially in sections prior to the early 1960s, reflect what may well be the most extensive use of this medium in the state. Although concrete markers have been documented in both black and white cemeteries throughout the South and Midwest, one fact seems clear: concrete appears to be used more extensively in black cemeteries than white ones. Although cost is certainly one obvious consideration, to some extent the absence of elaborate grave markers (or any marker at all) is perhaps a reflection of differing emphases between white and African-American funeral and burial customs; African Americans tended to prioritize the funeral itself and a well-made, decorative casket over more substantial monuments (Holloway, 2002, 184ff; Britt, 2002).

As early as the late nineteenth century, historians began to make connections between African-American funerary practices in those places where blacks were concentrated during and after slavery—Georgia and South Carolina’s Sea Islands in particular—and obvious African antecedents. Observers noticed that African-American graves in the rural South are sometimes distinguished by careful arrangement of offerings placed on top of graves or traditional burial mounds (Ingersoll, 1892). Within the last two decades, historians have more fully examined the scope and persistence of these
mortuary traditions and placed them within the broader context of characteristically African-American culture that has been diffused with the advent of major black demographic changes, adapted to environments outside the South, and simultaneously both preserved and diluted with the passing of time. Such is the case in St. Louis, as Southern blacks extended the boundaries of Southern funerary tradition. In their African-American context, the offerings function as both a statement of homage and according to folk belief, as a pacifying influence to “keep a tempestuous soul at rest” (Vlach, 1978, 143). Connecting this tradition to its African origin, Robert Ferris Thompson notes that objects used as decorations on Kongo graves “cryptically honor the spirit in the earth, guide it to other worlds, and prevent it from wandering or returning to haunt survivors.” The grave goods are sometimes last items that the deceased used or touched in this world and stand as material reflections of the spirit (Thompson, 1983, 134). These mortuary practices and beliefs that permeated west and central African cultures, in numerous variations that were all, however, in general agreement, provided “a stable basis for their continued practice on this side of the Atlantic” (Vlach, 1978, 143). In slavery these burial traditions persisted in the form of cultural survivals, that were adapted and preserved within individual African-American communities—slave and free. As Richard Stoffle and Demetri Shimkin note: “even under the worst conditions of slavery and institutionalized racism...Afro-Americans sought to maintain autonomy and cultural persistence” (Stoffle and Shimkin, 1980, 2). To some degree, this penchant for “cultural persistence” as evidenced even today in the broader cultural spectrum, was retained in successive generations after Emancipation.

In the early 1980s, scholars began for the first time to note the presence of black Southern tradition in St. Louis’ larger burial grounds. After a cursory survey of African-derived burial patterns in St. Louis, one scholar noted that that tradition had indeed diffused this far North, citing some of the same basic evidence addressed herein. But she went on to explain that what was transplanted and temporarily sustained there eventually eroded in the face of social realities. She concluded: “I realized that I had found little that was distinctive about Afro-American graves in St. Louis and few examples of a continuing African burial tradition such as those so visible in Southern cemeteries” (McKoy, 1985, 36). Despite her findings, black tradition at Greenwood is unquestionable, though not always immediately obvious: grave goods appear in a myriad of interesting forms, from toys placed on children’s graves, to broken pottery, shells, and other items. Unfortunately, modern cemetery maintenance is by definition at odds with the tradition of arranged “loose” grave offerings, and, with few exceptions, material offerings at Greenwood have been destroyed or removed from their original settings. The Foelsches operated a highly efficient business, and the uniform maintenance of the grounds was paramount; displays reflecting tradition must have been indistinguishable to them from common mortuary decoration, which was eventually discarded or, if less obvious, scattered in the
process of mowing. The persistent dumping of trash throughout the property has made current identification of such graves even more difficult. In the winter of 2002, an arrangement of yew branches—traditionally symbolizing eternal life—was found carefully arranged on the grave of Araminta Littrell. Within the branches, a long strip of black and white patterned cloth, distinctly African in design, was carefully arranged around the modern slant headstone and laid horizontally from head to foot, holding the branches in place. What makes this particular example intriguing is the fact that the offering was recent and thus reflects a living tradition rather than simply a tradition that existed at the time of burial (Littrell died in the 1960s). Although other ephemeral displays like this one have been discovered and documented at Greenwood, they are rare. Equally rare but much more enduring and visible are arrangements of goods set in concrete.

A more obvious manifestation of the latter tradition at Greenwood is the presence of conch shells used in grave ornamentation. According to West African tradition, shells, especially conches, placed on the grave function as a mediating force and are believed to “enclose the soul’s immortal presence” (Thompson, 1983, 135). Through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, African-American graves throughout the South have been adorned with what Thompson has argued convincingly is a “Kongo emblem of perdurance,” and their appearance and arrangement in grave art a distinct Kongo-American tradition. Moreover, the shell is also a water symbol, which is fraught with meaning in Africa. Zairean tradition held that the spirit world is located beneath rivers or lakebeds. Even the color of the shell itself—white—alludes to this watery spirit world, where the inhabitants are believed to be white creatures (Vlach, 1978, 143). In connecting the African-American use of shells in Texas cemeteries to their trans-Atlantic antecedents, Terry Jordan points out that ceremonial offerings of shells were, in fact, common all along Africa’s slave coast (Jordan, 1982, 155).

Shells have surfaced randomly in almost all sections of the cemetery, especially in areas where reburials have occurred and in areas experiencing severe erosion; none remain where they were originally arranged. The best and most classic example of African-American shell ornamentation at Greenwood is the Grant Landers marker, which dates from 1933 (Fig. 1). It is a typical concrete Foelsch “house” marker utilizing a simple design, including an upright poured tablet with basic inscription and an attached rectangular planter extending the full length of the body. The Landers marker has been embellished by the addition of eight conch shells inset in concrete within the planter and staggered in two vertical lines from the head to the foot of the grave. In the context of African-African American tradition, the Landers marker may be viewed as a kind of cosmogram; the arrangement of shells serves as a dividing line: the division between the realm of the living, above, and that of the spirit world below (Thompson, 1983, 135; Vlach, 1978, 144). What
makes the Landers marker unique is the fact that the arrangement is permanent, fixed in concrete. This particular marker stands as one of the finest examples of the black funerary tradition of shell ornamentation yet identified in Missouri.

