PAST
Pioneer America Society Transactions

Scott C. Roper, Ph.D., Editor
Department of History, Geography, Economics, and Politics
Castleton State College
Leavenworth Hall
6 Alumni Drive
Castleton, VT 05735
scott.roper@castleton.edu
(802) 468-1270

Carol Kneisley, Technical Advisor
Wittenberg University
Springfield, OH 45501
ckneisley@wittenberg.edu

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Artimus Keiffer
Interim Director, Pioneer America Society
Department of Geography
Wittenberg University
Springfield, OH 45501
akeiffer@wittenberg.edu

W. Frank Ainsley
Secretary-Treasurer, Pioneer America Society
Department of Earth Science
University of North Carolina-Wilmington
Wilmington, NC 28403-3297
ainsleyf@uncw.edu

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Preface

In 2003 and 2004 the Pioneer America Society convened for the organization’s annual meetings in Bridgetown, Barbados and Newtown, Pennsylvania, respectively. As always, enthusiastic participants delivered research papers and enjoyed the chance to reconnect with other members. The conference locations provided exceptional opportunities to explore two very distinct local cultures.

This combined issue of Pioneer America Society Transactions serves as a permanent record of both annual meetings. Included are selected papers offered in 2003 and 2004. In addition, abstracts of all unpublished papers are presented as well. Readers will also find an article reprinted from Volume 26 in a slightly expanded version from its original published form.

My thanks is offered to the authors for making available their research, analysis, and interpretation. Once again, Carol Kneisley at Wittenberg University has blended the manuscripts into a polished publication. I thank her and the production team for their conscientious efforts. Again with Volume 27-28, the support lent to Pioneer America Society Transactions by the Wisconsin Historical Society is acknowledged and greatly appreciated.

Martin C. Perkins
Editor

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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Some Observations Concerning Shotgun Houses in the Upper Ohio River Valley

David T. Stephens
Alexander T. Bobersky

The shotgun house type is commonly associated with the southern United States. John Michael Vlach’s work in the 1970s suggests that this one-story, gable-entry, one-room-wide structure, with a roof ridge perpendicular to the street had its origins in West Africa. (Vlach, 1975, 1976a, 1976b). Apparently, this building tradition was in the collective memory of West Africans, who were carried to Haiti as slaves. There the African-based house form was refined, and subsequently, it was exported to New Orleans in the cultural baggage of early nineteenth century Haitian immigrants. From the Crescent City the shotgun house diffused throughout the South, where it came to be associated with African-American neighborhoods.

Some have suggested that this form does not occur much outside of the South (Jakle, Bastian, and Meyer, 1989, 145). However, the shotgun made its way to California as a part of the state’s real estate boom and to San Francisco as earthquake relief housing (Fonda-Bonardi, 2002). It was a common house type in the oil boomtowns of the Texas Panhandle (Grider, 1975). The shotgun has been noted in Akron, Ohio, and reported to be among the residential remnants of the coal industry in Athens County, Ohio (Noble, 1984, 96; Pakla, 1988, 15).

Kniffin commented on the association of the shotgun house with the waterways of Louisiana (1962, 168). The Mississippi River was an important route for the dispersion of this house type (Noble, 1984, 97). The spread continued up the Ohio River, as Louisville, Kentucky, has an outstanding collection of shotguns (Pratt, Nicholas, and Weber, 1980). Forays through southern Ohio suggested to us that this house type could also be found in this part of the state. This notion was further strengthened during a discussion with Steve Gordon, Ohio’s Survey and National Register Manager (2003a). He provided a roster of 145 shotgun houses listed in Ohio’s Historic Buildings’ Inventory (2003b). Most of these houses were located in towns along the state’s rivers. Given these situations, we thought there was ample evidence to initiate an investigation of the occurrence of the shotgun in a northern outpost, the Upper Ohio River Valley.

Operating on the premise that rivers were major routes of diffusion for the shotgun, we set out to see the extent to which this house type had migrated up the Mississippi-Ohio River complex to the upper reaches of the Ohio River Valley. For the purpose of this
study we focused on a four-hundred-eighty-mile stretch of the Ohio River extending from its origin in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to the junction with the Scioto River in Portsmouth, Ohio. In six full days and over 2000 miles of travel, we visited every community on both sides of the river along this stretch and conducted a windshield survey to identify and then photograph shotgun houses. We limited our observations to the terraces along the river as opposed to the higher bluff areas; although in several instances we explored some upland areas in larger communities. Three-hundred-ninety-three shotgun type structures were identified.

We began our study with several hypotheses. First, we suspected a distance decay function applied to the shotgun houses – the further upstream – i.e.; the farther from New Orleans - the less their occurrence. Second, we thought that the incidence of porches and decorative detail would also decrease up stream. Finally, we expected to see some modification of the house form in response to the environmental differences between New Orleans and the Upper Ohio River Valley.

The Ohio River was a major route for those making the trek to the Trans-Appalachian West. Settlements sprang up along the course of the river at an early date. Until the completion of the Erie Canal and Ohio’s canal system, most all of the commercial production of the Ohio Valley moved downstream to New Orleans. Two-way steamboat traffic between New Orleans and the Upper Ohio was initiated in 1811. Given this connectivity, there was an early opportunity for the up- stream diffusion of the shotgun, but we suspect that it was well after the Civil War before the form began to occur with much frequency in the Upper Ohio Valley. The entries on the Ohio Inventory forms suggest construction dates in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Field observations of other structures in the neighborhoods where we found shotguns suggested a similar time frame for construction. That period coincides with a time of rapid population growth for some of the larger communities along the Upper Ohio. For the most part, these communities yielded the greatest number of shotguns. We suspect the appearance of shotguns was in response to the need for inexpensive housing as they industrialized.

In the South there is a strong correlation between shotgun houses and African- American neighborhoods. Information on the Ohio Inventory forms suggested that some Ohio shotguns had African-American builders or owners. We found some correspondence between African-American neighborhoods and the occurrence of shotgun houses, but more often than not, the shotgun houses we encountered were in neighborhoods that were mixed or white. As Table 1 demonstrates there was not much growth in the African-American populations of communities of the Upper Ohio River Valley in the first two decades of the twentieth century. African Americans were only a small proportion of most communities’ population. In fact, the absolute number of African Americans declined in several
Table 1  African American Population in Selected Communities in the Upper Ohio River Valley, 1900-1920*a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>1900 Pop.</th>
<th>1900 % Negro</th>
<th>1910 Pop.</th>
<th>1910 % Negro</th>
<th>1920 Pop.</th>
<th>1920 % Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bridegeport, OH</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Liverpool, OH</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallipolis, OH</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huntington, WV</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2883</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironton, OH</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>1040</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marietta, OH</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin’s Ferry, OH</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkersburg, WV</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>869</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portsmouth, OH</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>1160</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheeling, WV</td>
<td>1064</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>1201</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>1623</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aSource: U.S. Census of Population, 1900, 1910 and 1920.

communities in the study area in the first part of the twentieth century. We believe more work is needed to discern the relationship of African Americans and incidence of this house type to the Upper Ohio River Valley.

The Ohio Inventory forms also suggested some connection between railroads and shotguns. We found considerable correspondence between the location of shotguns and proximity to railroads, but we lack direct evidence that the houses were constructed for railroad workers. Again, this is another area that merits further investigation.

The study documents 393 structures that were shotgun in form. Their distribution is shown in Figure 1. As might be expected, larger places had higher frequencies of shotgun houses. Wheeling, Parkersburg, and Huntington, in West Virginia, and East Liverpool, Ironton, and Portsmouth, in Ohio, all currently have populations of over 10,000 and each of these places yielded 20 or more shotguns. Gallipolis, Ohio, with a current population of 4,175 and 41 shotgun houses and New Boston, Ohio, with a 2000 population of 2,340 and 25 shotgun houses are exceptions to this generalization. However, they lend credence to the notion of increasing occurrences as one proceeds down stream. To get a better idea about the concentration of shotguns we devised a shotgun rate - a measure analogous to demographers use of birth rates - it expresses the number of shotgun houses per 1,000 population. Since we believe shotgun construction in this area was essentially complete by 1920 - the rate is based on the 1920 population of places and our count of houses. Table 2 shows the shotgun house rate for those places having more than 10 occurrences. As expected, the two previously named communities, Gallipolis and New Boston, along the lower river portion of our study
area emerge as having the greatest concentration of shotgun houses. Upriver communities tended to have lower shotgun indexes. We were surprised by the absence of shotgun houses in rural areas, although our tendency to follow major highways between settlements may have biased these findings.

![Upper Ohio River Valley, Number of Shotgun Houses](image)

**Fig. 1**

**Table 2  Shotgun Index - Upper Ohio River Valley**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place North to South along the River</th>
<th>1920 Population(^a)</th>
<th>Number of Shotguns</th>
<th>Shotgun Rate(^b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Liverpool</td>
<td>21,411</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martins Ferry</td>
<td>11,634</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridgeport</td>
<td>3,977</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheeling</td>
<td>56,208</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McMenemy</td>
<td>3,356</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marietta</td>
<td>15,140</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkersburg</td>
<td>20,050</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallipolis</td>
<td>6,070</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huntington</td>
<td>50,177</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironton</td>
<td>14,007</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Boston</td>
<td>4,817</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
<td>33,011</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Source: U.S. Census of Population 1920.

\(^b\)Rates reflect rounding to the nearest whole number.
We think the incidence of shotguns was once much higher in some of the larger places. The proximity of many shotgun houses to public housing and urban renewal projects suggests that many of them disappeared in the name of civic improvement. This is most likely true of Huntington, West Virginia, and Portsmouth and Steubenville, Ohio. Highway widening in East Liverpool, Steubenville, and Bridgeport, Ohio, Wheeling, West Virginia, and Ashland, Kentucky, is suspected as another factor that may have reduced the number of shotgun houses. Given the number of shotguns found adjacent to floodwalls we speculate that they too may have reduced the inventory of shotgun houses. It is also worth noting that the incidence of shotguns dropped dramatically upriver once the Ohio-Pennsylvania border was crossed. Later we will argue that the form of the shotgun altered as it moved upstream.

For the basis of the subsequent discussion we identified what we choose to call a “classic shotgun house.” Figure 2 shows this classic shotgun house, a one-story, centered-front- gable-entry, one-room-wide structure, with a roof ridge perpendicular to the street. It has a porch and no basement. Six percent of the houses found by our survey qualified as classic shotguns. The “classic form” of the shotgun is more pervasive in the downstream portion of the study region. Gallipolis and Portsmouth, with 10 percent of their structures in this “classic” category were by far the leaders. We think that this small percentage suggests that considerable modifications have occurred to the shotgun in its trek up the Ohio River.

Fig. 2 Classic shotgun house, Ironton, Ohio. (Photo by David T. Stephens, 2003).
An additional 14 percent of the houses meet the above criteria, but had the front door placed either to the left or right side in the front of the house, and in four cases there was a side entrance. We labeled these as standard shotgun houses. They too are concentrated in the southern part of the study area. This leaves 80 percent of the houses that do not fit the classic or standard model.

In the northern United States, houses are more likely to have a basement than in the South. This may be related to tradition and/or environmental concerns or. One deviation from the typical shotgun houses we encountered in the study area was the presence of a full or partial basement (Fig. 3). A total of 58 percent of the structures we identified as shotgun houses have some sort of a basement. Figure 4 indicates that these were concentrated around Wheeling, West Virginia, and in East Liverpool, New Boston, and Gallipolis, Ohio. We suggest that cooler climes and the basement location for coal fired furnaces may have contributed to this alteration of the shotgun’s form. There are two other very special basement situations that suggest modifications to shotguns occasioned by some additional environmental conditions. The first of these is the raised basement shotgun (Fig. 5). This is a response to the threat of flood. The answer to the recurring problems of floods was to place a narrow basement at ground level and build the shotgun house on top. This was an especially common response on Wheeling Island. The island

Fig. 3 Shotgun house with a basement, Martins Ferry, Ohio. (Photo by David T. Stephens, 2003).
Fig. 4 Upper Ohio River Valley, Shotgun with Basement

Fig. 5 Raised basement shotgun house, Wheeling, West Virginia. (Photo by David T. Stephens, 2003).
is a ward in the city of Wheeling, West Virginia, and is located in the middle of the Ohio River. As such, it is in a location that is very flood prone. Marietta, Ohio, at the junction of the Ohio and Muskingum River also has a number of raised basement shotguns. This too is a place that has a history of inundations. Midland, Pennsylvania, and McMechen, West Virginia, are also communities where shotguns located near the Ohio River have been raised to offset the threat of flood.

The final and perhaps most controversial type of basemented shotgun house is, we believe, a response to the limited availability of level land coupled with a rapidly growing need to house an expanding labor supply. Very early on in our fieldwork, it was dubbed the “Hill Hugger.” These are narrow, one room wide houses that are usually two or three rooms deep, but then continue downward to a narrow one room wide basement. Figure 6 shows that when viewed from the front, at street level, one would not think anything is amiss, since they obviously look like a shotgun house. As Figure 7 shows, closer inspection of the sides of the house reveals a different house form, one with a basement addition. Figure 8 indicates, when viewed from the rear, these structures look like a very narrow two story house, often having a door and one or two windows at grade. Figure 9 shows the location of these structures to be concentrated in the rather straight post-glacial section of the Ohio River where the stream flows more rapidly and there is much less floodplain available for town building.
Wheeling, West Virginia, and its cross river sister city, Bridgeport, Ohio, and the former world class pottery center of East Liverpool, Ohio, are the primary places of occurrence of this unconventional shotgun looking house. But this type also surfaced downstream, in New Boston, and Gallipolis, Ohio. We need to probe further to see if this is a form that first developed in the South and then moved north or vice versa. It may also simply be a variation on the camel-back, but instead of a hump this house has a dip.

Fig. 7  Side view hill hugger shotgun, East Liverpool, Ohio.  
(Photo by David T. Stephens, 2003).

In an interesting variation on the camel-back theme we discovered a group of shotguns in Wheeling, West Virginia, that had the hump misplaced (Fig.10). It was at the front of the house instead of the rear. Occupants indicated that these houses had front rooms that had twelve-foot ceilings. Perhaps this is a throwback to the high ceiling houses that Vlach described in Haiti (1975, 81). All of these houses were also in very close proximity to a railroad. We do not know if they were built by the railroad for worker housing. Given their close proximity and similarity in design they likely had the same builder.

We hypothesized that porches would become less common as we proceeded upstream. We reasoned that the porch, an extension of the living space of the house, would not be as useful in the cooler
Fig. 8 Rear view hill hugger shotgun, East Liverpool, Ohio. (Photo by David T. Stephens, 2003).

Fig. 9

Upper Ohio River Valley, Shotgun "Hill Huggers"
climates of the upper valley. The evidence did not support this idea. Porches were encountered on 75 percent of the shotguns we found. It is highly likely that many others had disappeared due to remodeling. We did, however, find that detail on porches was more common in the southern part of our study area. One group of buildings stood out in this regard. A set of shotgun-like structures across from the county courthouse in Gallipolis, Ohio, were resplendent with ornate detail. Other porches in Gallipolis, Ironton, New Boston, and Portsmouth showed much attention to detail.

Decorative details in eaves and roof returns were found on a few structures. Both tend to have stronger representation in the south. Ninety-five percent of the shotguns were of frame construction. Gallipolis and New Boston have a significant percentage of buildings constructed from brick. For Gallipolis the percentage was 15 and in New Boston it was nearly 25. Most of New Boston’s brick shotguns were made of paving bricks. New Boston is an industrial suburb of Portsmouth and the shotguns here are probably those of most recent construction.

Ninety-five percent of the shotguns had front gabled roofs. Deviations from this norm included three flat roofs, five hip roofs, and the previously mentioned reverse camel-back in the Wheeling area.

What did we conclude from this exercise? Shotgun houses occur in the Ohio River Valley between Pittsburgh and Portsmouth. Some
are similar to those found in the southern United States, but many have features not commonly encountered in the South. We suggest that things such as basements, raised basements, and hill huggers represent adaptations that occasioned by local conditions. In the southern portion of the study area shotguns are more similar to those found in the South. As one progresses upstream more modifications appear in response to changing environments.

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KNIFFEN, Fred B.

NOBLE, Allen G.

PALKA, Eugene J.

PRATT, Ned, Wendy NICHOLS, and Don WEBER

VLACH, John M.
Introduction

The use of masks in religious celebrations is a world-wide phenomenon. From Latin America, the masks of Mexico and Guatemala are well-known to Americans, but those of Nicaragua, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil are much less familiar, even though they continue in use in these places (Dominguez, 1969; Hernandez, 1983; Hartman, 1967; Gregor, 1937). Masks from the Caribbean are the least known of all the Latin American examples. Palavecino (n.d.) acknowledges their existence on his world map of masking (Fig. 1), but otherwise provides no comments in an extensive discussion of masks. Occasionally, Caribbean masks do appear in galleries or on special exhibition. A visiting exhibit in 2002 at the Cleveland Museum of National History featured two examples of superb masks from the Dominican Republic (Fig. 2).

In Puerto Rico masks are currently produced by artisans in at least eight municipios. Poncé, Loíza, and Hatillo are the best established centers, each with a long history of traditional use of masks in religious celebrations (Fig. 3). Masks produced in other municipios are sometimes used in local religious events, but are mostly made for sale as domestic decorative pieces. A handful of mask makers in San Juan serve mostly the tourist trade. All mask makers outside Poncé, Loíza, and Hatillo appear to have developed their skills from exposure to one or the other of the three main centers.

The masks produced in each of the three main centers are made of different materials, are used in different religious celebrations, and so have different meanings. In Poncé masks characteristically are made of paper mache, are used at the pre-Lent Carnival, and represent demonic spirits called “vejigantes”. In Loíza the material is primarily coconut shells, masks are used at a local Feast of St. James the Apostle (Santiago), and the main character masks are gross representations of the Moors (Ayala, 1999). The Hatillo masks are made of wire (screening), are used in the Festival of the Innocents just after Christmas, and represent “Guards or Henchmen” who kidnap children (Betancourt, 2003).

According to Webster’s Dictionary (1999), a mask is a “covering for the face or part of the face, to conceal or disguise the person’s identity”. A masquerade is a “ball or party at which masks and fancy costumes or disguises are worn. The Spanish translation for
Based upon a portion of Palavecino’s world map of mask making and use. The word mask is “mascara” or “careta” and masquerade is “traje de mascara.”

When a Puerto Rican artisan mentions “mascara,” he is referring to both the attire composed of the “careta” (mask that covers the face) and the fancy costume of accompanying garments (Fig. 4). The most common types of Puerto Rican “mascaras” are “vejigantes” and “caballeros” (knights or gentlemen). In some cases, such as the
Santiago Apostol Festival in Loiza Aldea also portrayed is the “Loca” (crazy person, homosexual) and the “Viejo” (old man).

A combination of face or head mask and a costume which covers the body is normal in ceremonies throughout the world. The mask alone is often perceived to be inadequate to disguise the wearer and/or to project the idea that the performer has another identity. In Africa the costume often is simply a cape-like addition to the mask which covers the body of the wearer except for legs. The Bambara tribe in Mali is an interesting extreme example. Instead of a mask the dancers wear elaborately carved wooden animal-figures, on the top of the head. The rest of the head, including the face, is covered by a raffia cape which also obscures the body. All visual traces of the human disappear and the dancer becomes the animal or spirit portrayed.

Fig. 2 A mask from the Dominican Republic featured in an exhibit at the Cleveland Museum of Natural History in 2002.
Figure 3: Mask making in Puerto Rico. The three main centers are Ponce (P), Loiza Aldea (L), and Hatillo (H). The numbers refer to mask makers which the authors have been able to identify or who are known by respondents to have existed.
In Mexico, Guatemala, highland Peru, and Bolivia elaborate costumes augment the masks. Sometimes the costume is a fabric on which may be painted a skeleton, an animal body, a bird, or some other anthropomorphic device. In other instances it may be a collection of feathers or animal skin, or some sort of woven fiber. All of these seem to be loosely connected, derived from European antecedents. In Puerto Rico costumes are simpler, but often quite colorful.

To extend the discussion a bit further, one may reasonably ask the question, What is the function of a mask and masquerade? It seems to us that there are at least seven identifiable functions. They are (1) to transmit cultural knowledge, (2) to explain the natural environment, especially its dangers, (3) to secure or prevent some anticipated action of divine spirits, (4) simply to propitiate the divine, (5) to exert or strengthen social control, (6) to conceal identity in order to permit

Fig. 4 A drawing of a mascara from Hatillo. The wire screen careta is clearly visible. The costume is simple but has an attached cape.
normally unacceptable social behavior, and (7) to entertain. This last function lacks the religious element which is included or implied in each of the other functions. Today, the entertainment function grows while the religious connection of the society weakens.

Puerto Rican Celebrations

The three Puerto Rican festivals in which masks play an important part involve quite different celebrations. The best known is Carnival. It is an international festival, celebrated just before Lent on parts of three continents. The celebrations have certain common aspects and ceremonies. A major theme running through most of the celebration is related to the sixth function listed above, to conceal identity in order to permit unacceptable social behavior. In Loiza, masked figures play “tricks or pranks” on supposedly unsuspecting by-standers for the benefit of other watchers. They expect small items of food or some other small token for not molesting everyone. A century or so ago, the “tricks” were embarrassing or even painful, and the “fun” had a not very well hidden sharp edge to it. The maskers were effecting their revenge upon a society which kept them subservient.

In Puerto Rico, the best known Carnival celebrations occur primarily in Poncé and the masked dancers are called Vejigantes. The Vejigante (bay-he-GAHN-tay) is a fantastic, colorful character introduced into carnival celebration hundreds of years ago. This character is a classic example of the blending of African, Spanish, and Caribbean influences in Puerto Rican culture.

The name vejigante comes from the Spanish word for bladder, vejiga. The vejigante inflates a dried cow’s bladder and paints it to resemble a balloon. During the carnival celebrations in Poncé, the vejigantes roam the streets in groups and chase women and children with their vejigas. The vejigante’s costume is made from scraps of fabric and looks a clown suit with a cape and bat wings under the arms. The vejigante is such an old character that he is even mentioned in the classic Spanish novel, Don Quixote written in 1605 (Bode, 2002).

Today in Puerto Rico, the vejiga is used as a paddle to strike lightly in order to emit a sound from the escaping air. At least one school of thought suggests that the vejiga was originally filled with urine which made the slapping decidedly unpleasant. Some scholars, however, discount this connection.

Poncé Masks

Poncé contains by far the largest concentration of mask makers, approximately 58 at present (Compania, 1999, 65-69; Vargas, 1998, 52-54). The tradition of mask making dates back to at least 1747 (Vidal, 1983), although the modern renaissance with its emphasis on elaborate demon masks, only began in the opening years of the twentieth century, started by Justino Gomez and Jose Rubiani (Compania, 1999, 33). The masks produced in Poncé are primarily made of
papier mache built upon a form or mold of hardened clay. Tin foil or wax paper is placed on the form before the wet papier mache is built up in order to prevent the completed helmet from sticking to the mold. The helmet is then allowed to dry naturally, preferable in the sun. Meanwhile, horns are similarly formed over small wooden molds, or real ox horns are used, and both are dried. Openings for the eyes and mouth are cut into the dried helmet. The horns are then glued to the helmet and the whole is sandpapered to make the surface smooth and to remove any slight imperfections and bulges. Finally, the mask is painted with vivid acrylic paints which dry rapidly (Fig. 5). Over the painted surface a protective and stabilizing layer of clear varnish is sprayed.

The masks used in Poncé have become, over the years, more and more elaborate, the number of horns has grown and they have become more complexly curved. The painted designs are now more intricate and the paints brighter, with acrylic paints used almost exclusively.

**Loiza Masks**

The other two Puerto Rican masked festivals do not have the same international connection. The celebration in Loiza Aldea is typical of local festivals to honor patron saints of a type found throughout the Catholic world. The celebrations are always local, although they may memorialize a well-known historical or mythical figure. The patron saint of Loiza Aldea is Santiago (the apostle St. James) who is in fact also the patron saint of Spain. Little has been published on the feast of Santiago in Loiza and nothing specifically on the masks. The best
source is Edward Zaragoza’s, *St. James in the Streets: The Religious Processions of Loiza Aldea, Puerto Rico.*

“The original patron of Loíza Aldea was St. Patrick. In 1645 a plague of ants ravaged the yuca crop. When the people of the village asked the priest for a saint who could protect the crop, the priest put some names into a box.” Three times the priest put his hand into the box three times to pull out a name. Each time the name which appeared was that of St. Patrick. After a novena in honor of St. Patrick, the plague stopped. This miracle made St. Patrick the protector of yuca. When Irish immigrants gained control of the larger haciendas in Lioza Aldea in the nineteenth century, they gave an image of St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, to the church. In turn, the priest named the church after the saint.

The people of the village, however, were not impressed, much preferring the patron of Spain, Santiago Apostol. Three reasons supported this feeling. “First, St. Patrick’s feast day fell within the liturgical season of Lent, a season without celebrations. Second, St. Patrick, bore no resemblance to the Yoruba god, Shango. And third, in the early part of the nineteenth century, a statue of Santiago Apostol miraculously appeared in a tree trunk in the village (Zaragoza, 1995, 58-59).”

Here, it should be noted that Loíza Aldea has the highest concentration of blacks on the island. Hence, the connection to and importance of African gods such as Ogun and Shango. St. James is propitiated as the defender of Spain and the slayer of the Moors. In the early years of settlement, St. James is thought to have been instrumental in the repulse of the Caribe Indians and thus the protection of the local Taino Indians. Ogun, the West African god of war, also is the remover of obstacles, the pathfinder. Shango is associated with thunder and lightening and forces of energy. It is easy to see why the tri-racial population of Loíza Aldea identifies so readily with St. James.

The feast of St. James the Apostle occurs for ten days around July 25. Two main types of masks are employed. One is a simple wire screen mask with painted features (Fig. 6). These masks represent Spanish gentlemen (the Christians). The other better known mask is made from a coconut and represents the black man (the Moor). Both caretas are augmented by woven costumes. Those of the black men (also called vejigantes) are the more colorful, often with yellow and red coloring.

To make this type of *careta* the artisan carves inside a dry coconut leaving only the outer skin of the fruit until it provides a fit for the face of the user. Three small, but adequate holes are made for the eyes and mouth, and the corresponding shape for the nose is also carved out. Three or more horns made of wood or from the leaf stems of the coconut tree are attached to the *careta*. Teeth made of wood or from the remaining skin of the coconut is also attached to the mouth opening (Fig. 7). The colors most widely used in the mascaras are red and yellow because these are the colors of Spain (Ayala, 1999).
Fig. 6 The two principal masks of Loiza Aldea. The lower one is a wire screen mask representing a Spanish gentleman. The upper one is the coconut mask representing the Moors.

Fig. 7 The traditional coconut mask of Loiza Aldea.

Attention during the fiesta is focused on the vejigante and on the gentleman, the knight or the caballero, but as Zaragoza (1995, 108) notes: “The caballero is fake. Though dressed up to look like a cavalry soldier, his uniform is obviously more silly than serious.
Streaming from his flower bedecked hat are long multicolored ribbons and little bells reminiscent of the get-up of a court jester. His shirt and pants conjure up the image of a harlequin with their checkered design. Most importantly, this “warrior” is without a sword, without a weapon for attack or defense. He is a mock saint, and like one with a broken lance, he is a joke. Without his sword, the caballero looks neither Spanish or Christian. The saint has been uncrowned in the fiesta.”

Zaragoza also suggests a deeper meaning to the figure of the vejigante: “the vejigante and his vejiga are full of hot air. With his bicolored tunic, and head full of horns, this devil still manages to dispute with the caballero as do court jesters with their kings... There is no final opposition between these two ritual clowns. We have rather a connection between the two that promises to make the caballero look very foolish if he takes the vejigante, a jokester, too seriously. As the fiesta shows, the caballero does not take the vejigante seriously. The caballero’s mistake is that he takes himself seriously.”

Two other characters participate in the festival. The viejo (old man) originally only provided the music for the festival. Dressed in ill-fitting rags, carrying a cane and a doll or dummy, he wore a mask made out of a cardboard box painted to look like a donkey or mule head. Today the shoe box mask is replaced by a fedora hat and white beard or a commercial rubber mask.

The final character is the loca (homosexual): “The loca is a satire on womanhood. Though as a woman the loca is by definition desirable, she is distasteful to Puerto Rican society because, like Eve, she flaunts herself rather than maintaining the more customary modesty befitting women. The loca is a flirt. She parades down the route of the religious processions more like a prostitute, soliciting attentions, than like one of the young women and girls who have been elevated to the status of reinas (queens) and reina infantiles (child queens) of the fiesta. But again, we will see that there is no real opposition here. Both the viejo and the loca are marginal characters at the farthest edge of social respectability. Like the caballero and the vejigante, they, too, occupy a place on the boundary” (Zaragoza, 1995, 112).

Hardly a word has been published on the masks of Loíza. Apparently, the use of coconut shells for masks is a relatively new development, perhaps promoted by Don Castor Ayala who probably had become the dominant mask maker in Loíza Aldea before his death in 1980. Reports of earlier white, face painting exist (Steiner, 1974, 63) and at least one photograph of a metal mask of a Vejigante (Vargas, 1998, 20). Today only about a half dozen mask makers continue to work in Loíza and all produce coconut masks, and some screen masks.

As the Loíza celebration attracts more persons from outside the local community and consequently, as the festival becomes better known and more commercially oriented, masks makers tend to produce masks with more commercial appeal (Fig. 8). The influence of Poncé can be seen in the greater number of horns and the more
intricate painting of the Vejigante masks. The wire screen masks do not seem to have the same commercial attraction and so have not changed much.

A somewhat related mask made from dried higuera (calabash) is produced in Bayamon municipio (Fig. 3). The fruits are comparable in size to coconuts and often have three slender, rigid horns somewhat like those of early Loíza masks.

Fig. 8 An advertising leaflet produced by Raul Ayala showing the impact of commercialization on the mask making in Loiza.
Hatillo Masks

The final major center for masks is the municipio of Hatillo. The celebrations occur each December 27 and 28 to commemorate the slaughter of children by Herod in ancient Jerusalem. On the first day children dress in colorful costumes, paint their faces, carry noise maskers and dance for money as well as candy (Martinez, n.d.) by confronting and pestering adults. On the second day, however, it is the turn of the adults. On this day adult male dancers in long loose pants, colorful shirts and capes all decorated with small bells, wear wire screen masks. The masks have some resemblance to those of Loiza, but the two types are quite distinct and easily can be differentiated. The Hatillo masks are attempts to mock Spanish soldiers and by extension all those in authority (Fig. 9). The maskers attempt to capture children, which they never do.

Fig. 9 Examples of wire screen masks from Hatillo.
In our opinion this is the simplest *careta*. The artisan molds an aluminum screen wire using basic pieces of wood which vary depending on the size of the *careta*. The large seed of an almond tree, which is common in Puerto Rico, is used to mold the eyes (Fig. 10). A piece of cloth is attached to the borders of the wire to protect the user’s face. The *careta* is often painted red, green, and yellow, the colors of the Christmas season (Betancourt, 2003).

![Profile of a Hatillo wire screen mask showing the prominent nose, chin, and eye areas.](image-url)

**Fig. 10** Profile of a Hatillo wire screen mask showing the prominent nose, chin, and eye areas.
The masks of Hatillo are the simplest from the three mask making centers in Puerto Rico. Additionally, only wire screen is used to produce the mask. In Ponce, papier mache is the principal material, but wire screen is also used to fabricate some quite elaborate masks. In Loiza Aldea both wire screen and coconuts serve as mask making materials. Wire screen is a mask material widely used in the New World. The Cajuns of Louisiana employ such material with a face painted on the screening. Similar masks are used in highland Peru and Bolivia and probably elsewhere in Latin America. The use of a wire screen undoubtedly superceded simple face painting, but this material became available only at the very end of the 19th century. The wire screen permitted the features of the human wearer to be concealed by the painted mask, but allow the masker to see through the mask.

The Hatillo fiesta still functions as a local, or at best a regional, celebration. Its lack of attraction to an island-wide population probably has something to do with its somewhat remote location and the difficulty of quick access. More important, however, is probably its timing.... between Christmas and New Years celebrations. As nearly as we can determine, only 3 or 4 mask makers now work in Hatillo, although there were probably more earlier.

**Prospects for the Future**

The making of masks is not yet a dying art in Puerto Rico, but decline in numbers of craftsman in both Hatillo and Loiza seems to be evident. In Ponce, in contrast, the art is flourishing partly because it is associated with a celebration of international dimensions drawing celebrants from most parts of the island. Also, the masks have become more elaborate, more decorative, and more likely to be sold to tourists. Contrast the much more restrained design of the earlier traditional careta (Fig. 11) with current masks showing a plethora of twisted horns (Fig. 12).

![Fig. 11 A traditional Ponce mask.](image)
The masks of both Loiza and Hatillo tend to follow a more conservative styling. But, signs of change can be detected in the recent additions of Raul Ayala, the leading mask maker of Loiza (Fig. 8). He now produces in addition to traditional masks, others which feature a forest of horns. These masks have a stronger resemblance to Poncé masks than the earlier Loiza type, but have a greater visitor appeal.

One wonders if Hatillo will follow a similar path.

Fig. 12  A modern-day Poncé mask.
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Two Houses with Caribbean Connections with French, Spanish, and Anglo-American Influences

Philippe Oszuscik

Creole cottages in Pensacola, houses built during the British and Spanish periods during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, exhibit an immense French Creole influence. But new traits were introduced into the basic Creole cottage during the British (1763-81) and Spanish (1781-1818) West Florida periods. Changes that appeared include the use of building materials (clapboard siding), windows (sash) and doors (single hung), chimney placement (end walls rather than in the center), and even some experimentation in plans. In effect, the presence of the new ethnicities changed the basic Creole cottage, established by French carpenters in Pensacola during the first Spanish period between 1700 and 1763, and the changing nature of creolization or syncretism was demonstrated locally. The Dorothy Walton cottage stands out as an example that exhibits all of these changes, yet retains a strong French Creole heritage (Fig. 1).

When I was researching French colonial structures in Cahokia, Illinois, in 1989, the Nicholas Jarrot house was undergoing restoration, and I had the opportunity to examine its interior spaces (Fig. 2). The two-story brick exterior appeared to be a typical American house with a central entrance. However, the first floor interior surprised me, as its plan reminded me of the Walton cottage in Pensacola. Questions that came to mind were, can the two houses have some type of connected tradition despite their quite different external appearances? Can a house in Illinois, so many miles away from the Gulf Coast exhibit a Creole influence in plan, yet not in its construction and style? If so, how? The Mississippi River? Coincidence? Do other houses in the Mississippi Valley exhibit similar plans?

The Dorothy Walton cottage of Pensacola, c. 1810, and the Major Nicholas Jarrot house of Cahokia, c. 1799-1806, located hundreds of miles apart, merit a comparative analysis in search of answers to some of the questions. Not only do their similar plans deserve comparison, but their respective ethnic, religious, political, and cultural environments need to be examined since all of these factors impact syncretism in housing. Externally, the Walton cottage has an obvious French and Spanish Creole heritage due to its integral front and rear galleries, its central chimney, as well as its massing and vernacular detailing. It is raised off of the ground to permit air to flow under the house, preventing rot and aiding the cooling of
the interior. The Jarrot house, on the other hand appears to be a traditionally massed, Georgian/Federal inspired, two-story structure with Federal period styling (Fig. 2 and 4). This two-story brick house has a stone foundation that extends into the ground below the frost line and has a cellar. Thus, at first appearance, one would not suspect any similarity between them other than their centrally located chimney which hints at an organization of rooms that may be different from the standard central hall arrangement.