After the house monuments sold by the cemetery, small homemade rectangular, arched or angular molded forms are most typical; these display very basic inscriptions, sometimes personalized or embellished with small, everyday objects consistent with African-American tradition. Although homemade concrete markers in Greenwood date from as early as the first decade of the twentieth century, a surprising number date from 1960s and 1970s, a period when the Foelsch family had greatly scaled down the manufacture of their house stones and, more importantly, when African Americans were rediscovering black folk achievement as a part of a larger outburst

Fig. 1 Grant Landers Marker, Greenwood Cemetery, Hillsdale, Missouri. (Photo by Brett Rogers).
of renewed racial pride. Dozens of small, molded concrete tablets ranging in size from roughly 1’ X 2’ to over 2’ X 3’, and from 2” to 6” thick, have been discovered throughout the entire site; there are undoubtedly many more buried or obscured. Some of these exhibit images in relief, such as crosses and open books, but most display only very basic inscriptions with essential information: name and dates, which may be crudely scratched into the concrete, etched onto a metal plate that is set in the concrete or painted directly on the surface of the marker with house paint. On some of these markers the text of the inscription is rendered entirely or partially with synthetic or reflective house letters and numbers attached to the concrete when still wet. Other symbols or inscriptions are sometimes impressed, utilizing an object as a stamp. One of the earliest concrete tablets in Greenwood, dating to just after the turn of the century, belongs to a Prince Hall Mason, his affiliation with the order identified by a shallow reversed impression of the Masonic emblem. The Emma Oneal marker is typical of countless similar molded vernacular tablets at Greenwood; it is approximately 16” x 24” with arched top and is simply inscribed with: “EMMA ONEAL BORN JUNE 5 1903 DIED AUG 21 1961” on four horizontal, lined registers. The wet concrete was then brushed with a broom, creating a rough texture, and the surface covered with white house paint; the letters and sides are highlighted in green and red paint (Fig. 2).

Some of the most intriguing vernacular tablets are those embellished with simple objects that might have been laid upon the grave rather than inset, had the marker not been made of concrete. Dozens of molded tablets reveal the impressions of framed photographs and other decorative objects that were once affixed; but severe vandalism and the elements have taken their toll on these delicate, vulnerable compositions. The Minnie Peak marker, for example, is a molded tablet with a typical scrawled inscription (Fig. 3). However, two objects were originally added to the face of the stone: a small piece of carved, decorative wood ornament and a small rectangular mirror. The entire marker is painted white, and the objects outlined with red paint. The mirror is consistent with African custom. Historians have noted the use of mirrors in African-derived grave decoration in the South; when laid flat upon the grave, a mirror is another reference to water, and thus functions as dividing line, separating worlds or dimensions, as did the shells on the Landers grave or the more common mounded white gravel that blankets graves throughout the site (Vlach, 1978, 144). Although now situated horizontally over the grave, it is likely that the marker was intended to be an upright and thus does not completely conform to tradition. Hence, the explanation for the previously mentioned mirror could also be a simple one: it may just be intended to reflect life. But as Thompson has made clear, a mirror, like other shiny objects placed on African-American graves in the South, is often said to emit a “flash” of the departed spirit (Thompson, 1983, 142).

In addition to vernacular tablets, there are also three-dimensional homemade concrete markers in predictable and not-so-predictable
Fig. 2 Emma Oneal Marker, Greenwood Cemetery, Hillsdale, Missouri. (Photo by Brett Rogers).

Fig. 3 Minnie Peak Marker. Greenwood Cemetery, Hillsdale, Missouri. (Photo by Brett Rogers).
forms; simple, unadorned crosses in various sizes are most common. Among the more enigmatic forms is the Ruby Floyd marker from 1972, a concrete box with a rectangular extension and an attached metal plate with professional engraving (Fig. 4). The entire marker appears to be poured in one piece, utilizing a reinforced cardboard box as a mold. Oddly shaped, it looks more like a trophy than a marker and at first glance resembles a child’s chair.

Greenwood also contains interesting adaptations of manufactured concrete objects—blocks, parking stops, yard ornaments, and other items—reused creatively as grave markers. Over twenty of these objects have been uncovered and identified so far. Obviously, they were economical, as well as ready-made and easily obtained. But they could also be unique, even monumental, when compared to small manufactured stones or simple vernacular markers; furthermore,
they show delightful imagination on the part of the descendants who wished their loved ones to be remembered in an unusual way. The use of these manufactured items fits within the tradition of employing common material possessions as grave ornament and is not uncommon in African-American cemeteries, both urban and rural, throughout the state. One singular example at Greenwood is a central portion of a molded concrete fountain: the face, in relief, of a lion, spigot in mouth, within a stylized backdrop. Whether intentional or not, in this particular context, the fountain itself is a not-so-subtle reference to water and its traditional connotation.

Another more abstract example is the curious “bench stone,” marking an unidentified grave (Fig. 5). At first glance, it appears to be an object of obscure, possibly African origin. Dating to the 1970s, this concrete monument was once part of a commercially manufactured bench, such as one might find at a park or fast-food restaurant—only inverted and slightly altered. Removed from its original context, however, it is not immediately obvious that it is a bench, so it appears cryptic and even mysterious. Along with a handful of similar objects, these pieces of fountain and bench evidence tradition and add whimsy to the largely repetitive and predictable landscape of this urban cemetery.

Fig. 5 “Bench Stone,” Greenwood Cemetery, Hillsdale, Missouri. (Photo by Brett Rogers).
Conclusion

Despite the urbanization of rural Southern immigrants over generations, the eventual loosening of family ties, and the encroachment of white culture resulting from increased assimilation and, more recently, formal and informal desegregation, black St. Louis, with its strong Southern roots, extended and nurtured traditional African-American burial practices. The numerous examples of vernacular concrete markers rediscovered in Greenwood Cemetery at once attest vividly to this assertion and demonstrate how innovation, in the form of an economical and pliable new medium, can serve as a viable conduit for tradition.

As a social document of the Jim Crow era, reflecting the development of St. Louis' black community from Reconstruction to the present day, Greenwood's historical value is without question. But its real cultural and human value lies in the persistence of forms and traditions emerging—or yet to emerge—from the layers of ignorance and neglect. Perhaps more than any other African-American site in Missouri, Greenwood provides us with a history that transcends the remaining names and dates—a history that is ancient, distinct, and indelible.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Etta Daniels and the Friends of Greenwood Cemetery for their kind assistance in locating and providing oral and written resources, and Dr. Tim Baumann at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, who worked closely with me on much of the fieldwork that led ultimately to the addition of Greenwood to the National Register of Historic Places. (It is the first African-American cemetery in the state of Missouri to receive such a designation). My appreciation also goes to my colleague Gary Kremer for his helpful criticism and encouragement and Evelyn Somers for her masterful editorial work. Partial funding for this research was provided by a Historic Preservation Fund grant from the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, State Historic Preservation Office and the U.S. Department of the Interior.

*On March 1, 1999, the Friends of Greenwood Cemetery Association, Inc., was established with the goal of restoring and preserving the site for use as a historic park as well as an educational and tourism resource to celebrate St. Louis’s African-American heritage. A model preservation project, the Friends attracted and enlisted academic and community support, coordinated volunteer labor and began to acquire donations and grants that have proven paramount in the ongoing restoration effort.
CHRISTENSEN, Lawrence O

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THOMPSON, Robert Farris

VLACH, John Michael
The Architecture of the Grain Trade on the Illinois and Michigan Canal

John M. Lamb

In the 1830s settlers poured into the prairies of Illinois acquiring cheap land for farming. This cheap land at $1.25 an acre was rich, unbroken prairie soil. Once it was turned over by a sod breaker plow, no cleaning was necessary for lush grain production. The problem these few farmers faced was getting their grain to market. Grain was transported in sacks which were difficult to handle and transport in large quantities.

In the 1840s in Chicago entrepreneurs were beginning to develop ways of handling grain in bulk by using conveyer belts and gravity to move it.

Work began on the Illinois and Michigan Canal on July 4, 1836. This waterway would connect Lake Michigan to the Illinois River, and thus provide a water connection between the East and the Mississippi River, as the Illinois flows into the Mississippi.