Due to their similar dates of construction, this essay also explores how two people emigrated into a French or Spanish territory that later became American. One is a southern American who moved into West Florida which had structures with definite Caribbean traits, and the

**Fig. 1** Plan of the Dorothy Walton cottage, c. 1810, Pensacola, Florida. (Source: P. Oszuscik).
other person was French who moved into a location that was changing from French to Anglo-American. Interestingly, the background of both house owners have connections with the American Revolution. Dorothy Walton was the wife of George W. Walton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence from Georgia. George Walton died in 1804 and she accompanied her son, George Walton, to Pensacola in 1827. He was assigned to be the Territorial Secretary of Florida when General Jackson left to return to his Tennessee home (Moore, 1996, 2). Dorothy Walton acquired a cottage in Pensacola, Florida, that was built during the second Spanish period by Gabriel Hernandez or by Madame Folch, wife of Vicente Folch y Juan, Spanish Governor of West Florida from 1796-1811 (Holmes, 1974, 102). During the Revolutionary War, Florida missed becoming a part of the original United States because the Spanish took Florida by force in 1781. Pensacola was captured by Andrew Jackson in 1818 and the entire

Fig. 2 Plan of the Nicholas Jarrot house, c. 1799-1806/11, Cahokia, Illinois. (Source: P. Oszuscik).
state of Florida did not become American territory until 1819 with Spain ceding Florida to the United States (Holmes, 1974, 106; Department of the Army, 1956, 154).

It is important to acknowledge that the amalgamized, Walton cottage was built by a Spanish citizen and that any Anglo influences in this cottage come by way of the British period in Pensacola rather than during the later American period. Dorothy Walton bought a new cottage with a plan that resembles a central hall cottage that is similar to southern tidewater cottages with which she was familiar in Georgia; and it is near Seville Square, a prime location for socialization with other American settlers who moved to Pensacola after 1818 (Fig. 3). In fact, (Old) Christ Episcopal Church, 1832, established itself on the square, almost across from her house, an indication Americans were moving into this area of town. However, the dominant housing traditions on her block reflected French or Spanish Creole heritage and newer housing continued to be Creole in nature later in the nineteenth century as lots filled in.

Major Nicholas Jarrot, who was a veteran of the American and French Revolutions, was awarded a military land grant in Belleville, Illinois, for his services in the American Revolution after the war (Koeper, 1975, 8). However, he chose a parcel of land at Cahokia, Illinois, between 1794 and 1799 and built his house adjacent to the Holy Family Church (built a few years earlier between 1790 and 1797). His house is traditionally dated c. 1799-1806 and is cited to be the oldest brick house in Illinois (Koeper, 1975, 24). Others date the house between 1807 and 1810 (Overby, 1989, 97). Jarrot was a wealthy Frenchman and an entrepreneur who later served as a

Fig. 3  Dorothy Walton cottage, façade and side elevation. (Photo by P. Oszuscik, 1981).
judge in Cahokia. He may have served his term in the former French Creole house built in 1737, known today as the Cahokia Courthouse (Koeper, 1975, 20; Overby, 1989, 97). He built his house near the Mississippi River in the St. Louis area, in a location that was still strongly French. St. Louis was French territory after the Spanish ceded the territory back to the French at the time Jarrot bought his land. Jarrot witnessed Cahokia becoming Indiana territory in 1800 and Illinois Territory in 1809 (Overby, 1989, 96), about the time of the construction of his house. Its first floor room layout is identical to the Walton cottage with the exception of additional fireplaces and stairs that occupy the rear portion of the central room (Fig. 2 and 5).

The designs and layouts of these houses strongly reflect the changing political, cultural, and social climates that existed in their respective environments. Taking all of these factors into consideration, these houses are more complex to analyze than they first appear to be. Before Americans poured into both areas (that is, the St. Louis area and West Florida), the French made the most lasting impact upon the architecture. A mission church was established by Father St. Cosme in 1699 at Cahokia and was revitalized in 1787 with a decision to build the existing Holy Family Church. The last of its kind, this half-timber church was common in St. Louis and the mid-Mississippi River valley throughout the eighteenth century. Being built sometime between 1790 and 1797, the first dated document to note the finished building (Koeper, 1975, 22), Jarrot chose his parcel adjoining the church property—a choice that would guaranty social contact with the remaining French population. He
realized that American settlers were moving into the area, and he
had become an American citizen so he obviously wanted to blend in
with the population and chose an exterior design that reflected the
latest fashion of the East Coast.

Dorothy Walton emigrated from Savannah, Georgia, to Pensacola
with her son, Col. George Walton, son of Col. George W. Walton
(1750-1804), a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Secretary
of the Provincial Congress (1755), and a member of the Continental
Congress (1776-81). The son also became a colonel and took
advantage of his father’s fame when he moved to Pensacola, becoming
the first territorial secretary for West Florida and later the first
governor of the state. So it is not surprising that Walton County,
Florida, is named after the first governor as is Fort Walton Beach,
formerly in Walton County before the county was subdivided (Moore,
1996, 12). The family could have built a cottage of American design
or bought a cottage reflecting more Anglo influences, such as the
hall/parlor cottage built by J. Wright during the Spanish period
of the 1790s and located about two blocks away from the Walton
cottage. Furthermore, the Waltons could have built in the current
Federal style, but chose this traditional Pensacola cottage instead
(Fig. 1 and 3). The cottage interior is as vernacular as its exterior,
whereas the design of the red brick Christ Episcopal Church, built
in 1832 following increased American settlement, openly reflects the
Federal style, possessing Roman Revival arched doors and windows
and a massive front brick bell tower.
Both the Walton and Jarrot residences were built during a transition period that was commencing to become “Federal” in style, yet still dominated by Creole house forms in their regions. The heads of family connected to both homes were prominent leaders of the Federal period on the county and state levels when their communities became United States territory. As American settlers, these families wanted to fit into the existing environment while expressing their respective cultural upbringing at the same time. Pensacola remained strongly West Indian in its vernacular housing due to the climate, but Illinois was losing its Caribbean influences quickly.

When one evaluates the plans of these structures, one sees the similarity in the amalgamations that resulted, except the Walton cottage is single story and the Jarrot house is a two-story version (Fig. 3 and 4). Both houses have plans that are now rare to find, yet their designer/builders arrived at a similar, logical solution while unaware of each other. The coincidence suggests that the plan was more widespread at the time, and only a few houses still retain this layout today.

The differences that one easily perceives in their exterior designs and construction are also due to different geography and climates. The fact that both families moved into areas that experienced influences from both the French and the Spanish inspires the provocative comparison that exists in the similar layout of the main floors. A major difference in the Jarrot house is that fireplaces were also included in the small rooms due to the colder climate.

A casual observer expects the Walton cottage to be a Creole cottage, and it appears to be a French Creole cottage from the outside except for having only one door on the façade. However, its double width door is double-hung. The plan is tripartite but in a variation that is rare today and is different from the standard eighteenth century French Creole cottage in which the central salle is the largest and widest room and is flanked by small rooms (Fig. 1). Some Pensacola locals refer to the Walton cottage as a Gulf Coast Cottage, which implies that local people believe it is an Anglo-American cottage type (Oszuscik, 1992a, 1-14; 1989, 73-81; 1991, 20-41). Upon closer examination, it appears as if its Spanish builder, G. Hernandez, combined the concept of a Georgian central hallway with the French salle and included a fireplace in the room, making it the cottage’s main room, not a mere passageway from front to back galleries. The cottage is small, only 36’10” by 41’6”, so this central space is definitely the largest living area of the residence. Built during the Second Spanish period, this arrangement and this central room in particular may not only reflect a British (pre-American) and French amalgamation, but it may represent a Spanish experiment after they regained Pensacola from the British. The cottages in Pensacola suggest that the Spanish began to change or “improve” ideas developed earlier by the British, such as central hallways, single hung doors, sash windows with glass lights. Like the French, however, they normally did not have hallways in their cottages, hence, the wider central space served as a room rather than a mere passageway. The result of using materials and
plans, first established by the British in Pensacola and throughout British West Florida, were cottages that appear “American” to the casual observer today (Oszuscik, 1991, 40). The Walton cottage is evidence of that. One can then hypothesize that the Walton cottage layout may have actually had its start with the British in Pensacola, spread throughout West Florida between 1763 and 1781-83 and was continued by the Spanish between 1781 and 1803 when the Spanish controlled Louisiana up to St. Louis. The British also built hall/parlor houses and central hall cottages throughout British West Florida but their popularity was delayed by the Spanish and then they finally triumphed after 1813 when Americans settled into former Spanish West Florida.

My research indicates that the British had its first profound interest to include galleries on cottages in North America during their presence in Pensacola, Mobile, and British West Florida (Oszuscik, 1991, 39-40). The gallery or piazza was known in the Carolinas before 1763, such as in the Leigh House in Edenton, North Carolina, c. 1759 (Bisher, 1990, 25). However, it was not a common, regular part of the Carolina tidal landscape until about 1776 and afterward. The tidal cottage of the Carolinas and Georgia may have developed simultaneously to Pensacola because of the increased trade traffic by land and sea between the British Caribbean, Pensacola and West Florida, St. Augustine and East Florida, and the Carolinas. With Florida being a British colony, military and citizen reinforcements were brought to the Carolinas as well as to the newly acquired Florida parishes from the British West Indies. Many citizens in the Pensacola population came from Jamaica and South Carolina, whereas the military came from England, Scotland, and Jamaica (Rea, 1974, 72-77). Governor George Johnstone of West Florida even took out a lengthy advertisement in the form of an article in the *Georgia Gazette*, January 10, 1765, to acquire settlers from southern American colonies (Rea, 1974, 83-85). However, a principal difference in the use of piazzas in the Southeast Atlantic tidal region and galleries of West Florida is that the Carolinians seem to have preferred the lean-to porch, whereas West Florida colonists preferred the integral gallery as introduced by the French, although some do exist in North Carolina as well, such as exist in Edenton (Bisher, 1990, 118-120).

While some archaeological investigations in the Carolinas may dispute my interpretation of historical developments, Pensacola, the capitol of West Florida, at least can share the claim of introducing the tidal cottage to the United States amongst the Anglo population from the Atlantic coast to Natchez on the Mississippi River. So much experimentation took place in West Florida that more variants in plans can be found in former West Florida territory (Wenger, 1988, 79-95; Oszuscik, 1992a, 6-9; Edwards, 1989, 37). The complex mixture of French, Spanish, and Anglo-American heritage that resulted in the central-hall Gulf Coast cottage, as this tidal cottage is called along the North Gulf Coast, can be classified as an American Creole cottage to reflect the more complicated amalgamation (Oszuscik, 1992a,
By the time that Americans came into New Orleans after 1803 (and Baton Rouge and Mobile around 1813-14, and Pensacola in 1818), the cottage had become standardized as the central hall cottage, one and a half rooms deep with integral front and rear galleries under a gabled roof. Builders placed chimneys on the exterior walls rather than a central location as in the Walton cottage. Among the earliest surviving examples of the Gulf Coast cottage in Mobile is the Beal-Gaillard House, 1836 (Oszuscik, 1992a, 11). This interesting example has a plank wall façade rather than clapboards, French doors and windows, and its central hall is still very wide and is used as a living room, although it does not have a fireplace. The double width front door is six feet wide, and the central hallway is fifteen feet wide (Gould, 1988, 96-98). Its gallery has a louvered sun shield that runs the length of the front gallery which gives the house a West Indies’ feeling.

The Jarrot house also exhibits a complex mixture of traditions, especially in its first floor arrangement. Its first floor plan, the area of interest for our comparison, is identical to the Walton cottage, except for a lack of galleries and additional chimneys for its small rooms (Fig. 2, 4, and 5). Since it is a two-story house, it has a staircase at the end of the central room. It has a single story, three-bay portico and like the Walton Cottage, it has double width doors. The question returns to whether its wide central room is Jarrot’s own invention, a current French tradition that inspired him (since he spent time in France), a British-Spanish tradition by way of the lower Mississippi Valley, or a plan of American origin. We do know that the plans of the two houses were conceived within five years of each other which suggests that other houses had this room arrangement, and more may survive in the Mississippi Valley.

First, to argue for a possible American origin, one Palladian layout coincides with the Jarrot and Walton layouts. However, the late Italian Renaissance arrangement could have come from French, English, or Spanish sources, all who liked Palladio before and after 1700. On the other hand, the Palladian Revival was considered colonial and old fashioned by 1799 and the “Federal Style” (a Roman Revival) was the popular fashion at the time that both residences were constructed. Since the Jarrot house bears a Federal period style in its exterior decoration, Jarrot exhibited an interest in using the latest architectural fashion. Thus, he most likely was not aiming for a Palladian Revival, as it would have been considered “colonial” or old fashion. However, he may have unwittingly used a colonial concept if it came by way of the Mississippi Valley and the Gulf Coast. Why? While Americans were launching the Federal period in the former thirteen colonies, the British in Pensacola were still experimenting with the Palladian Revival and this particular tri-partite plan, as evident in the Walton cottage. The idea was brought up the Mississippi River by the Spanish since the West Florida parishes were ceded to Spanish rule, and the Spanish also ruled Louisiana until 1800, when it went back to the French. After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, it is no wonder that new houses
being built in West Illinois or St. Louis would reflect the spirit of the Federal style with Americans settling in.

To further argue in favor of the Federal period, one-story porches with porticos were very common on houses on the East Coast around 1800. The Jarrot porch columns have Composite Order capitals with unfluted shafts (a Roman reference rather than Palladian or Greek Revival and this porch is a later replacement) (Fig. 4). The dentilated cornice with a cornice return is common on Federal brick buildings, although the dentilation is part of the gutter system in this instance. The use of the common bond brickwork with enders every five or six rows is another favorite American devise. However, the ender rows are black and are reminiscent of glazed brickwork in Virginia or even Maryland. Also like Mid-Atlantic housing, this house adopted a chimney placement on the inside end walls to serve the smaller rooms of the first floor. Like the Walton cottage, it has a fireplace in the large central room on the right wall before the staircase is approached.

In the end it may be impossible to arrive at a conclusion of the comparison other than to recognize the possibilities stated. If the Jarrot house has any connection to a Gulf Coast tradition, it is by way of the British or Spanish West Florida and the Mississippi corridor. If a Palladian influence is the case, Palladio’s attention to geometry and proportion was not understood, the large room was oriented in the wrong direction so that this plan came by way of a vernacular source such as the Gulf Coast. Since the dates of the homes are from the same decade, the Gulf Coast connection does seem feasible. A fascinating observation about the Jarrot house is that it is removed many hundreds of miles farther from the Caribbean hearth than the Walton cottage. Yet, the Jarrot house cannot be classified as a Creole house and, it is definitely more “American” than the Walton cottage. Other houses may exist in the Mississippi corridor that bear the same plan or are similar. The Green Tree Tavern in Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, for example has a tripartite arrangement of rooms with the central one oriented like the Walton and Jarrot residences and flanked by a double pile arrangement of smaller rooms. The property of this French Creole house was acquired by Nicolas Janis in 1789 who built the house between then and 1797 when the house was deeded to his son (Overby, 1989, 114-115).

I believe that the plans of the residences of the Jarrot and Walton families include architectural traditions from more than one ethnic origin. Perhaps the families wanted to satisfy their own ethnic heritage and to integrate nicely in their respective environments at the same time. The two residences, therefore, are excellent case studies that can aid one to understand how assimilation in architecture takes place in a landscape inhabited by a mixture of ethnicities that are experiencing cultural and political changes. The Walton cottage, by itself, becomes an important surviving link to aid a better understanding of the evolution of Anglo-Creole cottages (Tidal cottages in the Carolinas).
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NEW YORK’S OTHER SUBWAY:
The Hudson & Manhattan Railroad

Jeffrey L. Durbin

Following the World Trade Center disaster, the magnitude of the destruction to surrounding historic buildings was not readily apparent. Fortunately, few of the many nearby historic buildings were seriously damaged. Slight damage did occur to Cass Gilbert’s Woolworth Building and another of the architect’s lesser known buildings, the 90 West Street Building. Also damaged was the 1935 Federal Building, which was designed by Cross and Cross. More serious was the severe damage that the 1927 Art Deco-style Barclay-Vesey Building suffered when girders from the North and South Towers plunged into its brick and terra cotta facade. In addition to the grave exterior damage, the damage exposed its ornate lobby to smoke and water damage. Astonishingly, St. Paul’s Chapel was spared even though it stood in the shadow of the Twin Towers (Burns, 2003, 593-97, 602; O’Grady, 2001; White, 2000, 67; Barbanel, 2003, C6; Skinner, 2002, 66-67; Harris, 2002, 53; Collins, 2003, B1; Collins, 2003, A27).

Much less fortunate was St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church, which was smashed into oblivion by the collapsing South Tower. So complete was the destruction of the little building that the bell topping the church and a 600-pound safe containing relics sacred to the Greek Orthodox faith were never found in the rubble. St. Nicholas had functioned as a church only since 1914, but the four-story building itself dated to the 1830s and had survived the great fire of 1835. While other congregations fled Lower Manhattan during the mid-twentieth century, the worshipers at St. Nicholas held fast and preserved an example of the brick buildings that once characterized the lower west side. As with other waterfront areas of the island, this part of the island has long been dominated by commerce, much of it facilitated by oceangoing vessels (O’Grady, 2001, Sec. 14/1; Collins, 2003, B1; Greek Orthodox Archdiocese Press Release; Dunlap, 2001, A8; Dunlap, 2001, B1; Reinhard, 2001; Harris, 2002, 50-51; Dunlap, 2004, A21; Glanz and Lipton, 2003, 75).

Throughout its history, much of Manhattan was reachable only by water. It can be argued that upon it’s initial settlement by the Dutch in 1624, the fortified village known as New Amsterdam enjoyed greater security through its being somewhat isolated from the mainland. Its location at the junction of the Hudson and East Rivers also gave its inhabitants a remarkable view of an invading navy should one of its European rivals ever be so bold to send one. At the island’s north end, however, the separation from the mainland
was such that during low tide, it was possible for Dutch settlers to walk across a tributary of the Harlem River known as Spuyten Duyvil Creek. In 1693, English colonists built a bridge, Kingsbridge, over the creek and provided the first dry route between Manhattan and the mainland (Burns, 2003, 16-17, 306; Reier, 1977, 66-69; Burrows and Wallace, 1999, 21-26, 105).

Despite the difficulty in reaching Manhattan by an overland route, New York was destined to become a great economic center. But throughout the eighteenth century, colonies in New England and the Middle Atlantic region continued to overshadow the town. Not until the late 1790s did New York become the most important sea port in America. Twenty years later, New York became the country’s most populous city. Following the Erie Canal’s completion in 1825, New York had secured its position as America’s most important economic center. Certainly, the city’s location at the southern tip of an island near the mouth of two large rivers helped to boost its economic status even further (Norton et al., 1986, 245, 251, 271; Burns, 2003, 55-61, 131; Jacobs and Neville, 1968, 16-19; Burrows and Wallace, 1999, 429-51; Homberger, 1994, 76-77).

Simultaneous with the Erie Canal’s completion, the transportation system that would eventually eclipse canals—the railroads—began to inch in the direction of Manhattan. Even though it had assumed the status of America’s premier city and railroads had reached the west bank of the Hudson River during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the heart of New York City continued to be accessible either by ferries or bridges (Burrows and Wallace, 1999, 138-39, 449-51, 561-66, 655-56, 943-45; Gebhardt, 1968, 6; Vance, 1995, 54-55, 66-67, 75-80, 104-06; Burns, 2003, 46, 131; Range, 2002, 16-17; Reier, 1977, 8-9; Cudahy, 1975, 7; Glanz and Lipton, 2003, 75).

Bridges had linked the island to the mainland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but they were small wood and stone structures built at Manhattan’s north end. Thus, these bridges had little impact upon the island’s populated south end. The first substantial bridge to Manhattan, the 1842 High Bridge, also joined the island’s top end of the island to the Bronx, and its primary use was as an aqueduct for the Croton Water System. The island’s south end continued to be without a bridge for nearly four decades. Completed in 1883, the Brooklyn Bridge was the world’s largest suspension bridge and its first steel suspension bridge, but it merely connected Manhattan with another island. With the completion of the next notable structure, the Washington Bridge, five years later, attention was again focused upon the island’s north end. As with other bridges constructed at the island’s top end, the new bridge undoubtedly made railroad and overland travel between New York and New England more efficient. But within the tightly settled confines of Lower Manhattan, where much of New York’s population lived and worked, ferries continued to carry virtually all traffic between the island and the nearby boroughs (Reier, 1977, 73-75; Homberger, 1994, 82-83; 108-09; Burrows and Wallace, 1999, 934-37; Burns, 2003, 78-79, 104, 169-173, 300, 306-07).
Although ferries had carried passenger traffic between New Jersey and New York for two centuries, no solution had been found to the problem of railroad trains crossing the Hudson River. Connections to rail traffic became so important that one by one, the railroads bought out the old ferry companies and their marine divisions began operating the boats (Fig. 1). Coinciding with the difficulty of crossing the Hudson was the problem of an overcrowded public transportation network on the island. Beginning with horse-drawn omnibuses, a transit system had existed in New York since the 1820s. Then in the mid 1850s, horse-drawn trolley cars traveling along rails in city streets began operation. Steam-powered trains running on elevated tracks began service in 1868 to ease congestion on the city’s streets, but the “ells” also became crowded and additional track levels were added. Attempts to construct a subway on the island were initially proposed during the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, but completion of a viable system would wait until the following century (French, 2002, 7; Range, 2002, 9-13, 19-36; Norton, 1986, 271; Burrows, 1999, 565-67, 929, 931-32, 1053-58; Burns, 2003, 104, 148-53, 300, 307; Glanz and Lipton, 2003, 75; Homberger, 1994, 76-77, 106-07; Fischler, 1997, 13-14).

![The West Street and North River Piers, New York City.](image_url)

**Fig. 1** Ca. 1910 postcard of Hudson River ferry terminals (from author’s collection).
Ultimately, a nexus formed during the first decade of the twentieth century when a combination of streetcar lines, bridges, subways, and river ferries provided several alternate forms of transportation in and out of Manhattan. Often overlooked among these networks is the Hudson & Manhattan Railroad, which provided the island with its first rail connections to New Jersey. Rather than crossing the Hudson via a bridge, the H & M went beneath the river. The development of subaqueous tunnels linking Manhattan with the mainland would have—and continues to have—a tremendous impact upon the New York landscape. The most important of these tunnels were the “Tubes” of the H & M Railroad, or as they are now known, the tunnels of the Port Authority Trans Hudson (PATH) Train (Burns, 2003, 306-07; Glanz and Lipton, 2003, 75).

Many terrestrial tunnels had been built all over the US during the nineteenth century with the construction of railroads through steep terrain or places where it was difficult to go around obstructions. Obviously, digging mines and constructing tunnels is very dangerous work, and fatalities among the workers (or “sandhogs” as they were called) were quite high (Middleton, 1999, 103-06; Jacobs and Neville, 1968, 40-49; 104-07).

The first attempt to build a subaqueous tunnel under the Hudson River dates to 1874 when a former Union Army colonel and Union Pacific Railroad engineer named DeWitt Clinton Haskin began the construction of a brick-lined tunnel in Jersey City. The tunnel was to connect with Washington Square on the New York side of the river, but due to legal problems, construction of Haskin’s tunnel was delayed until 1879 when excavation work began from the west bank of the river. Similar to the construction of the piers for the Brooklyn Bridge, Haskin’s technique for building the Hudson River tunnel was to use caissons pressurized with air to keep the water out of the tunnel. Unfortunately, this technology, dangerous as it was for building the Brooklyn Bridge, would be even more dangerous for a subaqueous tunnel. For one thing, in order to keep the water from flooding the work space, air must be pumped into the tunnel as it is constructed. On July 21, 1880, twenty men including the assistant superintendent engineer were killed in an accident inside the tunnel. Their deaths resulted from a blowout, which occurred through the sudden release of air and its replacement by water inside the caisson. Other problems continued to plague Haskin, including financing the project and the loss of his eyesight, and the project was discontinued in 1882. Despite the problems the workers encountered, they had completed approximately 2,000 feet of brick-lined tunnel at a cost of $1 million (Gebhardt, 1968, 6; Cudahy, 1975, 8; Middleton, 1999, 106-07; Burns, 2003, 306; Jennemann, 2003, 306; Burr, 1885, 24-25; Engineering News, 1892, 609; McAdoo, 1931, 67-68; Fischler, 1997, 79; Jacobs and Neville, 1968, 107).

In 1898, a second effort to build the tube began when the Hudson River Tunnel Company took the project over. With British capital, the enterprise hired the contractor S. Pearson & Sons of London.
Pearson obtained as consulting engineers Sir John Fowler and Sir Benjamin Baker, who had designed the recently completed Forth Bridge in Scotland. Instead of the picks and shovels that the earlier builders had used, Pearson laborers employed a boring shield devised by another English engineer, Sir James Henry Greathead, which had been recently used to construct a line for London’s Tower subway. Another improvement, Pearson would make was to line the tunnel with cast iron rings similar to the ones used in the London Tube (Fig. 2). Length was added to the tunnel as the rings were bolted together, and in a few years another 2,800 feet had been built. At the pace the workers were making, it was projected that the tunnel would be completed by 1895. While the effort was much more technologically advanced than Haskins’ tunnel and the workers were making progress, financial difficulties soon led to the work shutting down.
So once again, completion of the Hudson tunnel was indefinitely postponed and it may never have been completed had it not been for William Gibbs McAdoo, a lawyer from Chattanooga, Tennessee who was getting impatient waiting for Hudson River ferries running between New York and New Jersey. Born near Marietta, Georgia and the son of a famous jurist and educator, McAdoo owned a Knoxville electric streetcar line. Following the line’s bankruptcy, the Tennessean arrived in New York in 1892 and opened a law office on Wall Street. In addition to his law practice, McAdoo formed a partnership with the son of former Confederate General John C. Pemberton and went into the business of selling securities. Because many of these investments were in railroads, McAdoo learned much about how these companies operated (Ezzell, 1998, 580; Fischler, 1997, 79; Cudahy, 1977, 9-10; McAdoo, 1931, 44-57, 5256).

In his 1931 autobiography *Crowded Years, the Reminiscences of William G. McAdoo*, the future railroad president recalled what led him to take up the massive tunnel project:

> My law business caused me to make trips frequently to Philadelphia and Baltimore and the South. I had to cross the Hudson River to reach the railroad station, and the only way to get across was to take a ferry-boat.

> Of course, this clumsy system . . . led to innumerable delays. The ferries usually ran every ten minutes. . . . Even when you made a perfect connection, it was slow going. Sometimes, on days when navigation was difficult on account of the thick river fogs, the ferry-boats went very slowly, feeling their way and stopping dead still in the middle of the river now and then, like a blind man halting in the middle of a street.

> On such occasions a ferry crossing, if one had the time to spare, was a picturesque experience. . . . [B]ut most people who went back and forth across the river had no time for marine adventures. They were on their way to their daily jobs, or to catch trains, or to keep appointments (McAdoo, 1931, 65-66).

McAdoo eventually relocated his business and his family to New York, but he continued to have business interests in Tennessee. He frequently traveled between the city and the South which meant that he had to first get across the Hudson. That he was delayed when he crossed the river—a situation he found unacceptable—led to his interest in the idea of a river tunnel:

> The delays that I experienced in crossing the river on my various trips started me to thinking of possible means of taking people across more expeditiously. I had no particular object at first in applying my mind to the matter of trans-
river traffic; I thought about it just to keep myself occupied. But after a while it began to interest me seriously; it was a problem for which I had an instinctive liking.

I had an idea that a tunnel might be driven under the river and I spoke about it casually to a number of my acquaintances. Most of them listened to me indifferently and remarked that it could not be done. The river was too deep, they said. Others argued that if it were an engineering possibility, it would have been accomplished long ago. . . . One of the strangest things about all this fact-finding and conversation is that I never heard the abandoned tunnel mentioned by anybody or referred to in print—not at that time, while the idea of boring under the river was forming in my mind. In 1901. . . I was astonished [to learn] of the tunnel’s abortive history. In the early [eighteen] seventies a Western railroad-builder named D. C. Haskin came to New York with a plan for putting a railroad tunnel under the river. . . His project. . . included a large underground passenger station at Washington Square. From this point a tunnel large enough for railroad trains was to run, in a southwesterly direction, under the city blocks until it reached the river, and then under the river to New Jersey (McAdoo, 1931, 67-68).

Finally, McAdoo teamed up with English engineer Charles M. Jacobs, who had worked for Pearson and later in 1894 had designed an eight-foot tunnel to carry gas lines under the East River. In October 1901, McAdoo and Jacobs visited the partially completed tunnel and the abandoned Greathead shield to see what could be achieved; after their inspection, Jacobs stated that the shield could be repaired (Cudahy, 1977,10-11; Middleton, 1999, 127; Gies, 1962, 156-62, 165-66). McAdoo later gushed with enthusiasm when he wrote:

The fates had marked a day when I was to go under the river-bed and encounter this piece of dripping darkness and it would rise from its grave and walk by my side. I was determined to give it color and movement and warmth, but it would change the course of my life and lead me into a new career (Fischler, 1997, 80).

From this point onward, the southern attorney was unwaveringly committed to seeing the project through. Where the others had failed, McAdoo succeeded in securing the necessary monetary backing for completing construction of the abandoned tunnel. But he had an even bigger plan than completing just one tunnel: he planned to build two pairs of tubes. With the acumen gained from the investment business, he helped organize a new company, the Hudson & Manhattan Railroad, and sold the bonds in order to raise the $70 million needed to cover the construction costs of the system.
Investors in the venture included the financiers Cornelius Vanderbilt and J. P. Morgan. For his efforts, the new company elected McAdoo as its President. The financing he raised enabled the H & M to hire S. Pearson & Sons, who knew the tunnels better than anyone. The financial backing also assisted with the purchase of new technology: a small locomotive train to remove excavated materials from the tunnel, and an improved air lock for workers to enter and leave the tunnel. Of course much credit is owed to the sandhogs who did the dirty work of constructing the tubes. While they had better tools, working conditions were still quite dangerous. Blowouts occurred several times but through the new air locks, only one worker was killed. More problematic was that many of the tunnel workers were stricken with caisson disease or as it is known today, the bends. Fortunately, a decompression chamber was placed near a vertical shaft to the tunnel, and sandhogs could be treated for the debilitating injury. Using the shield, the workers bore easily through the soft silt and clay of the river bottom, often at the rate of 72 feet per day (Fig. 3). More difficult, however, were the river’s rock ledges, and dynamite blasting became necessary (Cudahy, 1977, 11; Fischler, 1997, 80; Middleton, 1999, 107; Fitzherbert, 1964; King’s Booklets, 1904, np; Twin Tunnels, 1904, 523; McAdoo, 1931, 82-86; Engineering News Record Top 125 Years in ENR History Website, 1999).

On March 11, 1904, the day that the two ends of the first tunnel met up, McAdoo and Jacobs walked the entire length of the tunnel. So momentous was the occasion that McAdoo later remarked: “For the first time in the history of mankind men had walked on land from
New Jersey to New York” (McAdoo, 1931, 86). Three years later, a second tunnel was finished, and work began on outfitting the north pair of tunnels with the tracks and electrical wiring necessary to run the subway cars (Fig. 4). To provide electricity to the entire system, the H & M constructed in Jersey City a powerhouse. John Oakman of Robins & Oakman designed the powerhouse, three-story brick building. Trained at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris and formerly with the firm of Carrere & Hastings, Oakman chose a Romanesque-style design for the powerhouse (McAdoo, 1931, 88-98; Cudahy, 1977, 11-19; Gomez, 2000, 1-2; Powerhouse History, Jersey City Landmarks Conservancy Website, 2002; Jersey City Past and Present Website, 2004).

During the February 25, 1908 dedication of the first pair of tunnels, President Theodore Roosevelt telegraphed a message to the H & M powerhouse to turn on the power. A second ceremony was held to dedicate the completion of the second set of Hudson Tubes on July 19, 1909. It now became possible to travel from Jersey City to Broadway in just three minutes (Jersey City Past and Present Website, 2004; Cudahy 1977, 17-19; Cohen, 2003, 48; Gebhardt, 1968, 8; Glanz and Lipton, 2003, 75-76). The popular press acknowledged the accomplishment of constructing the Hudson Tubes even before they were completed. In the June 15, 1904 issue of Christian Herald, the Hudson Tubes were touted as a “Wonderful Feat of Modern Engineering”:

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**Fig. 4** Ca. 1910 Postcard of Hudson & Manhattan Train in Tube (from author’s collection).
Twenty-five years ago such a feat of engineering as that required in completing the tunnel under the North River would have been an impossibility, at least so it is said by men well versed in the knowledge of such work. Today the tunnel is almost complete, and the work is done, as far as making the long passage which connects the two cities, New York and Jersey City is concerned (Twin Tunnels, 1904, 523).

Having been responsible for successfully completing the tunnels, many of the accolades naturally went to McAdoo. Though it greatly annoyed its namesake, the new subway system was often called the “McAdoo System.” So important was the achievement that McAdoo would soon be tapped for a presidential cabinet. His business experience and his knowledge of railroads eventually led to appointment as Secretary of the Treasury under President Woodrow Wilson, who later became McAdoo’s father-in-law. During his tenure, the Federal Reserve System was created and McAdoo was its first chairman. In addition, he served as Director General of the United States Railroad Administration from 1917-19, the only time that the federal government directed the private-sector railroads. After World War I McAdoo went back to practicing law. He also sought the Democratic party’s presidential nomination in 1924 but had to settle with being one of California’s two US Senators from 1933 to 1938 (McAdoo, 1931, 98; Gies, 1962, 167; French, 2002, 78; Cudahy, 1997, 10, 20-21; Ezzell, 1998, 580; Link, 1954, 27-28, 46-48, 76-77; Norton, 1986, 661; Digital History Website; Wallace, 2003).

To headquarter the H & M Railroad and to signal that it was an important Manhattan business, the company built the Hudson Terminal Building, which was located along the eastern edge of what would later become the World Trade Center site. This 22-story building featured twin towers and was constructed at a cost of $12 million with space for 4,000 offices. Completed in 1908 according to the design of architect Charles W. Clinton of Clinton & Russell, the office building also housed Hudson Station. As the flagship station of the H & M line, the station was the most ostentatious of the railroad’s 13 stations (Fischler, 1997, 84-86; WPA, 1992, 77; Mills, 1904, 17-18; Brennan Abandoned Stations Website, 2002; Gebhardt, 1968, 8; Glanz and Lipton, 2003, 76).

The other twelve Hudson Tube stations were smaller and only slightly less architecturally ornate than those in the Hudson Terminal Building. Neoclassical Revival-style capitals decorated the columns that supported the poured concrete groin vaults in the stations. Many but not all of the stations had capitals featuring a monogram to signify the name of the station: “H” for Hoboken (Fig. 5), “E” for the H & M station at the Erie Railroad Depot in Jersey City, or the numeral “33” for the 33rd Street Station in Manhattan (French, 2002, 95; Brennan Abandoned Stations Website, 2002).
More important than the engineering achievement it represented, the H & M Railroad was profitable in its early years. In 1914, the company logged 60 million passenger rides on 226 cars. Fourteen years later, the number of passengers who rode the system peaked at 113 million. In 1928, the company received 28 new cars made by the American Car and Foundry Company, but it would be 30 years before it again purchased new rolling stock (Cudahy, 1977, 51; Fischler, 1997, 86; PATH, 1964).

Rather than viewing it as a competitor, other railroads regarded the H & M as a connection for their passengers. For example, the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad ran a series of advertisements featuring a fictitious passenger wearing a white dress named “Phoebe Snow.” In each of the ads was a picture of the young woman and a catchy jingle, always ending with the Lackawanna’s nickname:

Miss Phoebe Snow
Direct Can go
From Thirty Third
to Buffalo
From Broadway bright
The Tubes run right
Into the Road of Anthracite
(Range. 2002, 81).