Amongst those who came to Illinois lured by the canal and its construction was Hiram Norton. Norton was born in New York, but orphaned; he moved to Canada at a young age. Although he would return to New York for schooling, he settled in Canada at Prescott, Ontario. He soon became a leading businessman. He was a partner in a stagecoach line to Montreal. Prescott is located on the Saint Lawrence River, and Norton was involved in water transportation, first of all in the manufacture of a steamboat that could safely and swiftly breast the Saint Lawrence rapids. It was not a success, so Norton transferred the power system to his factory (Mackey, 2000, 282-283). He was also involved in canal construction for a canal on the Saint Lawrence River that was never completed. For this project he quarried limestone that was fired into hydraulic cement used for mortar in locks and other underwater structures.

Norton left Canada in 1838, in part because as a Yankee he felt vulnerable. He resigned from the Common House of Assembly to which he had been elected, and headed for Illinois, which he had visited in 1837 to see the Illinois and Michigan Canal construction. He was soon engaged in mining hydraulic cement in Lockport and elsewhere on the canal route (Canal Commissioners, 1839, 12-13). He also in 1842 built the largest grain warehouse on the Chicago River.
This structure was designed to lift grain by means of buckets on a belt to the top of the building from where it could be fed into bins, and eventually into boats on the river. The only trouble was that the power for lifting the grain was supplied by a horse hoisted to the top of the structure, where it toiled with no relief in what was called the “head house.” This allowed the movement and storage of grain by bulk, but the power source was a problem (Andreas, 1884, 579-580).

Norton was very interested in shipping grain from Chicago to the East. In 1842 Governor John Davis of Massachusetts was investigating, at the request of English and eastern bankers, the feasibility of loaning additional money for the completion of the canal. He consulted with Norton on the profitability of grain shipments by water. Norton, he acknowledged in his report, knew a great deal about the grain market (Lee, 1941, 62).

In 1848 the canal was completed, and Norton opened a grain warehouse on the canal in Lockport. The locally quarried stone structure could hold 200,000 bushels of grain. Lifting was powered by steam. It was located near where the grain was produced, so farmers could bring their wheat or corn in wagons, have it weighed, then dump it into a hopper in the basement, from whence it was carried to the head house at the top of the building. This wood frame structure was seventeen feet tall and of substantial dimensions. It contained the steam-powered machinery, as well as the device used to shift the grain down to the designated bins for storage (Fig. 1).

The stone building was a typical square warehouse. It is still in use, housing a museum, offices, and apartments. As a grain warehouse, it had no floors and was held plumb by an exterior iron rosette attached to an interior iron cross bracing. Except for the head house, it was designed like a typical warehouse.

Besides his grain warehouse, Norton also built a flouring mill using water power derived from the canal at a hydraulic basin a few blocks from his warehouse. This became one of the largest flouring mills in the state. His business also had five canal boats. In 1854 he built a three-story addition to the grain warehouse for a dry goods store and offices (Norton Company, 1859-1865). In 1872 he converted the power system from steam to water power. The water was drawn off the canal at the warehouse, dropped eighteen feet to power a turbine, and was discharged through a tunnel under the canal to the Des Plaines River. The canal was some eighteen feet above the nearby river. Besides dumps for unloading wagons, the warehouse had a power-driven scoop for unloading canal boats. Power was also used to unload and load railroad cars after 1860.

Two blocks north of Norton’s operation, the State Canal Commissioners built in 1838 a warehouse to store and sell equipment to the canal contractors. After the canal opened, it was converted to a grain warehouse by George Martin. The head house was located at the peak of the gabled roof. Grain bins were added and two arched wagon entrances were cut through the stone walls. Martin advertised
that his dump could unload a wagon in from two to five minutes. Like Norton, Martin in the late 1850s, added a three story Italianate wing of cut stone for a store and offices. The original 1838 warehouse part had been built from rubble stone cut from the canal prism.

In 1878 Martin went bankrupt. George Gaylord took over the operation, running the store and the grain business until his death in 1886 (Fig. 2). The building was then used for a number of businesses, but not as a grain warehouse. In the 1980s the structure was restored to its appearance in the 1880s by Gaylord Donnelley, a grandson of George Gaylord. It is now called “The Gaylord Building” and is owned by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. It houses a restaurant, museum, and offices.

The Gaylord Building and the Norton Building are the earliest surviving examples of the grain elevator. That term began to supersede “grain warehouse” by the 1870s. In 1872 Norton advertised his building as a “Fireproof Steam Elevator Warehouse” (Goodspeed, 1872, 106).

Traveling down the canal about 18 miles west of Lockport, there is the site of the former village of Dresden. It was a town on the canal until 1853, when the Rock Island Railroad was built and established a stop a few miles north of Dresden, called Minooka. As a result, Dresden’s businesses and church moved to Minooka. All that

Fig. 1  The Norton Grain Elevator Warehouse, ca. 1876, with its sizable head house. A three story wing was added to the original structure in the 1850s as offices and a store. A power-driven grain unloading device is visible above the canal boat.
was left in Dresden was a cemetery, a farmhouse that had been a stagecoach stop, and an inn. There was also a frame structure on the canal called “the grainery” locally.

The building today resembles a barn. The lower floor had stables and was used as a mule barn when mules hauled canal boats. There were two other floors, now gone, with extensive bracing still in place that was used to store grain in sacks when the canal was in operation. The building was built in the 1850s and indicates that even after the Civil War, farmers were still shipping wheat in sacks, rather than in bulk (National Park Service, n.d. (b)).

The movement to bulk shipment was well established before that. The Chicago Board of Trade, established in 1848, was by 1854 appealing to other trade organizations in cities like Milwaukee, Detroit, and Toledo, to use their influence to grade and measure grain by weight and not by bushels and half bushels. As the Chicago historian Andreas notes: “The (Chicago Board of Trade) effort resulted in bringing about the desired reform, thereby opening the way for all improved methods of grading, storing, transporting and transferring grain in bulk” (Andreas, 1884, 584; Clark, 1966).

Fig. 2  The Gaylord Building in the 1880s. The three story wing was a store and offices built in the 1850s. The windowless wing was the grain warehouse elevator and head house. The recent restoration is very similar to this photo, however the elevator wing now has many windows. The wooden elevators along the canal in the background were built in the latter part of the nineteenth century, typical of that time and later.
The shipment of grain in bulk had by 1861 created the specialized structure we call “the elevator.” That mid-western building type that used the technology for moving and storing grain that Norton had developed, but housed it in higher buildings with a wooden metal-clad fabric. These elevators were the tallest buildings in many a small farm town. The architecture now was defined by the function. The head house was not a separate part of the structure, but an integral part of the building.