Fig. 5 Photograph of Hudson & Manhattan Station at Lackawanna Railroad Depot, Hoboken, New Jersey (Photo by Jeffrey L. Durbin).
In the period between the two World Wars, the H & M Railroad did little to reinvest in the systems rolling stock or to keep pace with the other expanding subways. The Great Depression also caused a sharp decline in its ridership. Yet as if to reinforce its flagging patronage, the company advertised itself as a way not only to travel to Manhattan but also to connect with other transit systems that transported passengers to the points east of the island. For example, during the World’s Fair of 1939, the H & M publicized itself as a way of getting to the trains that took passengers to the fair site in Queens. Similarly, in subsequent years, the railway was touted as the best way to get to Manhattan department stores such as Gimbels, especially during the winter (Gimbels Advertisement; H & M Railroad Advertisement). Conversely, the increasing ownership of automobiles combined with alternate transportation routes into Manhattan via vehicular bridges and tunnels further depleted the ridership using the Hudson Tubes (Cudahy, 1977, 51; Fischler, 1997, 86; Glanz and Lipton, 2003, 76-77).

Unfortunately for the H & M Railroad, troubles for the Hudson Tubes would become increasingly apparent. First, were problems financial in nature in that the company had been insolvent for two decades. Then, likely due to its financial difficulties, the railroad’s relationship with labor unions soured and H & M employees went on strike no fewer than four times during the twelve years after World War II. Finally, deferred maintenance and the age of the system began to be evident. On June 1, 1953, an H & M train derailed near the Journal Square Station. The following year, the Hudson & Manhattan closed its 19th Street Station and went into receivership. Had it not been for the rents it received from the Hudson Terminal Building, the railway would likely have been bankrupt much sooner. The company was reorganized and four years later it bought fifty new air-conditioned cars to place into service on its line to Newark (Railway Age, 1984, 69; French, 2002, 86; Phelan, 1946, 17; National Mediation Board Strike Report Website, 2003; National Mediation Board Presidential Emergency Board Website, 2003; LIA Consortium Website, 2004; Gebhardt, 1968, 9; Cudahy, 1977, 52-53; Fischler, 1997, 86).

Despite efforts to revive the company, the inevitable end came, and it was suggested that the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey take over the H & M. Not surprisingly, the Port Authority stated that it had no interest in operating a railroad. In a hearing, a Port Authority official flatly stated that “there is, of course, no possibility whatever that either the Port Authority or anyone else could operate the H & M on a self-supporting basis” (Erie-Lackawanna Magazine, 1961, 4). It was also at this time that the Port Authority was looking for a location to build its proposed World Trade Center. One of the early plans was to locate the new high-rise buildings on the East River side of Manhattan in the area around South Street Seaport. Because the Port Authority is a bi-state agency, officials from New Jersey wanted the World Trade Center where they could see it—on the Hudson River side of Manhattan. In order to purchase
the necessary real estate on the Lower West Side, a site partially occupied by the Hudson Terminal Building, the Port Authority would have to purchase the H & M Railroad. In 1962, the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey purchased the beleaguered H & M and on September 1 of the same year, began operation of the railroad renaming it the “PATH.” The Hudson Tubes and creation of the World Trade Center would thereafter be inseparably linked (Cudahy, 1977, 52-53; Fischler, 1997, 86-87; PATH, 1972; Goldberger, New Yorker Website, 2002; Burns, 2003, 565-70; Glanz and Lipton, 2003, 55).

One of the first moves the Port Authority undertook was to replace the H & M’s existing rolling stock, some of which dated to the 1908 opening of the system. Other efforts to modernize the system included the expenditure of $250 million to upgrade a sadly neglected power distribution system during the years 1962 to 1974. Another capital improvement was the effort to update the fifty-year-old H & M stations that had become dowdy looking. In the early 1970s, the Port Authority constructed new entrances to several stations including Grove Street in Jersey City. The most dramatic change to the system was the replacement of the Hudson Terminal with a new station beneath the plaza at the World Trade Center, which needed the land that the Hudson Terminal stood upon (Cudahy, 1977, 55; Fischler, 1997, 86-87; PATH, 1964; Port Authority 1964, 20-25; PATH, 1965; PATH, 1972; French, 2002, 90-91).

Replacing the station without closing the existing terminal would be almost as difficult as building the river tunnels. Even during the construction of the World Trade Center towers, the trains continued to take passengers from Hudson Terminal in Manhattan to New Jersey through the tubes, which were suspended above the huge gaping pit where the foundations of the new buildings were being built. With the completion and dedication of the World Trade Center station in July 1971, the old subway network had seemingly been returned to a state of modernity. The gleaming new station looked nothing like the old H & M stations. Annual ridership on the PATH grew from 28 million to nearly 40 million passengers. Unfortunately, the cumulative deficit that the PATH incurred between 1962 and 1971 totaled $82 million (Cudahy, 1977, 56; Overbye, 2001, F1; Skinner, 2002, 48-49; Glanz and Lipton, 2003, 177-78, 182; PATH, 1972).

While the World Trade Center itself might not have been as profitable as it was hoped to be, the PATH system eventually became a stable revenue generator for the Port Authority. By 1984, 200,000 passengers were riding the PATH trains daily. That same year the Port Authority awarded a $190 million contract to Nissho Iwai American Corporation to manufacture 95 new railcars to replace 47 “K” class cars and accommodate new growth in the system. Two years later, the new cars went into service. Upgrades to the stations also continued during the 1980s with the construction of new entrances at the Pavonia–Newport and Exchange Place Stations. The Port Authority upgraded the ceiling and wall finishes in several stations. In 2000, the PATH System made 74 million passenger trips on a
13-mile system (Glanz and Lipton, 2003, 217; Burns, 2003, 574-75; Railway Age, 1984, 68; French, 2002, 92-93; PATH, At a Glance Website, 1995; Travel Trends, 2002, 8).

Amazingly, while the collapse of the two towers wreaked massive havoc to the other buildings of the World Trade Center, much of the PATH Station there survived intact. As with other discoveries made in the effort to remove the 9,000 tons of debris, the discovery of a PATH train still parked on the tracks in early 2002 reminded the city that some facilities were built better than others. Removal of the debris also exposed the circular openings of the old cast-iron tubes that ran east of the twin towers to Hudson Terminal Building (Fig. 6). With the completion of the PATH station at the World Trade Center in 1971, the H & M tunnels were severed to build the new South Tower. But the loop that once ran beneath Hudson Terminal was converted to vehicular use in order to provide access to service areas below the World Trade Center (Overbye, 2001, F1; Lipton and Glanz, 2002, Sec. 1: 1; Burns, 2003, 602; Life, 2002, 42; Wyatt, 2002, B3; Langewiesche, 2002, 46; Stamey and Mangan, 2002; Flynn, 2003, A19).

Fig. 6 Photograph of Ground Zero showing “bathtub” wall surrounding the site of the twin towers and the severed steel tube of the Hudson & Manhattan Railroad (Photo by Jeffrey L. Durbin).

It is important to note that while it was not completed until five years after the first permanent subway lines in New York had begun operation, the Hudson & Manhattan was an even more ambitious
undertaking than the subways lines, which were built using the "cut and cover" technique. Essentially, this method of construction meant digging a large trench in the ground and then building a tunnel by placing steel beams that would support the street level above both the rail line and the subway stations that it served. Perhaps due to their relative ease of construction, miles of cut and cover tunnels honeycomb the ground beneath Manhattan and Brooklyn streets (Fischler, 1997, 43-44, 80; Range, 2002, 40-41, 49-52; Burns, 2003, 255-59).

The success of the Hudson Tubes, however, would have great influence upon later efforts to tunnel under rivers in New York. The Pennsylvania Railroad completed its own set of tunnels using the Greathead shield technique in 1910 simultaneous with its completion of its ornate Pennsylvania Station in Midtown Manhattan. Unlike the Hudson Tubes, however, the Penn tunnels are concrete-lined. The Brooklyn Manhattan Transit (BMT) also used cast-iron rings and the Greathead shield technique of tunneling in building its line under the East River. In addition to the subway train tunnels are the Holland, Lincoln, and Brooklyn-Battery Tunnels, which were constructed for automobile traffic using Greathead shields and metal rings. Apart from being much larger than the subway tubes, a major difference between the automobile tunnels and the earlier subway tunnels, however, is that because vehicles produce carbon monoxide, these tunnels had to be mechanically ventilated. That each of these tunnels—both subway and vehicular—are still in use today, some nearly a century after they were constructed, is another testament to their success (Range, 2002, 39, 44; Stilgoe, 1983, 32-33; Middleton, 1999, 107, 124-27; Burns, 2003, 259, 263-66, 306, 442, 564; Gebhardt, 1968, 8; Jacobs and Neville, 1968, 108; Mills, 1904, 1-14; French, 2002, 48; Cudahy, 1977, 23-30; Gies, 1962, 172-73).

Finally, that the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey resumed service to the World Trade Center in November 2003 with the completion of a temporary PATH station at Ground Zero is also indicative of the tunnels' importance to the transit of passengers to Lower Manhattan. Two months after its reopening, the World Trade Center Station was averaging 30,000 riders on each weekday it was in operation. As with the new buildings and September 11 memorial that are planned to occupy the rest of the World Trade Center site, a permanent station is proposed that will not only rejoin the site to New Jersey but will also be linked to a nearby transit center proposed for Lower Manhattan. Clearly, the close connection between transportation and commerce has shaped and will continue to influence the New York landscape, even in the wake of the September 11 tragedy (Lower Manhattan Info, 2003, 1; Port Authority Press Release, 2004; Wyatt and Kennedy, 2003, A1; PATH FAQ Website, 2003; Dunlap, 2003, B3; Dunlap, 2003, A20; WNBC News Website; Burns, 2003, 603; Dunlap, 2004, E27; Wyatt, 2002, B3; Jacobs, 2003, 114, 116; Wyatt, 2003, B3; Adams, 2003, 32-33; Jacobs, 2004, 54; Dunlap, 2004).
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IMPRESSIONS OF BLACK ST. LOUIS:  
Concrete Markers  
in St. Louis’ Greenwood Cemetery

Brett Rogers

(Editor’s Note: This research and analysis was presented at the Springfield, Illinois annual meeting. Readers will note that the paper originally appeared in Volume 26 of Pioneer America Society Transactions in a slightly shorter version. It has now been reprinted in its entirety.)

The advent of concrete at the beginning of the twentieth century provided a new medium for funerary art, offering new possibilities for vernacular expression. For African Americans, especially in urban areas, concrete soon replaced fieldstones or wooden crosses and tablets as the material of choice for markers. Inexpensive and durable, it was an excellent medium for traditional memorial expression by a marginalized community. Greenwood, the earliest commercial African-American burial ground in St. Louis (1874), contains some of the best examples in Missouri of this form of vernacular art. Despite severe neglect and large-scale vandalism over the last quarter century, examples in concrete of distinctive black traditions – some notable artistically – have endured there. Many more are expected to be found as current reclamation efforts proceed. Concrete markers at Greenwood range from the simple and largely uniform upright tablet with planter, provided by the cemetery owners and poured on the premises, to more personal and inventive homemade molded tablets, crosses and other forms, to professionally manufactured concrete objects that were creatively reused as grave markers: lawn ornaments, for instance. Using examples recently uncovered at Greenwood Cemetery, this study reexamines the concrete grave marker in the context of African-American folk tradition as it manifested itself in black St. Louis and highlights the ways in which the twentieth century use of concrete provided a viable and relatively permanent medium for the expression of Southern black tradition.

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 wellspring 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 men 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 monuments, 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 were all however, in general agreement, and 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 is 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-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 the 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 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).

Fig. 3 Minnie Peak Marker. Greenwood Cemetery, Hillsdale, Missouri. (Photo by Brett Rogers).
In addition to vernacular tablets, there are also three-dimensional homemade concrete markers in predictable and not-so-predictable 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.

![Ruby Floyd Marker, Greenwood Cemetery, Hillsdale, Missouri. (Photo by Brett Rogers).](image)

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.
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THOMPSON, Robert Farris

VLACH, John Michael
Contributors’ Biographies

Alexander T. Bobersky has retired from the Community Development Agency of Warren, Ohio. He currently works as a heritage entrepreneur. His research interests focus on the material heritage of eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania.

Mario Cora-Cruz was a career civil servant with the government of Puerto Rico. Following retirement he enrolled at the University of Akron, where he earned two Masters degrees in Geography and Planning and in Educational Administration. His continuing interest in cultural geography emphasizes folk culture and music.

Jeffrey L. Durbin is with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation in Washington, D.C. He is a past Vice President of the Society for Commercial Archeology. Jeff coauthored the article “Teal Roofs and Pecan Logs: A History of Stuckey’s Pecan Shoppes,” and contributed to the Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture. His essay, “Heading South without Getting Sidetracked: The Dixie Highway in Georgia” will be included in a forthcoming book about the highway.

Allen G. Noble is Distinguished Professor of Geography and Planning Emeritus at the University of Akron. He is the author of numerous publications in the field of cultural geography, vernacular architecture, and ethnic studies.

Philippe Oszuscik is Associate Professor of Art and Architectural History in the Visual Arts Department, University of South Alabama. He received his Ph.D. from the School of Art and Art History, University of Iowa with a concentration in nineteenth century American architecture. Publications include: Louisiana’s Gothic Revival Architecture. Articles: in Pioneer America Society Transactions (6, 9, 10, and 12); Material Culture (26, 3); Arris, Journal of the Southeast Society of Architectural Historians (2); and chapters in To Build in a New Land.

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 Ohio and western Pennsylvania.
Abstracts of Unpublished Papers
— P.A.S.T. 27 —

THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE OF EASTERN ARUBA
Dawn S. Bowen
Mary Washington College

In the 1950s the cultural landscape of eastern Aruba was closely tied to the operation of an enormous oil refinery and the provision of housing for its employees. Right next to the refinery was the rough and tumble town of San Nicolas, home to many of the refinery’s laborers, while a short distance to the southeast lay Seroe Colorado, a gated community that housed the mostly American upper-level work force. Since that time, the refinery has fallen upon hard times, bringing profound change to all of Aruba, and particularly to the eastern part of the island. This paper describes the rise and fall of Seroe Colorado, and analyzes the none-too-successful attempts made by San Nicolas to reinvent itself as a tourist destination.

HOUSING AN IMMIGRANT WORK FORCE:
EASTERN ARUBA, 1924-1960
Marshall E. Bowen
Mary Washington College

Before Aruba became a prime tourist destination, its economy was based on refining oil shipped in from Venezuela, particularly at Standard Oil’s Lago facility near the eastern end of the island. In 1949 the number of Lago employees peaked at about 8,300, more than the total population of the island thirty years earlier, before refining began. Some employees were native Arubans, but the vast majority were brought in from abroad. This paper, concentrating on events from the 1920s through 1960, describes the migration of workers to Aruba, examines the procedures used to provide housing for them, and provides a hint of the changes that took place as Lago’s prominence in island life began to diminish.
KOHLER, WISCONSIN: A CONTEMPORARY COMPANY TOWN BY A MANUFACTURING COMPANY

Michael W.R. Davis
Eastern Michigan University

Company towns curiously remain relatively unexplored subjects of scholarly research and exposition by geographers and historians. This slide presentation paper on Kohler, Wisconsin, is the third by the author on the subject presented to the Pioneer America Society, all based on graduate studies in historic preservation at Eastern Michigan University and in industrial history at Wayne State University. Kohler, both company and town, are best known, unfortunately, for the labor strife that afflicted them in the 1930s and 1950s. But they also present an unusual architectural legacy and planning history. Both Kohler and the sugar plantations of the Caribbean share a common heritage of “company” housing adjacent to the mills of their particular commerce. Earlier PAS presentations by Davis included the 1915 Du Pont company town at City Point, Virginia, for munitions manufacture and the 1916 Inland Steel coal-mining town at Indianola, Pennsylvania.

COLONIAL POLICY AND HYBRID HOUSING IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES, 1929-1950s

Richard Harris
McMaster University

Slowly after 1929, the British Colonial Office began to encourage colonial governments to develop housing policies for indigenous populations. This compelled governments to consider what form housing should take and eventually to consider hybrid possibilities that combined indigenous with imported designs, materials, and building methods. In the British West Indies, the island governments at first tried to build public housing in the style of British cottages and flats, but these proved expensive and often unpopular. In Puerto Rico after 1938, the U. S. began to fund large public housing projects, including some that experimented with aided self-help. Using a limited range of designs and mainly modern materials (concrete) these were eventually touted worldwide, but especially to Britain’s West Indian colonies. There, because finances were weaker, public housing and self-help schemes incorporated more indigenous materials and methods of construction, both in cities and in rural schemes for sugar workers.
SIGNS OF THE TIMES IN AMERICA

John A. Jakle
University of Illinois

In a photo essay, I explore the role that signs play in American life, specifically as they serve to convey historical meaning in landscape. Organized around the concept of place, discussion considers how signs function to root places in time. Brief consideration is given to the following topics: the role of clocks, scheduling and the tempo of life, the referencing of life temporally, and the uses of historical markers in referencing the geographic past. My purpose is to excite scholarly interest in signage as material culture, but to do so in ways that inform larger issues of cultural landscape and social life. Places nest in landscape as centers of human concern. Signs in landscape, as they orient, direct, and persuade, can have profound spatial implication. But places not only exist in space, but in time as well. Places open and close in daily, weekly, seasonal, and annual cycles. And places change, often in stages - aging as from birth to death.

BARBADOS, CHARLESTON, AND DEVON:
ARCHITECTURAL INFLUENCES IN THE WIDER ATLANTIC WORLD

Roger H. Leech
University of Southampton

The author’s recent survey and reassessment of two later seventeenth century Barbados houses, Alleynedale Hall and St. Nicholas Abbey, together with recent surveys and excavation of seventeenth and early eighteenth century houses on the island of Nevis, will provide a starting point for the proposition that the material culture of the Eastern Caribbean and Carolina in this period cannot be studied in isolation from that of the wider Atlantic world. The development of gentry and urban housing in later seventeenth and early eighteenth century southwest England will be shown to be especially relevant in any reevaluation of the origins of the Charleston house. The paper will focus on both real and superficial similarities between Barbados and Charleston houses and those of southwest England, in particular those of the city of Bristol and the seaport towns of Devon.
VERNACULAR HOSPITALITY IN THE CAROLINAS:
THE TIDEWATER COTTAGE AND THE PREACHER ROOM

M. Ruth Little
Longleaf Historic Resources

The Creole Cottage (coastal cottage, Tidewater cottage, raised cottage) of the West Indies, Deep South, and elsewhere has been extensively documented as the distinctive dwelling built by Spanish and French Creoles from the early eighteenth century. Its role as one of the earliest refined Carolina types is less well known. The one and one-half story cottage has an engaged gallery (piazza, veranda) along one or more elevations, and small (half) rooms partitioned into the galleries. My paper will build on substantial scholarship, particularly of two contemporary scholars, Jay Edwards and Philippe Oszuscik. The house type has been studied little outside of the Deep South. My paper will study the social usage of one room in the house type - the small bedroom partitioned into the gallery which often had no entry into the main house. This was apparently a special category of bedroom that played a social role in the antebellum South. I will focus on the significance of the porch room, sometimes called “preacher room” in the Sand Hills section of North Carolina in the nineteenth century, as illustrated in the travel journal of Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey through the Seaboard Slave State. Olmsted chronicled a trip that he made in the early 1850s along the seaboard South. His detailed descriptions of his lodgings in various private homes is the only known contemporary account that may shed light on how the preacher room actually functioned in the era prior to the appearance of widespread commercial lodging.

THE PLAZA-PARQUE COMPLEX IN COSTA RICA

Marshall S. McLennan
Eastern Michigan University

This paper expands the literature concerning the Spanish colonial plaza complex in the New World by identifying and analyzing the unique development history and townscape of the plaza complex in Costa Rica. One distinctive feature of the Costa Rican plaza is that it has traditionally been used as the community’s soccer field. Another distinctive feature is the low density of buildings surrounding the plaza as compared with other Latin American countries. The varying development and location of plazas in Costa Rican towns provides the basis for elaborating a typology of plaza types. In recent decades Costa Rican plazas have been evolving into landscaped squares called parques and a plaza townscape more akin to those of neighboring countries. This evolutionary process attests to a revaluation of the square’s community role from utilitarian to formal symbolic space.
LOOKING FOR HISTORY’S HUTS: 
AN ANALYSIS OF EXTANT SLAVE HOUSING IN THE SOUTH

Barbara B. Mooney
University of Iowa

As African Americans struggle to reclaim their critical position in the fabric of American history, the architectural component of the cultural landscape of slavery has offered problematic opportunities. As Adam Goodheart pointed out in his 2001 article in *Preservation*, the physical remains of slavery’s built environment are often ignored, or, as the abhorrent development of slave quarter bed and breakfasts indicates, are exploited for crass commercial purposes. This paper takes the measure of the current state of slave architecture by systematically analyzing the interpretive practices at approximately twenty quarter sites throughout the South. Fieldwork undertaken in the summer of 2003 addressed a number of inquiries including the current purpose of the site, availability and character of public information, relationship between free and bonded space, building data, and control of the interpretive discourse. Examining both well-known and less famous sites illuminates general trends and points to both laudable and lamentable examples.

PROVISIONING ST. GEORGE VALLEY ON BARBADOS: 
ARCHAEOLOGY AT SYLVESTER MANOR, 
SHELTER ISLAND, NEW YORK

Steve Mrozowski
University of Massachusetts-Boston

This paper presents a summary of the excavations at Sylvester Manor, a seventeenth-century provisioning plantation of Shelter Island, New York. During the second half of the seventeenth century this large plantation provided many of the provisions for two large sugar plantations on Barbados. Constant and Carmichael Plantations were located in the St. George Valley of Barbados. They were owned in part by two brothers, Constant and Nathaniel Sylvester. Nathaniel ran Sylvester Manor, a plantation that encompassed the entire 8,000 acres of Shelter Island when it was established in 1652. Archaeological excavations have provided a unique perspective on the interaction between Barbados and the plantation in New York and the kinds of material culture, foodstuffs, and livestock that was being shipped to Barbados. The results of the research are also chronicled in a documentary film “The Sugar Connection.”
“It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly alike, for at all times they have been diverse, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men’s manners.” By including these words in the 1571 foundational document “The 39 Articles” the authors understood that the Anglican Church would take a multitude of forms as it was realized in a multitude of local circumstances. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the established Anglican Church would be one of the most important institutions of British colonial authority. Yet, the extent to which British culture generated local and regional variations in her colonies has not been fully explored. This paper depends on fieldwork undertaken in South Carolina, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands of Nevis, St. Kitts, and Antigua to examine seventeenth and eighteenth century Anglican churches as a lens into the balance between emergent local traditions and the construction of a common British Caribbean identity.

French émigrés to western New York, Victor Marie and Josephine Du Pont, wrote these letters to friends and family from 1806 to 1809. Arriving in Angelica with introductory letters from Thomas Jefferson, the Du Ponts escaped from political turmoil in France to an agrarian life on the edge of the American frontier. Their letters, archived at the Hagley Museum in Wilmington, Delaware and never read, have now been translated. They offer a treasure of insights into life on the frontier. Did the relatively well-off and cultivated families in early Angelica set themselves apart as a social elite? How did family members, forced to live in close quarters, deal with family tensions and disputes? How did settlers get rid of those pesky passenger pigeons? Why did the Du Ponts abandon their experiment after three years and return to the East?
THE IMPACT OF THE AUTOMOBILE ON POST-WORLD WAR II HOUSING STYLES IN RURAL AMERICA

Thomas Rasmussen
Alfred University

Rochester and Buffalo were centers of the industrial revolution in the Empire State, and village populations increased in rural New York as younger children abandoned the farm to work in the village. In the horse and buggy age, high transportation costs forced rural New Yorkers to buy their groceries, clothes, and hardware on Main Street of the nearby village. Little housing was built during the Great Depression and during the war years. After World War II, a ranch home building boom reveals the profound influence of the automobile on community life. The garage becomes an extension of the home; the front door falls into disuse; and the privacy-oriented backyard and patio replace the publicly oriented front porch. Photographs and census statistics reveal why manufactured housing dominates the rural housing landscape since 1970 - low cost, improved quality, changing family structure, and new consumption patterns.

A FRENCH-CARIBBEAN PLANTATION IN CENTRAL MARYLAND

Paula S. Reed
Paula S. Reed and Associates

Maryland’s only French-Caribbean plantation lies near Frederick. Victoire Vincendiere and her family, wealthy coffee planters from western St. Domingue, fled the island’s 1790s slave insurrection. In America they created a plantation in the wheat-producing region of central Maryland. The plantation’s principal buildings remain intact, distinctive among mid-Maryland’s typical German-influenced farmsteads. Victoire arrived in Baltimore in October, 1793, just days past her seventeenth birthday. She, her mother, brother and sisters were living in Frederick by December. By summer 1794, they developed l’Hermitage, a plantation near Frederick that became a haven for homeless St. Domingue refugees. Victoire emerged as head of the family and the plantation with its 750 acres and 90 slaves. Her father, Etienne survived the revolt, but settled in Charleston, South Carolina, arriving there in February, 1793. He lived there in poverty until his death in 1802, never joining the rest of his family in Maryland. Documentary research and examination of the buildings and archaeological evidence illuminates the story.
PORK RINDS AND VIENNA SAUSAGES: 
THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF COUNTRY STORES 
IN LOUDOUN COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Shelby L. Spillers 
URS Corporation

Loudoun County, Virginia lies just twenty-five miles east of Washington, D.C. Once dominated by agriculture, the county is now home to horse farms and suburban housing. In an area of over 500 square miles, only seven towns have been incorporated, despite the county’s rapid growth. More common are the many crossroad communities. Extant country stores remain in these hamlets. While several have closed their doors, many other stores still continue to serve as gathering places for these communities. Given the rapid disappearance of open space and the changing character of the county, it is remarkable to find so many vestiges of the county’s rural heritage. This paper will discuss the significance of the crossroad country store as a feature of the American landscape. The presentation will emphasize the material culture of these buildings, but will also examine less tangible aspects of these icons of a bygone era.

THE SUGAR CONNECTION: 
HOLLAND, BARBADOS, SHELTER ISLAND

Gaynell Stone and Ofer Cohen 
Suffolk County (New York) Archaeological Association

The University of Massachusetts-Boston’s ongoing archaeological field school at Sylvester Manor, one of five seventeenth century manors on Long Island, is rewriting the published histories of Long Island (of which it is a part). The material culture unearthed by the annual field schools indicates a multicultural lifeway at the Manor and evidence of its role as a provisioning plantation for the Sylvester’s two sugar plantations on Barbados. This unique story is being filmed as a feature length documentary to bring this new perspective to a larger regional and national audience on PBS. Previews from three years of filming will provide a visual setting for Dr. Mrozowski’s review of the archaeological and documentary evidence from the site.
RAILROAD BRIDGES WHEN THEY HAD SLIM GIRDERS OR BEAMS

Stephen Straight
Deland, Florida

I have collected old post cards of railroad bridges with slim girders or beams. According to the book, *American Building*, by Condit, this type of bridge had to change when engines and trains got heavier, usually around 1890. At first there were combination wrought iron and steel bridges, but then railroad bridges became built of all steel. Braces were added to the bridges, but when the loads became heavier, they had to be completely replaced. A wooden framework was needed to build the bridge, but with cantilevered bridges, this wasn’t needed. Often it is cheaper to rehabilitate a historic bridge than to tear it down and build a new one, but this rarely happens. Generally, people do not care as much about saving historic steel bridges as they do about preserving rustic old covered bridges.

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University of North Carolina
Wilmington, North Carolina 28403-3297
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Divisions of Fence in Lyndeborough, New Hampshire, 1800-1903

Scott C. Roper

Introduction

Since the eighteenth century, New Hampshire landowners who have wished to fence the outer boundaries of their property, but could not agree with their neighbors about how to do so, have been able to apply to their municipal government for a division of fence. Elected or appointed “fence viewers” from that municipality would be dispatched to the disputed boundary, establish who was responsible for constructing and maintaining various portions of fence, and levy a fee for their service to one or both landowners. Town clerks hand-recorded landowner petitions and fence-viewer decisions in municipal record books.

Perhaps because division-of-fence records are difficult to locate and read and the information contained within them is inconsistent, they rarely are utilized in the study of New England fences. The records of Lyndeborough, New Hampshire, yield a wealth of information about nineteenth-century division fences, particularly the so-called “stone walls” that dominate parts of the New England landscape. These divisions of fence range in date from 1800 to 1903. The frequency with which such divisions are recorded varies, peaking in the 1830s and falling slowly thereafter until 1865, after which point they virtually stop.

These records do not only suggest the period during which stone-wall construction predominated, however. Perhaps most importantly, divisions of fence—as well as the state laws that regulated them—reaffirm that walls were constructed not just as barriers to animal movement, but also served as permanent property-boundary markers.

Stone Walls

The period during which divisions of fence appear in Lyndeborough municipal records (1800-1903) corresponds with the era of stone-wall construction in New England. By 1871, approximately 28,771,023 rods—or more than 89,909 miles—of fencing covered the state of New Hampshire (United States Department of Agriculture, 1872, 510). At the time, the Department of Agriculture reported that “[s]tone-wall is the principal fence in . . . New Hampshire” (506). While post-and-rail fencing was “largely used in all parts of the State,” more than three-quarters of all fencing in Hillsborough County—in a rocky district
along the state’s boundary with Massachusetts, and which includes Lyndeborough within its bounds—were built of stone (500).

Stone walls appeared on the New England landscape in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This was an era of rapid deforestation throughout the region (Straight, 1987, 72; Wessels, 1997, 58), as commercial farmers responded to the early industrial revolution—particularly in the area of woolen textiles—with an expansion of sedentary sheep herding (Thorson, 2002, 105-106, 136-143; Wessels, 1997, 58). Prior to this period, worm, rail, and post-and-board fencing probably predominated (Allport, 1990, 32-38; Conforti, 2002, 134; Pocius, 1977, 10-12; Thorson, 2002, 97-99; Wessels, 1997, 47-48). Researchers believe that stone walls appeared as a result of these agricultural and industrial changes, although estimates vary regarding the exact years during which such structures actually were built. Some scholars accept that “the most active period of wall building” in the northeast stretched between 1775 and 1825 (Allport, 1990, 89 [quoted]; Thorson, 2002, 110). Others, however, favor a period between approximately 1810 and the 1840s (Conforti, 2002, 134-139; Foster and O'Keefe, 2000, 8; Wessels, 1997, 58-59).

Many researchers assert that a lack of wood was responsible for the changeover to stone as a building material (Allport, 1990, 38; Conforti, 2002, 135; Foster and O'Keefe, 2000, 8; Straight, 1987, 67). This probably was not the case. More likely, the act of deforestation altered soil conditions, “drying out the surface, changing the pattern of snow cover, and reducing the insulating value of the topsoil.” Since upland New England soils such as those in Lyndeborough were developed on glacial till, they froze easily and deeply in the winter (Thorson, 2002, 107). Without tree cover to add organic material to soils and to mitigate the effects of cold weather, stones were heaved upward en masse during the nineteenth century (Thorson, 2002, 110-112; Wessels, 1997, 44). Farmers, needing to clear their fields of stones, are thought to have made piles or built fences with them (Garrison, 1991, 118-119; Hoard and Prawl, 1998, 2-3; Pocius, 1977, 9-12).

While deforestation probably did cause fieldstones to become more available, this fact alone did not lead to the construction of stone walls. Adoption of sedentary sheep herding would not have necessitated the clearing of stones from fields, as such fields are not plowed. Besides, stones cleared from fields are just as easily placed in piles as they are used to erect walls along property boundaries. On the other hand, the need to keep animals on or away from property or to establish enduring boundary markers could explain why New Englanders constructed permanent fences during this period.

According to J. B. Jackson, boundaries on the early American landscape “were designed to isolate and protect the objects or people within them” (Jackson, 1984, 15). Many researchers agree that early New England fences served just such a purpose, keeping animals out of crop and mowing fields (Garrison, 1991, 118; Hubka, 1984, 84). The purpose of fences changed, however, so that by the early 1800s,
they were constructed to enclose livestock to protect the property of others (Allport, 1990, 22-23; Garrison, 1991, 118; Hubka, 1984, 84; Pocius, 1977, 14; Straight, 1987, 67; Wessels, 1997, 58).

Jackson also suggests that boundaries “give a permanent human quality to what would otherwise be an amorphous stretch of land” (Jackson, 1984, 15). Although some authors downplay the importance of stone walls as boundary markers (Allport, 1990, 22-23), that purpose was, in fact, quite important (Pocius, 1977, 16). Thorson sees walls as part of a “territorial imperative” among landowners, one that became stronger during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as commercial farming increased the value of land (Thorson, 2002, 75-100 [88 quoted]). Even today, stone walls running along New Hampshire roads are legal boundaries that mark the width and path of the public’s right of way over private property (Waugh, 1997, 19, 40-41).

Researchers have tended to use landscape paintings, diaries, interviews and personal experiences, and landscape interpretation in the study of New England stone walls. Although division-of-fence records exist for many New England towns, and while fence viewers are acknowledged to have been an important part of the fence-maintenance and construction process (Allston, 44-51; Martin, 1892, 170-173; Sloane, 1955, 32; Thorson, 2002, 97), these records generally have been ignored. Furthermore, few scholars have investigated state fencing laws, which have regulated some types of fence construction since the seventeenth century. Ultimately, analysis of these data demonstrates that the period of fencing in one southern New Hampshire community extended from 1800 to 1865, and that the marking of boundaries was at least as important as property protection.

### Fence Laws in New Hampshire, 1697-1792

Prior to 1718, fences in New Hampshire served one legal purpose: to protect the property that they enclosed. The earliest laws, dating from 1697 and 1718, imposed fines on those who cut trees on private property belonging to another landowner. The legislature intended these acts to protect unfenced timberland from trespass (Batchellor, 1904, 592; 1913, 257), and assumed that fences were an adequate means of guarding land from outside intruders. Similarly, another law passed in 1718, entitled “An Act for Regulating Cattle, Corn-Fields, and Fences,” required each town to choose fence viewers to ensure that fences would be “sufficient against other Cattle, [and] shall also be accounted good and sufficient against Swine and Sheep” (Batchellor, 1913, 310-311).

In 1743, the provincial legislature passed “An Act to Regulate the Making & Repairing of Fences between Improved Lands.” This law compelled owners of adjoining property to “maintain the Fences that Divide or run between their lands jointly, each party making half.” If one landowner did not “make up his or their part aforesaid,” he
was entitled to a division of fence, whereby municipal viewers could assess damages and force the negligent landowner to pay for his portion of fence (726). The legislature added another feature: the delinquent landowner would not be obliged to pay for his half of the division fence until he “actually improve[s]” his own land (727-728). Thus, owners of unimproved land were not required to share in the costs of fencing common boundaries, although the act’s preamble reaffirms that such fences are meant to protect improved private property from outside threats (726).

Finally, on February 8, 1791, the New Hampshire legislature passed the most comprehensive fencing law to date, entitled “An Act Relative to Common Fields and Regulating Fences” (Metcalf, 1916, 579). The act empowered towns to choose fence viewers annually from among “free holders” and required the officials to view and establish division fences “between persons interested in making them” (580). It also restated many of the provisions of the 1718 and 1743 laws (580-581), which themselves were repealed as redundant under the new state constitution in 1792 (New Hampshire Secretary of State, 1917, 28-34). However, the new act included a provision that changed the legal purpose of fences in New Hampshire: every five years, on penalty of ten shillings, where no division fence existed between two adjoining properties, landowners were required to “run the line and keep up” the boundaries between them (Metcalf, 1916, 580). Thus, landowners were compelled to maintain their property boundaries regardless of whether or not their properties were fenced. This fact, as well as the increasingly commercial nature of agriculture in rural communities such as Lyndeborough, appears to have caused a sudden increase in divisions of fence beginning in 1800.

### Municipal Fence Construction in Lyndeborough

Lyndeborough, located in western Hillsborough County less than fifteen miles from the New Hampshire-Massachusetts border, was settled in approximately 1737 (Donovan and Woodward, 1906, 31). From before its founding until 1803 the community was a proprietary town, meaning its lands belonged to “wealthy land speculators who claimed title” to property “and who demanded purchase payments” from settlers (Taylor, 1990, 2). Proprietors’ records do not indicate any activities relating to the construction of fences in the eighteenth century (Proprietors of Lyndeborough, 1735-1803). However, they do suggest one possible reason for a boom in stone-wall construction after 1800: the need for boundary markers to delineate private property.