One of the earliest of these wooden elevators on the canal still stands in Seneca, Illinois, about 70 miles west of Chicago (Fig. 3). There were many of these along the Illinois and Michigan Canal in its heyday, but this is the last one left. It was built in 1862 by John Armour of Ottawa. It was called “Armour’s Warehouse” until 1872, when the designation was changed to “Armour’s Grain Elevator” (National Park Service, n.d. (a), 7-8). The structure is a specialized one that could only be used as a grain elevator or as a museum, as it is currently. This contrasts with the multiple uses the Norton and Gaylord buildings were put to after the grain business on the canal declined. In the Armour elevator the head house is an integral part of the structure; it could not be removed as it was on the Norton Building. The wood exterior was, sometime during the nineteenth

Fig. 3 The Armour Elevator in Seneca, Illinois, where a canal grain boat is being loaded. This structure is now the last of its kind on the canal. It functions as a museum with all the equipment intact, as when it was in operation.
century, metal sided for fire protection. Power was originally steam power; the boiler was fueled by burning corn cobs. By the twentieth century a gasoline engine powered the lifting system.

Unlike the Norton or Gaylord operations which used railroad transportation as soon as it was available about 1860, the Armour elevator did not have railroad connections until 1883, though the Rock Island Railroad came through Seneca in 1853. The building was too low to load railroad cars by gravity, so a power loading dock had to be added (National Park Service, n.d. (a), 4). The elevator still has its nineteenth century machinery and is now owned and maintained by the Illinois Department of Natural Resources.

There were many other elevators on the Illinois and Michigan Canal, but they were torn down or destroyed by fire as the canal’s usefulness as a waterway declined. At the beginning of the twentieth century the canal was badly maintained by its owner, the State of Illinois. The average depth of the canal by 1915 was four feet, two feet lower than the minimum depth during the nineteenth century. As a result, boats could not be fully loaded; also, boats could not be docked next to elevators for loading, so in 1915, the final year of grain shipping on the canal, the boats had to be loaded from bridges going over the canal (Putnam, 1918, 179).

The Illinois and Michigan Canal continued to ship grain until the early twentieth century. The competition from the railroads did not substantially reduce traffic until the end of the nineteenth century, when the construction of the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal diverted water from the Illinois and Michigan Canal, reducing its minimum depth from six feet to four feet.

Grain shipment by waterway continues in Illinois on routes parallel to the old Illinois and Michigan Canal. This waterway is called “The Illinois Waterway” and consists of the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal and the slack water navigation on the Des Plaines and Illinois Rivers.

Elevators along this waterway still take grain from farmers’ trucks dumped into a lower level, then hoisted to the head house from which it is directed to various bins and then moved by gravity to the holds in the barges. It is still the same system Hiram Norton pioneered in 1848. These elevators have head houses crowning their top. The structures themselves are circular silos of poured concrete. They are several stories higher than nineteenth century elevators and usually have no rail connections. The elevator changed from a warehouse-like structure to an architecture of a very specialized nature, good for only grain shipping, unlike the Hiram Norton Building.
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PHILLIPPE, J.S.

PUTNAM, James William
History as a Catalyst for University Involvement in Regional Historical Research, Regional Planning, and Community/Economic Development

Robert Swenson

This paper will focus on the history and potential of the last 48-mile long section of the lower Ohio River — 900 miles west of Pittsburgh, 900 miles north of New Orleans on the lower Mississippi River, and almost the same distance from Minneapolis on the upper Mississippi River. In our region, we call this portion of the lower Ohio River between the Tennessee River at Paducah, Kentucky, and the confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi River at Cairo, the Crescent of the Ohio, or simply, “the Crescent” (Fig. 1).

The Crescent is the one common knot at the center of the inland

Fig. 1 Confluence of the Ohio River with the Mississippi River at Cairo, Illinois. (Photo by Ned Trovillion).
waterways system that served as the interstate highway system before and during the Colonial period and post-Revolutionary War American Period. As a result of this confluence of Indian, French, Spanish, British, and African-American cultures, there are numerous historic and cultural sites along this stretch of the river, most of which are unknown to the general public and many scholars as well. Only one, Fort Massac, has been reconstructed as part of the first state park in Illinois and currently is being reconstructed for a more accurate interpretation. Also at the east end of the Crescent are historic Paducah, the Kinkaid Indian Burial Mounds across from Paducah, Kentucky, historic downtown Metropolis, and numerous river-landing sites (Fig. 2).

Cairo and Mound City, Illinois, are at the other end of the Crescent and contain multiple pre-history sites and pre-Civil War sites and documents, among them: the archeological remains of Fort Defiance and the Mound City Marine Ways, industrial sites, music, artworks, literary works. Civil War era Underground Railway sites are located in Cairo, and more recent Civil Rights activities took place there as well. Extraordinary historic structures within Cairo’s Historic District include A.B. Mullet’s U.S. Custom House (now restored as a Museum), the A.B. Safford Memorial Library, Magnolia Manor, Riverlore, St. Mary’s Park, and several downtown buildings.
All along the Crescent many significant buildings and sites have disappeared completely and continue to disappear at an alarming rate. The most significant of these in Illinois include a pre-history burial mound in Mound City; a 1702 French military post and tannery called Va Bache and the 1801-02 Cantonment WilkinsonVille near Grand Chain; the 1818 town of America; Olmsted (formerly New Caldonia); the Mound City Marine Ways. Of special note are the sites of the Mound City Military Hospital and the Red Rover, the first hospital ship in the United States Navy. The African-American nurses who served on it were the first nurses in the United States Navy (Fig. 3).

Civil War ironclad gunboats were built at Mound City by James Eads, some of which may still lie underwater between Mound City and...
and Cairo. The remains of a circa 1800 flatboat found in 2000 were uncovered and recorded in the summer of 2002 by SIU archeologists and architects. As well, there are the Lewis & Clark and Fort Defiance sites at the south edge of Cairo at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. None of these sites have been thoroughly investigated yet, nor have the magnificent stories surrounding these sites been interpreted, written about, or made available to an interested community and general public.

The Crescent of the Ohio, which borders southernmost Illinois from its eastern border to the confluence of the rivers at Cairo, was strategic to many nations and to our own native Indians for many centuries. The Ohio River drains much of the eastern portion of the United States and the Mississippi River drains much of the northern plains and the western Great Lakes regions. They merge at Cairo where the Mississippi continues on to the Gulf of Mexico at New Orleans. Southernmost Illinois geographically, biologically, and culturally is truly part of the Lower Mississippi Delta.

As previously stated, these rivers were the “interstate highways” for the Indian nations and for England, France, and Spain as they searched for a route to the Pacific, and as they competed for control and development of the “New World” of the 1600s and through our new nation’s period of our development. Marquette and Joliet first documented their passing the confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi in 1673 for France. Just eight years later, Tonti and LaSalle passed the confluence several times during their trips through Indian and Spanish territories along the Mississippi; they eventually reached the Gulf of Mexico in 1681, claiming all of this territory for France. By 1700 the French had settled into the lower Illinois country along the Mississippi. In 1702 French Captain Charles Juchereau de St. Denys established a fort and tannery on the Ohio at the Grand Chain of Rocks, just a few miles from the Confluence. Here the French could more easily control the river to prevent the British from coming down into the Mississippi from the southern Appalachian mountains and the Spanish from coming up into the Ohio River from New Madrid and their other settlements on the lower Mississippi.

Most think Fort Massac was the first European settlement in the region, but Va Bache settled in 1702 predated it. It was fifty-five years later in 1757 when French Captain Aubrey constructed the first Fort Massaic (also called Fort Massacre and Fort de L’Ascension) at present day Metropolis. By 1763 Massac had been abandoned and burned by Indians when the British, led by Captain Thomas Stirling and his 42nd Royal Highland Regiment, gained control of the region taking Fort Kaskaskia and Fort de Chartres from the French. By 1778 the British relinquished control of the southernmost Illinois region to George Rogers Clark and the Americans. After the Revolutionary War, Fort Massac was rebuilt and became the port of entry for goods arriving upriver from New Orleans as well as downriver from Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville.

In 1801 while Fort Massac was still active, General James Wilkinson, Commander of the western armies of the United States, estab-
lished a very large post 10 miles downriver at the same Grand Chain of Rocks, which is suspected of also being the location of the 1702 French Va Bache. This new post, called Cantonment Wilkinson Ville and for a short time the largest military post in the United States, had

...troops from the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Regiments, detachments of artillerists and engineers, a full military band, and quartermaster personnel. More than ten times larger than Fort Massac with from 900 to 1,400 men and families living at the Cantonment, the maximum strength was reached in July 1801 when eleven companies of infantry and a company and a detachment of artillery were listed on the payroll.

In September 1803, just a month before Lewis and Clark floated by the Cantonment without stopping, another river traveler reported seeing 200-300 log huts over an extensive site. Ordered closed by President Jefferson in late 1801, the men were dispersed to other posts including a rebuilt Fort Massac, Kaskaskia, and a post in Tennessee.

Several of the men who joined the Lewis and Clark expedition at Kaskaskia in 1803 had previously been stationed at Cantonment Wilkinson Ville. Fort Massac later became one of the sites where Aaron Burr and General Wilkinson discussed their conspiracy to develop a new nation west of the Mississippi at the time Napoleon sold the Louisiana Territory to the new United States. It is also thought by serious scholars, that Wilkinson was a spy for Spain and that he provided information to the Spanish authorities that resulted in three unsuccessful attempts to capture Lewis and Clark as they were making their way up the Missouri River. It is very clear that the southernmost Illinois region around the Confluence of the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers was very strategic during the period of western expansion and development, and especially again later during the Civil War.

Next year, 2003, is the 200th anniversary of the date President Thomas Jefferson directed the “Corps of Discovery” led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to travel down the Ohio to the confluence, up the Mississippi, and then up the Missouri in 1804-06 out to the Pacific Ocean and back to St. Louis. On Sept 12, 1803, the Corps of Discovery landed at Fort Massac at Metropolis picking up their key member – scout and interpreter, George Drouillard. Two days later, on November 15th, they arrived at the Confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi where they spent five days measuring both rivers, visiting old Fort Jefferson in Kentucky, measuring huge catfish, and meeting with Indians across the Mississippi. It was here that Meriwether Lewis taught William Clark, already an accomplished surveyor, how to do celestial observations using the sextant, octant, and other instruments. Significantly, the Confluence was the beginning point of
the mapping of the rest of their journey. Several of the subsequent maps drawn by Nicholas King from notes and sketches by Lewis and Clark document their expedition to the Pacific as having started at the Confluence.

Over the next 150 years, modes of river travel changed from canoes to log rafts to flatboats and keelboats to the first steamboat in 1811 and other paddlewheelers to war ships and hospital ships during the Civil War to larger paddle-wheelers carrying even more passengers and goods to pushing barges to the huge modern diesel tows with massive barges we can see plying the rivers today. In the 1850s the first railroad was constructed from the north as far as Cairo and from the south to the tip of Kentucky. Rail cars had to be ferried across the river to continue their journey either direction. When the first railroad bridge across the lower Ohio was constructed at Cairo in 1888, the railroad soon became the primary mover of people and goods and the river became secondary, resulting in a change in status and significance for Cairo and the other cities along the river. To make the river more dependable and competitive, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers developed a series of 53 navigation dams between Pittsburgh and Cairo in the 1920s and 1930s that allowed the river industries to continue to thrive and grow. After the devastating 1937 Ohio River flood, the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Army Corps of Engineers developed a series of flood control dams throughout the south on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, which have allowed the Ohio River to continue to be commercially viable as well as to develop into a major recreation venue.

In addition the Crescent of the Ohio and the bottomlands along the Illinois and Kentucky shores are among the most biologically diverse regions in the United States. Much of the Cache River wetland, with its record Cypress and Tupulo trees, is parallel to and just a few miles north of the Crescent. The US Fish and Wildlife Service has acquired the southern section of the Cache River (called Cypress Creek National Wildlife Refuge) and the Illinois Department of Natural Resources manages the middle portion that includes Heron Pond, one of the state’s most pristine and unique nature preserves. The Ballard Wildlife Reserve wetland is on the Kentucky side of the Ohio directly adjacent to much of the Crescent.

As the hub of the inland waterway system, the Crescent of the Ohio continues to be strategic today and into the foreseeable future. Three major north-south interstate highways (I-55, I-57, and I-24) cross through or are immediately adjacent to the Crescent and a fourth (east/west Interstate 66, in the planning and development stages) is expected to cross along the bottom edge of the Crescent. When completed, the intersection of these four interstates and the land within, containing this tremendous combination of history and recreational and developmental potential, will be within 20 hours drive of 90% of the population of the United States.

Land-use conflicts historically were related to what the land produced and what the railroads needed. The buffalo are gone; the old
growth trees within several miles of the river have been burned by the steamboats; much of the hardwoods and the cypress have been used up by the furniture and building industry which is also gone, as are most of the people. The beaver are coming back as they are generally now left alone and the ducks, Canadian Geese, deer, and small-mouth bass remain as the current quests of sportsmen. A new 1.1 billion dollar locks and dam is under construction at Olmsted that will create a larger and deeper navigation and recreational pool from Olmsted to Paducah and completely replace locks and dams 52 & 53, dramatically increasing developmental and recreational opportunities along the Crescent. Recreational boating and fishing tournaments are now becoming very popular on the river. River taxis now take tourists from historic site to historic site on parts of the lower Ohio. The Canadian Northern/Illinois Central Gulf Railroad owns the two primary bridges crossing the Crescent, connecting Canada and the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and also serving the 48-mile section of the river between Paducah and Cairo, home to major agricultural, industrial, and electrical power/nuclear energy facilities. Within the Crescent, barge “fleeting” services organize and reorganize the river tows serving New Orleans, Pittsburgh, Mobile; and the TVA system; and St. Louis to Minneapolis. The trucks, the trains, and the barges all cross or meet here. The existing and proposed river industry and transportation infrastructure either already control or they compete for the land on which many of the historic sites are located. For example a new marina is being constructed on top of or immediately adjacent to the Va Bache and Cantonment WilkinsonVille sites. A fleeting service leases the Mound City Marine Ways site to tie up barges that are destroying what remains below the water. The competition now is for the river itself and its edges.