Between approximately 1780 and 1803, Lyndeborough’s proprietors struggled to define the community’s political boundaries and the extent of their remaining land holdings within the town (Lyndeborough Proprietors, May 21, 1783-August 30, 1803). In preparing to dissolve its partnership, the group surveyed its unsold lots and common lands within the community (February 19, 1793).
The proprietors had greatly overestimated the extent of their holdings, and as they prepared to dispose of their lands they also found that a number of settlers had encroached upon common and proprietary lands without permission. Eventually they settled their disputes with squatters and disbanded in 1803 (Donovan and Woodward, 1906, 79-100). Still, the proprietors’ problems clearly suggest a lack of certainty surrounding property boundaries in Lyndeborough.

In 1804, one year after the Lyndeborough proprietors disbanded, the first known municipal construction of stone walls occurred with the fencing of Lyndeborough cemeteries. That July, the town voted to “take some method to fence the several burying grounds in said Town” (Town of Lyndeborough, July 2, 1804). Although the article passed by those at the town meeting did not indicate the materials by which the cemeteries would be fenced, all of the cemeteries in Lyndeborough today are enclosed by stone walls. The town never again voted on the fencing of cemeteries, the expense of which could be approved only by the community’s voters at a legal town meeting. Therefore, the cemeteries likely were fenced in stone in 1804.

Supporting this notion is the fact that in 1806, the town agreed to construct sixty rods (990 feet) of stone wall along the so-called “county road” (Pinnacle Road) that was being constructed through Lyndeborough. The Board of Selectmen solicited bids and awarded the project to three contractors, each responsible for completing a different portion of wall (Town of Lyndeborough, August 25, 1806). Notably, today most of the town’s sixty miles of maintained road in Lyndeborough—as well as many discontinued roads—are lined with double rows of stone walls. These walls, which may total more than 150 miles, were built in accordance with highway laws, rather than fencing laws, and are mentioned in division-of-fence records only as descriptive landmarks.

**Lyndeborough Divisions of Fence**

Divisions of fence in Lyndeborough mirror the period of stone-wall construction in New England in general. Lyndeborough municipal records include 132 divisions of fence, all of them dating from between 1800 and 1903 (Table 1). The first such agreement dates from August 14, 1800, when Amherst residents Ebenezer Odell and James Hopkins agreed to “divide fence” between their Lyndeborough properties. Fence viewers required Hopkins to pay Odell five dollars, possibly indicating that Odell already had constructed the entire fence (Town of Lyndeborough, August 14, 1800). The final division was recorded on October 29, 1903, when Rufus Chamberlain, an eighty-four-year-old former selectman, and seventy-two-year-old blacksmith and farmer Ward Cheever filed a division of fence with the Lyndeborough Town Clerk (Donovan and Woodward, 1906, 693-695; Town of Lyndeborough, October 29, 1903).
The earliest fence agreements include very little description. Some mention only the parties involved and the proportion of fence for which each was responsible, while others contain distances, a description of markers along which the fence should be constructed, and even the character of the property through which the fence would pass. An agreement between Zadoc Rodgers and Ebenezer Persons illustrates a division of fence in its simplest form:

Lyndeboro Nov 13th 1838. This may certify that Zadoc Rodgers of Lowell and Ebenezer Persons of Milford have divided fence this day. Zadoc Rodgers take the east half in sd. Lyndeboro, and Ebenezer Persons take the west half (Town of Lyndeborough, November 13, 1838).

Most divisions of fence, however, resemble the following agreement between Israel Goodridge and Solomon Phinney from September 9, 1815:

This day the subscribers agreed to the following division of fence. On Solomon Phinney’s south line against Israel H. Goodridge we agree that sd. Goodridge shall have ninety two rods on the west and sd. Phinney the remainder to the east corner consisting of about ninety-three rods. On sd. Phinney’s west line against sd. Goodridge we agree that sd. Goodridge have thirty-two rods on the south part and sd. Phinney the remainder to the road being about forty rods (September 9, 1815; recorded 1835).

Taken as a whole, these agreements reveal much about fence construction in Lyndeborough. For instance, an analysis of the dates on which landowners agreed to divisions of fence indicates the times of year during which they thought about fence construction (Fig. 1). Not surprisingly, the largest number of divisions occurred in April, May, and September, all of which are important agricultural months. June and August also registered a number of divisions of

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Table 1. Divisions of Fence By Month and Decade, 1800-1909.
fence, but July—a month during which farming activities are not as great as in other summer months—accounted for only two during the entire 103-year period. Perhaps most surprising is that a number of divisions occurred in winter months (October through March), a time when fields are frozen or mud-filled. This fact suggests that some farmers spent winters planning their fields and inspecting and repairing existing fences, but most did not consider their fences until the months of greatest agricultural activity.

![Bar chart showing total divisions of fence by month from 1800-1903.](image)

**Fig. 1.** Total Divisions of Fence By Month, 1800-1903.

Divisions of fence also reflect the period of stone-wall construction in New England (Fig. 2). Despite a small number of divisions issued between the first and second decades of the nineteenth century (11 in the 1800s, 10 in the 1810s), fence-construction records rose to 24 in the 1820s, and peaked at 34 in the 1830s. Divisions of fence gradually declined to 21 in the 1840s and to 18 in the 1850s. Although town records document only 11 divisions of fence in the 1860s, ten of those agreements date from between 1860 and 1865. Only three divisions of fence have been recorded since 1867: two in the 1870s, and one in 1903. This finding suggests that at least in Lyndeborough, stone-wall production continued until the end of the Civil War. The years agreed upon by most researchers as representing the end of the stone-wall building period, 1825 and 1840, actually represent the period during which construction peaked.
Decline in Fence Agreements After 1865

The reasons for the decline and, after 1865, the virtual disappearance of division-of-fence records are not known. The New Hampshire legislature made two important changes to the fencing laws at about the time when these agreements became less popular. In 1858, the state introduced a fine of $20 and up to six months in prison for the “willful and malicious removal or alteration” of property boundaries or the defacement, alteration, or removal of property-boundary monuments (State of New Hampshire, 1996, 2006). Four years later, the legislature passed a bill allowing for prescriptive rights in fence-upkeep controversies, so that informal maintenance agreements that had existed for at least twenty years had the same effect as “an agreement in writing made and recorded” (2610). While the 1858 law probably had no effect on fence-construction activities, the second law might explain the declining number of divisions of fence listed in town records after 1865.

Legal issues suggest another possible reason. From the 1850s to the 1890s, questions arose regarding the legal meanings of terminology used in some division agreements, such as the words “improved land,” “pasture land,” and “sufficient fence.” The qualifications of fence viewers, whether or not a fence could be divided “whether there is a fence existing on the line at the time of such division or not,” and the authority of fence viewers to make divisions on disputed property boundaries also came under scrutiny. These questions resulted in several lawsuits against or involving New Hampshire municipal fence viewers between 1851 and 1894 (State of New Hampshire, RSA 473). Although these lawsuits were not aimed directly at Lyndeborough fence viewers, they could indicate a general lack of confidence in divisions of fence as a tool for settling disputes.

\[Fig. 2. \text{Total Divisions of Fence By Decade, 1800-1903.}\]
Interestingly, the decline of divisions of fence corresponds with a rise in the belief that rural New England was in a state of decline. In reality, the region’s agriculture apparently showed improvement during this period (Bell, 1989). However, a number of researchers have found that between 1869 and 1940, images of New England became progressively negative, and that the region’s perceived decline was linked to Irish Catholic migration into rural areas (Barron, 1984, 31-50; Brown, 1995, 135-138; Conforti, 2002, 203-209; Roper, 2001, 36-37; 2003). An analysis of the relationships between this perception and the decline in divisions of fence is beyond the scope of this paper, but the coincidental timing of these changes merits further study.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to suggest that division-of-fence records potentially may be a valuable source in the study and understanding of New England stone walls. As a whole, local fencing agreements and state statutes suggest that fences served an important purpose as property-boundary markers in New Hampshire. State laws further document their older purpose as animal-control barriers. Furthermore, an analysis of Lyndeborough divisions of fence reveals that locally, the period of stone-wall construction stretched from 1800 to 1865, thereby exceeding that which researchers accept for New England as a whole.

Yet one must be careful in the application of Lyndeborough divisions of fence to New England stone-wall construction. The fact that these agreements indicate significant stone-wall construction as late as 1865 is important. Only an analysis of records kept by other rural communities can place the stone-wall construction patterns of Lyndeborough in regional context.

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NEW HAMPSHIRE SECRETARY OF STATE

POCIUS, Gerald L.

PROPRIETORS OF LYNDEBOROUGH, NEW HAMPSHIRE

ROPER, Scott C.


SLOANE, Eric

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

STRAIGHT, Stephen

TAYLOR, Alan
THORSON, Robert M.

TOWN OF LYNDEBOROUGH, NEW HAMPSHIRE


UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

WAUGH, H. Bernard, Jr.

WESSELS, Tom

**Contributor’s Biography**

Scott Roper is Assistant Professor of Geography and Coordinator of the Geography Program at Castleton State College in Vermont. He serves as book review editor for *Material Culture* and as editor of *PAST*. He developed an interest in Texas Panhandle graveyards between 2002 and 2005 when he taught at West Texas A&M University in Canyon, Texas.
ROCK WALL FOLK HOUSES OF THE WALDENSES: THE ALPINE ANTECEDENTS OF THE FOLK HOUSES OF VALDESE, NORTH CAROLINA

W. Frank Ainsley
University of North Carolina-Wilmington

In 1893 a group of Waldenses, a Protestant religious sect from northern Italy, established the town of Valdese in the Blue Ridge foothills of Burke County in western North Carolina. This Protestant Reformed sect had originated in France in the twelfth century, survived centuries of persecution by finding refuge in three valleys in the Cottian Alps - Val Pellice, Val Chisone, and Val Garmanasca. They migrated to North Carolina in search of new land because their narrow homeland valleys were too densely populated.

The Waldenses built their homes, most of which were single-unit house barns, using a traditional dry-wall rock construction. Several of these house barns were built in the Valdese area, providing a unique and unusual look to the rural landscape of North Carolina. This paper focuses first on the search for the Old World antecedents in the Waldensian Valleys of Italy, and then compares them to the folk houses built upon the arrival in the New World. It presents the preliminary results of a comprehensive survey of the extant folk buildings in Val Pellice, Val Chisone, and Val Germanasca conducted in September, 2004.

BRICK BARNs OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA: A PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Gary A. Albright
Harleysville, Pennsylvania

Unlike their counterparts in stone and wood, which are a common and familiar part of Pennsylvania’s cultural landscape, barns constructed of brick are less common and less well-known. Built in significant numbers only during a 50 year period from about 1840 to 1890, brick barns were the result of a convergence of factors - technological, social, and agricultural. They were built in the greatest numbers in south-central Pennsylvania and the adjacent counties of Maryland, becoming less frequent as one moves eastward toward the Delaware River. This presentation will provide a visual survey of brick barns in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.
THE BOLIVIAN CONNECTION: MIGRATION BETWEEN A NORTHERN ALBERTA MENNONITE COMMUNITY AND EASTERN BOLIVIA

Dawn S. Bowen and Marshall E. Bowen
Mary Washington College

In the Peace River country of northern Alberta, barely a hundred miles from Canada’s Northwest Territories, lies the small Mennonite community of La Crete. It might appear that such a remote location would limit La Crete’s connection with the outside world. But examination of this community’s history and social fabric reveals that considerable movement routinely takes place between La Crete and other Mennonite communities from Canada to South America, with especially strong connections linking it to colonies in the Amazon basin of eastern Bolivia. This paper reviews the early development of La Crete, describes the movement of hundreds of La Crete residents to Bolivia from 1967 onward, and documents a heavy return flow of Bolivian Mennonites back to La Crete, particularly within the past five years. It shows that while this small northern community was not fully prepared to accommodate so many newcomers, it is making a strong effort to help them make the enormous adjustment from Third World to First World living.

WHAT IS THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN LANDSCAPE?
CONTINUITIES, CONJECTURES, CONJUNCTURES

R. Troy Boyer
Indiana University

Although many students of vernacular architecture have approached a description of the Pennsylvania German sense of place, few have reached beyond the visible landscape of built things to discover the Pennsylvania Germans’ own subjective understanding of their environment. Sense of place, as I define it here, integrates both the objective and subjective poles of experience and is determined by people’s relations with both the sensible and the invisible landscapes. It serves as the most complete context for the interpretation of architectural expression in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country.

One might ask how we would arrive at the sense of place for Pennsylvania Germans living in past epochs. Of course, this is a question that cannot be answered definitively, but I would suggest that when dealing with sense of place we should not automatically assume discontinuity, as historians of events are wont to do. Vernacular architecture research has shown us that many formal qualities of architectural types remain constant over long periods even as stylistic change carries on rapidly in the same periods. Similarly,
sense of place is connected to the deep history of specific places as cultures interact with nature. Indeed, if genius loci, “the spirit of place,” is as difficult to obliterate as some writers suggest, then certainly we dismiss the possibilities of studying continuity as well as change, today’s dwellers in the Pennsylvania German landscape as well as their ancestors, at the risk of our interpretations.

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MEMORIAL REVOLUTIONARY WAR BURIAL SITE

Vivian Braubitz
Richboro, Pennsylvania

Local folklore and a diary kept the legend of a burial site in Langhorne, Pennsylvania alive over the years. When owners of the property applied for a permit to subdivide the tract for housing, a request was made by local historians to verify the information in the diary through archaeology, as it indicated the site to be the resting place for Revolutionary War soldiers. Research confirmed that orders by George Washington were issued for a hospital to be set in what is now Langhorne Borough for sick and wounded troops. Excavation located twenty nine graves, teeth, decayed bones and a few eighteenth century nails. Nine years and one lawsuit later, the site was saved from development and declared hallowed ground during a ceremony on Veterans’ Day. It is on the National Register of Historic Places and a Pennsylvania State Marker stands at the entrance.

LANDSCAPE CHANGE IN HOLLYWOOD (PENNNSYLVANIA)

Wayne Brew
Montgomery County Community College

A local developer named Gustav Weber while on a trip to the West Coast in the 1920s fell in love with the Spanish influenced Mission Style of architecture popular at the time in California. When he came back to the Philadelphia area he planned a residential enclave of this style just outside of the city limits near Rockledge which is located in Abington Township, Montgomery County. He called the development Hollywood and also named the streets from locations in California (Los Angeles, San Diego, etc). The project was abandoned by Weber and went into bankruptcy during the depression. The project was eventually completed in the 1940s by a Montgomery County developer named Sidney Robin. The original plans had called for construction techniques and foliage suited for a Mediterranean climate which had to be changed to adapt to a colder northern climate. There are a total of 120 houses in the development. Many of the homes have been
modified (ranging from slightly to drastically) to update the houses as styles have changed. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has listed this enclave as eligible for the national registry. This presentation will focus on the modifications that have been made to these houses over the years.

**UHLERSTOWN LOCKHOUSE**

**Patricia Ceglia**

**Lambertville, New Jersey**

The Ulherstown Lockhouse is a vernacular, wood-frame house built in 1829 on the edge of the Delaware Canal in the historic village of Uhlerstown. The Delaware Canal in both Bucks and Northampton counties has been on Preservation Pennsylvania’s “Pennsylvania At Risk” list since 1993. The purpose of the paper is to identify historic building materials worthy of protection; to describe the present condition of the house with photographs, floor plans, a brief history of the property, and an explanation for why it should be preserved. This report was used by the Friends of Delaware Canal to solicit grant funds for construction materials and labor, and as a maintenance guide by the Delaware Canal State Park.

**HENRY HOWE’S IMAGES OF MAIN STREET OHIO**

**Craig E. Colton**

**Louisiana State University**

Donald Meinig referred to Main Streets as one of the three principal symbolic landscapes of America. As an iconographic image, Main Streets centered on an east-west trending street faced by tightly spaced commercial structures. Joe Wood demonstrated that the symbol did not conform to the early settlement form of the New England village. Is the same true for the Main Street of the Middle Border? Henry Howe, an itinerant historical encyclopedist, created an amazing catalog of early images of Main Streets in Ohio. He produced paired drawings of numerous Ohio Main Streets; the first in 1847 and a second appeared in 1896. The sequential drawings illustrate almost half century of urban development, with the second half depicting full blown Main Streets. This paper will examine the paired illustrations as a historical record of the evolution of American Main Street centered urban places. The results will document the physical transformation of towns centered on prominent public structures into the commercial artery associated with Main Street.
OLD ORDER AMISH FARMS IN THE PEQUEA VALLEY

Barbara Copp
A.D. Marble and Company

This paper will attempt to explain the development and present day appearance of Old Order Amish farms in a rural landscape in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, which is currently being studied as part of proposed improvements to U.S. Route 30. This area, which was inhabited by members of the Amish community beginning in the early nineteenth century, became more heavily populated by Amish after World War II. This paper will briefly discuss how the Amish group arose; how their religious beliefs and proscribed behaviors have evolved over time; and how they have impacted the appearance of the built environment and landscape of the study area. Examples of specific landscape characteristics that will be addressed include buggy sheds, alternative power sources, the intensive cultivation of farmland, the Dawdy Haus, kettle house additions to dwellings, and structures housing home enterprises. This paper will also attempt to distinguish between two types of farms which were identified in the study area: “pure” Amish farms, being those farms that retain features that represent sustained ownership by members of the Amish community over time, and “altered” Amish farms, being those farms that have been more recently occupied by members of the Amish community.

ALADDIN COMPANY HOUSES IN BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND

Michael W.R. Davis
Eastern Michigan University

In 1917 the Aladdin Company of Bay City, Michigan, a catalogue house company, filled its largest single order - 252 wartime housing units for the Austin Motor Company in Birmingham, England. Thus was a cultural landscape of American Midwestern wooden homes with front porches, vernacular housing at its best, transplanted back to Old Europe. As part of a continuing series for the Pioneer America Society on company towns, the presenter will describe his successful search for this community and its unusual landscape of accommodation.
THE BANK-INTO-FOREBAY BARNs OF BUCKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

Robert Ensminger
Allentown, Pennsylvania

The Bank-into-Forebay barn is a subtype of the Standard Pennsylvania barn and is the least common type of Pennsylvania barn. A small group of Bank-into-Forebay barns occurs in the village of Buchs in eastern Switzerland. In North America, one has been identified in central Missouri and one is located in north central Bucks County, Pennsylvania. This paper will deal with this latter group. Their location and unique morphology will be examined. Reasons for their presence in Bucks County will be considered.

DISTRIBUTION OF SWITZERS - THE EARLIEST CLASS OF FOREBAY BARNs IN SOUTHEAST PENNSYLVANIA

Gregory D. Huber
Past Perspectives

The Pennsylvania Forebay barn with its diagnostic front wall cantilevered section is composed of three principal classes - Switzer, Standard, and Extended types. This log form of the Switzer class with its asymmetrical roofline closely duplicates one of the barn forms that is commonly found in eastern Switzerland - the Double Log Crib Eave Forebay Switzer. The earliest forebay type barn to appear in Pennsylvania was likely this barn form.

From the current numbers and types of extant Forebay barns in southeast Pennsylvania, it is probable that log Switzers were first constructed in Lancaster County as the greatest concentration of pre-Switzers of either log or stone construction. Other relatively high densities of this barn class occur in the southern half of adjacent Lebanon County and the western third of nearby Berks County. Progressing into the eastern one-half or one-third of Berks County, far fewer Switzers are encountered. Still farther east into adjacent Lehigh County and Northampton County that abuts the Delaware River, Switzers of any type become very rare. South of this four county area into Bucks, Montgomery, Chester, and Delaware counties, Switzers occur only very sporadically. The Standard barn with symmetrical roofline occurs far more regularly where the Switzer barn is less frequently seen.
DOLLINGTON AND BROWNSBURG VILLAGE

Jane and John Johnson
Dolington, Pennsylvania

The village of Dolington in Upper Makefield Township, central Bucks County, is named in honor of the first settler, Peter Dolin. Dolin first occupied a log house on the south side of the intersection of Dolington and Washington Crossing Roads between 1765 and 1772. From 1791 through 1801 Whitson Canby, a blacksmith with a keen eye for real estate sold off individual lots ranging in size from 1-16 acres. By 1804 Dolington boasted 23 houses; most of the log houses which had accounted for nearly half of the village in 1795-96 had been replaced by newer and grander stone homes by this time. The 1850 census shows Dolington as being an active business center. An 1876 newspaper article noted that the village contained two stores, two blacksmiths, a saloon, a harness maker, wheelwright, shoemaker, post office, tailors, two good schools, a butcher, and an excellent library.

Architecturally, Dolington is important in representing a basically even classed village of independent artisans and small businesses with the overwhelming majority of primary structures being comfortably sized homes for single families. Its architecture reflects the village’s commercial niche as a village of individual entrepreneurs without a central commercial force. It contrasts with other historic villages and towns such as Brownsburg where the milling, manufacturing, and canal industries created a dichotomy between the wealthy business owner and the working class, with the latter housed in multi-family houses or tenements.

The historic village of Dolington is currently threatened by a conditional land use application that is under review by an appointed hearing officer representing the Upper Makefield Township Board of Supervisors. Brownsburg Village has three developments built around it. The Village has been swallowed up by these developments and is barely recognizable.
THE VANISHING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE  
OF THE LIBERTY BELL LIMITED  

David Kimmerly  
Heritage Conservancy

This paper will examine the relic landscape of an interurban trolley line that connected Allentown to Philadelphia. The trolley line operated parallel to the route the Liberty Bell took through Bucks and Montgomery counties when it was evacuated from Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War. The Liberty Bell trolley line was operated by the Lehigh Valley Transit Company from 1900 to 1951, the longest operating trolley line in Bucks and Montgomery counties. Its eventual demise has left a lasting, but fading, imprint on the landscape. Remnants of bridges, stations, right of way, power houses, and car barns are evident on the landscape. Indirectly, the trolley line resulted in early suburban development.

CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSES IN NEWTOWN, BUCKS COUNTY - 1865-1905  

Jeffrey L. Marshall  
Heritage Conservancy

Architectural historians often have to estimate when a house was constructed. They often do not know how long it took to construct a house in the nineteenth century. In describing historic buildings they tend to discuss architectural elements using contemporary terms without knowing how the buildings were described in their time.

Using the archives of the Newtown Historic Association and the Newtown Enterprise newspaper, which began publication in 1868, this presentation accurately describes the construction of residential architecture in Newtown Borough in the forty years between 1865 and 1905. In addition to revealing the names of the builders and architects that are now available through deed records, many of the newspaper items reveal the context of the house within the cultural landscape of the town.
THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY AND ITS CURRENT DILEMMA

Chris Mayda
Eastern Michigan University

The Oneida Association was a religious utopian community that existed from 1848 to 1881. During this time the group grew from 87 to over 300 people living communally in what was known as “the mansion,” built between Utica and Syracuse, New York, an area called the “burned over district.” Controversial distinctions of the Oneida community were the belief in complex marriage and male continence. The break up of the formal community did not end the occupancy of the magnificent building that housed them. It is still occupied today, partially as a museum, but also by many who have ties to the old Oneida Community. This will be a brief introduction to the history of the Oneida Community and the burned over district, along with a report of the current state of the building and its occupants.

MT. HEBRON HOMESTEAD: A HALL/PARLOR AND PASSAGE HALF-HOUSE IN FRONTIER MARYLAND

Alice Reed Morrison
North Troy, Vermont

In the late 1760s three Quaker brothers from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, the Ellicotts, moved south looking for land to buy and by 1774 they had established several mills on the Patapsco River in Baltimore County, Maryland, 15 miles west of the city of Baltimore. Settlement-era log buildings were being replaced with larger, more elaborate structures, many formed from granite in a manner familiar to the former Pennsylvanian Ellicotts. Sometime around 1800 (no structure is noted on the 1798 atlas) just such a second-generation stone house was built on the high point of farmland north along the Patapsco River about 10 miles from Ellicott Mills, called Mt. Hebron plantation. The house conformed to the folk architectural form denoted as hall/parlor, but includes a passage formed with a beadboard wall between the two unevenly-sized rooms, thus making the structure a transitional form between the traditional hall/parlor and central passage houses. The most striking aspect of this house is that only one-half of its full side-gable roof form was constructed, leaving a large, vertical rear wall exposed to the west with a rear door and second story windows, presumably to be finished in the future as expenses permitted into a full side-gable roof, mass plan home with central hall separating four rooms in pairs.
GODFREY BROWN
Mary Ann Olding
Union Institute and University

My topic covers the story of Godfrey Brown, a mulatto born enslaved in 1768 in Virginia. After accounts of his valor in the Revolutionary War, documents show that he bought freedom for his wife and 12 family members, and moved to Greene County, Ohio in 1822. He bought 254 acres of land near Xenia where he established a church, cemetery, and the Brown Settlement. In 1837 he found more Ohio land near the Indiana border where he bought over 900 acres in Van Wert County. Godfrey Brown died in 1843, but after the Civil War his grandsons claimed the land and established a settlement named Wren where Harvey Brown still lives on land his great grandfather bought in 1837. Descendants of Godfrey Brown still live in Xenia and Wren, two family histories have been written, and the family has celebrated at an annual reunion for decades. The family also has copies of the emancipation papers, charcoal sketches, portraits, and land deeds. I have met with both Ohio families and also located the Virginia plantation where Godfrey Brown and his family were enslaved.

VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE OF MID-MARYLAND
Paula S. Reed
Paula S. Reed and Associates

The central part of Maryland now encompassed by Frederick, Washington, and Carroll counties has roots that extend deep into America’s history. These counties truly link North and South, bordering, except for Carroll, both on Pennsylvania and on Virginia. Farmsteads that became hallmarks of the region’s cultural landscape were initially held for the most part by either well-to-do Englishmen migrating into the area from the tidewater section of the colony or by a large and prominent contingent of Germans, moving down from Pennsylvania or arriving directly from Europe. Those two prominent groups form colorful threads in the rich cultural tapestry that characterizes mid Maryland’s heritage. Members of these and other groups blended, yet remained distinct as they combined to create mid-Maryland’s cultural identity. The region’s vernacular architecture expresses the variety of traditions combining strong Germanic influence with that of English settlers, as well as interpretations of trends in architectural style. The region prospered, due largely to a strong grain-based agricultural economy, providing the wherewithal for an outstanding collection of houses, barns and outbuildings from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
HENSLEY: A TWENTIETH CENTURY PIONEER FOLK LOG SETTLEMENT

John B. Rehder
University of Tennessee

This paper explores the folk nature of Hensley, a twentieth century pioneer folk settlement in Bell County in southernmost Kentucky. In 1903 a “first effective settlement” and initial occupancy took root on the Cumberland Plateau in southern Kentucky in an isolated spot just 12 miles east of the famous Cumberland Gap. Between 1903 and 1951, two clans of folk - the Hensleys and Gibbons, pioneer settlers all, built about 40 log structures on 150 acres of cleared land in a tract of 500 acres. In nearly fifty years of occupation, Hensley had no roads, no electricity, and no motorized vehicles. The population went from none to three in 1903 to about 160 in the 1930s, then back to one then none by 1951. Hensley was the epitome of self-sufficiency; food, fuel, water, clothing, shelter, and most implements came from the hard work of these twentieth century pioneers. The Hensley Settlement represents important settlement concepts: initial occupancy, first effective settlement, and residual traditional log work for this late time and in the region. But it was not a Depression log house resurgence. Rather, Hensley represents one of the last places in Appalachia to have a continuum of nineteenth century log building that took place in the twentieth century. Here, folk houses of saddlebag, Cumberland, and box types along with half dovetail notches and saddle and saddle V notches on a temporal plane of oak to chestnut to cedar timbers confirm a material culture of extraordinary historical value.

LITHUANIAN-AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE AND LITURGICAL ARTS

Milda B. Richardson
Brandeis University

The most public expression of Lithuanian-American ethnic identity can be seen in the building of churches and the liturgical arts. The original interior of St. George Church in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, is a particularly fine example of Lithuanian-American ecclesiastical design rooted in folk art. The typical Gothic Revival exterior of the 1891 church offers no clue to the magnificence of the interior ceiling and walls covered with Lithuanian folk art designs. In addition, colorful motifs based on spirals and sun disks found in wood carvings surround the saints in the luminous stained glass windows. Following a fire in 1938, which left the interior of the church badly damaged, this artistic program was initiated by Father Juozas Karalius, a pastor of deep ethnic consciousness, who based his
ideas on the recent publications of traditional Lithuanian folk arts. A seminal series of publications on folk art in the 1930s was a part of the Arts and Crafts movement in Lithuania, headed by Antanas Tamosaitis (1906-) and other cultural leaders who were documenting and reviving rural crafts.

Following World War II, the new wave of Lithuanian immigrants to America were able to provide exiled architects and artists with venues for creative expression in ecclesiastical projects. Modernist architects invariably produced designs deeply rooted in the wooden vernacular architecture of the homeland. The Transformation of Christ parish church, designed in 1962 by Jonas Mulokas (1907-1983) for the immigrants in Maspeth, New York, is an award winning steel, aluminum, and glass translation of the ground hugging thatch rooflines and decorated ridgepoles of rural dwellings and barns. The skylight which runs the length of the ridgepole directs the rays of the sun dramatically to Vytautas Jonynas's (1907-1997) sculpture of Christ set against a richly patterned aureole based on Lithuanian wayside shrines. Bell towers of Mulokas churches are often stylized versions of the wayside shrine. In the Neo-Baroque parish church completed in 1957 for the large Lithuanian community in Marquette Park, Chicago, Mulokas designed original interior carvings and capitals based on folk art.

One of Lithuania’s earliest abstract painters, Kazys Varnelis (1917-), designed the iconographic program for the Immaculate Conception Convent chapel in Connecticut, where each stained glass window represents a stylized version of the Madonna as worshipped in Lithuania. In 1988, in commemoration of the 600th jubilee of Christianity in Lithuania, murals and sculpture were installed in Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Cleveland, Ohio, with images depicting various aspects of Lithuanian Catholic life by architect Eduardas Kersnauskas and sculptor Romojus Mozoliauskas. At the center of Catholic life in America is the Chapel of Our Lady of Siluva, 1961-66, at the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D.C. The decorative program, designed by Jonynas, combines rural and urban images, together with themes of exile, and is unified by symbolic motifs based on weaving and carving. This presentation is based on extensive fieldwork, interviews and archival study in Lithuania and the United States, and will be illustrated with slides.
If, as Arjun Appadurai suggests, locality is ephemeral unless it is rigorously maintained through social practice, it follows that localities change, even vanish, with lapses in meaningful practices. What happens when local (vernacular) architecture, a spatiotemporal expressive form, remains in “place,” but is not reproduced, in the midst of social change? Is it only a palimpsest of a past locality? Or can older vernacular structures be place-markers that accumulate and generate local meaning beyond their functional “lifespan”? My paper looks at the cellar houses of Ritchie County, West Virginia as “crucibles of memory,” physical forms that generate meaningful social and personal narratives. However, I argue that “local” structures such as the cellar house are not only links to memory, they are also sites with an “affecting presence” of their own that permeates the local spatial dimension.

Cellar houses dot the landscape throughout south-central Appalachia. The two-story structures are built into hillsides and feature a full above ground frame room over a half-submerged stone cellar. The frame upstairs rooms of these cellar houses have had multiple functions - from smokehouses to laundry rooms to storage sheds - while the cellar underneath has been used mostly for food storage and preservation. While people do not seem to be building new cellar houses of the traditional design in northwestern West Virginia, many people maintain the ones they have and some continue to use them.

The cellar house is central to foodways long practiced in the area - kitchen gardening, canning, and home butchering. These practices have thrived in the region despite increased economic solvency and access to seasonal foods year around. Throughout rural West Virginia, food production and storage is one measure of self-sufficiency - a vigilantly honed local ethos. The cellar house, with its capacity for long-term food storage, communicates a version of this ethos. However, these structures- many of them empty of food and functioning primarily as tool sheds - are likewise echo chambers of change.

Rich texts of personal, family, and social histories emerge out of talk about cellar houses. One consistent narrative strand points to significant change in alimination. A departure from home food production and storage in the past thirty years marks a pivotal change in locally meaningful social practice. As such, the cellar house (and other vernacular structures) is an evocative piece in conversations about cultural conservation and the nuances of persistent local identities.
RANCH HOUSES

Stephen Straight
Deland, Florida

Some ranch houses built after World War II are now over fifty years old. According to architectural historian Longstreth some of them should be preserved. He said, “The post war building boom of the middle class housing is unlikely to ever happen again.” Nothing has affected the landscape of North America as much as this. The automobile became dominant, railroad stations and inner cities were abandoned. Before 1980 seventy three percent of housing starts were ranches. Sprawl affects landscape. In Ohio between 1960 and 1990 it consumed land five times faster than the rate of population growth. Ranch houses were developed out of the Spanish Patio house, Longstreth wrote in the book, The Building of Main Street.

VINEGAR HILL: THE STREET THAT LIMESTONE BUILT

Joanne Raetz Stuttgen
Martinsville, Indiana

Located in Bloomington, Indiana, Vinegar Hill Historic District is a remarkable collection of limestone houses built by quarry owners and immigrant carvers. The limestone barons preferred large Revival style residences. The master carvers built small cottages recalling the architecture of their native countries and made their yards into personal folk art environments. The carvers’ artistry is evident throughout the district in exterior wall surfaces decorated with limestone griffins, gargoyles, portraiture, flora and Art-deco inspired geometric designs, and in interior limestone fireplace surrounds richly embellished with detailed carvings.

Vinegar Hill’s association with the Indiana limestone industry is significant, but no less so is its association with nearby Indiana University. It was home to a number of nationally and internationally recognized faculty members, including sex researchers Alfred and Clara Kinsey, Nobel prize winning geneticist Herman Muller, and others.

In Vinegar Hill, the mingling of local businessmen and professionals and scholars of international experience resulted in houses derived from a variety of interesting sources, including one mail order house, one Ernest Flagg design, one copy of the model home at the 1929 Indianapolis Home Show, and a number of houses designed by local architect Alfred Grindle, a native of England.
HISTORIC AFRICAN-AMERICAN RURAL COMMUNITIES
IN WASHINGTON COUNTY, MARYLAND

Edie Wallace
Paula S. Reed and Associates

The picturesque hillsides of west-central Maryland’s Washington County were once considered the most marginal land. Over time, mountain woodlots became hardscrabble subsistence farmsteads, many occupied by freed African-American slaves. The scattered rural communities that developed following emancipation represent a significant segment of the region’s historic cultural landscape. With the decline of small farms and the migration of many rural African-Americans to urban areas, few recall the presence of the freedmen’s communities in rural Washington County.

Composed of the buildings that held importance to residents, it was the church and school building, surrounded by a scatter of houses or farmsteads, which defined the community landscape. Relegated to hillside property once considered inferior, these historic cultural landscapes are now threatened by modern construction of large houses with “a view.”

Preservation of historic African-American rural community landscapes is an opportunity to provide people with a tangible link to a more authentic past. Using strategies that encourage documentation, preservation, and reuse, the goal of enlarging our historical perspective as well as maintaining historic cultural landscapes as useful resources can be achieved.
LIVING PICTURES, MISSING PICTURES: Mannequins, Museums, and Modernity
by
Mark B. Sandberg

xvi + 330pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographic references, and index. $27.95 (paper), ISBN 0-691-05074-0.

Reviewed for PAS by Seth C. Bruggeman

By now we all know the story of cultural upheaval and representational crisis so often told about the turn of the twentieth century. Western modernity, as the story goes, had only just begun to get its legs when it slammed headlong into an unprecedented regime of social, intellectual, and technological tumult during the years immediately prior to and proceeding the turn of the century. Although vestiges of premodern lifeways persisted in remote pockets of the nascent postmodern world, the rest of us were lulled into predictable patterns of production and consumption by hegemons cleverly coded into the material world around us. Scholars now struggle to find agency in a world where technologies of representation reify contrived differences so effectively that it is often not even clear what is at stake in those struggles. Hence, we have witnessed western society’s plunge into the eternal unreal.

It is a common story these days, a classic tale of before and after. But is it wise to balance such precise notions of then and now atop the fulcrum of only a few decades? Maybe movies and radios did fundamentally alter ideas about time, light, and space in hot spots like Paris and New York, but can we say the same about the outlying regions of western modernity? Mark B. Sandberg wrestles with this question in Living Pictures, Missing Persons: Mannequins, Museums, and Modernity. After years of sifting through rich Scandinavian museum archives, Sandberg crafts a fascinating tale of mimesis and change within the wax museums and open air folk museums of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. He contends, as do others, that the turn of the century was remarkable because it witnessed an
unprecedented mobility of people, things, images, and ideas. In Scandinavia, where new representational technologies emerged more slowly than elsewhere, the concept of mobility itself became an important mode of spectatorship. Consequently, Scandinavian museums embraced a distinct aesthetic of mobility that blended cinematic virtuality with the visceral materiality of early modern Europe curiosity cabinets. This representational impulse never fully yielded to the moving picture, but rather persists to this day in what Sandberg calls living pictures.

High-order living pictures first appeared in cities like Copenhagen and Stockholm during the mid-1880s as urban developers sought to emulate continental entertainments. Wax museums—or “panoptikons,” as they were called—portrayed famous people and historical characters in lively tableau. Folk museums used similar display methods and perpetuated the ethnographic impulse of late-century international exhibitions by showcasing the supposedly vanishing material culture and lifeways of premodern Scandinavians. Because panoptikons concerned themselves with predominately urban themes and folk museums championed the rural, it might appear that both represent distinct museological phenomena. Sandberg argues the contrary and posits that both took their cues from an increasingly pervasive culture of effigy. Museum mannequins functioned as effigies that, by definition, “serve as a picture of” real bodies; place holders that literally “body forth.” At a time in history when so many real bodies were forced out of place by population shifts resulting from economic and political upheaval throughout northern Europe, and when new technologies of representation like film, photography, and sound recording problematized the ontological status of lived reality, the substitution of mannequins for missing bodies made representational sense to a culture coping with rapid change. Panoptikon and folk-museum mannequins worked like any other kind of recording technology by putting into circulation materially accessible substitutes for what was otherwise exotic or unavailable.

Sandberg is careful to remind us that mannequins appeared previously at various historical moments whose exigencies required ready circulation of popular images. Madam Tussaud’s famous collection of wax mannequins, for example, satisfied the mid-nineteenth century memory needs of England and France’s post-revolutionary generation. As manifest at the turn of the century, though, effigy culture featured distinctly modern overtones. As one might infer from the word “panoptikon,” echoes of Foucault ring throughout Sandberg’s analysis. The author argues convincingly that the very manner in which mannequin tableau were deployed in Scandinavian museums served didactic ends by cultivating an etiquette of looking appropriate to urban public space. For onlookers, immersion in living pictures often involved various entrapment scenarios where casual voyeurism might be permissible, but gawking or crossing the fine line between spectatorship and intrusion was
discouraged. In this way, living pictures cultivated “voyeuristic competencies” akin to film and reminded the individual of his or her proper place within the urban totality. It is this pedagogical purpose, Sandberg argues, that explains in part the widespread turn-of-the-century museological shift from taxonomy to virtuality.

But Scandinavian museums were only able to conjure the virtual by accentuating the real. It is this aspect of Sandberg’s account that is most provocative and perhaps most valuable for material culture scholars. The successful panoptikon relied upon elaborate *mise-en-scène* effects for full mimetic impact. And what better to authenticate wax figures of famous people than the actual objects those individuals owned and used in real life. Sandberg demonstrates that, in the increasingly competitive pursuit of authenticity, panoptikon curators participated in a wide-ranging market for historic relics. In fact, accounts of auctions held to dispose of defunct panoptikon holdings demonstrate that onlookers came to value proximity to famous objects more than the actual mannequins. At folk museums, the objects were so “real” that museum pioneers like Artur Hazelius slowly replaced mannequins with live costumed interpreters lest the objects out-authenticate their contexts. Herein lies one point of origin for modern living history museums and front-line costumed interpretation.

Sandberg explores with great skill the representational complexities resulting from this investment in authenticity fetishism. His analysis is especially refreshing because it avoids dwelling, as so many material culture studies do, on the nostalgia and commodity value of historic objects. An unfortunate side effect of the cultural and linguistic turn on material culture studies is the tendency of scholars to figure objects solely as loci of complex meaning-making processes. This mode of analysis is important, but it neglects the essential materiality of human-object interactions. Perhaps because Sandberg comes to us from outside the field—his specialties are in Scandinavian and Film Studies—he places materiality at the center of his analysis and recognizes that individuals frequently reconcile their relationship with the past by feeling, touching, and literally putting themselves into the material worlds of their predecessors. This is important because once the proximity value of historical objects is granted, we see that the turn of the century did not necessarily redefine how individuals understand materiality, but rather it provided them with new ways to express very old ideas about things and thingness. The late-century relic trade described above, for instance, should remind us of the functionally identical trade in sacred objects that spread throughout Europe and the Middle East following the early Christian church’s normalization of the cult of saints’ relics. Object fetishism is a longstanding feature of human cultures the world-wide and *fin-de-siècle* representational upheaval in no way wiped the slate clean. The phenomenon Sandberg describes persists today and we must understand it if we are to make sense of our own historical sensibilities. 

*Living Pictures, Missing Persons* is an important step in that
direction and helps upset the too frequently asserted binary opposition of modern and pre-modern. The book is successful because Sandberg in not just an acute cultural observer, but also a fine historian. His synthesis of museum records is impressive and stands as a model of what we can learn about objects by studying the people who put them into circulation. A more substantial account of Scandinavian political and cultural trends at the turn of the century would help explain to Americanists why effigy culture followed its particular course in northern Europe. To this end, a map of the region would also be helpful. Otherwise, this is a splendid book full of wonderful illustrations that add substantially to Sandberg’s argument. Princeton University Press would be well advised to market the book outside their cultural studies and visual culture series. Sandberg’s work has important implications for material culture studies and will hopefully be a starting point for future investigations that explore both the deep origins and future possibilities of living pictures.

Seth C. Bruggeman graduated with his Ph.D. from the American Studies Program at the College of William and Mary in December, 2006. His research interests include material culture, public history, and the history of museums in the United States. His dissertation, “Birthing Washington,” considers the role of objects in negotiations of power and authenticity at the George Washington Birthplace National Monument.

BLESSED WITH TOURISTS:
The Borderlands of Religion and Tourism in San Antonio
by
Thomas S. Brenner

Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004

Reviewed for PAS by Rand Carter

In this delightfully readable book, Thomas S. Brenner, Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at Rhodes College in Memphis, Tennessee, examines the intersection between religion and tourism in the eighteenth-century mission churches of San
Antonio. Originally founded by the Franciscan Order to convert and educate the indigenous population of south Texas, four of these missions continue to serve the local community as parish churches within the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio.

Brenner argues that both religious adherents and tourists “demonstrate a concern for space and maintain deep attachments to special places” (p.3). The strong connection between place and identity obtains for both members of a religious community and those drawn to particular tourist sites. Brenner makes much use of the terms “locative” and “itinerant,” by which he means those architecturally constructed and natural features that lend stability and permanence to a place and make it recognizable as opposed to those ephemeral dimensions of place that involve mobility and enable the traveler “to map the spaces they traverse into conceptual categories (p.12).

After outlining the history of San Antonio as a place, Brenner examines the evolution of the Spanish Mission San Antonio de Valero (the Alamo) from a colonial center of religious and social instruction as well into a tourist attraction associated not with Christian saints but with political martyrs. Chapter Three tells the story of those four missions that maintain a vital link with the pre-1836 history of the region: Missions Concepción, San José, San Juan, and Espada. These sites make clear how much richer Texas history is than the story of those Protestant “Anglos” who immigrated there from Tennessee and elsewhere after 1821. Here we find evidence (often living) of the native peoples who inhabited the region before the Europeans arrived, and of the crucial role the Spanish played in the history of what is now the United States of America. They also remind us that Roman Catholics have always played a major role in the history of North America. Although these missions fell into disrepair after the colonial period, they were never abandoned as centers of community religious life.

The story of the Alamo is the most troubling story in Brenner’s narrative. It became something of a shrine almost immediately following the fateful battle in 1836 in which a handful of defenders allied with those “Texians” seeking independence from Mexico were annihilated by the superior forces of the Mexican General Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana. Yet during the century that elapsed between the “fall of the Alamo” and the Texas Centenary in 1936, the ruinous church was used for such secular purposes as a military depot or even a stable for animals, while the much altered convent complex housed various commercial enterprises. During the early twentieth century two factions of the DRT (Daughters of the Republic of Texas) fought over how the site of the battle should be presented. Adina de Zavala, granddaughter of Lorenzo de Zavala, the first vice-president of the Republic of Texas, argued that the convent buildings and the space in front of the church—the actual location of the battle—should be preserved and restored to the condition they had enjoyed in mission times. But the prevailing view was that of the much wealthier Clara
Driscoll who favored removing the convent buildings in order to “lend more prominence to the chapel...” (p.54). How many visitors today realize that the building they see has little historic authenticity, that in 1836 it was a roofless ruin and that the upper façade with its famous profile was a later invention, or that the fabled defense occurred in what is now Alamo Plaza? Although this is in fact acknowledged by sculptor Pompeo Coppini’s cenotaph of 1939, few visitors today note that it is this marble and granite monument and not the former church building that marks the actual historic site.

Even more disturbing, however, is the “historic“ message that many visitors take away. The notion of brave “Anglos” fighting for their freedom against depraved “greasers” is both racist and wrong. Many of those who fought for Texas Independence were Tejanos and the signers of the Texas Declaration of Independence included José Antonio Navarro. Among the Texian martyrs was former slave trader Jim Bowie. “In fact, a key issue in the Texas Revolution was the ownership of slaves; Mexico prohibited slavery, and slaveowners who were relocating to Texas from the American South found themselves at odds with the laws of their newly adopted nation. Hence the freedom that the revolutionaries sought was in part the freedom to own slaves” (p.41). To this racism directed against both Mexicans and African Americans must be added the anti-Catholicism of the conventional Alamo narrative, which depicts the Franciscan missionaries as cruel and ultimately unsuccessful in their attempts to civilize the natives. This last myth can easily be dispelled by a visit to those missions still functioning as religious communities in which many of the members proudly trace their ancestry back to the pre-colonial population and to the early converts.

The fourth of his five chapters considers HemisFair ‘68, held in San Antonio in 1968. As the theme of this World’s Fair was “The Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas,” it was hoped that the various religious communities of this ethnically diverse city would collaborate on an “Inter-Faith Center” at the very core of the fair grounds. The building itself and the exhibits within would demonstrate how the various religions could work together for the common good. The architect Louis Kahn was approached to design the pavilion. But the social upheavals of the late 1960s undermined these intentions. Bishop Leven came to believe that the considerable funds necessary for a monumental building might be better spent on alleviating some of the social problems of the day. A handful of religious sects were represented separately at the fair, but the spirit of oecumenism was supplanted by the “selling” of particular creeds to the fairgoers. A popular hit at the fair was one that involved religious ritual, even if the religious ritual was more meaningful to the performers than to the spectators. Los Valadores de Papantla, the “flying Indians” from Mexico, costumed as elaborately plumed birds, leapt from a 141-foot pole secured at their waists by ropes wound round the pole. As the ropes gradually unwound the four Indians descended in ever widening circles. This was followed by the real
crowd pleaser: the reenactment of an ancient Aztec ritual “sacrifice” of a bare-breasted female.

Much of the work of restoration at the various missions was hastened by the hope that visitors to the fair would stay to visit the historic sites of the city. This touristic display of religion prompted the Church’s decision to charge admission to the mission sites, since the large numbers of tourists to be expected would necessitate guides, extra maintenance people, and other services that would strain the Church’s financial resources. The year 1983 saw the creation of the San Antonio Missions National Park, which gave the National Park Service responsibility for the day-to-day maintenance of the sites as well as the interpretation for visitors of their historic significance. Since the Roman Catholic Church retained control over the religious life of the parishes housed at the missions, some conflict was inevitable. The push to acquire land in and around the sites led to the loss of homes and businesses belonging to the parishioners, and, Brenner argues, the new status of the mission churches resulted in a sort of archaicization of the worship services taking place there. The missions as historic relics come “alive” for visitors but the worshippers may seem like performers. The historical authenticity of the sacramental life of the parishes can also be questioned. Modern practices of the Novus Ordo Church bear little resemblance to the practices of the Church in colonial times, and other pressures of “modern life” may also be in conflict with the historical interpretation of the sites. Equally problematic is the question of the relation between “church and state” in a national park jointly administered by the federal government and the Roman Catholic Church. Some park service guides interpret the mission compounds but avoid accompanying visitors into the churches or commenting on the liturgical furnishings or practices which they house for fear of appearing to promote a particular religious tradition. Such practices as mariachi masses may have more to do with attracting tourists than serving the spiritual needs of the faithful.

That the lessons to be learned by submitting to the spell of a place can either enthrall or liberate is fully acknowledged in a passage toward the end of the book when Brenner observes: “In the most vulgar interpretations of Mission San Antonio, the Alamo represents a nativist, often racist, sense of Anglo-American triumph and superiority, whereas the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park presents a multicultural, multiracial picture of harmony and shared heritage. Thus, drawing on closely related, interdependent historical contexts, these two places narrate two very different identities for the American Nation” (p. 128).

It is highly significant that the Alamo and the San Antonio National Mission Park became major tourist attractions in quite different generations and one might argue that the widely held political and social assumptions of those two generations conspired to promote rather different national identities.

Although Brenner is not an architectural historian this book will
interest all those committed to historic preservation. Anyone wishing to understand better how certain places become special and how these special places help confer identity on those who visit them will find much of value here.

A native Texan, Rand Carter is Professor of the History of Art at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York. He has lectured and published widely on seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth-century architecture in Europe and North America.

RESTORING A PRESENCE:
American Indians and Yellowstone National Park
by
Peter Nabokov and Lawrence Loendorf

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004
xvii + 400 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, and index
$39.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8061-3589-1

Reviewed for PAS by Terri Castaneda

In the last half of the nineteenth century, American Indians were typically conflated with nature in two contradictory ways. On the one hand, they were celebrated and romanticized as the very embodiments of the majestic American West. On the other, they were characterized as part and parcel of nature, and thereby relegated to a realm of existence that is posed in symbolic opposition to humanity and the driving force of so-called civilization. Not surprisingly, each of these discourses figures prominently into the story of Yellowstone National Park’s creation and history. Established in 1872, the park was meant to serve as both a monument to the spectacular grandeur of the Yellowstone Plateau region and as a lasting testament to the raw material out of which a new nation had heroically been carved. Its 3,449 square miles enfold not simply the country’s first and largest “natural” preserve (p.8), but a rich cultural landscape that predates the park’s founding by thousands of years. Yet for more than a century, official and popular discourse about the park has held that it was literally *terra nullius*, territory into which American Indians did not venture, much less live. In *Restoring a Presence*, anthropologists Peter Nabokov and Lawrence Loendorf trace the various strands of this fiction in an effort to set the record straight and perhaps, by extension, lay sufficient groundwork for the park to begin restoring a contemporary American Indian presence to Yellowstone, however limited and symbolic.
The original research for this book was carried out between 1994 and 1998, under the auspices of the National Park Service (NPS). More often than not, research commissioned by government agencies is either so extraordinarily specialized, lacking in originality, or reported in such a boiler-plate fashion that it truly deserves the obscurity to which it is usually consigned as a genre of “grey literature.” Such is not the case in this instance—and not simply because this work involves a locale that carries singular symbolic importance within the history of our nation’s park and conservation movement. The co-authors bring to this project significant scholarly reputations and talent. Nabokov is an accomplished ethnographer and ethnohistorian, while Loendorf is an archaeologist specializing in the prehistory of the Tukadika, or Sheep Eaters, a Mountain Shoshone group who inhabited the greater Yellowstone region, including portions of the park itself. As an adaptation and expansion of the original NPS report, this book brings to the public and wider scholarly community a wealth of important interdisciplinary findings. Having said this, it is important to note that despite good prose, the commendable absence of academic jargon, and a rather straightforward ordering of the chapters, Restoring a Presence is far from easy to read. While some portions of every chapter flow in a manageable, narrative style, the encyclopedic coverage and frequent forays into, for example, the minutiae of camas bulb exploitation and processing—or the manufacture of sinew-backed sheep horn bows (however fascinating and absolutely relevant to manuscript’s original mandate)—will likely overwhelm and weary the casual reader and even many scholars for whom the book’s broader foci offer critical points of engagement. This is the central weakness of the work, and to their credit the authors made liberal use of subheadings as a means by which to help readers navigate the presentation of exhaustive data. Nonetheless, moving some of the more tangential discussion to the endnotes would have served readers well. This work is best apprehended as a reference text that details the voluminous evidence of pre- and post-contact American Indian presence in and around Yellowstone National Park (YNP).

The book’s opening chapter outlines the various objectives and methodologies that underwrite the current investigation, carefully noting the strengths and limitations of an interdisciplinary project that draws upon ethnohistoric, folkloristic, ethnographic, archaeological, historical, and oral sources. Most notable among the latter is contemporary Native-American testimony. The five chapters that follow are titled and organized by culture group and geographic area, beginning with the Crow Indians to the East of Yellowstone, the Blackfeet and Flathead to the North, the Sheep Eaters who lived in the mountainous territory of the Park, itself, the Bannock and Nez Perce to the West, and the Shoshone to the South. The organizational structure of each chapter varies, but the authors are careful in each case not only to demonstrate the nature of each group’s presence within the region, whether seasonal or
permanent, but also to address the popular mythology upon which the broader claim of Native absence is based. For instance, each chapter discusses the “received wisdom” that American Indians did not frequent the territory—and therefore were never really banished from the Park—due to a fear of the geothermal activity in the area. Nabokov and Loendorf demonstrate that, to the contrary, geysers and hot springs were respected and sought out for their medicinal power and applications. They are able to recover this information by utilizing ethnographic research conducted more than a century ago, by examining origin stories and oral narratives collected by folklorists working in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and by interviewing contemporary Native elders who remember the stories of Yellowstone told to them by their own ancestors.

Each chapter offers ethnographic detail about the rich mineral, plant, and animal resources that were harvested and often traded by one of the many bands or tribes who traversed this landscape. The authors cover the period after contact and the acquisition of horses, as in the case of the Piegan and Blackfeet, who hunted bison and elk in and along the northern rim. They also address the centuries that preceded this, when the ancient trails that demonstrate intimate native knowledge of what is now the Park, were first carved out and managed. In addition to summarizing the corpus of archaeological and ethnographic evidence linking each Indigenous group to Yellowstone and its surrounds, the authors also cover the historic and contemporary period. For instance, they consider the Nez Perce and Bannock Wars of 1877 and 1878, respectively, as well as the rare instances where Indians have been formally allowed into the Park for purposes that ranged from Hollywood movie productions, to an 1874 communal Shoshone bison hunt sanctioned and observed by Indian Affairs agents and scholars, to promotional appearances in full regalia arranged by YNP personnel upon the occasion of a new park entrance opening in 1925.

Cultural historians, geographers, and environmental preservationists will be drawn to the accounts of early tourist, settler, and park-supervisor attitudes and experiences. Archival sources that range from postcards to diaries and journals to NPS records allowed the authors to amass a remarkable record of Euro-American encounters with both American Indians and YNP, offering a unique window onto the process by which the very presence and historical memory of American Indians within Yellowstone was institutionally erased and inscribed as such in the popular consciousness of the nation. They should be commended for bringing it to the fore, rather than side-stepping it or adding yet another layer of excuses to the abundant evidence that not just the new nation, but the early park and conservation movement, itself, deployed a rhetoric in which nature was increasingly imagined as pristinely uninhabited, in order to justify its appropriation as symbolic space and place. A final chapter, written well after completion of the original manuscript, cites a growing body of scholarly work that explores the relationship between Indigenous
peoples worldwide and the many parks and preserves that comprise at least a portion of their ancestral homelands. Nabokov and Loendorf make no claims to activism, but recognize that through their own exhaustive work to correct the historical record, the NPS now has an honest opportunity, however deeply confounded by the painful and irreversible legacies of the past, to develop new and meaningful relationships with the descendants of the American Indians who lived in and around the greater Yellowstone region.

Beyond its value as a resource for historians, ethnologists, archaeologists, Native Studies scholars, ethnobotanists, ecologists, cultural resource managers and the like, this book is highly recommended as a text for teaching ethnohistoric method and theory. Nabokov and Loendorf openly examine both the scholarly and political challenges inherent in finding, evaluating, and synthesizing a variety of sources, both historic and contemporary. Students and professors, alike, will appreciate the candor and transparency with which these complex, interdisciplinary processes are revealed.

Terri Castaneda is Assistant Professor and Museum Director in the Department of Anthropology at California State University, Sacramento. Castaneda specializes in the cultural politics of museums, tourism, and historic preservation.

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**DOWNTOWN: Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950**

by

Robert M. Foglson


Reviewed for PAS by Max Grinnell

For most academicians studying cities, the actual processes associated with urban change and transformation remain at times quite puzzling. Certainly, there have been brief moments in the history of scholarship on cities where scholars have been able to offer voluminous statistics and descriptors that make the bold claim, “Here is the city and this is how it works.” One need only look at the dominance of the Chicago School in the early decades of the twentieth century to find this type of all-
encompassing and rigorous theorizing about both urban form and process. Robert M. Fogelson’s recent work on the “rise and fall” of the American downtown gives us a fine narrative history of the forces that created, sustained, and eventually destroyed one particular manifestation of downtown that existed (in a variety of forms) for close to seventy years. Perhaps one of the best features of the work is that he is able to effectively focus in on one particularly recognizable region of the American city and tell its story through an effective and compelling blend of historical documents and primary sources. From an analytical standpoint, however, I found that while the work hinted at broader structural forces that may have been at play, it did not seem to incorporate these processes into the primary narrative.

The beginning of the work starts rather promisingly, as Fogelson recounts several personal stories about his own family’s involvement in and around midtown Manhattan during the 1940s and 1950s. From my own vantage point, these are the types of first-hand recollections that serve to draw readers into this type of story, and add the flesh to the bones, if you will. He goes on to give a thumbnail sketch of how perceptions and understanding of the nature of “downtown” became part and parcel of American culture in song, literature, folkways, and so on. I found myself drawn in to the narrative by these descriptions and thoughtful examples. Unfortunately, the rest of the book does little to bring in substantive examples of how the nature of “downtown” manifested itself in a broad range of cultural or social phenomena, such as popular song, protests, and so on. True enough, the book offers exhaustive and ample discussion of the infrastructure of downtown, but still left me wondering about what else was going on downtown.

Proceeding from here, there were a few comments made by Fogelson that should have been either interrogated fully or simply left out of the work. He first mentions that this type of work is the “first word on the subject [of downtown],” a contention that I find bewildering, particularly given the tremendous amount of material available from even a cursory glance at the literature available from such resources as America: History and Life, which includes recent pieces on consumerism in downtown Atlanta and several monographs on residential hotels in and around American downtowns. I also found that while the phrases “spatial politics” and “spatial harmony” are referenced early on the work, Fogelson does not adequately explain their meanings or origins. While the book is certainly meant to be one of import for the general public and scholars alike, both terms could have been fleshed out a bit more when introduced in the text.

By Fogelson’s own admission, the narrative of this work is driven by examining the actions (or inactions) of the primary agents within the built environment, namely politicians, property holders, businessmen’s associations, chambers of commerce, and the like. I found this approach, while not novel, to be quite well suited to the task of discussing the myriad of policy developments that affected downtowns during this period. As such, we are treated to a number
of fine insights into the processes that shaped the very fabric of cities, such as the development of mass transit systems and the creation of the nation’s first zoning laws.

Returning back to my previous concern about Fogelson’s omission of interrogating the broader structural forces, I would like to note that he references several works that deal with this situation head-on. One is Max Page’s fine work, *The Creative Destruction of Manhattan, 1900-1940* (Page 2000). In this work, he discusses the process of creative destruction wherein urban landscapes are rent asunder through the sometimes pernicious market forces at play within cities. This method of analysis and urban investigation is derived from the work of the economist Joseph Schumpeter, who was intimately interested in the way in which this process plays out against the background structure of capitalism. I see where going deep into an investigation (or just an explication, for that matter) may have dimmed the eyelids of the casual reader, but knowing about such things, I found myself wishing for a bit more discussion of these structural forces that continue to have a dramatic and immediate bearing on urban regions more generally.

Any well-written book will always bring up more questions that it answers, and Fogelson’s is just such a book. While telling the gentle reader about the diverse Wagnerian-styled struggles within cities, such as the haranguing about the nature and disposition of public housing, one will find their mind wandering to such broader questions: Why do we build public housing? What are the functions of city government in contemporary life? Do cities hinder or enliven the human spirit? These are some of the questions I had after finishing the book, and no doubt other readers will feel much the same way.

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Max Grinnell is an dedicated urbanologist who currently lives in Chicago. He maintains a passionate interest in urban affairs, urban history, and the nooks and crannies of most cities. He is a graduate of both the University of Chicago and Amtrak’s renowned two-week "Safety First!" course.
I recently sat down to re-watch Phil Alden Robinson’s film *Sneakers* which tells the story of a group of espionage experts who are hired by the government to steal a universal code breaker. In one of the final scenes, the film’s villain (played by the marvelous Ben Kingsley) delivers the movie’s most memorable and meaningful line: “There’s a war out there, old friend. A world war. And it’s not about who’s got the most bullets. It’s about who controls the information. What we see and hear, how we work, what we think...it’s all about the information!” *Sneakers* came out in 1992, but this idea of information control being an invaluable possession holds truer today than ever before. Whether you are the chair of the Senate Intelligence Committee or a telemarketer, the rate at which you gather and exchange information is critical. Modern advancements in information technology and networked communications have transformed urban landscapes into complex wired networks that move faster than even John Diebold could have imagined. However, oddly enough we often take for granted how technology inhabits, shapes, and even lessens our physical and architectural space.

In his new book *Placing Words: Symbols, Space, and the City*, William J. Mitchell asks, “Do we still need skyscrapers?” He makes the point that corporations like Nike and Microsoft, which have headquarters located outside of metropolises, can reach consumers more effectively by utilizing attractive interfaces on their web pages, than with 12,000 pounds of steel. This is only one of several thoughtful inquiries led by Mitchell in his latest contribution to the field of architecture and media theory. A distinguished professor at MIT, he is the author of a book trilogy that includes *Me++: The Cyborg Self and the Networked City* (2003), *e-toptia: “Urban Life, Jim—but Not as We Know It”* (2000), *City of Bits: Space, Place, and the Infobahn* (1996). In that series, Mitchell placed the evolution of the digital era in historical context and provided a wealth of thought-provoking commentary on how technology has influenced humans and their built environment. *City of Bits* won a 2004 award from the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers for “distinguished literary
contributions furthering the public understanding of the profession,” which when considered in the larger scope of his academic resume is just a small feat. In Placing Words, Mitchell offers yet another collection of commentaries focusing on similar topics while bringing to attention new ideas about how structures in cityscapes can influence our reception or production of communication.

In a little over two hundred pages Mitchell manages to squeeze in thirty-two different essays, which in spite of the diverse range of topics, he pulls together with many common threads. Several pieces deal with how the physical space and construction of architecture can produce visual metaphors that communicate meanings to spectators. He discusses the power of this symbolism as seen in Daniel Libeskind’s design for the Freedom Tower, and on college campuses where building designs are representative of the think-tanks they contain. In another essay, he explains how historic architecture is often torn down because it has lost the ability to communicate this same kind of power and prestige, and that companies can achieve this more effectively through their websites.

In other essays, Mitchell explores both the pros and cons of utilizing technology in the public arena. In an essay titled “Guernica II” he discusses the advancements of military technology in cities and draws comparisons between war-ridden Baghdad and the devastating bombings in Guernica, Spain, in 1937. The connections Mitchell makes between the cities is rather chilling, for he reminds readers that no matter how sophisticated our technology or how accurate our intelligence, lives can rarely be spared when blowing up buildings. On the opposite side Mitchell talks about more advantageous ways that we have harnessed technology’s communicative capabilities, such as Howard Dean’s political campaign conducted on the Internet, or Mitchell’s own use of advanced communication devices in the classroom.

Potential readers should be forewarned that the subjects and language conveyed in these essays are catered towards a very specific audience, whether Mitchell intended for this or not. This is not to say that the subject matter is reserved solely for academics or that his style lacks coherence or freshness. However, one cannot forget that he is a seasoned academic who, at this point in his life, can write about anything he pleases, so do not be surprised when this “Architecture/Cultural Studies” publication also becomes an outlet for his left-wing political opinions. If you are a supporter of George W. Bush and his leadership style, you might not be a fan of Mitchell. Granted that Mitchell’s arguments are well-grounded and practical, they would probably be more at home in The Nation magazine than in a book classified as an “Art and New Media” academic resource on the MIT Press website. Mitchell also makes many art-historical and pop-culture references that are either hilariously witty or painfully cheesy, but I will leave the reader to judge. Finally, tech-gurus looking for insights about the newest wave of media technology might be disappointed, for Mitchell does not report on anything that has not
already found its way into the headlines.

Mitchell’s greatest strength in this book is his ability to cohesively reflect on the evolution of the digital era and unpack for readers the monumental impacts that technology has made on our urban landscapes. After reading *Placing Words*, one is reminded how difficult it is to imagine how twenty-first century urban life could function without the chaotic flux of information technology and electronic media. However, Mitchell’s optimistic and sensible way of thinking convinces me that we have nothing to worry about, because as long as we educate ourselves on how these transformations constantly reshape our environment and the way we control and transfer information, we will always stay in control of it. Very few modern academics can do this more articulately, thoughtfully, or convincingly.

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Jarrett Hardester is currently a graduate student in Art History at the University of Saint Thomas. His research interests focus on early twentieth-century art, music, and film criticism.
The Ohio River Valley Series continues to highlight the historical significance of the people and places situated along the river’s edge. Two recent volumes make important contributions to the study of American history—and in particular, to the understanding of the experiences of African Americans.

Keith Griffler’s vivid account of African-American participation in Underground Railroad activities along the Ohio River is a fine addition to the series. In Front Line of Freedom, Griffler persuasively argues:

“the principal towns and cities along the Ohio saw the emergence of African American communities with their anonymous cadre of abolitionists and Underground Railroad operatives who constituted the shock troops of the antislavery cause. These women and men made their home on slavery’s doorstep, endured the innumerable bounties placed on their heads, and at times paid the ultimate price for their activities. Joined by a small but dedicated group of white and Native American activists, they founded a genuinely interracial freedom movement, a practical experiment in American democracy (pp.10-11).”
During the nineteenth century, the Ohio River served as a symbol of freedom for slaves and "free blacks." In addition to being a natural border between states located within the river valley, the river also served as a source of division between southern slaveholders and anti-slavery abolitionists. Wilbur Siebert’s book *From Slavery to Freedom*, published in 1898, represents the earliest scholarly attempt to chronicle the activities of the region’s most prominent Underground Railroad “conductors.” Siebert is credited with starting the tradition of romanticizing the deeds of whites who sheltered and guided runaway slaves. Unlike his predecessor, Griffier devotes most of his book to revealing how African Americans routinely assisted runaway slaves on each side of the Ohio River, but received little recognition because their survival and success depended on their anonymity.

To provide the perspective of runaway slaves and African-American “slave rescuers,” the author incorporates underutilized primary sources left behind by nineteenth-century African-American participants and bystanders living in the Ohio River Valley. From them, readers learn of the adversity and danger African American river community residents endured on Ohio’s “front line” of freedom. Ordinary people of African descent are acknowledged for routinely venturing into slave territory to free others. The author notes how crossing over to the north shore did not result in absolute freedom for runaways. Heavily populated rural and urban African-American communities often served as havens, but local, state, and federal legal measures permitted slave catchers to recover “property” relatively easily. Even legally “free blacks” were unsafe, as they were occasionally hauled off by slave catchers and sold into slavery without any legal recourse. The presence of southern sympathizers and competing immigrants made matters worse when racial strife led to violence. Sometimes violence and harassment in the region became unbearable for them. A number of African Americans responded by seeking additional rights in Canada.

For those incapable of relocating to another country, some freedom was better than none. Griffier describes how African Americans cultivated a sense of community by developing social institutions for camaraderie and enlightenment. They earned their keep as farmers, menial laborers, business people, steamboat deck hands, ministers, and dockworkers. Teachers, preachers, and war veterans often emerged as community leaders. They campaigned against slavery in public and private, depending on the racial climate where they lived. On the eve of the Civil War an unprecedented number of African Americans and white sympathizers joined together to form an extensive network responsible for freeing thousands of slaves. During this period white abolitionist became more active than ever. In addition to participating in underground activities along the north shore, they also used their legal status, financial resources, and social standing to intensify the public campaign to abolish slavery. The arrival and enlistment of African American federal troops hastened the demise of the peculiar institution along the southern shore. As
the Civil War progressed, the significance of the Ohio River changed for people of African descent. Many were no longer crossing the river as runaways, but as newly "freedmen." As such, no longer did the Ohio River represent freedom for African Americans. Instead, it became synonymous with opportunity.

Altogether, Griffier’s book is refreshing and insightful. Undoubtedly, this in-depth study of ordinary folks achieving extraordinary things in this enchanting place offers something for everyone. The author makes excellent use of newspapers, memoirs, photos, maps, oral history projects, manuscripts, special collections, published autobiographies, and other relevant secondary source material. His detailed analysis of African American slave rescue operations in the Ohio River Valley is sure to interest historians. Unlike earlier studies confined to the state borders of Ohio and Kentucky, Griffier’s book also examines the regional significance of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Indiana and Illinois as well. His attention to the topographical and cultural landscapes along the banks of the Ohio River will certainly appeal to geographers. Front Line of Freedom exemplifies how the Ohio River Valley remains a rich source for scholarly inquiry. Hopefully, it will inspire others to continue to explore its colorful past.

The Civil War transformed the Ohio River Valley forever. Newly “freedmen” saturated the area seeking opportunities for a more dignified existence for themselves and their loved ones. On Jordan’s Banks: Emancipation and It’s Aftermath in the Ohio River Valley measures how successful emancipated African Americans were at achieving this objective in various places within the Ohio River Valley, despite numerous challenges. Author Darrel E. Bigham argues that “slavery or the absence of it created an obvious difference between north- and south- shore communities before 1865; and even after the abolition of slavery in December 1865, traditional ways of doing things did not disappear...during this time of vast social, economic, and political change, when African Americans on either side of the Ohio were generally given little wherewithal to make a meaningful new start, the most remarkable advancement was the creation of communities that provided shelter and advanced the cause of the race. During a time in which whites in the North rapidly forgot that the Civil War was about race and liberation...and sought to make peace with their former white enemies, blacks on either side of the Ohio...not only endured. They persisted” (pp.7,9-10).

Bigham begins by asserting that long before the nation became divided over the issue of slavery, a considerable amount of variance existed in the treatment of both slaves and “free blacks” in the Ohio River Valley. Though there were some exceptions, whites on each side of the Ohio River tended to identify more so with the segregated culture created by the institution of slavery. Consequently, both races usually adhered to the social customs associated with it. The author’s comparison between locations revealed that certain factors mitigated the harsh treatment of African Americans before the war. He attributes variance to the size of the African American population
relative to whites, the presence of foreign immigrants, New England “Yankees,” the labor market, and African-American deference to whites. His comparison reveals the existence of several places in the north where free blacks were actually treated worse than slaves and free blacks in the south.

The Civil War increased racial tension in the Ohio Valley. “Kentucky’s drama was shaped by Kentucky’s slaves and whites as well as by Union officials and soldiers” (p.66). Some white residents held African Americans indirectly responsible for the political strife and economic hardship the river valley experienced. Migration increased exponentially. Again, how slaves and free blacks were treated depended largely on where they were during the conflict. Union generals such as Sherman and Palmer enforced federal wartime policies differently. Early on in the conflict, some runaway slaves received support and encouragement from soldiers who shared Palmer’s vision. Kentucky’s neutrality provision prohibited Union soldiers from liberating slaves. Therefore, Sherman turned them away by the thousands prior to the abandonment of the neutrality provision and enlistment of African Americans.