At Southern Illinois University-Carbondale, *Preservation Summer 2001 & 2002* courses were created by this author to focus on the regional planning issues and conflicts among the competing interests, particularly the need to develop jobs by developing the river and the need to preserve and interpret its history. We are focusing on research and public education related to the generally unknown and *nationally significant* historic sites of the Crescent region that have already been lost or are being lost due to neglect, demolition, and shoreline commercial, industrial, and tourism development. These sites include the 1702 Va Bache military post and tannery; the 1801-02 Cantonment WilkinsonVille; the southernmost Illinois connections to beginning of the mapping of the Lewis & Clark Expedition; Fort Defiance at Cairo; the Civil War history at Mound City including the Ironclads, the Marine Ways, and the *Red Rover, which was the first hospital ship* in the U.S. Navy staffed by the new US Navy Nursing Corp. Our goals were and are to increase public awareness of the significance of these sites and to develop creative planning proposals that encourage their protection and careful development. These would help planning agencies and economic development groups to make better informed and considered decisions on a regional planning level.
Positive experiences with these courses by the university and the regional public over the previous two summers has generated a SIU-C proposal to establish a Land of the Rivers Research Center and Archives with multiple sites, the first to be located in Cairo, Illinois (Fig. 4). The Rivers Center will have direct connections to SIU-C’s Morris Library special collections and will work with agencies like the Southern Five Planning Commission, providing additional planning and design staff and serving as information sources for historical research, planning, and development. We will gather, study, and disseminate information about the historical, architectural, economic, and cultural significance of the southernmost Illinois area bounded by the Mississippi, Ohio, and Wabash Rivers. The Rovers Center at Cairo will focus on historical/archival research, archeology, architectural preservation, regional planning, and community and economic development issues in these lower counties and Upper Mississippi Delta Region. The Cairo center would provide supplemental staff at the A.B. Safford Memorial Library and the US Custom House Museum to help achieve these goals. The Cairo center would provide workspace, classrooms, distance-learning facilities, and temporary housing to serve undergraduate and graduate SIU-C students and faculty, researchers and residents from the region, community or-
ganizations and agencies, and scholars worldwide.

It is expected that the River Center(s) will be a catalyst for academic and historical research that will result in economic development opportunities for the entire region. A major goal of the Center(s) is that its ongoing nature (with full-time in-region staff and student support) will help form long-term cooperative relationships between researchers, local agencies, governments, schools, and discrete populations. These efforts will foster joint and interdisciplinary projects attracting federal, state, and foundation funds for research and continuing projects in many fields. The Departments of Architecture and Interior Design, the Center for Archeological Investigations, and Special Collections at Morris Library are currently cooperating on several projects. Other academic and economic development units at the University are also engaged in numerous projects in the Crescent region and will be encouraged to develop activities in conjunction with the Center. Southern Illinois University is actively seeking funds and support for the “Land of the Rivers Center” to have its first facility in Cairo, Illinois, as soon as possible.

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FRANQUELIN-STEWARD, J.F.

ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES
LANSDEN, John  

KING, Nicholas  
1805 Map: Part of the continent of North America: between 35th and 51st degrees of north latitude and extending from 89 degrees of west longitude to the Pacific Ocean/ compiled from the authorities of the best informed travelers by Meriwether Lewis. Library of Congress. American Memory Collection - Maps.

MOULTON, Gary, editor  

RONDA, James P.  

SMITH, Dwight L. and Ray SWICK  

WAGNER, Mark  
Contributors’ Biographies

W. Frank Ainsley is a cultural-historical geographer at the University of North Carolina-Wilmington. His interests include rural settlement landscapes; ethnic landscapes; religious landscapes; historic preservation; and vernacular architecture. Secretary-Treasurer of Pioneer America Society for fourteen years, he is author of several textbooks including *North Carolina: The Land and Its People, Comparing Regions*, and *World Geography*.

Alexander T. Bobersky is Assistant Director of Community Development in Warren, Ohio. His contributions to cultural geography are centered on the material heritage of eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania.

John Lamb is Professor Emeritus of the Lewis University History Department and Director of the Lewis University Canal and Regional History Collection. He is also a Commissioner of the Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor Commission and currently serves on two local historic preservation commissions.

Keith Roe is a retired librarian; Eunice Roe is currently head of the Science Library at Binghamton University in Binghamton, New York. During the past fourteen years Keith and Eunice have made a study of country elevators and their role in the community. They are preparing a book on the subject. Keith is author of *Corncribs in History, Folklife, and Architecture* (Iowa State University Press, 1988).

Brett Rogers teaches American history at William Woods University in Fulton, Missouri. He has authored several articles on African-American vernacular culture in Missouri and has recently completed the fourth and final phase of a landmark historic architecture survey of all remaining rural and small-town black schools in the state.

David T. Stephens is Professor of Geography at Youngstown State University. His contributions to the Pioneer America Society have focused primarily on the settlement and material culture of northeast Ohio and western Pennsylvania.

Robert Swenson is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Architecture and Interior Design at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. In addition, for almost twenty years he has been a Historic Preservation Architect, licensed in Illinois.
Abstracts of Unpublished Papers

AN AMERICAN MENAGERIE: THE HISTORY AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EDWIN HAMILTON DAVIS COLLECTION OF AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES

Terry A. Barnhart
Eastern Illinois University

The Edwin Hamilton Davis Collection of American Antiquities is part of the North American Indian collections of the British Museum. The circumstances in which the Davis Collection originated and the odyssey that ultimately brought it to the British Museum represents a significant chapter in the history of the American archaeology, the study of material culture, and Davis’s place within the nineteenth century intellectual tradition of antiquarianism and collecting. These treasures are powerful expressions of the aesthetic taste and skills of the prehistoric people known to archaeologists as the Hopewell, a Woodland Indian culture that flourished in present-day Ohio from circa 100 B.C. to 500 A.D. The collection embodies the legacy of Dr. Edwin Hamilton Davis as an archaeological investigator, collector, and connoisseur of aboriginal art. Davis sold the collection to William Blackmore of Liverpool and London in 1864, which formed the nucleus of the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury, England. The Blackmore Museum opened in 1867 and closed in 1931, when the Davis collection was acquired by the British Museum. The presentation will focus on the artifacts, the sites from which they were recovered, and what archaeologists have subsequently learned about the prehistoric Hopewell culture through the ongoing process of reanalysis.

POLYCHROMATIC DUTCH FOLK BUILDINGS IN WEST MICHIGAN

Janna Baron
Tinker Swiss Cottage Museum

Scattered across Ottawa, Allegan, and Kent counties in West Michigan are built artifacts that make up a unique legacy of the Dutch immigrants who settled in the area in the mid-nineteenth century. The buildings, made of locally produced materials, are decorated with unusual patterned brickwork. As the area grows, and generic subdivisions pop up almost overnight, the legacy is being lost building by building. It is important to preserve the story of these buildings because they are a reminder of the Dutch immigrants who left their cultural imprint on the area. It is true that the place names, surnames, and even some of the buildings will survive, but so must the stories behind them because they provide the keys to more fully
and accurately understanding a period of local history that had a lasting effect on the area. The story of the past and of its material culture must be preserved for the future.

**A CULTURAL CROSSROADS IN IOWA: THE AMISH SETTLEMENT LANDSCAPE**

Peggy Beedle
The Louis Berger Group, Inc.