Bigham determined that there was no uniformity in how slaveholders and slaves responded to wartime policies. Some slaveholders freed their slaves. Others used them as “stand ins” in order to meet military enlistment quotas. Surprisingly, some rural slaves chose to remain with their masters after gaining more bargaining power. Others sought protection from the Union Army the moment troops arrived. A substantial number of slaves headed directly for the north shore. Divergent labor systems prevented the south shore economy from being in total ruins. Even though southern agricultural production suffered tremendously, merchants and industrialists prospered in river valley towns and cities. Places along the north shore were similar in this regard. Freedmen, foreign immigrants, and former planters competed for new employment opportunities created by the war.

The treatment of African Americans continued to vary from place to place during the postwar years. “African Americans were settling where the employment opportunities were greatest….service and river-and the transportation-related job opportunities continued to attract and to retain large numbers of blacks” (p.107). Bigham astutely observes how both social customs and the size of the African American population often influenced how residential patterns developed in various places prior to the 1880s. For instance, sizeable African American populations settled in Louisville and Cincinnati. In Cincinnati, racially segregated neighborhoods existed. In Louisville, socioeconomic status more often determined where African Americans lived. Generally, African American populations down river were relatively smaller, but some places experienced substantially greater increases. On the south shore some emancipated slaves continued to live with former masters. Downriver numerous north shore African Americans chose to establish their own households in the countryside.
Indeed, African Americans continued to carve out lives for themselves regardless of the circumstances. Naturally, even the problems African Americans encountered differed from place to place. Generally, social equality remained fleeting for most African Americans on both sides of the river. They created their own political organizations to combat institutionalized racism. After white Republicans discarded African American support for federal elections during the 1880s, savvy African American leaders realized “...Political independence would bring better rewards, as the two parties would compete for blacks’ favor” (p.184). African Americans were most successful at effectuating meaningful political changes at the local level. In addition to equality, the author determined “marriage and the family mattered much to African Americans on both sides of the Ohio in postwar years” (p.245). African Americans continued to develop a sense of community by creating their own social institutions. Bigham concludes that “the greatest attainment of postwar blacks was ‘a distinct society and culture, with black professionals in medicine, law, journalism, and religion providing the leadership’” (p.270).

*On Jordan’s Banks* is well written and thought-provoking. The author’s comparative approach is especially useful for understanding how the experiences of emancipated African Americans varied in the Ohio River Valley. The amount of primary sources he uses is quite impressive. The analyses of the region’s economic development, educational reform movements, geography, immigration patterns, and civil rights activity will interest a variety of readers. May the innovative scholarly works continue to flow from the Ohio River Valley Series like the mighty river at the heart of it all!

Together, these books compliment each other remarkably well. Each book measures the regional impact of matters of national importance during the nineteenth century. For historical purposes, they are particularly useful for learning more about the implications of slavery, the Civil War, and emancipation within the Ohio River Valley. *Front Line of Freedom* provides a wealth of information concerning the institution of slavery and abolition movements in Ohio Valley border-states. *On Jordan’s Banks* analyzes the ramifications of Civil War and emancipation throughout the Ohio River Valley. Both depict the resilience and optimism African Americans displayed while transitioning from slaves to freedmen. Regardless where they settled, family, church, fraternal bonds, and school all became firmly entrenched institutions within their respective communities. Both books demonstrate how African American heritage is deeply rooted in the Ohio River Valley from Alexander County, Illinois to Ashland, Kentucky.

Geographically speaking, the authors focused heavily on an opposite end of the river, with Cincinnati serving as the “middle ground” for their analyses. Reading both books will provide readers with a fair assessment of what the Ohio River valley resembled during nineteenth century. Both volumes devote significant attention to
central business districts strategically located along the banks of the Ohio. The culture of slavery, industrialization, gentrification of neighborhoods, and “white flight” are bound to be of interest to both cultural and urban geographers.

Both authors wrestle with historical forces that shaped the Ohio River Valley. Readers will learn that racism, injustice, poverty, illiteracy, immigration, violence, and crime are as much a part of the Ohio River Valley’s past as the river is. While each book makes it apparent that the Ohio River Valley continues to face some of these very same challenges, they also illustrate how the human spirit often prevails. In *Front Line of Freedom* readers learn of friendship and cooperation between African Americans and whites. They formed alliances that transcended race, religion, and socio-economic status in furtherance of humanity. Likewise, the same can be said of the relationship between AMA missionaries and freedmen in *On Jordan’s Banks*. Both authors write about individuals possessing humility, courage, and compassion. The flaws and virtues of those historical figures featured in both books reveal much about the human experience. The commonalities between the past and present will definitely resonate with readers.

Regardless of what one’s purpose is for reading these two books, the reader is likely to find both enlightening and enjoyable.

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Raised in Cincinnati, Ohio, Ervin James III graduated from Princeton High School. He received both his undergraduate and graduate education in the South. Currently he is actively pursuing a Ph.D. in History at Texas A&M University in College Station. His academic fields of interest include urban history, urban geography, and African American history.
EVERYDAY AMERICA:  
Cultural Landscape Studies After J. B. Jackson  
by  
Chris Wilson and Paul Groth, editors

x + 385 pp. Notes, list of contributors, illustrations, and index  
$55.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-520-22960-6;  
$19.95 (paper), ISBN 0-520-22961-4

Reviewed for PAS by Monica Kuhn

John Brinkerhoff Jackson’s books, articles, and the journal he established and edited, Landscape, have influenced a generation of scholars in landscape studies and in related fields. Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies After J.B. Jackson is an edited collection of writings on the broad field of cultural-landscape studies in the United States from the perspective of—and in light of—the Jackson’s groundbreaking career. This book grew out of a conference, titled “J.B. Jackson and the American Landscape,” held in 1998 at the University of New Mexico shortly after Jackson’s passing in 1996 (p.viii). One of the editors is Paul Groth, Jackson’s successor as a cultural landscape historian at the University of California-Berkeley. The other editor, Chris Wilson, is the J. B. Jackson Professor of Cultural Landscape Studies at the University of New Mexico’s School of Architecture and Planning (pp.358-61).

Contributors to this volume include a wide variety of professionals, including professors representing several disciplines, as well as architects, journalists, planners, architectural historians, and others who have been influenced by the writing and teaching of—and professional relationships with—J. B. Jackson. The contributors are mainly from fields that promote the study and interpretation of cultural landscapes for educational purposes; broadly, this includes professionals who incorporate landscape-studies methodologies into design projects, working with clients and other stakeholders to produce architectural or planning solutions to their needs. Seasoned scholars familiar with Jackson’s work and career, as well as newcomers to his work, will enjoy the different perspectives offered here on the work of Jackson and his variety of interests, among them the impact of automobile travel and auto-related culture on the ever-changing American landscape.

Chapter One, which is an introductory chapter written by the book’s editors, provides an exposition on the sections of the book,
each of which explores a different aspect of cultural-landscape studies as it relates to Jackson’s work. This book is divided into four sections: “Evaluating J. B. Jackson,” “Teaching and Learning Landscape Vision,” “Questioning Theoretical Assumptions,” and “Interpreting Twentieth-Century Urban Landscapes.” In each, four different authors each take a different approach to the topic.

The first section explores the lifelong work of Jackson and his approach to cultural-landscape studies, which changed the field forever. Jackson’s work initiated a paradigm shift from an idealization of folk or traditional landscapes, into an appreciation of and an open-mindedness to exploring and evaluating such landscapes. He also led scholars in shifting their thoughts away from the rural-agricultural ideal and the small town main street, and away from the neatly categorized, more traditional, static approach, to one that considers the more varied, quickly changing landscapes accommodating the car, the car traveler, and the messiness of more modern, or even post-modern, landscapes.

One of the key concepts in cultural-landscape studies involves taking a closer look, a deeper look at what is in front of you when you visit a new place. My favorite chapter about this topic is Pierce Lewis’s “The Monument and the Bungalow: The Intellectual Legacy of J.B. Jackson.” Lewis writes of a field trip on which he would take his Pennsylvania State University students to Bellefonte, Pennsylvania. Through class lectures and the day trip, he would teach them to analyze two frequently overlooked elements in the small town’s landscape: the war memorial in front of the county courthouse (pp.100-04) and the subdivisions of California-type bungalows (pp.105-07). His students learned the vocabulary necessary to discuss what they see, as well as the tools necessary to look at aspects of the landscape such as location, form, and names of war veterans, to uncover and interpret more about the history of this town. He encouraged students to look at the landscape elements, and to develop theories about how to interpret what they see to tell them more about the times and places in which these elements were built.

Journalist Grady Clay’s chapter, “Crossing the American Grain with Vesalius, Geddes, and Jackson: The Cross Section as a Learning Tool,” discusses capturing the spirit of individual American cities through the development of an auto-tour cross-section. This chapter provides a good illustration of how Jackson’s approach to looking at the world allows for the new and the different, and allows for the vernacular, lower-style, common buildings that earlier scholars may have shunned as intrusions, as “bad infill,” or as mistakes on the landscape instead of a healthy change, as elements that can teach us something about ourselves and our country. Clay’s path through the city of Louisville, Kentucky, would take one past all of the sectors of city life that would give a visitor and accurate picture of the city, of the different industries, commercial sectors, housing areas, and areas of town where people interact.
In the last section, authors introduce several case studies in modern urban cultural landscape studies, including in the final two chapters which parse the cultural landscape of east Los Angeles Latino neighborhoods and the commercialization of health-care-provider locations in modern medicine. The progression from formal medical office buildings as the only outlet for health care to the advent of outpatient surgical centers and other providers in commercial building—such as strip malls—is detailed, also with examples from the Los Angeles area.

*Everyday America* provides a good variety of voices, including academic authors and other professionals, who show the influence of Jackson’s work on not only what is studied, but also how it is studied. Several authors discuss Jackson’s reluctance to be grouped with academia, but note that he lectured at Harvard and Berkeley, among other places. They highlight the ways in which *Landscape* broke ground, and of how he would write expressing different viewpoints, sometimes using pseudonyms, to spark discussion and debate. As in his journal, this book provides a good variety of voices, of perspectives on the study of the landscape of the United States, and is a well-paced journey through Jackson’s legacy into the present and future of the field.

Both well-read Jackson scholars and relative newcomers to his works will find this book interesting. It will inspire those unfamiliar with his work to read his own words, as well as those of the many noted authors referenced throughout or who contributed to this volume. *Everyday America* is a good reference for those who study and work with cultural landscapes, and those who are learning how to educate others about these concepts, in academia or in other fields, such as journalism, architecture, and cultural resources management.

Monica Kuhn is an Architectural Historian with the Ohio Historic Preservation Office. Her interests include urban cultural landscapes, as well as vacation/travel landscapes in the U.S., and historical geography in general. She holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in Anthropology from The Ohio State University and a Master of Science degree in Historic Preservation from Eastern Michigan University.
MEMORY AND ARCHITECTURE
by
Eleni Bastéa, editor

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004
xv + 335 pp. Illustrations, photographs, maps, notes, bibliographic references, and index
$49.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8263-3269-2

Reviewed for PAS by Marie Alice L’Heureux

The cover graphics of Memory and Architecture intertwine cursive and block type text on burnished earthen-colored backgrounds between images that evoke time-worn and hand-hewn places. I read the credits and wondered, “Tunnel-vaults in San Bernardino de Sisal make sense, but in the ancient Mayan city of Palenque?” I have never been to Palenque, but have seen many images of the magnificent ruins and my memory leads me to think the image (jacket front bottom) is mislabeled. I may be wrong. But if I had visited, I would know for sure. First-hand experience is so multi-dimensional—your eyes, body, and memory are engaged.

This disjunction between conceived ideas of places that have been experienced compared to those seen only remotely in pictures or through descriptions—the slippage between memory that is experienced or learned—is one of the themes of this book. Another is the complexity of reading or representing places that are not fixed, but are being changed and transformed even in our imaginations. And finally, this volume engages the questions of who holds the power to represent, document, and preserve our built environment?

The interaction of memory and the built environment has been explored in recent decades—in works usually focused on monuments and contested landscapes, and as a backdrop to events rather than as the embodiment of social relationships. The built environment has also been seen as a tangible representation of history that defies contrary interpretations. Yet as careful studies show, the physical evidence is not always legible. The built environment cannot be simply read as a narrative—erasure and change, willful or not, are as much legacies of history as the bricks and mortar that remain. This fact transcends context, but each story has its particular twist and history that must be explored to understand the ways that built and cultural space reinforce certain representations and points of view while they undermine others.

The fourteen chapters of Memory and Architecture are organized into four sections around the themes of national memories,
literary memory, personal cartographies, and architectural-design education.

The first section starts with Eric Sandweiss’s “Framing Urban Memory,” which lays out the conundrum for historians who are faced with updating and re-presenting the dusty collections of urban historical societies. These nineteenth century repositories were created by the privileged “fit, though few” and preserved images and memorabilia that favored descriptions of American cities as places of “equality, liberty, and stability” when cities were more clearly the handmaidens of commerce, profit, and inexorable change. Sandweiss argues that even as curators have moved from exhibitions of unmediated objects to “ideas” that include the once excluded, the control over this representation is still in the hands of the powerful. The history of cities is also more often being fixed and framed in preservation districts that further commodify the city.

With the 800th anniversary of the founding of Dresden looming in 2006 and the city in the throes of rehabilitation, Mark Jarzombek uses his persuasive essay, “Disguised Visibilities” to propose alternative definitions of Dresden’s historic areas, its future vision, and the expansion of the public realm beyond official representations. His narrative juxtaposes the fate of the Frauenkirche (destroyed by allied bombing in WWII, rebuilt 1992-2005, and adopted as the symbol of the city’s past and rebirth) with that of the Jewish synagogue (original by Gottfried Semper, destroyed by Nazis in 1938, and replaced since German unification by a modest modern building outside of the designated historic area). Jarzombek proposes that a surviving evocative socialist statue, Trauender Mann (Mourning Man), which was relocated during the Frauenkirche rebuilding, be relocated to a point equidistant between the church and synagogue. This would include the synagogue in the history of the city and acknowledge the destruction of Dresden by the Allies as well as of the Jewish population by the Nazis.

Two studies complete the section. Fernando Lara’s „Patrimony and Cultural Identity“ explains the particularly Latin American twist to the importation and transformation of modern architecture into Brazil. Maria de Lourdes Luz and Ana Lúcia Vieira Dos Santo’s work in progress uses the coffee plantation legacy of the Paraíba Valley as a base for students to explore issues of culture and design and obviously forms part of an ongoing study.

The second section, „Literary Memory Spaces,“ includes four chapters that engage memory, representation, and place in shifting social settings and geographic contexts in literature, especially as they relate to displacement. Sabir Kahn’s essay, “Memory Work,” richly portrays the interaction of tactile place and fluid memory in two autobiographical novels about South Asian women as they are rerouted from their paths and re-rooted in new places. They are not only transformed by the experience but also acquire new knowledge about their earlier memories and situations.

Tel Aviv’s Old Cemetery is the ground that Barbara Mann uses
to plumb deep literary relationships, the Jewish Diaspora, and the layers of remembering and forgetting that are embedded in the imbricated history of the cemetery. Carel Bertram does a similar weaving using the imagined-and-represented traditional Turkish house used in texts as a stand-in for history and continuity in the early days of the Turkish Republic, when religious and secular realms were so abruptly sundered.

Eleni Bastéa tackles the contentious subject of the effaced and replaced identities in Thessaloniki and Istanbul in “Storied Cities.” Both cities were very diverse before the partition and the displacement of about one and a half million people in 1923. Bastéa uses literary works by authors who spent their childhoods differently situated, and compares their relationship to the city, noting the tenacity of early unmediated memories.

The third section, “Personal Cartographies,” starts off with Catherine Hamel’s moving essay “Beirut, Exile, and the Scars of Reconstruction.” Epigrams focus each section as Hamel tries to make sense of a city she knew from childhood but remembers as a different place—traumatized memories that cannot be reconciled. Hamel illustrates the text with wonderfully abstracted ink-and-wash drawings.

Christine Gorby moves to another former battleground—West Belfast—in “Diffused Spaces.” She explores the manifestation of sectarian divisions and overlapment of religious geographies in the urban realm as they seep around and between the demising walls of the Catholic and Protestant areas of the city.

V. B. Price’s essay, “Profaning Public Space“ expresses adeptly the horror of witnessing the relentless mindless expansion into the fragile desert ecosystems by cities of the Southwest. Price concludes that it represents “disrespectful growth—it treats specific places, with their distinctive cultures and natural limitations, as if ... they had no meaning, no history, no network of memories and natural patterns unique to themselves“ (p.179-80).

The final section, “Voices from the Studio,” was perhaps where Bastéa started when mulling over this project. Thomas Fisher, dean of the University of Minnesota, begins with a discussion of the source of design ideas in “What Memory? Whose Memory?” Rachel Hurst and Jane Lawrence present a pedagogically rich exercise that addresses collaboration among disciplines, while engaging first-year students in a multi-layered exercise that spans the creation of carriers for small food items to the sharing of a meal—all the while exploring and inhabiting places outside of studio. As a complement to the literature and memory section, Sheona Thomson combines text and space in a beginning design studio and effectively promotes the necessary interaction of memory, words, and images in the development of an architectural imagination.

Memory and Architecture ranges broadly exploring the themes of memory and the built landscape and touches in part on the social and cultural aspects of built space. Each section would probably
appeal to a different audience, although there is some overlap, with
the first section having the broadest appeal. Here I would include
Christine Gorby’s piece on West Belfast, which is more of a research
piece than the other personal cartographies.

The process of design education is an area that needs a lot more
in-depth study and documentation, and would be of great interest
to design educators. This section could easily be expanded into a
book-length work. There are a few weaknesses in the book--some
studies seem a little preliminary for such a volume--but the text
would be useful for architects, geographers, researchers in cultural
studies and urban studies, social historians, and historians of the
particular area studies covered.

Mary Alice L’Heureux teaches urban design at the University of
Kansas. Her areas of research interest include politics, ideology and
built space.

TROWELING THROUGH TIME:
The First Century of Mesa Verden Archaeology
by
Florence C. Lister

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004
xliv + 288 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendices, notes,
bibliographic references, and index
$24.95 (paper), ISBN 0-8263-3502-0

Reviewed for PAS by Michael A. Lange

Troweling through Time is a history of archaeological processes
carried out at Mesa Verde and the surrounding area. Florence Lister
is listed as both an archaeologist and a historian of archaeology,
and it is the latter hat the author wears throughout most of this
book. She aims to recount the stories of the people who have done
and continue to do archaeology in and around Mesa Verde, rather
than a history of the area itself. Nor is the book an examination of
Mesa Verden archaeology itself; there are no site plans of Pueblo
structures, no lengthy descriptions of excavations. The readers of
Material Culture will be happy to note that Lister does have several
passages listing the artifacts found by various excavators of Mesa
Verde. However, archaeologists expecting site analyses and technical
discussion will be disappointed.

A certain familiarity on the part of the reader with the Mesa Verde
area is assumed by Lister. A lack of maps, even general maps of the
Four Corners area, might leave those unfamiliar with Southwestern
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geography and prehistory confused at times, especially when describing the tangled canyons which make up much of the Mesa Verde area covered in the book. Lister sets out to review the history of archaeological work in the area, and present that work to those without archaeological knowledge. In this, she does an admirable job, but those without geographic knowledge do not fare so well.

Lister’s archaeological roots do show through frequently, though often in compact fits and starts. The historical presentation is interspersed with discussions of the archaeological process, which are enlightening and entertaining:

Without the laboratory work that usually takes more time and diligence than what is spent on one’s knees with trowel in hand, there is little justification for archaeology. It is a time when field notes are deciphered before they grow cold, specimens are analyzed, maps and charts are prepared, literature searches are made, and ideas about what one has witnessed are shared with colleagues (p.116).

Passages such as this one state the obvious to an archaeologist, but give insight into the realities of archaeology to the uninitiated. Such glimpses appear throughout the larger narrative of the book. Of particular interest to me was the description of the early years of Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, which was founded by Stuart Struver. Struver went to the Southwest to found Crow Canyon patterned on the Center for American Archeology in Illinois, which he had founded earlier. I worked at the Center for American Archeology, and Lister’s description of Crow Canyon brought back many fond memories from Kampsville. If nothing else, this attests to Lister’s evocative description. Her history also provides insight into the evolution of archaeology as a science. Little tidbits of information about developments in the technology, philosophical approach, and methodology of archaeology can be found in the presentation of 100 years of investigation at Mesa Verde.

Witty and truthful observations, such as “Exploration, like archaeology, is often a crapshoot” (p. 3), enliven Lister’s presentation of Mesa Verde history. Unfortunately, the historical presentation itself is often disjointed. Lister does not attempt to follow the chronology of her book’s subtitle directly. Instead, she presents the history of Mesa Verdean archaeology by focusing on the various names who have influenced it. Beginning with the accidental “discovery” of the Chaco Great Houses by James H. Simpson, Lister details the involvement of the people who formed the area’s archaeology: the Wetherill family, Edgar Hewett, Jesse Walter Fewkes, Virginia McClurg, Alden Hayes, Alfred Kidder, and even John D. Rockefeller. She tells each person’s story in turn, and the chronologies of those individual stories sometimes overlap, leading to an overall narrative which jumps back and forth at times.

This disjointed presentation is compounded by the style of writing. Lister moves from recounting specific events to relating these events to the greater history of Mesa Verdean archaeology, but the transitions are often abrupt, making for a jarring narrative flow. The
information presented in the paragraphs is certainly sound, but often the style of Lister’s writing makes accessing that information more difficult than it need be. Additionally, she often attributes motivations to the historical figures without clearly presenting evidence for her interpretations. When writing of Victoria McClurg’s first visit to the Mesa Verde area, for example, Lister writes:

McClurg appealed to the commander of Fort Lewis ... for a military escort to accompany her on a horseback trip into the Mesa Verde country. He refused, no doubt thinking it a hairbrained idea for a lone woman to risk an encounter with barbarians just to see something as unimportant as dirty wrecks of old houses. But McClurg persisted until the commander finally relented, probably in disgust. ... McClurg was awed by this wreckage [of the cliff dwellings] seemingly crushed one hundred feet below the rimrock and hundreds of feet up from the canyon floor. It was a sight she never forgot as the climax to what must have been an adventure of a lifetime (p.8).

There is much useful information contained in the prose, however. Those interested in the history of the Southwest, in archaeology, in prehistoric and historic Native America, or in the intertwining of science with political and historical processes will find Lister’s book a worthwhile read. The last chapter of the book departs from the historical narrative, giving instead an overview of the different phases of occupation of Mesa Verde. This archaeological information is enlightening, but it is not overly technical, making it accessible to non-archaeologists. The bibliography contains a wealth of primary sources on Mesa Verde and archaeology, and the well-constructed index enhances the book’s usefulness. The vast majority of the footnotes are merely citations, however, with very few offering much additional information. As a bonus, the book also opens with over 70 photographs spanning the entire history of Mesa Verdean archaeology. These images do much the same as the text that follows—both present snapshots of the most important historical figures and moments in the history of the area, providing a good feel for the place and the people who have shaped Mesa Verdean archaeology.

Michael A. Lange received his PhD in folklore from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, after receiving MAs in anthropology and Scandinavian studies from the same institution. He has previously worked as an archaeologist, doing cultural resource management for several companies as well as teaching archaeology at the Center for American Archæology in Kampsveil, Illinois.
Early feminist historians assumed a universal subordination of women across cultures and history. This book attempts to bring together ethnographic information from a wide variety of Native North American cultures to critically rethink of the role of women in Native society. Inspired by Eleanor Burke Leacock, the numerous authors of this collection suggest that, contrary to widespread belief, Native women often did hold power and respect within their own communities. They stress the complementarity of the genders in Native cultures, and autonomy for Native women. However, this is a collection written by anthropologists for anthropologists, and as a historian, the essays often raised more questions than they answered. I found myself repeatedly asking, “When are we talking about?” “What are the sources?” “How does the author know this?” “What about the issue of the bias and perspective of those early twentieth-century anthropologists on whom so many of these essays rely?” Despite these questions, I found that this collection offers fascinating insights into the roles of Native women in cultures across North America, and for this reason, it is an important book.

Women and Power in Native North America was born out of a symposium at the 1988 meeting of the American Anthropological Association, was first published in 1995, and later was published in paper in 2000. The initial goal, as stated by the editors, was to challenge the existing gender stereotypes that place Native American women into the binary categories of “squaw” or “princess.” The authors wanted to complicate our assumptions about gender relations in Native American societies, and they succeed in doing so. The collection consists of eleven chapters dealing with ten different cultures in North America, including the Inuit, Seneca, Tlingit, Blackfoot, and Navajo. The collection is more heavily weighted toward the “American” part of “North America”, but in general, the geographical and cultural range is laudable. Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman discuss issues such as popular culture and Native American women, pioneering anthropological work looking at Native American women, and the concepts of gender and power in the introduction to their collection. Daniel Maltz and JoAllyn Archambault offer intelligent concluding remarks that discuss the cultural variations of women’s status across North America, and consider the colonial context of the subject as well as what they call
the dangerous utopian fantasies in which Native people are cast either as noble savages or lowly heathens.

As a gender historian, I am interested in how gender roles are constructed and reconstructed over time, and in considering the factors that have led to these changes. The question of historical change is one that could be looked at more closely in many of these essays, despite the fact that the editors write that “modern ethnohistory is searching not for the pure cultures of the past but instead for an understanding of how cultures and the roles of people change over time” (pp.11-12). Many of these essays are studies of an undefined time period, or of two vague periods, the past and present. Historians will find this problematic, as was noted by an important historian of the subject in an earlier review of this collection (Shoemaker 1996, pp.542-43).

The essay in the collection that best considers this sort of change is Joy Bilharz’s “First Among Equals? The Changing Status of Seneca Women.” Bilharz considers the various arguments over the status of Iroquois women, including those that suggest that the (pre-contact) Iroquois nations were matriarchal. She discusses how early European contact had little effect on women’s status because their economic and production roles (as agriculturalists) changed little and because they maintained political power in the selection of Chiefs and in choosing the fate of war captives (pp.104-05).

According to Bilharz, it was the early nineteenth century teachings of the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake that stressed Euro-Christian gender roles (and a nuclear family in which the father’s appropriate role was farmer, and the mother’s, homemaker) that resulted in the initial loss of status for Seneca women. When the Seneca Nation was founded in 1848, women were effectively disenfranchised, and the decline in their status continued. What is particularly noteworthy about Bilharz’s article is her discussion of how these women have regained power in the twentieth century. Seneca women were involved in organized responses to the construction of the Kinzua Dam in Pennsylvania, the forced relocation of their people, and the flooding of one-third of the Allegheny Reservation in the 1960s. Women used their experience in political organizing and began to hold positions in the Seneca Nation of Indians. Bilharz’s study is not only an interesting account of a centuries-long power struggle, but is centrally concerned with change over time, and the causes of such change. One problem with anthropology (at least for historians) is that the research methodology tends to capture a culture in one time and space. The result is that sometimes cultures are portrayed as ahistorical, static, and unchanging. Bilharz’s work, on the other hand, which seems to rely on a more historical approach, carefully tracks the changes in this community, and suggests why these changes might have occurred. (For more on the subject, see Bilharz 1998.)

My second concern with many of these essays is their sources. Historians and anthropologists find their evidence through different
methods, even when they might be looking at the same subject. As Bernard Cohn wrote in 1987, “research in history is based on finding data; research in anthropology is based on creating data” (Cohn 1987, p.6). I think it is the creation of data by some of the authors of essays in this collection, as well as the use of earlier anthropological data, that troubles me. A critical question that must be posed when considering the various cultural subjects in these articles is “Why don’t we ask these people their own stories?” Although it is not infallible, oral history, as opposed to an anthropologist’s observations, could have provided greater insight into the cultures studied in many of these articles. I quite enjoyed Alice B. Kehoe’s essay, “Blackfoot Persons,” not only because she discussed the fascinating subject of “manly-hearted women” (p.115) and argues that European gender categories miss the point (p.124), but also because she uses Native mythology as a primary source for evidence. Kehoe tells us that these “myths recount, one after another, how women bring blessings to the people” (p.117). I am, however, not as willing to trust Kehoe’s use of personal observations formed during her experience living on a Blackfoot reservation. It seems problematic to make connections between Native American mythology, early twentieth-century anthropological data, and late twentieth-century observations. These sources give us information on the Blackfoot at different times in their history, and it seems that there could be problems with representations of Blackfoot culture created by anthropologists from different cultures. Additionally, Kehoe did not discuss the role of women pre- and post contact, and the changes that may be associated with this major cultural event.

Henry S. Sharp’s essay, “Asymmetric Equals: Women and Men among the Chipewyn,” contains an excellent analysis of early explorer Samuel Hearne’s journal. From a historian’s perspective, this sort of critique of early contact literature is very valuable. Sharp considers Hearne’s “cultural baggage and biases” and suggests that we need to remain attentive to the ways that such factors determine the reliability of primary sources. Hearne’s journal depicts Chipewyn women as so-called “beasts of burden,” carrying packs, pitching tents, gathering firewood, and dressing skins (pp.52-53). Thanks to Hearne and other European observers, these women became “exemplars of the negative side of aboriginal Native American life” (p.49). Sharp suggests that Hearne ignored the potential for female labor to act as a source of empowerment for women, as did other members of “an English-speaking world more interested in domination than complementarity” (p.53). Sharp then delves into twentieth-century anthropological observation of the Chipewyn and suggests that although studies have shown that the position of women is “improving”, this does not address the issue, “since what is meant by improving is only that the Chipewyns are coming more closely to resemble whatever our culture currently considers socially and ideologically desirable” (p.67). A different approach is recommended by Sharp, one that explores the complicated symbols and metaphors of gender in
contemporary Chipewyn culture. Sharp’s use of these three different types of data (historical contact literature, anthropological studies, and contemporary culture) succeeds at further complicating the popular image of Chipewyn women as overworked and undervalued, and suggests instead that, as is the case with many other Native cultures, complementarity existed between the genders.

This collection is an important one. Not only does it bring together work on cultures from across the continent, but also, the authors use different methods and sources to try to understand Native North American women’s lives. Although I do have concerns with the lack of attention given to change over time, as well as the problematic nature of the sources used in several essays, I will defer to Nancy Shoemaker who warns that historians “will have a difficult time overcoming their disciplinary prejudices,” and who argues that “a book intended to satisfy the conventions of anthropology should not be judged by the standards of history” (Shoemaker p.1543).

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Alison Norman is a doctoral candidate in the History of Education program at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. She is interested in the complicated relationships that existed between first wave feminists and social reformers, and Native Canadian women, especially in Ontario. Her research looks white women’s efforts to “help” Native women through local organizations, Native women’s participation in these organizations, and the racial and gendered dynamics of these relationships.
SONS OF THE CONQUERORS
by
Hugh Pope


Reviewed for PAS by Hakki Tas

“Sons of the conquerors” is an honorific the Turks use for the descendants of Turkic nomadic colonizers who migrated from the steps of Central Asia to the Balkans. By this title, Hugh Pope, the Istanbul correspondent for the Wall Street Journal, directs attention to the probable re-emergence of Turkic peoples in the twenty-first-century political arena. They can no longer be treated as marginal players on the edge of Europe, or as distant allies taken for granted by the European Union and the United States, Pope avers. A world population of 140 million people over more than 20 states in geopolitically important areas of Eurasia deserves much scholarly attention; Pope’s book is a much-needed contribution to the thin literature in the area.

In this age when scholars prefer to focus on differences, Pope analyzes the similarities between several Turkic peoples, and highlights the need for further anthropological research about the Turkic world. The book consists of six sections, which the author believes reflect “the collective qualities” of the Turkic peoples: their military tradition, the patrimonial character of political governance, a sense of shared history, their pragmatic interpretation and mystic practice of Islam, their contentious “love-hate” relationship with the West, and their optimism about the near future summarized as “The twenty-first century is ours.” Especially notable is the epilogue, in which the author traces the probability and potentials of a Turkic alliance.

The analyses and observations in the book are the outcome of Pope’s travels through 20 countries in 15 years. Writing something more than a chronicle, Pope takes the readers on a long enjoyable journey from the Uygur villages in China to Virginia, home of Melungeons who claim Turkic descent, and from the presidential palace in Turkmenistan to the ghettos in Germany where “Euro-Turks” live. His fluency in Turkish allows him to talk to many people from presidents to villagers; therefore, the book provides a deep insight into the lives of Turkic peoples. Peppered with plenty of anecdotes, it is highly readable.

Sons of the Conquerors makes four major contributions to the studies in this area. First, it provides a broad perspective by including
several Turkic populations and states; this is quite different from the one-country studies. Second, Pope sees a hinge point in the increasing influence of the Turkic states in global political formations and suggests the possible birth of a new political power. Though recent policy research programs on the Near East are most interested in Arab states and Iran, the author tries to shift the attention to the Turkic world. The rich material sources and fast economic development in Central Asia, and the increasing importance of Turkey in the Middle East may prove the author right. Third, Pope underlines the peaceful version of Islam practiced by Turks. “Islam Allaturca” presents a high level of compatibility with liberal values. The empirical findings and conclusions both challenge and provide correction to the positions of those having cultural essentialist claims about Islam’s backwardness.

The fourth novelty of the book is its stress on the shared victimhood of the Turks whose conventional image has usually been that of barbarians and oppressors. He gives some examples of Turkic victims: Azerbaijan’s “Black January” in 1990; the Nagorno-Karabagh war (1988-1994), during which one in twelve of all Azeris were killed by the Armenians; the eight million Uygur Turks still suffering under Chinese rule; the Bulgarian communist government’s mistreatment of its Turkish minority in the late 1980s; and the hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs and Tatars who died under Stalin’s rule. Seeing Turks as victims was an odd reversal of historic roles, Pope states. He also observes a high level of nationalism in response to this sense of unjust loss and victimhood. The book is worthwhile for these sections alone.

A major criticism of this book, however, is Pope’s cultural primordialism in his efforts to identify “homo turkicus.” His generalizations about “the collective qualities” of the Turkic peoples, who live in an area from the Balkans to China, are the weakest aspect of his book. Even if there is a common ethnic culture among 140 million Turkic people, it must be studied within an historical context-bound framework. His references to the “Turkish psyche,” “Turkish mentality” or “plundering instinct” hearken back to some Orientalist travelers of earlier centuries, whom he occasionally quotes (p.86).

There is also the question of whether the “Turkic world,” that the author takes for granted, actually exists. He himself admits that a united Turkic front is unlikely at least for now. There is no Turkic world, only a huge region where the Turkic peoples live. Though one can see some common cultural and linguistic ties binding the Turkic peoples, the sense of attachment and belonging among them is still questionable and needs much selective nurturing by the political elites. Sons of the Conquerors has a similar character; each chapter is devoted to a separate country and similarities are noted by the author, but there is little discussion of interconnectedness and cooperation among the Turkic peoples.

Generally, the Turkic people share widespread ignorance about
their common roots. *Sons of the Conquerors* demonstrates well how significant similarities still exist despite long distances. However, Pope’s attempt to decipher the ethno-cultural nucleus of the Turks results in ambiguities and logical pitfalls. Nevertheless, he provides a first-hand and a first-class account for those who want to learn more about the lives of the Turkic peoples. The book’s empirical breadth also allows non-area specialists to get an up-to-date overview of these societies.

Hakki Tas is a PhD student and research assistant in the Department of Political Science at Bilkent University. He is a TUBITAK (Turkish Science and Technology Foundation) fellow and leads a project on contemporary Islamism in Turkey. He published in Political Studies Review and the Millennium Journal. His main research interests

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**ARCHIGRAM:**

*Architecture Without Architecture*

by

Simon Sadler

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x + 242pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographic references, and index

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Reviewed for PAS by Prof. Christopher Yip

The 1960s saw the emergence of Great Britain as a leading force in popular culture and the cultural avant garde. Mary Quant made popular the mini-skirt, which was followed later in the decade by the micro-skirt and hot pants. The Beatles hit the top of the British music charts in 1963 with “Please Please Me” and exploded onto the U.S. music scene later that same year, soon to be followed by the Rolling Stones and many other bands. Archigram became an equivalent phenomenon on the British architectural scene, and gained a following worldwide. They (the core members being Warren Chalk, Peter Cook, Dennis Crompton, David Greene, Ron Herron, and Mike Webb) were all born before World War II and reached young adulthood by 1960.
Throughout *Archigram: Architecture Without Architecture*, Simon Sadler ties Archigram’s ideas and projects to their historical context focusing upon architectural precedents and aspects of intellectual history. In Chapter One, “A New Generation: Archigram’s Formation and Its Context,” Sadler portrays Archigram as trying to revive the energy of the pioneering phase the Modern Movement, and rejecting the rather stayed and institutional English architectural environment in which they found themselves. “It was literally a neo-avant-garde, a revival of the avant-garde activities that made modernism exciting at its early twentieth-century launch” (p.44). They sought to break out of an architectural profession of bureaucratic compromisers by going back to early modernism for its energy and vitality, and freely borrowed from some of their elders, such as the Smithsons. The image of the architect as visionary genius was reasserted over the policy-making anonymous architect locked away in large public and private offices. The result of their early efforts were projects like Plug-in City, which borrowed the idea of the megastructure, and added plug-in apartment and other units moved around by extensive transport links. Units would be expendable, and the consumer could select a unit just like a new car and dispose of a unit just like an old car. This world would constantly be becoming. “Classless, popular, high-tech, go-with-the-flow—Archigram had devised an exhilarating alternative to doctrine” (p.50)

Chapter Two, “The Living City: Pop Urbanism Circa 1963,” examines Archigram’s Living City show which...”heralded a way of thinking about cities that later became commonplace: that cities, being more than mere functional organizations of space, are the life support machinery of a culture in perpetual change” (p.8). They created projects and drawings emphasizing the formlessness of space, behavior and life in contrast to the boring rigid objects architects were producing. New pod units and high tech additions were juxtaposed with traditional buildings and urban settings. “Living City” was against the rational objectivity of British architectural planning, and in favor of individual freedom enhanced by technologically sophisticated environmental appliances. Residential and commercial units were stacked and interwoven with extensive circulation lines.

Their love of interchangeability and constant flux displaced permanent buildings as the goal of an architect’s efforts. In Chapter Three, “Beyond Architecture: Indeterminacy, Systems, and the Dissolution of Buildings,” Sadler notes how Archigram’s championing of change naturally led to a hostility to the traditional architectural monuments and a shift to consumer architectural appliances indistinguishable from other common appliances. This fascination with technology and consumption as the solution to society’s problems, helped to produce an apolitical avant-garde movement insensitive to other incipient movements, such as feminism and ecology. Indeterminacy, simultaneity and change were good. Traditional buildings just became slums or ancient monuments.
The kit-of-parts which could be plugged in or unplugged, led them "toward the most active, immaterial, and indeterminate architecture conceivable, a continuous realm of biological-electronic control systems" (p.117). Since they were not actually studying science and engineering breakthroughs, one got the sense that they were playing at innovating solutions to undefined problems.

Sadler examines in Chapter Four, "The Zoom Wave: Archigram’s Teaching and Reception," Archigram’s popularity and survival was closely linked to its following among students in architecture schools, and their eventual decline in popularity. All six of the members taught at one time at the Architecture Association in London, and many other schools in England and United States. The author notes that the Architectural Association became their headquarters as they worked to create a niche for themselves in the architectural program of the school. An important part of their journal was distributed through the schools. “Zoom” was introduced in their 1964 edition, and stood for their beliefs…”in pop, the future, technological innovation, enterprise, indeterminacy, and hyperfunctionalism” (p.141). Events replaced permanent construction in many of their projects.

Archigram’s popularity and survival depended in large measure upon maintaining their student following, since they could not expect support from the Royal Institute of British Architects and the professional establishment, which they attacked and ridiculed. The problem, Sadler suggests, was their “techno-libertarian” attitude in which technology and individualism would solve all the problems of society. They saw themselves as apolitical, which increasingly put into question their avant-garde status with the rise of the anti-Vietnam War protests, the questioning of capitalism and consumer society, the feminist movement, the ecology movement, and the racial equality struggles. The defense of a technological modernism hostile to traditional building argued from the position of popular culture and fashion seemed less and less appealing to those seeking radical architectural solutions to multiple social problems. Furthermore, Sadler notes that “Archigram had little interest in history, after ‘Living City,’ it abandoned the city; its response to theory was confused” (p.188). The late 1960s saw the rise of Postmodern Historicism led by Charles Moore, Robert Venturi, and Denise Scott Brown in the United States. Aldo Rossi in Italy argued for matching contemporary architecture to the typology of the city, and theory took on a central role in Continental and American architectural thinking. Archigram seemed less relevant.

Sadler, in the conclusion, sees Archigram’s legacy as restoring avant-gardism, and reviving the interest of architects in technology; they influenced the later high tech movement represented by such people as Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers. While Archigram championed a more extreme modernism, postmodernists became the new avant-garde who were headed in the opposite direction from Archigram. There is a great deal of information and insights
into Archigram and the 1960s English architectural scene in this unnecessarily dry work. For those interested in Archigram it is worth a read.

Christopher Yip has taught architecture, architectural history, and theory and criticism at the University of Colorado, Boulder, the University of Hawaii, and presently, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo. His research areas include Asian American architecture and environments, nineteenth- and twentieth-century architecture, and Asian architectural history.
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Divisions of Fence in Lyndeborough, New Hampshire, 1800-1903

Scott C. Roper

Introduction

Since the eighteenth century, New Hampshire landowners who have wished to fence the outer boundaries of their property, but could not agree with their neighbors about how to do so, have been able to apply to their municipal government for a division of fence. Elected or appointed “fence viewers” from that municipality would be dispatched to the disputed boundary, establish who was responsible for constructing and maintaining various portions of fence, and levy a fee for their service to one or both landowners. Town clerks hand-recorded landowner petitions and fence-viewer decisions in municipal record books.

Perhaps because division-of-fence records are difficult to locate and read and the information contained within them is inconsistent, they rarely are utilized in the study of New England fences. The records of Lyndeborough, New Hampshire, yield a wealth of information about nineteenth-century division fences, particularly the so-called “stone walls” that dominate parts of the New England landscape. These divisions of fence range in date from 1800 to 1903. The frequency with which such divisions are recorded varies, peaking in the 1830s and falling slowly thereafter until 1865, after which point they virtually stop.

These records do not only suggest the period during which stone-wall construction predominated, however. Perhaps most importantly, divisions of fence—as well as the state laws that regulated them—reaffirm that walls were constructed not just as barriers to animal movement, but also served as permanent property-boundary markers.

Stone Walls

The period during which divisions of fence appear in Lyndeborough municipal records (1800-1903) corresponds with the era of stone-wall construction in New England. By 1871, approximately 28,771,023 rods—or more than 89,909 miles—of fencing covered the state of New Hampshire (United States Department of Agriculture, 1872, 510). At the time, the Department of Agriculture reported that “[s]tone-wall is the principal fence in . . . New Hampshire” (506). While post-and-rail fencing was “largely used in all parts of the State,” more than three-quarters of all fencing in Hillsborough County—in
a rocky district along the state’s boundary with Massachusetts, and which includes Lyndeborough within its bounds—were built of stone (500).

Stone walls appeared on the New England landscape in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This was an era of rapid deforestation throughout the region (Straight, 1987, 72; Wessels, 1997, 58), as commercial farmers responded to the early industrial revolution—particularly in the area of woolen textiles—with an expansion of sedentary sheep herding (Thorson, 2002, 105-106, 136-143; Wessels, 1997, 58). Prior to this period, worm, rail, and post-and-board fencing probably predominated (Allport, 1990, 32-38; Conforti, 2002, 134; Pocius, 1977, 10-12; Thorson, 2002, 97-99; Wessels, 1997, 47-48). Researchers believe that stone walls appeared as a result of these agricultural and industrial changes, although estimates vary regarding the exact years during which such structures actually were built. Some scholars accept that “the most active period of wall building” in the northeast stretched between 1775 and 1825 (Allport, 1990, 89 [quoted]; Thorson, 2002, 110). Others, however, favor a period between approximately 1810 and the 1840s (Conforti, 2002, 134-139; Foster and O’Keefe, 2000, 8; Wessels, 1997, 58-59).

Many researchers assert that a lack of wood was responsible for the changeover to stone as a building material (Allport, 1990, 38; Conforti, 2002, 135; Foster and O’Keefe, 2000, 8; Straight ,1987, 67). This probably was not the case. More likely, the act of deforestation altered soil conditions, “drying out the surface, changing the pattern of snow cover, and reducing the insulating value of the topsoil.” Since upland New England soils such as those in Lyndeborough were developed on glacial till, they froze easily and deeply in the winter (Thorson, 2002, 107). Without tree cover to add organic material to soils and to mitigate the effects of cold weather, stones were heaved upward en masse during the nineteenth century (Thorson, 2002, 110-112; Wessels, 1997, 44). Farmers, needing to clear their fields of stones, are thought to have made piles or built fences with them (Garrison, 1991, 118-119; Hoard and Prawl, 1998, 2-3; Pocius, 1977, 9-12).

While deforestation probably did cause fieldstones to become more available, this fact alone did not lead to the construction of stone walls. Adoption of sedentary sheep herding would not have necessitated the clearing of stones from fields, as such fields are not plowed. Besides, stones cleared from fields are just as easily placed in piles as they are used to erect walls along property boundaries. On the other hand, the need to keep animals on or away from property or to establish enduring boundary markers could explain why New Englanders constructed permanent fences during this period.

According to J. B. Jackson, boundaries on the early American landscape “were designed to isolate and protect the objects or people within them” (Jackson, 1984, 15). Many researchers agree that early New England fences served just such a purpose, keeping animals out of crop and mowing fields (Garrison, 1991, 118; Hubka, 1984, 84).
The purpose of fences changed, however, so that by the early 1800s, they were constructed to enclose livestock to protect the property of others (Allport, 1990, 22-23; Garrison, 1991, 118; Hubka, 1984, 84; Pocius, 1977, 14; Straight, 1987, 67; Wessels, 1997, 58).

Jackson also suggests that boundaries “give a permanent human quality to what would otherwise be an amorphous stretch of land” (Jackson, 1984, 15). Although some authors downplay the importance of stone walls as boundary markers (Allport, 1990, 22-23), that purpose was, in fact, quite important (Pocius, 1977, 16). Thorson sees walls as part of a “territorial imperative” among landowners, one that became stronger during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as commercial farming increased the value of land (Thorson, 2002, 75-100 [88 quoted]). Even today, stone walls running along New Hampshire roads are legal boundaries that mark the width and path of the public’s right of way over private property (Waugh, 1997, 19, 40-41).

Researchers have tended to use landscape paintings, diaries, interviews and personal experiences, and landscape interpretation in the study of New England stone walls. Although division-of-fence records exist for many New England towns, and while fence viewers are acknowledged to have been an important part of the fence-maintenance and construction process (Allston, 44-51; Martin, 1892, 170-173; Sloane, 1955, 32; Thorson, 2002, 97), these records generally have been ignored. Furthermore, few scholars have investigated state fencing laws, which have regulated some types of fence construction since the seventeenth century. Ultimately, analysis of these data demonstrates that the period of fencing in one southern New Hampshire community extended from 1800 to 1865, and that the marking of boundaries was at least as important as property protection.

_Fence Laws in New Hampshire, 1697-1792_

Prior to 1718, fences in New Hampshire served one legal purpose: to protect the property that they enclosed. The earliest laws, dating from 1697 and 1718, imposed fines on those who cut trees on private property belonging to another landowner. The legislature intended these acts to protect unfenced timberland from trespass (Batchellor, 1904, 592; 1913, 257), and assumed that fences were an adequate means of guarding land from outside intruders. Similarly, another law passed in 1718, entitled “An Act for Regulating Cattle, Corn-Fields, and Fences,” required each town to choose fence viewers to ensure that fences would be “sufficient against other Cattle, [and] shall also be accounted good and sufficient against Swine and Sheep” (Batchellor, 1913, 310-311).

In 1743, the provincial legislature passed “An Act to Regulate the Making & Repairing of Fences between Improved Lands.” This law compelled owners of adjoining property to “maintain the Fences that Divide or run between their lands jointly, each party making half.”
If one landowner did not “make up his or their part aforesaid,” he was entitled to a division of fence, whereby municipal viewers could assess damages and force the negligent landowner to pay for his portion of fence (726). The legislature added another feature: the delinquent landowner would not be obliged to pay for his half of the division fence until he “actually improve[s]” his own land (727-728). Thus, owners of unimproved land were not required to share in the costs of fencing common boundaries, although the act’s preamble reaffirms that such fences are meant to protect improved private property from outside threats (726).

Finally, on February 8, 1791, the New Hampshire legislature passed the most comprehensive fencing law to date, entitled “An Act Relative to Common Fields and Regulating Fences” (Metcalf, 1916, 579). The act empowered towns to choose fence viewers annually from among “free holders” and required the officials to view and establish division fences “between persons interested in making them” (580). It also restated many of the provisions of the 1718 and 1743 laws (580-581), which themselves were repealed as redundant under the new state constitution in 1792 (New Hampshire Secretary of State, 1917, 28-34). However, the new act included a provision that changed the legal purpose of fences in New Hampshire: every five years, on penalty of ten shillings, where no division fence existed between two adjoining properties, landowners were required to “run the line and keep up” the boundaries between them (Metcalf, 1916, 580). Thus, landowners were compelled to maintain their property boundaries regardless of whether or not their properties were fenced. This fact, as well as the increasingly commercial nature of agriculture in rural communities such as Lyndeborough, appears to have caused a sudden increase in divisions of fence beginning in 1800.

**Municipal Fence Construction in Lyndeborough**

Lyndeborough, located in western Hillsborough County less than fifteen miles from the New Hampshire-Massachusetts border, was settled in approximately 1737 (Donovan and Woodward, 1906, 31). From before its founding until 1803 the community was a proprietary town, meaning its lands belonged to “wealthy land speculators who claimed title” to property “and who demanded purchase payments” from settlers (Taylor, 1990, 2). Proprietors’ records do not indicate any activities relating to the construction of fences in the eighteenth century (Proprietors of Lyndeborough, 1735-1803). However, they do suggest one possible reason for a boom in stone-wall construction after 1800: the need for boundary markers to delineate private property.

Between approximately 1780 and 1803, Lyndeborough’s proprietors struggled to define the community’s political boundaries and the extent of their remaining land holdings within the town (Lyndeborough Proprietors, May 21, 1783-August 30, 1803). In preparing to dissolve its partnership, the group surveyed its unsold
lots and common lands within the community (February 19, 1793). The proprietors had greatly overestimated the extent of their holdings, and as they prepared to dispose of their lands they also found that a number of settlers had encroached upon common and proprietary lands without permission. Eventually they settled their disputes with squatters and disbanded in 1803 (Donovan and Woodward, 1906, 79-100). Still, the proprietors’ problems clearly suggest a lack of certainty surrounding property boundaries in Lyndeborough.

In 1804, one year after the Lyndeborough proprietors disbanded, the first known municipal construction of stone walls occurred with the fencing of Lyndeborough cemeteries. That July, the town voted to “take some method to fence the several burying grounds in said Town” (Town of Lyndeborough, July 2, 1804). Although the article passed by those at the town meeting did not indicate the materials by which the cemeteries would be fenced, all of the cemeteries in Lyndeborough today are enclosed by stone walls. The town never again voted on the fencing of cemeteries, the expense of which could be approved only by the community’s voters at a legal town meeting. Therefore, the cemeteries likely were fenced in stone in 1804.

Supporting this notion is the fact that in 1806, the town agreed to construct sixty rods (990 feet) of stone wall along the so-called “county road” (Pinnacle Road) that was being constructed through Lyndeborough. The Board of Selectmen solicited bids and awarded the project to three contractors, each responsible for completing a different portion of wall (Town of Lyndeborough, August 25, 1806). Notably, today most of the town’s sixty miles of maintained road in Lyndeborough—as well as many discontinued roads—are lined with double rows of stone walls. These walls, which may total more than 150 miles, were built in accordance with highway laws, rather than fencing laws, and are mentioned in division-of-fence records only as descriptive landmarks.

Lyndeborough Divisions of Fence

Divisions of fence in Lyndeborough mirror the period of stone-wall construction in New England in general. Lyndeborough municipal records include 132 divisions of fence, all of them dating from between 1800 and 1903 (Table 1). The first such agreement dates from August 14, 1800, when Amherst residents Ebenezer Odell and James Hopkins agreed to “divide fence” between their Lyndeborough properties. Fence viewers required Hopkins to pay Odell five dollars, possibly indicating that Odell already had constructed the entire fence (Town of Lyndeborough, August 14, 1800). The final division was recorded on October 29, 1903, when Rufus Chamberlain, an eighty-four-year-old former selectman, and seventy-two-year-old blacksmith and farmer Ward Cheever filed a division of fence with the Lyndeborough Town Clerk (Donovan and Woodward, 1906, 693-695; Town of Lyndeborough, October 29, 1903).
The earliest fence agreements include very little description. Some mention only the parties involved and the proportion of fence for which each was responsible, while others contain distances, a description of markers along which the fence should be constructed, and even the character of the property through which the fence would pass. An agreement between Zadoc Rodgers and Ebenezer Persons illustrates a division of fence in its simplest form:

Lyndeboro Nov 13th 1838. This may certify that Zadoc Rodgers of Lowell and Ebenezer Persons of Milford have divided fence this day. Zadoc Rodgers take the east half in sd. Lyndeborough, and Ebenezer Persons take the west half (Town of Lyndeborough, November 13, 1838).

Most divisions of fence, however, resemble the following agreement between Israel Goodridge and Solomon Phinney from September 9, 1815:

This day the subscribers agreed to the following division of fence. On Solomon Phinney’s south line against Israel H. Goodridge we agree that sd. Goodridge shall have ninety two rods on the west and sd. Phinney the remainder to the east corner consisting of about ninety-three rods. On sd. Phinney’s west line against sd. Goodridge we agree that sd. Goodridge have thirty-two rods on the south part and sd. Phinney the remainder to the road being about forty rods (September 9, 1815; recorded 1835).

Taken as a whole, these agreements reveal much about fence construction in Lyndeborough. For instance, an analysis of the dates on which landowners agreed to divisions of fence indicates the times of year during which they thought about fence construction (Fig. 1). Not surprisingly, the largest number of divisions occurred in April, May, and September, all of which are important agricultural

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months. June and August also registered a number of divisions of fence, but July—a month during which farming activities are not as great as in other summer months—accounted for only two during the entire 103-year period. Perhaps most surprising is that a number of divisions occurred in winter months (October through March), a time when fields are frozen or mud-filled. This fact suggests that some farmers spent winters planning their fields and inspecting and repairing existing fences, but most did not consider their fences until the months of greatest agricultural activity.

![Fig. 1. Total Divisions of Fence By Month, 1800-1903.](image)

Divisions of fence also reflect the period of stone-wall construction in New England (Fig. 2). Despite a small number of divisions issued between the first and second decades of the nineteenth century (11 in the 1800s, 10 in the 1810s), fence-construction records rose to 24 in the 1820s, and peaked at 34 in the 1830s. Divisions of fence gradually declined to 21 in the 1840s and to 18 in the 1850s. Although town records document only 11 divisions of fence in the 1860s, ten of those agreements date from between 1860 and 1865. Only three divisions of fence have been recorded since 1867: two in the 1870s, and one in 1903. This finding suggests that at least in Lyndeborough, stone-wall production continued until the end of the Civil War. The years agreed upon by most researchers as representing the end of the stone-wall building period, 1825 and 1840, actually represent the period during which construction peaked.
Decline in Fence Agreements After 1865

The reasons for the decline and, after 1865, the virtual disappearance of division-of-fence records are not known. The New Hampshire legislature made two important changes to the fencing laws at about the time when these agreements became less popular. In 1858, the state introduced a fine of $20 and up to six months in prison for the “willful and malicious removal or alteration” of property boundaries or the defacement, alteration, or removal of property-boundary monuments (State of New Hampshire, 1996, 2006). Four years later, the legislature passed a bill allowing for prescriptive rights in fence-upkeep controversies, so that informal maintenance agreements that had existed for at least twenty years had the same effect as “an agreement in writing made and recorded” (2610). While the 1858 law probably had no effect on fence-construction activities, the second law might explain the declining number of divisions of fence listed in town records after 1865.

Legal issues suggest another possible reason. From the 1850s to the 1890s, questions arose regarding the legal meanings of terminology used in some division agreements, such as the words “improved land,” “pasture land,” and “sufficient fence.” The qualifications of fence viewers, whether or not a fence could be divided “whether there is a fence existing on the line at the time of such division or not,” and the authority of fence viewers to make divisions on disputed property boundaries also came under scrutiny. These questions resulted in several lawsuits against or involving New Hampshire municipal fence viewers between 1851 and 1894 (State of New Hampshire, RSA 473). Although these lawsuits were not aimed directly at Lyndeborough fence viewers, they could indicate a general lack of confidence in
divisions of fence as a tool for settling disputes.

Interestingly, the decline of divisions of fence corresponds with a rise in the belief that rural New England was in a state of decline. In reality, the region’s agriculture apparently showed improvement during this period (Bell, 1989). However, a number of researchers have found that between 1869 and 1940, images of New England became progressively negative, and that the region’s perceived decline was linked to Irish Catholic migration into rural areas (Barron, 1984, 31-50; Brown, 1995, 135-138; Conforti, 2002, 203-209; Roper, 2001, 36-37; 2003). An analysis of the relationships between this perception and the decline in divisions of fence is beyond the scope of this paper, but the coincidental timing of these changes merits further study.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to suggest that division-of-fence records potentially may be a valuable source in the study and understanding of New England stone walls. As a whole, local fencing agreements and state statutes suggest that fences served an important purpose as property-boundary markers in New Hampshire. State laws further document their older purpose as animal-control barriers. Furthermore, an analysis of Lyndeborough divisions of fence reveals that locally, the period of stone-wall construction stretched from 1800 to 1865, thereby exceeding that which researchers accept for New England as a whole.

Yet one must be careful in the application of Lyndeborough divisions of fence to New England stone-wall construction. The fact that these agreements indicate significant stone-wall construction as late as 1865 is important. Only an analysis of records kept by other rural communities can place the stone-wall construction patterns of Lyndeborough in regional context.

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NEW HAMPSHIRE SECRETARY OF STATE

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SLOANE, Eric

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  

WAUGH, H. Bernard, Jr.  

WESSELS, Tom  

**Contributor’s Biography**

Scott Roper is Assistant Professor of Geography and Coordinator of the Geography Program at Castleton State College in Vermont. He serves as book review editor for *Material Culture* and as editor of *PAST*. He developed an interest in Texas Panhandle graveyards between 2002 and 2005 when he taught at West Texas A&M University in Canyon, Texas.
ROCK WALL FOLK HOUSES OF THE WALDENSES: THE ALPINE ANTECEDENTS OF THE FOLK HOUSES OF VALDESE, NORTH CAROLINA

W. Frank Ainsley
University of North Carolina-Wilmington

In 1893 a group of Waldenses, a Protestant religious sect from northern Italy, established the town of Valdese in the Blue Ridge foothills of Burke County in western North Carolina. This Protestant Reformed sect had originated in France in the twelfth century, survived centuries of persecution by finding refuge in three valleys in the Cottian Alps - Val Pellice, Val Chisone, and Val Germanasca. They migrated to North Carolina in search of new land because their narrow homeland valleys were too densely populated.

The Waldenses built their homes, most of which were single-unit house barns, using a traditional dry-wall rock construction. Several of these house barns were built in the Valdese area, providing a unique and unusual look to the rural landscape of North Carolina. This paper focuses first on the search for the Old World antecedents in the Waldensian Valleys of Italy, and then compares them to the folk houses built upon the arrival in the New World. It presents the preliminary results of a comprehensive survey of the extant folk buildings in Val Pellice, Val Chisone, and Val Germanasca conducted in September, 2004.

BRICK BARNS OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA: A PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Gary A. Albright
Harleysville, Pennsylvania

Unlike their counterparts in stone and wood, which are a common and familiar part of Pennsylvania’s cultural landscape, barns constructed of brick are less common and less well-known. Built in significant numbers only during a 50 year period from about 1840 to 1890, brick barns were the result of a convergence of factors - technological, social, and agricultural. They were built in the greatest numbers in south-central Pennsylvania and the adjacent counties of Maryland, becoming less frequent as one moves eastward toward the Delaware River. This presentation will provide a visual survey of brick barns in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.
THE BOLIVIAN CONNECTION: MIGRATION BETWEEN A NORTHERN ALBERTA MENNONITE COMMUNITY AND EASTERN BOLIVIA

Dawn S. Bowen and Marshall E. Bowen
Mary Washington College

In the Peace River country of northern Alberta, barely a hundred miles from Canada’s Northwest Territories, lies the small Mennonite community of La Crete. It might appear that such a remote location would limit La Crete’s connection with the outside world. But examination of this community’s history and social fabric reveals that considerable movement routinely takes place between La Crete and other Mennonite communities from Canada to South America, with especially strong connections linking it to colonies in the Amazon basin of eastern Bolivia. This paper reviews the early development of La Crete, describes the movement of hundreds of La Crete residents to Bolivia from 1967 onward, and documents a heavy return flow of Bolivian Mennonites back to La Crete, particularly within the past five years. It shows that while this small northern community was not fully prepared to accommodate so many newcomers, it is making a strong effort to help them make the enormous adjustment from Third World to First World living.

WHAT IS THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN LANDSCAPE?
CONTINUITIES, CONJECTURES, CONJUNCTURES

R. Troy Boyer
Indiana University

Although many students of vernacular architecture have approached a description of the Pennsylvania German sense of place, few have reached beyond the visible landscape of built things to discover the Pennsylvania Germans’ own subjective understanding of their environment. Sense of place, as I define it here, integrates both the objective and subjective poles of experience and is determined by people’s relations with both the sensible and the invisible landscapes. It serves as the most complete context for the interpretation of architectural expression in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country.

One might ask how we would arrive at the sense of place for Pennsylvania Germans living in past epochs. Of course, this is a question that cannot be answered definitively, but I would suggest that when dealing with sense of place we should not automatically assume discontinuity, as historians of events are wont to do. Vernacular architecture research has shown us that many formal qualities of architectural types remain constant over long periods even as stylistic change carries on rapidly in the same periods. Similarly,
sense of place is connected to the deep history of specific places as cultures interact with nature. Indeed, if genius loci, “the spirit of place,” is as difficult to obliterate as some writers suggest, then certainly we dismiss the possibilities of studying continuity as well as change, today’s dwellers in the Pennsylvania German landscape as well as their ancestors, at the risk of our interpretations.

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MEMORIAL REVOLUTIONARY WAR BURIAL SITE
Vivian Braubitz
Richboro, Pennsylvania

Local folklore and a diary kept the legend of a burial site in Langhorne, Pennsylvania alive over the years. When owners of the property applied for a permit to subdivide the tract for housing, a request was made by local historians to verify the information in the diary through archaeology, as it indicated the site to be the resting place for Revolutionary War soldiers. Research confirmed that orders by George Washington were issued for a hospital to be set in what is now Langhorne Borough for sick and wounded troops. Excavation located twenty nine graves, teeth, decayed bones and a few eighteenth century nails. Nine years and one lawsuit later, the site was saved from development and declared hallowed ground during a ceremony on Veterans’ Day. It is on the National Register of Historic Places and a Pennsylvania State Marker stands at the entrance.

LANDSCAPE CHANGE IN HOLLYWOOD (PENNSYLVANIA)
Wayne Brew
Montgomery County Community College

A local developer named Gustav Weber while on a trip to the West Coast in the 1920s fell in love with the Spanish influenced Mission Style of architecture popular at the time in California. When he came back to the Philadelphia area he planned a residential enclave of this style just outside of the city limits near Rockledge which is located in Abington Township, Montgomery County. He called the development Hollywood and also named the streets from locations in California (Los Angeles, San Diego, etc). The project was abandoned by Weber and went into bankruptcy during the depression. The project was eventually completed in the 1940s by a Montgomery County developer named Sidney Robin. The original plans had called for construction techniques and foliage suited for a Mediterranean climate which had to be changed to adapt to a colder northern climate. There are a total of 120 houses in the development. Many of the homes have been
modified (ranging from slightly to drastically) to update the houses as styles have changed. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has listed this enclave as eligible for the national registry. This presentation will focus on the modifications that have been made to these houses over the years.

**UHLERSTOWN LOCKHOUSE**  
Patricia Ceglia  
Lambertville, New Jersey

The Ulherstown Lockhouse is a vernacular, wood-frame house built in 1829 on the edge of the Delaware Canal in the historic village of Ulherstown. The Delaware Canal in both Bucks and Northampton counties has been on Preservation Pennsylvania’s “Pennsylvania At Risk” list since 1993. The purpose of the paper is to identify historic building materials worthy of protection; to describe the present condition of the house with photographs, floor plans, a brief history of the property, and an explanation for why it should be preserved. This report was used by the Friends of Delaware Canal to solicit grant funds for construction materials and labor, and as a maintenance guide by the Delaware Canal State Park.

**HENRY HOWE’S IMAGES OF MAIN STREET OHIO**  
Craig E. Colton  
Louisiana State University

Donald Meinig referred to Main Streets as one of the three principal symbolic landscapes of America. As an iconographic image, Main Streets centered on an east-west trending street faced by tightly spaced commercial structures. Joe Wood demonstrated that the symbol did not conform to the early settlement form of the New England village. Is the same true for the Main Street of the Middle Border? Henry Howe, an itinerant historical encyclopedist, created an amazing catalog of early images of Main Streets in Ohio. He produced paired drawings of numerous Ohio Main Streets; the first in 1847 and a second appeared in 1896. The sequential drawings illustrate almost half century of urban development, with the second half depicting full blown Main Streets. This paper will examine the paired illustrations as a historical record of the evolution of American Main Street centered urban places. The results will document the physical transformation of towns centered on prominent public structures into the commercial artery associated with Main Street.
OLD ORDER AMISH FARMS IN THE PEQUEA VALLEY

Barbara Copp
A.D. Marble and Company

This paper will attempt to explain the development and present day appearance of Old Order Amish farms in a rural landscape in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, which is currently being studied as part of proposed improvements to U.S. Route 30. This area, which was inhabited by members of the Amish community beginning in the early nineteenth century, became more heavily populated by Amish after World War II. This paper will briefly discuss how the Amish group arose; how their religious beliefs and proscribed behaviors have evolved over time; and how they have impacted the appearance of the built environment and landscape of the study area. Examples of specific landscape characteristics that will be addressed include buggy sheds, alternative power sources, the intensive cultivation of farmland, the Dawdy Haus, kettle house additions to dwellings, and structures housing home enterprises. This paper will also attempt to distinguish between two types of farms which were identified in the study area: “pure” Amish farms, being those farms that retain features that represent sustained ownership by members of the Amish community over time, and “altered” Amish farms, being those farms that have been more recently occupied by members of the Amish community.

ALADDIN COMPANY HOUSES IN BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND

Michael W.R. Davis
Eastern Michigan University

In 1917 the Aladdin Company of Bay City, Michigan, a catalogue house company, filled its largest single order - 252 wartime housing units for the Austin Motor Company in Birmingham, England. Thus was a cultural landscape of American Midwestern wooden homes with front porches, vernacular housing at its best, transplanted back to Old Europe. As part of a continuing series for the Pioneer America Society on company towns, the presenter will describe his successful search for this community and its unusual landscape of accommodation.
THE BANK-INTO-FOREBAY BARNs OF BUCKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

Robert Ensminger
Allentown, Pennsylvania

The Bank-into-Forebay barn is a subtype of the Standard Pennsylvania barn and is the least common type of Pennsylvania barn. A small group of Bank-into-Forebay barns occurs in the village of Buchs in eastern Switzerland. In North America, one has been identified in central Missouri and one is located in north central Bucks County, Pennsylvania. This paper will deal with this latter group. Their location and unique morphology will be examined. Reasons for their presence in Bucks County will be considered.

DISTRIBUTION OF SWITZERS - THE EARLiest CLASS OF FOREBAY BARNs IN SOUTHEast PENNSYLVANIA

Gregory D. Huber
Past Perspectives

The Pennsylvania Forebay barn with its diagonostic front wall cantilevered section is composed of three principal classes - Switzer, Standard, and Extended types. This log form of the Switzer class with its asymmetrical roofline closely duplicates one of the barn forms that is commonly found in eastern Switzerland - the Double Log Crib Eave Forebay Switzer. The earliest forebay type barn to appear in Pennsylvania was likely this barn form.

From the current numbers and types of extant Forebay barns in southeast Pennsylvania, it is probable that log Switzers were first constructed in Lancaster County as the greatest concentration of pre-Switzers of either log or stone construction. Other relatively high densities of this barn class occur in the southern half of adjacent Lebanon County and the western third of nearby Berks County. Progressing into the eastern one-half or one-third of Berks County, far fewer Switzers are encountered. Still farther east into adjacent Lehigh County and Northampton County that abuts the Delaware River, Switzers of any type become very rare. South of this four county area into Bucks, Montgomery, Chester, and Delaware counties, Switzers occur only very sporadically. The Standard barn with symmetrical roofline occurs far more regularly where the Switzer barn is less frequently seen.
The village of Dolington in Upper Makefield Township, central Bucks County, is named in honor of the first settler, Peter Dolin. Dolin first occupied a log house on the south side of the intersection of Dolington and Washington Crossing Roads between 1765 and 1772. From 1791 through 1801 Whitson Canby, a blacksmith with a keen eye for real estate sold off individual lots ranging in size from 1-16 acres. By 1804 Dolington boasted 23 houses; most of the log houses which had accounted for nearly half of the village in 1795-96 had been replaced by newer and grander stone homes by this time. The 1850 census shows Dolington as being an active business center. An 1876 newspaper article noted that the village contained two stores, two blacksmiths, a saloon, a harness maker, wheelwright, shoemaker, post office, tailors, two good schools, a butcher, and an excellent library.

Architecturally, Dolington is important in representing a basically even classed village of independent artisans and small businesses with the overwhelming majority of primary structures being comfortably sized homes for single families. Its architecture reflects the village’s commercial niche as a village of individual entrepreneurs without a central commercial force. It contrasts with other historic villages and towns such as Brownsburg where the milling, manufacturing, and canal industries created a dichotomy between the wealthy business owner and the working class, with the latter housed in multi-family houses or tenements.

The historic village of Dolington is currently threatened by a conditional land use application that is under review by an appointed hearing officer representing the Upper Makefield Township Board of Supervisors. Brownsburg Village has three developments built around it. The Village has been swallowed up by these developments and is barely recognizable.
THE VANISHING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE
OF THE LIBERTY BELL LIMITED

David Kimmerly
Heritage Conservancy

This paper will examine the relic landscape of an interurban trolley line that connected Allentown to Philadelphia. The trolley line operated parallel to the route the Liberty Bell took through Bucks and Montgomery counties when it was evacuated from Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War. The Liberty Bell trolley line was operated by the Lehigh Valley Transit Company from 1900 to 1951, the longest operating trolley line in Bucks and Montgomery counties. Its eventual demise has left a lasting, but fading, imprint on the landscape. Remnants of bridges, stations, right of way, power houses, and car barns are evident on the landscape. Indirectly, the trolley line resulted in early suburban development.

CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSES IN NEWTOWN, BUCKS COUNTY - 1865-1905

Jeffrey L. Marshall
Heritage Conservancy

Architectural historians often have to estimate when a house was constructed. They often do not know how long it took to construct a house in the nineteenth century. In describing historic buildings they tend to discuss architectural elements using contemporary terms without knowing how the buildings were described in their time.