Nestled among the rolling hills of southeastern Iowa, in the midst of large grain farms, hog confinement operations, and modern suburban sprawl, is an Old Order Amish settlement that was established in 1846, the year of Iowa statehood. In the twenty years that followed, about one hundred new Amish families, mainly from Pennsylvania and Ohio, settled in the area. The Amish followed the agricultural methods that were familiar to them and also built barns with the same morphology and construction techniques used in the East. These Pennsylvania forebay barns are the most visible and recognizable element in the Amish settlement landscape. Other physical features, such as the Grossdaddy Houses, washhouses, and summer kitchens clustered about the farmhouse, along with the traditional farming techniques still in use, plain dress, and horse and buggy travel, manifest the Amish cultural landscape. This paper will identify the components of the Amish cultural landscape, delineate its distinctive characteristics compared to the surrounding farms, and discuss how the persistence of Amish material cultural traditions met and combined with modern technological advances to form this unique farm landscape.

**RUSSIAN PIONEERS IN THE UTAH DESERT**

Marshall E. Bowen
Mary Washington College

Far out on the dry flats of northwestern Utah, in a place called Park Valley, lie the remains of a Russian Molokan agricultural village that existed for a short while in the second decade of the twentieth century. Nearby are other sites that were occupied by small numbers of Molokans. This paper identifies the forces that brought these people from Russia to California and then to Utah, describes their lives in this out-of-the-way place, explains why their endeavors failed, and tracks their movements as they made their way back to California. It shows that settlement patterns on the Great Basin dryland frontier were more complex than most scholars have realized, and introduces an ethno-religious element to the evolution of life and landscape in this part of the American West.
THE CHANGING PERCEPTION OF DEATH: AN ANALYSIS OF ARTIFACTS FROM THE BRUNSON-SISSON CEMETERY

Dawn E. Cobb
Illinois State Museum

During the summer of 1998, Illinois State Museum archaeologists and human osteologists were hired to excavate the mid-to-late nineteenth century Brunson-Sisson family cemetery in Will County, Illinois, for relocation. We exhumed twenty individuals who varied in age from young infants to the elderly and positively identified five individuals on the basis of grave markers. Burial containers were discovered in thirteen graves, five of which included metal decorations and viewing glass. Hardware styles were evaluated to better refine the period of cemetery use. The various styles of coffin hardware used in the Brunson-Sisson Cemetery over time illustrate temporal changes in the popular perception of death.

EXPRESSIONS OF MASS GRIEF AND MOURNING

Jeffrey L. Durbin
URS Corporation

The role memorials play in bringing closure to the bereaved is obvious. As society has become increasingly influenced by mass culture and the media have allowed the entire country to share in the grief resulting from tragedies, it is no longer merely those closest to the victim that have been saddened. Also, the more senseless or violent the event, the stronger the urge to comprehend it. While family members and friends are the most affected, even strangers must come to terms with these tragedies. Where the deceased’s survivors rely upon gravestones to overcome their loss, strangers have had to turn to makeshift memorials as an expression of sorrow. Such monuments are temporary but they may also be characterized as unsanctioned and often appear suddenly. Unlike permanent examples, makeshift memorials leave little trace of their existence. Simultaneously, the frequency with which these expressions of grief have appeared suggests that traumatic events are having a ripple effect throughout society. This paper will describe the impact of makeshift memorials on the landscape and how efforts to create them have led to more permanent monuments. The presentation will include views of recent examples in Atlanta, Washington, D.C., and New York.
FINDING THE LOST INTERURBAN RAILROAD IN CENTRAL ILLINOIS

Kerry Doyle
Southern Illinois University - Edwardsville

Electric interurban railroads criss-crossed Illinois early in the twentieth century, serving major central Illinois cities and small towns. Though these railroads are gone from most maps, old maps and prominent physical traces of their existence such as buildings and the occasional bridge provide clues. Less evident features such as grades, vegetation, and lot lines help distinguish where these railroads went and why their route from town to town was different than the established railroad lines.

AN ARCHITECTURAL SAMPLER FROM THE OLEY VALLEY

Robert Ensminger
Kutztown University

The fertile Oley Valley in Berks County was an early destination for people moving inland from Philadelphia after 1710. English, Huguenot, and German settlers brought their traditional forms which remain today, preserving the distinctive architectural personality of the valley and providing the most compact assemblage of early buildings in rural Pennsylvania. This paper will provide an architectural sampling from this unique area which may tempt many of you to visit Berks County.

YARD ART: AN ICON OF INDIVIDUALITY IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Artimus Keiffer
Wittenberg University

The American front yard was inherited from the English, and became a status symbol in early urban development. The landscaping of this section of land became almost picturesque early on until transportation routes widened and many of the “American” vernacular houses virtually sat on the street. As houses became larger, they were set back further on the lot during the Victorian period. The development of the bungalow, after zoning laws were adopted, dictated long narrow lots with smaller front yards. Some became functional in the cities, being used for vegetable gardens. Later suburban development saw the front yard as a necessity for green space and to remove the house from the then innocuous automobile. Today, the front yard, although bigger, is rarely used but provides a buffer zone
from the “street,” using various methods such as fences and hedges, to provide additional barriers.

Given changing in rent structures, many middle-class citizens have realized their dream of home ownership, by buying affordable housing. Some of these houses are bungalows close to the city center, and owner individuality is displayed in the front yard. It has almost become a part of American culture to decorate the front yards in these neighborhoods with “Americana” offerings. These include dancing Dutch gnomes, windmills, pink flamingos, gazing balls, concrete geese, and other “tasteful” artifacts. As one views these scenes, the question of “good taste” surfaces and provides some insight into the flavor of the local neighborhood.

This paper will visually examine a nine square block neighborhood of early bungalows in Springfield, Ohio, to determine if yard art identifies or stereotypes houses belonging to those of specific social status and their portrayal of a significant American cultural attribute: individuality.

**HOOP CAGES:**

**FEMALE FASHION DEVICES OF THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THEIR IDENTIFICATION IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSEMBLAGES**

Frances R. Knight
Illinois Historic Preservation Agency

Wide full skirts contributed to the look in female dress between the early 1850s and 1868. Various undergarments supported the wide skirts to provide their fullness, including multiple flounced petticoats, cane or whalebone hooped petticoats, the crinoline, and metal contraptions known as hoop cages. This paper focuses on the latter device as the skirt-supporting undergarment of the mid-nineteenth century most likely to be preserved in an archaeological context. Despite its potential for preservation, the hoop cage is, to my mind, under-identified in mid-nineteenth century archaeological assemblages. Recognition of this artifact in an assemblage provides evidence for a specific, short-term temporal context and, not just for the presence of females, but for their attention to female fashion and identity as well.
PRAIRIE JUSTICE: THE COUNTY COURTHOUSES OF CENTRAL ILLINOIS

Al Larson
University of Illinois at Chicago

Communities worldwide have their political/public spaces - plaza or market or town square or forum. Human societies have created monumental architecture, often placed in their public governmental spaces. Central Illinois, defined here as the 51 counties between highways I-70 and I-80, present examples of local monumental political/public architecture. Styles vary through over 150 years of time and reflect changing values of society.

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON ANIMAL EXPLOITATION BY THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CAHOKIA ILLINI INDIANS AT MONKS MOUND

Terrance J. Martin
Illinois State Museum

Designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site features Monks Mound, the largest human-made prehistoric earthen structure in North America. Although the giant platform mound was built in stages between 950 AD and 1200 AD by peoples of the Mississippian cultural tradition, it was later occupied by the Cahokia Illini Indians and a French mission between 1735-1752. Two major construction projects occurred in 1997: installation of horizontal drains to relieve slumping and construction of a new stairway to accommodate tourists who climb to the summit. Archaeologists from Southern Illinois University - Edwardsville investigated the areas that were to be impacted by these construction activities. Two large refuse pits were discovered at the base of the third terrace that contained well-preserved animal remains associated with early eighteenth century European artifacts. Species composition, large mammal skeletal portions, and the inter-site comparisons indicate that this faunal assemblage was the result of special feats by the Cahokia Indians, who were contemporaneous with the River L’Abbe Mission. The contents reveal historical insights on the hunting of bison and black bear, and provide examples of how Indians modified animal bones for special artifacts, such as bone paint brushes.
THE LOG CABIN AS VERNACULAR MACHINE:
THE MODERNITY OF JOSPEH F. BOOTEN’S
NEW SALEM

Barbara Burlison Mooney
University of Iowa

From William Dean Howell’s 1860 presidential campaign propaganda to Edward Bruner’s 1994 ethnographic critique of Jean Baudrillard, Umberto Eco, and Richard Handler, New Salem, Illinois has provided numerous writers with a discursive site on which to graft theories of Abraham Lincoln’s personality, the American character, and historical simulacra. This paper contends that the reconstructed village also served as a site where a modernist faith in science, positivism, and efficiencies of scale was expressed through the recreation of nineteenth century vernacular architecture.

Historians have investigated the role of New Salem in Lincoln mythology and the site’s restoration history, yet little attention has been paid to the architectural education and philosophies of the men responsible for the town’s rebuilding. By focusing on the restoration theory pursued by Joseph F. Booten, his superior C. Herrick Hammond, and the bureaucratic agency that directed not only New Salem but numerous academic and utilitarian structures, including state prisons and the Illinois Host Building at the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition, it is clear that the reconstruction at New Salem was informed by a design culture that equated historical questions and research strategy with engineering problems that could be solved in an almost mathematical manner.

MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF CULTURAL DISTINCTIVENESS:
INTERPRETING PIONEER MIDWESTERN ANABAPTISTS
WITH PENNSYLVANIAN OR EUROPEAN ORIGINS

Debra A. Reid
Eastern Illinois University

Material evidence of the Old Order Amish community in and around Arthur and Arcola, Illinois exists in every farmyard, business, and home. Since the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Old Order Amish have self-consciously expressed their religious convictions through selective adoption of modern technology and adherence to centuries old dress codes. Cultural routines related to education, religion, and services exude distinctiveness as well. Plenty of material evidence exists, and the Illinois Amish Interpretive Center has launched into a documentation project involving the Amish and graduate students in the Historical Administration Program at Eastern Illinois University.

The greater challenge rests in collecting evidence of distinctiveness among Anabaptists during the nineteenth century. This paper sur-
veys the collections of historic sites and museums dedicated to interpreting mid-to-late nineteenth century Amish Mennonite life in Ohio and Illinois - Chisholm Historic Farmstead (1830s-1950s Ohio) and the Illinois Mennonite Heritage Center (1850s-Present). The material evidence can document several things: 1) the cultural distinctiveness of Anabaptist immigrants based on their place of European origin; 2) the Anabaptist distinctiveness among first generation immigrants; 3) the process of acculturation among second and third generation immigrants; 4) the affects of capitalist participation (in commercial agriculture or business) on the Anabaptists; 5) the affects of mass production and consumption of furniture and decorative arts on the group’s culture. Differences among Anabaptists prompted religious schisms during the nineteenth century that reinvigorated cultural distinctiveness for some (i.e. Old Order Amish) but helped obliterate distinctiveness for others (i.e. many Mennonites). These changes indicate the ways that religion affects identity, but the museum collections indicate the challenges of collecting the material evidence of change.

LOCAL MYTH, LOCAL HISTORY: UNCOVERING THE PAST AT THE FIVE-MILE HOUSE IN COLES COUNTY, ILLINOIS

Nora Pat Small
Eastern Illinois University

The Five-Mile House has long held a preeminent place in the collective memory of Coles County as the oldest standing structure in the county, and as a stopover for Abe Lincoln on his circuit through the county. Its distinctive roofline and prominent corner location at the intersection of Route 130 and the Westfield Road have helped to ensure the building’s status as a local landmark. The origins of the local lore surrounding the house are not yet clear. What is clear, however, is that a very ordinary vernacular structure has been imbued with enough significance that a foundation organized to purchase and restore the building has been remarkably successful in raising money and proceeding toward that goal over the last three years. A number of questions have arisen over the course of those years about how the property will be interpreted and restored. This paper will examine how those questions are being resolved through archival, archaeological, and structural investigation.
ONE CAN TELL HISTORY BY QUILTS

Stephen Straight
Deland, Florida

Deland, a city of 30,000, has a store that sells quilt material and information. Quilting came from ancient times; quilted underclothes were used under Knights’ armor. In early America, cloth was scarce and had to be used over and over. Thus came the pieced quilt often with designs depicting the mainly agricultural life and the movement of the western frontier. Most designs had variations, the most famous design is log cabin with variations of (1) Courthouse steps (2) Windmill blades (3) Straight Furrow and (4) Barn Raising. Quilts made with patterns called Rocky Road to Kansas, Arkansas Traveler, and Delectable Mountains were popular in the westward movement in America. Bear paws, Wild Goose Chase, and Pine Tree were concerned with life on the frontier school house with education.

BUY ME SOME PEANUTS AND CRACKERJACKS:
BASEBALL IN CARSON PARK, EAU CLAIRE, WISCONSIN

Joanne Raetz Stuttgen
Indiana University

Two recent National Register nominations in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, celebrate its rich and varied association with Roosevelt’s federal relief program. Owen Park Bandshell was constructed in 1938 to showcase the city’s fine community band, and Carson Park Baseball Stadium, constructed between 1935-1937, was home to the Eau Claire Bears, the minor league counterpart to the Boston Bears, later the Milwaukee Braves.

This presentation introduces both properties but focuses on Carson Park Baseball Stadium, an outstanding baseball park that is perhaps not only the oldest WPA park in the country, but also the oldest still in use. The stadium is the anchor of a large recreational park on an island in an oxbow of the Chippewa River once occupied by a lumber camp and sawmill and a small pox colony. As city leaders’ perception of Eau Claire changed from a city of industry to one of recreation and rural respite, Carson Park Baseball Stadium became the shining jewel in Eau Claire’s large park system.

Mirrored in the history of Carson Park Stadium is the rise and fall of minor league baseball, from its heyday in the 1930s to its demise in the 1950s, to its resurgence in the 1980s and 1990s.
The Swedish religious radical Eric Janson and his followers reached northwestern Illinois in July of 1846. By June of the next year, a town had been laid out on the south bank of the Edwards River, and the first permanent structures were under construction. Construction continued for much of the colony’s lifetime, with the last colony building completed in 1861.

The way the colony’s buildings were made - the materials used, the construction techniques employed, the decorative details applied (or absent) - changed dramatically during its fifteen year building history. The changes follow a trajectory of adaptation and assimilation over the life of the colony, a process that was driven largely by interaction with the surrounding “American” culture.