Using the archives of the Newtown Historic Association and the Newtown Enterprise newspaper, which began publication in 1868, this presentation accurately describes the construction of residential architecture in Newtown Borough in the forty years between 1865 and 1905. In addition to revealing the names of the builders and architects that are now available through deed records, many of the newspaper items reveal the context of the house within the cultural landscape of the town.
THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY AND ITS CURRENT DILEMMA

Chris Mayda
Eastern Michigan University

The Oneida Association was a religious utopian community that existed from 1848 to 1881. During this time the group grew from 87 to over 300 people living communally in what was known as “the mansion,” built between Utica and Syracuse, New York, an area called the “burned over district.” Controversial distinctions of the Oneida community were the belief in complex marriage and male continence. The break up of the formal community did not end the occupancy of the magnificent building that housed them. It is still occupied today, partially as a museum, but also by many who have ties to the old Oneida Community. This will be a brief introduction to the history of the Oneida Community and the burned over district, along with a report of the current state of the building and its occupants.

MT. HEBRON HOMESTEAD: A HALL/PARLOR AND PASSAGE HALF-HOUSE IN FRONTIER MARYLAND

Alice Reed Morrison
North Troy, Vermont

In the late 1760s three Quaker brothers from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, the Ellicotts, moved south looking for land to buy and by 1774 they had established several mills on the Patapsco River in Baltimore County, Maryland, 15 miles west of the city of Baltimore. Settlement-era log buildings were being replaced with larger, more elaborate structures, many formed from granite in a manner familiar to the former Pennsylvanian Ellicotts. Sometime around 1800 (no structure is noted on the 1798 atlas) just such a second-generation stone house was built on the high point of farmland north along the Patapsco River about 10 miles from Ellicott Mills, called Mt. Hebron plantation. The house conformed to the folk architectural form denoted as hall/parlor, but includes a passage formed with a beadboard wall between the two unevenly-sized rooms, thus making the structure a transitional form between the traditional hall/parlor and central passage houses. The most striking aspect of this house is that only one-half of its full side-gable roof form was constructed, leaving a large, vertical rear wall exposed to the west with a rear door and second story windows, presumably to be finished in the future as expenses permitted into a full side-gable roof, mass plan home with central hall separating four rooms in pairs.
GODFREY BROWN
Mary Ann Olding
Union Institute and University

My topic covers the story of Godfrey Brown, a mulatto born enslaved in 1768 in Virginia. After accounts of his valor in the Revolutionary War, documents show that he bought freedom for his wife and 12 family members, and moved to Greene County, Ohio in 1822. He bought 254 acres of land near Xenia where he established a church, cemetery, and the Brown Settlement. In 1837 he found more Ohio land near the Indiana border where he bought over 900 acres in Van Wert County. Godfrey Brown died in 1843, but after the Civil War his grandsons claimed the land and established a settlement named Wren where Harvey Brown still lives on land his great grandfather bought in 1837. Descendants of Godfrey Brown still live in Xenia and Wren, two family histories have been written, and the family has celebrated at an annual reunion for decades. The family also has copies of the emancipation papers, charcoal sketches, portraits, and land deeds. I have met with both Ohio families and also located the Virginia plantation where Godfrey Brown and his family were enslaved.

VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE OF MID-MARYLAND
Paula S. Reed
Paula S. Reed and Associates

The central part of Maryland now encompassed by Frederick, Washington, and Carroll counties has roots that extend deep into America's history. These counties truly link North and South, bordering, except for Carroll, both on Pennsylvania and on Virginia. Farmsteads that became hallmarks of the region's cultural landscape were initially held for the most part by either well-to-do Englishmen migrating into the area from the tidewater section of the colony or by a large and prominent contingent of Germans, moving down from Pennsylvania or arriving directly from Europe. Those two prominent groups form colorful threads in the rich cultural tapestry that characterizes mid Maryland's heritage. Members of these and other groups blended, yet remained distinct as they combined to create mid-Maryland's cultural identity. The region's vernacular architecture expresses the variety of traditions combining strong Germanic influence with that of English settlers, as well as interpretations of trends in architectural style. The region prospered, due largely to a strong grain-based agricultural economy, providing the wherewithal for an outstanding collection of houses, barns and outbuildings from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
HENSLEY: A TWENTIETH CENTURY PIONEER FOLK LOG SETTLEMENT

John B. Rehder
University of Tennessee

This paper explores the folk nature of Hensley, a twentieth century pioneer folk settlement in Bell County in southernmost Kentucky. In 1903 a “first effective settlement” and initial occupancy took root on the Cumberland Plateau in southern Kentucky in an isolated spot just 12 miles east of the famous Cumberland Gap. Between 1903 and 1951, two clans of folk - the Hensleys and Gibbons, pioneer settlers all, built about 40 log structures on 150 acres of cleared land in a tract of 500 acres. In nearly fifty years of occupation, Hensley had no roads, no electricity, and no motorized vehicles. The population went from none to three in 1903 to about 160 in the 1930s, then back to one then none by 1951. Hensley was the epitome of self-sufficiency; food, fuel, water, clothing, shelter, and most implements came from the hard work of these twentieth century pioneers. The Hensley Settlement represents important settlement concepts: initial occupancy, first effective settlement, and residual traditional log work for this late time and in the region. But it was not a Depression log house resurgence. Rather, Hensley represents one of the last places in Appalachia to have a continuum of nineteenth century log building that took place in the twentieth century. Here, folk houses of saddlebag, Cumberland, and box types along with half dovetail notches and saddle and saddle V notches on a temporal plane of oak to chestnut to cedar timbers confirm a material culture of extraordinary historical value.

LITHUANIAN-AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE AND LITURGICAL ARTS

Milda B. Richardson
Brandeis University

The most public expression of Lithuanian-American ethnic identity can be seen in the building of churches and the liturgical arts. The original interior of St. George Church in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, is a particularly fine example of Lithuanian-American ecclesiastical design rooted in folk art. The typical Gothic Revival exterior of the 1891 church offers no clue to the magnificence of the interior ceiling and walls covered with Lithuanian folk art designs. In addition, colorful motifs based on spirals and sun disks found in wood carvings surround the saints in the luminous stained glass windows. Following a fire in 1938, which left the interior of the church badly damaged, this artistic program was initiated by Father Juozas Karalius, a pastor of deep ethnic consciousness, who based his
ideas on the recent publications of traditional Lithuanian folk arts. A seminal series of publications on folk art in the 1930s was a part of the Arts and Crafts movement in Lithuania, headed by Antanas Tamosaitis (1906-) and other cultural leaders who were documenting and reviving rural crafts.

Following World War II, the new wave of Lithuanian immigrants to America were able to provide exiled architects and artists with venues for creative expression in ecclesiastical projects. Modernist architects invariably produced designs deeply rooted in the wooden vernacular architecture of the homeland. The Transformation of Christ parish church, designed in 1962 by Jonas Mulokas (1907-1983) for the immigrants in Maspeth, New York, is an award winning steel, aluminum, and glass translation of the ground hugging thatch rooflines and decorated ridgepoles of rural dwellings and barns. The skylight which runs the length of the ridgepole directs the rays of the sun dramatically to Vytautas Jonynas’s (1907-1997) sculpture of Christ set against a richly patterned aureole based on Lithuanian wayside shrines. Bell towers of Mulokas churches are often stylized versions of the wayside shrine. In the Neo-Baroque parish church completed in 1957 for the large Lithuanian community in Marquette Park, Chicago, Mulokas designed original interior carvings and capitals based on folk art.

One of Lithuania’s earliest abstract painters, Kazys Varnelis (1917-), designed the iconographic program for the Immaculate Conception Convent chapel in Connecticut, where each stained glass window represents a stylized version of the Madonna as worshipped in Lithuania. In 1988, in commemoration of the 600th jubilee of Christianity in Lithuania, murals and sculpture were installed in Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Cleveland, Ohio, with images depicting various aspects of Lithuanian Catholic life by architect Eduardas Kersnauskas and sculptor Romojus Mozoliauskas. At the center of Catholic life in America is the Chapel of Our Lady of Siluva, 1961-66, at the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D.C. The decorative program, designed by Jonynas, combines rural and urban images, together with themes of exile, and is unified by symbolic motifs based on weaving and carving. This presentation is based on extensive fieldwork, interviews and archival study in Lithuania and the United States, and will be illustrated with slides.
If, as Arjun Appadurai suggests, locality is ephemeral unless it is rigorously maintained through social practice, it follows that localities change, even vanish, with lapses in meaningful practices. What happens when local (vernacular) architecture, a spatiotemporal expressive form, remains in “place,” but is not reproduced, in the midst of social change? Is it only a palimpsest of a past locality? Or can older vernacular structures be place-markers that accumulate and generate local meaning beyond their functional “lifespan”? My paper looks at the cellar houses of Ritchie County, West Virginia as “crucibles of memory,” physical forms that generate meaningful social and personal narratives. However, I argue that “local” structures such as the cellar house are not only links to memory, they are also sites with an “affecting presence” of their own that permeates the local spatial dimension.

Cellar houses dot the landscape throughout south-central Appalachia. The two-story structures are built into hillsides and feature a full above ground frame room over a half-submerged stone cellar. The frame upstairs rooms of these cellar houses have had multiple functions - from smokehouses to laundry rooms to storage sheds - while the cellar underneath has been used mostly for food storage and preservation. While people do not seem to be building new cellar houses of the traditional design in northwestern West Virginia, many people maintain the ones they have and some continue to use them.

The cellar house is central to foodways long practiced in the area - kitchen gardening, canning, and home butchering. These practices have thrived in the region despite increased economic solvency and access to seasonal foods year around. Throughout rural West Virginia, food production and storage is one measure of self-sufficiency - a vigilantly honed local ethos. The cellar house, with its capacity for long-term food storage, communicates a version of this ethos. However, these structures - many of them empty of food and functioning primarily as tool sheds - are likewise echo chambers of change.

Rich texts of personal, family, and social histories emerge out of talk about cellar houses. One consistent narrative strand points to significant change in alimination. A departure from home food production and storage in the past thirty years marks a pivotal change in locally meaningful social practice. As such, the cellar house (and other vernacular structures) is an evocative piece in conversations about cultural conservation and the nuances of persistent local identities.
RANCH HOUSES
Stephen Straight
Deland, Florida

Some ranch houses built after World War II are now over fifty years old. According to architectural historian Longstreth some of them should be preserved. He said, “The post war building boom of the middle class housing is unlikely to ever happen again.” Nothing has affected the landscape of North America as much as this. The automobile became dominant, railroad stations and inner cities were abandoned. Before 1980 seventy three percent of housing starts were ranches. Sprawl affects landscape. In Ohio between 1960 and 1990 it consumed land five times faster than the rate of population growth. Ranch houses were developed out of the Spanish Patio house, Longstreth wrote in the book, The Building of Main Street.

VINEGAR HILL: THE STREET THAT LIMESTONE BUILT
Joanne Raetz Stuttgen
Martinsville, Indiana

Located in Bloomington, Indiana, Vinegar Hill Historic District is a remarkable collection of limestone houses built by quarry owners and immigrant carvers. The limestone barons preferred large Revival style residences. The master carvers built small cottages recalling the architecture of their native countries and made their yards into personal folk art environments. The carvers’ artistry is evident throughout the district in exterior wall surfaces decorated with limestone griffins, gargoyles, portraiture, flora and Art-deco inspired geometric designs, and in interior limestone fireplace surrounds richly embellished with detailed carvings.

Vinegar Hill’s association with the Indiana limestone industry is significant, but no less so is its association with nearby Indiana University. It was home to a number of nationally and internationally recognized faculty members, including sex researchers Alfred and Clara Kinsey, Nobel prize winning geneticist Herman Muller, and others.

In Vinegar Hill, the mingling of local businessmen and professionals and scholars of international experience resulted in houses derived from a variety of interesting sources, including one mail order house, one Ernest Flagg design, one copy of the model home at the 1929 Indianapolis Home Show, and a number of houses designed by local architect Alfred Grindle, a native of England.
HISTORIC AFRICAN-AMERICAN RURAL COMMUNITIES
IN WASHINGTON COUNTY, MARYLAND

Edie Wallace
Paula S. Reed and Associates

The picturesque hillsides of west-central Maryland’s Washington County were once considered the most marginal land. Over time, mountain woodlots became hardscrabble subsistence farmsteads, many occupied by freed African-American slaves. The scattered rural communities that developed following emancipation represent a significant segment of the region’s historic cultural landscape. With the decline of small farms and the migration of many rural African-Americans to urban areas, few recall the presence of the freedmen’s communities in rural Washington County.

Composed of the buildings that held importance to residents, it was the church and school building, surrounded by a scatter of houses or farmsteads, which defined the community landscape. Relegated to hillside property once considered inferior, these historic cultural landscapes are now threatened by modern construction of large houses with “a view.”

Preservation of historic African-American rural community landscapes is an opportunity to provide people with a tangible link to a more authentic past. Using strategies that encourage documentation, preservation, and reuse, the goal of enlarging our historical perspective as well as maintaining historic cultural landscapes as useful resources can be achieved.
BOOK REVIEWS

LIVING PICTURES, MISSING PICTURES:
Mannequins, Museums, and Modernity
by
Mark B. Sandberg

xvi + 330pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographic references, and index. $27.95 (paper), ISBN 0-691-05074-0.

Reviewed for PAS by Seth C. Bruggeman

By now we all know the story of cultural upheaval and representational crisis so often told about the turn of the twentieth century. Western modernity, as the story goes, had only just begun to get its legs when it slammed headlong into an unprecedented regime of social, intellectual, and technological tumult during the years immediately prior to and proceeding the turn of the century. Although vestiges of premodern lifeways persisted in remote pockets of the nascent postmodern world, the rest of us were lulled into predictable patterns of production and consumption by hegemons cleverly coded into the material world around us. Scholars now struggle to find agency in a world where technologies of representation reify contrived differences so effectively that it is often not even clear what is at stake in those struggles. Hence, we have witnessed western society’s plunge into the eternal unreal.

It is a common story these days, a classic tale of before and after. But is it wise to balance such precise notions of then and now atop the fulcrum of only a few decades? Maybe movies and radios did fundamentally alter ideas about time, light, and space in hot spots like Paris and New York, but can we say the same about the outlying regions of western modernity? Mark B. Sandberg wrestles with this question in Living Pictures, Missing Persons: Mannequins, Museums, and Modernity. After years of sifting through rich Scandinavian museum archives, Sandberg crafts a fascinating tale of mimesis and change within the wax museums and open air folk museums of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. He contends, as do others, that the turn of the century was remarkable because it witnessed an
unprecedented mobility of people, things, images, and ideas. In Scandinavia, where new representational technologies emerged more slowly than elsewhere, the concept of mobility itself became an important mode of spectatorship. Consequently, Scandinavian museums embraced a distinct aesthetic of mobility that blended cinematic virtuality with the visceral materiality of early modern Europe curiosity cabinets. This representational impulse never fully yielded to the moving picture, but rather persists to this day in what Sandberg calls living pictures.

High-order living pictures first appeared in cities like Copenhagen and Stockholm during the mid-1880s as urban developers sought to emulate continental entertainments. Wax museums—or “panoptikons,” as they were called—portrayed famous people and historical characters in lively tableau. Folk museums used similar display methods and perpetuated the ethnographic impulse of late-century international exhibitions by showcasing the supposedly vanishing material culture and lifeways of premodern Scandinavians. Because panoptikons concerned themselves with predominately urban themes and folk museums championed the rural, it might appear that both represent distinct museological phenomena. Sandberg argues the contrary and posits that both took their cues from an increasingly pervasive culture of effigy. Museum mannequins functioned as effigies that, by definition, “serve as a picture of” real bodies; place holders that literally “body forth.” At a time in history when so many real bodies were forced out of place by population shifts resulting from economic and political upheaval throughout northern Europe, and when new technologies of representation like film, photography, and sound recording problematized the ontological status of lived reality, the substitution of mannequins for missing bodies made representational sense to a culture coping with rapid change. Panoptikon and folk-museum mannequins worked like any other kind of recording technology by putting into circulation materially accessible substitutes for what was otherwise exotic or unavailable.

Sandberg is careful to remind us that mannequins appeared previously at various historical moments whose exigencies required ready circulation of popular images. Madam Tussaud’s famous collection of wax mannequins, for example, satisfied the mid-nineteenth century memory needs of England and France’s post-revolutionary generation. As manifest at the turn of the century, though, effigy culture featured distinctly modern overtones. As one might infer from the word “panoptikon,” echoes of Foucault ring throughout Sandberg’s analysis. The author argues convincingly that the very manner in which mannequin tableau were deployed in Scandinavian museums served didactic ends by cultivating an etiquette of looking appropriate to urban public space. For onlookers, immersion in living pictures often involved various entrapment scenarios where casual voyeurism might be permissible, but gawking or crossing the fine line between spectatorship and intrusion was
discouraged. In this way, living pictures cultivated “voyeuristic competencies” akin to film and reminded the individual of his or her proper place within the urban totality. It is this pedagogical purpose, Sandberg argues, that explains in part the widespread turn-of-the-century museological shift from taxonomy to virtuality.

But Scandinavian museums were only able to conjure the virtual by accentuating the real. It is this aspect of Sandberg’s account that is most provocative and perhaps most valuable for material culture scholars. The successful panoptikon relied upon elaborate *mise-en-scène* effects for full mimetic impact. And what better to authenticate wax figures of famous people than the actual objects those individuals owned and used in real life. Sandberg demonstrates that, in the increasingly competitive pursuit of authenticity, panoptikon curators participated in a wide-ranging market for historic relics. In fact, accounts of auctions held to dispose of defunct panoptikon holdings demonstrate that onlookers came to value proximity to famous objects more than the actual mannequins. At folk museums, the objects were so “real” that museum pioneers like Artur Hazelius slowly replaced mannequins with live costumed interpreters lest the objects out-authenticate their contexts. Herein lies one point of origin for modern living history museums and front-line costumed interpretation.

Sandberg explores with great skill the representational complexities resulting from this investment in authenticity fetishism. His analysis is especially refreshing because it avoids dwelling, as so many material culture studies do, on the nostalgia and commodity value of historic objects. An unfortunate side effect of the cultural and linguistic turn on material culture studies is the tendency of scholars to figure objects solely as loci of complex meaning-making processes. This mode of analysis is important, but it neglects the essential materiality of human-object interactions. Perhaps because Sandberg comes to us from outside the field—his specialties are in Scandinavian and Film Studies—he places materiality at the center of his analysis and recognizes that individuals frequently reconcile their relationship with the past by feeling, touching, and literally putting themselves into the material worlds of their predecessors. This is important because once the proximity value of historical objects is granted, we see that the turn of the century did not necessarily redefine how individuals understand materiality, but rather it provided them with new ways to express very old ideas about things and thingness. The late-century relic trade described above, for instance, should remind us of the functionally identical trade in sacred objects that spread throughout Europe and the Middle East following the early Christian church’s normalization of the cult of saints’ relics. Object fetishism is a longstanding feature of human cultures the world-wide and *fin-de-siècle* representational upheaval in no way wiped the slate clean. The phenomenon Sandberg describes persists today and we must understand it if we are to make sense of our own historical sensibilities.

*Living Pictures, Missing Persons* is an important step in that
direction and helps upset the too frequently asserted binary opposition of modern and pre-modern. The book is successful because Sandberg in not just an acute cultural observer, but also a fine historian. His synthesis of museum records is impressive and stands as a model of what we can learn about objects by studying the people who put them into circulation. A more substantial account of Scandinavian political and cultural trends at the turn of the century would help explain to Americanists why effigy culture followed its particular course in northern Europe. To this end, a map of the region would also be helpful. Otherwise, this is a splendid book full of wonderful illustrations that add substantially to Sandberg’s argument. Princeton University Press would be well advised to market the book outside their cultural studies and visual culture series. Sandberg’s work has important implications for material culture studies and will hopefully be a starting point for future investigations that explore both the deep origins and future possibilities of living pictures.

Seth C. Bruggeman graduated with his Ph.D. from the American Studies Program at the College of William and Mary in December, 2006. His research interests include material culture, public history, and the history of museums in the United States. His dissertation, “Birthing Washington,” considers the role of objects in negotiations of power and authenticity at the George Washington Birthplace National Monument.

BLESSED WITH TOURISTS: The Borderlands of Religion and Tourism in San Antonio by Thomas S. Brenner

Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004

Reviewed for PAS by Rand Carter

In this delightfully readable book, Thomas S. Brenner, Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at Rhodes College in Memphis, Tennessee, examines the intersection between religion and tourism in the eighteenth-century mission churches of San
Antonio. Originally founded by the Franciscan Order to convert and educate the indigenous population of south Texas, four of these missions continue to serve the local community as parish churches within the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio.

Brenner argues that both religious adherents and tourists “demonstrate a concern for space and maintain deep attachments to special places” (p.3). The strong connection between place and identity obtains for both members of a religious community and those drawn to particular tourist sites. Brenner makes much use of the terms “locative” and “itinerant,” by which he means those architecturally constructed and natural features that lend stability and permanence to a place and make it recognizable as opposed to those ephemeral dimensions of place that involve mobility and enable the traveler “to map the spaces they traverse into conceptual categories (p.12).

After outlining the history of San Antonio as a place, Brenner examines the evolution of the Spanish Mission San Antonio de Valero (the Alamo) from a colonial center of religious and social instruction as well into a tourist attraction associated not with Christian saints but with political martyrs. Chapter Three tells the story of those four missions that maintain a vital link with the pre-1836 history of the region: Missions Concepción, San José, San Juan, and Espada. These sites make clear how much richer Texas history is than the story of those Protestant “Anglos” who immigrated there from Tennessee and elsewhere after 1821. Here we find evidence (often living) of the native peoples who inhabited the region before the Europeans arrived, and of the crucial role the Spanish played in the history of what is now the United States of America. They also remind us that Roman Catholics have always played a major role in the history of North America. Although these missions fell into disrepair after the colonial period, they were never abandoned as centers of community religious life.

The story of the Alamo is the most troubling story in Brenner’s narrative. It became something of a shrine almost immediately following the fateful battle in 1836 in which a handful of defenders allied with those “Texians” seeking independence from Mexico were annihilated by the superior forces of the Mexican General Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana. Yet during the century that elapsed between the “fall of the Alamo” and the Texas Centenary in 1936, the ruinous church was used for such secular purposes as a military depot or even a stable for animals, while the much altered convent complex housed various commercial enterprises. During the early twentieth century two factions of the DRT (Daughters of the Republic of Texas) fought over how the site of the battle should be presented. Adina de Zavala, granddaughter of Lorenzo de Zavala, the first vice-president of the Republic of Texas, argued that the convent buildings and the space in front of the church—the actual location of the battle—should be preserved and restored to the condition they had enjoyed in mission times. But the prevailing view was that of the much wealthier Clara
Driscoll who favored removing the convent buildings in order to “lend more prominence to the chapel...” (p.54). How many visitors today realize that the building they see has little historic authenticity, that in 1836 it was a roofless ruin and that the upper façade with its famous profile was a later invention, or that the fabled defense occurred in what is now Alamo Plaza? Although this is in fact acknowledged by sculptor Pompeo Coppini’s cenotaph of 1939, few visitors today note that it is this marble and granite monument and not the former church building that marks the actual historic site.

Even more disturbing, however, is the “historic“ message that many visitors take away. The notion of brave “Anglos” fighting for their freedom against depraved “greasers” is both racist and wrong. Many of those who fought for Texas Independence were Tejanos and the signers of the Texas Declaration of Independence included José Antonio Navarro. Among the Texian martyrs was former slave trader Jim Bowie. “In fact, a key issue in the Texas Revolution was the ownership of slaves; Mexico prohibited slavery, and slaveowners who were relocating to Texas from the American South found themselves at odds with the laws of their newly adopted nation. Hence the freedom that the revolutionaries sought was in part the freedom to own slaves” (p.41). To this racism directed against both Mexicans and African Americans must be added the anti-Catholicism of the conventional Alamo narrative, which depicts the Franciscan missionaries as cruel and ultimately unsuccessful in their attempts to civilize the natives. This last myth can easily be dispelled by a visit to those missions still functioning as religious communities in which many of the members proudly trace their ancestry back to the pre-colonial population and to the early converts.

The fourth of his five chapters considers HemisFair ’68, held in San Antonio in 1968. As the theme of this World’s Fair was “The Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas,” it was hoped that the various religious communities of this ethnically diverse city would collaborate on an “Inter-Faith Center” at the very core of the fair grounds. The building itself and the exhibits within would demonstrate how the various religions could work together for the common good. The architect Louis Kahn was approached to design the pavilion. But the social upheavals of the late 1960s undermined these intentions. Bishop Leven came to believe that the considerable funds necessary for a monumental building might be better spent on alleviating some of the social problems of the day. A handful of religious sects were represented separately at the fair, but the spirit of oecumenism was supplanted by the “selling” of particular creeds to the fairgoers. A popular hit at the fair was one that involved religious ritual, even if the religious ritual was more meaningful to the performers than to the spectators. Los Valadores de Papantla, the “flying Indians” from Mexico, costumed as elaborately plumed birds, leapt from a 141-foot pole secured at their waists by ropes wound round the pole. As the ropes gradually unwound the four Indians descended in ever widening circles. This was followed by the real
crowd pleaser: the reenactment of an ancient Aztec ritual “sacrifice” of a bare-breasted female.

Much of the work of restoration at the various missions was hastened by the hope that visitors to the fair would stay to visit the historic sites of the city. This touristic display of religion prompted the Church’s decision to charge admission to the mission sites, since the large numbers of tourists to be expected would necessitate guides, extra maintenance people, and other services that would strain the Church’s financial resources. The year 1983 saw the creation of the San Antonio Missions National Park, which gave the National Park Service responsibility for the day-to-day maintenance of the sites as well as the interpretation for visitors of their historic significance. Since the Roman Catholic Church retained control over the religious life of the parishes housed at the missions, some conflict was inevitable. The push to acquire land in and around the sites led to the loss of homes and businesses belonging to the parishioners, and, Brenner argues, the new status of the mission churches resulted in a sort of archaicization of the worship services taking place there. The missions as historic relics come “alive” for visitors but the worshippers may seem like performers. The historical authenticity of the sacramental life of the parishes can also be questioned. Modern practices of the Novus Ordo Church bear little resemblance to the practices of the Church in colonial times, and other pressures of “modern life” may also be in conflict with the historical interpretation of the sites. Equally problematic is the question of the relation between “church and state” in a national park jointly administered by the federal government and the Roman Catholic Church. Some park service guides interpret the mission compounds but avoid accompanying visitors into the churches or commenting on the liturgical furnishings or practices which they house for fear of appearing to promote a particular religious tradition. Such practices as mariachi masses may have more to do with attracting tourists than serving the spiritual needs of the faithful.

That the lessons to be learned by submitting to the spell of a place can either enthrall or liberate is fully acknowledged in a passage toward the end of the book when Brenner observes: “In the most vulgar interpretations of Mission San Antonio, the Alamo represents a nativist, often racist, sense of Anglo-American triumph and superiority, whereas the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park presents a multicultural, multiracial picture of harmony and shared heritage. Thus, drawing on closely related, interdependent historical contexts, these two places narrate two very different identities for the American Nation” (p.128).

It is highly significant that the Alamo and the San Antonio National Mission Park became major tourist attractions in quite different generations and one might argue that the widely held political and social assumptions of those two generations conspired to promote rather different national identities.

Although Brenner is not an architectural historian this book will
interest all those committed to historic preservation. Anyone wishing
to understand better how certain places become special and how
these special places help confer identity on those who visit them will
find much of value here

A native Texan, Rand Carter is Professor of the History of Art
at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York. He has lectured and
published widely on seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth-century
architecture in Europe and North America.

RESTORING A PRESENCE:
American Indians and Yellowstone National Park
by
Peter Nabokov and Lawrence Loendorf

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004
xvii + 400 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, and index
$39.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8061-3589-1

Reviewed for PAS by Terri Castaneda

In the last half of the nineteenth century, American Indians
were typically conflated with nature in two contradictory ways. On
the one hand, they were celebrated and romanticized as the very
embodiments of the majestic American West. On the other, they were
characterized as part and parcel of nature, and thereby relegated to a
realm of existence that is posed in symbolic opposition to humanity
and the driving force of so-called civilization. Not surprisingly, each
of these discourses figures prominently into the story of Yellowstone
National Park’s creation and history. Established in 1872, the park
was meant to serve as both a monument to the spectacular grandeur
of the Yellowstone Plateau region and as a lasting testament to the
raw material out of which a new nation had heroically been carved.
Its 3,449 square miles enfold not simply the country’s first and largest
“natural” preserve (p.8), but a rich cultural landscape that predates
the park’s founding by thousands of years. Yet for more than a
century, official and popular discourse about the park has held that
it was literally terra nullius, territory into which American Indians did
not venture, much less live. In Restoring a Presence, anthropologists
Peter Nabokov and Lawrence Loendorf trace the various strands of
this fiction in an effort to set the record straight and perhaps, by
extension, lay sufficient groundwork for the park to begin restoring
a contemporary American Indian presence to Yellowstone, however
limited and symbolic.
The original research for this book was carried out between 1994 and 1998, under the auspices of the National Park Service (NPS). More often than not, research commissioned by government agencies is either so extraordinarily specialized, lacking in originality, or reported in such a boiler-plate fashion that it truly deserves the obscurity to which it is usually consigned as a genre of “grey literature.” Such is not the case in this instance—and not simply because this work involves a locale that carries singular symbolic importance within the history of our nation’s park and conservation movement. The co-authors bring to this project significant scholarly reputations and talent. Nabokov is an accomplished ethnographer and ethnohistorian, while Loendorf is an archaeologist specializing in the prehistory of the Tukadika, or Sheep Eaters, a Mountain Shoshone group who inhabited the greater Yellowstone region, including portions of the park itself. As an adaptation and expansion of the original NPS report, this book brings to the public and wider scholarly community a wealth of important interdisciplinary findings. Having said this, it is important to note that despite good prose, the commendable absence of academic jargon, and a rather straightforward ordering of the chapters, *Restoring a Presence* is far from easy to read. While some portions of every chapter flow in a manageable, narrative style, the encyclopedic coverage and frequent forays into, for example, the minutiae of camas bulb exploitation and processing—or the manufacture of sinew-backed sheep horn bows (however fascinating and absolutely relevant to manuscript’s original mandate)—will likely overwhelm and weary the casual reader and even many scholars for whom the book’s broader foci offer critical points of engagement. This is the central weakness of the work, and to their credit the authors made liberal use of subheadings as a means by which to help readers navigate the presentation of exhaustive data. Nonetheless, moving some of the more tangential discussion to the endnotes would have served readers well. This work is best apprehended as a reference text that details the voluminous evidence of pre- and post-contact American Indian presence in and around Yellowstone National Park (YNP).

The book’s opening chapter outlines the various objectives and methodologies that underwrite the current investigation, carefully noting the strengths and limitations of an interdisciplinary project that draws upon ethnohistoric, folkloristic, ethnographic, archaeological, historical, and oral sources. Most notable among the latter is contemporary Native-American testimony. The five chapters that follow are titled and organized by culture group and geographic area, beginning with the Crow Indians to the East of Yellowstone, the Blackfeet and Flathead to the North, the Sheep Eaters who lived in the mountainous territory of the Park, itself, the Bannock and Nez Perce to the West, and the Shoshone to the South. The organizational structure of each chapter varies, but the authors are careful in each case not only to demonstrate the nature of each group’s presence within the region, whether seasonal or
permanent, but also to address the popular mythology upon which the broader claim of Native absence is based. For instance, each chapter discusses the “received wisdom” that American Indians did not frequent the territory—and therefore were never really banished from the Park—due to a fear of the geothermal activity in the area. Nabokov and Loendorf demonstrate that, to the contrary, geysers and hot springs were respected and sought out for their medicinal power and applications. They are able to recover this information by utilizing ethnographic research conducted more than a century ago, by examining origin stories and oral narratives collected by folklorists working in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and by interviewing contemporary Native elders who remember the stories of Yellowstone told to them by their own ancestors.

Each chapter offers ethnographic detail about the rich mineral, plant, and animal resources that were harvested and often traded by one of the many bands or tribes who traversed this landscape. The authors cover the period after contact and the acquisition of horses, as in the case of the Piegan and Blackfeet, who hunted bison and elk in and along the northern rim. They also address the centuries that preceded this, when the ancient trails that demonstrate intimate native knowledge of what is now the Park, were first carved out and managed. In addition to summarizing the corpus of archaeological and ethnographic evidence linking each Indigenous group to Yellowstone and its surrounds, the authors also cover the historic and contemporary period. For instance, they consider the Nez Perce and Bannock Wars of 1877 and 1878, respectively, as well as the rare instances where Indians have been formally allowed into the Park for purposes that ranged from Hollywood movie productions, to an 1874 communal Shoshone bison hunt sanctioned and observed by Indian Affairs agents and scholars, to promotional appearances in full regalia arranged by YNP personnel upon the occasion of a new park entrance opening in 1925.

Cultural historians, geographers, and environmental preservationists will be drawn to the accounts of early tourist, settler, and park-supervisor attitudes and experiences. Archival sources that range from postcards to diaries and journals to NPS records allowed the authors to amass a remarkable record of Euro-American encounters with both American Indians and YNP, offering a unique window onto the process by which the very presence and historical memory of American Indians within Yellowstone was institutionally erased and inscribed as such in the popular consciousness of the nation. They should be commended for bringing it to the fore, rather than side-stepping it or adding yet another layer of excuses to the abundant evidence that not just the new nation, but the early park and conservation movement, itself, deployed a rhetoric in which nature was increasingly imagined as pristinely uninhabited, in order to justify its appropriation as symbolic space and place. A final chapter, written well after completion of the original manuscript, cites a growing body of scholarly work that explores the relationship between Indigenous
peoples worldwide and the many parks and preserves that comprise at least a portion of their ancestral homelands. Nabokov and Loendorf make no claims to activism, but recognize that through their own exhaustive work to correct the historical record, the NPS now has an honest opportunity, however deeply confounded by the painful and irreversible legacies of the past, to develop new and meaningful relationships with the descendants of the American Indians who lived in and around the greater Yellowstone region.

Beyond its value as a resource for historians, ethnologists, archaeologists, Native Studies scholars, ethnobotanists, ecologists, cultural resource managers and the like, this book is highly recommended as a text for teaching ethnohistoric method and theory. Nabokov and Loendorf openly examine both the scholarly and political challenges inherent in finding, evaluating, and synthesizing a variety of sources, both historic and contemporary. Students and professors, alike, will appreciate the candor and transparency with which these complex, interdisciplinary processes are revealed.

Terri Castaneda is Assistant Professor and Museum Director in the Department of Anthropology at California State University, Sacramento. Castaneda specializes in the cultural politics of museums, tourism, and historic preservation.

DOWNTOWN:
Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950
by
Robert M. Foglson

$50.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-300-09062-5;
$22.00 (paper), ISBN 0-300-09827-8

Reviewed for PAS by Max Grinnell

For most academicians studying cities, the actual processes associated with urban change and transformation remain at times quite puzzling. Certainly, there have been brief moments in the history of scholarship on cities where scholars have been able to offer voluminous statistics and descriptors that make the bold claim, “Here is the city and this is how it works.” One need only look at the dominance of the Chicago School in the early decades of the twentieth century to find this type of all-
encompassing and rigorous theorizing about both urban form and process. Robert M. Fogelson’s recent work on the “rise and fall” of the American downtown gives us a fine narrative history of the forces that created, sustained, and eventually destroyed one particular manifestation of downtown that existed (in a variety of forms) for close to seventy years. Perhaps one of the best features of the work is that he is able to effectively focus in on one particularly recognizable region of the American city and tell its story through an effective and compelling blend of historical documents and primary sources. From an analytical standpoint, however, I found that while the work hinted at broader structural forces that may have been at play, it did not seem to incorporate these processes into the primary narrative.

The beginning of the work starts rather promisingly, as Fogelson recounts several personal stories about his own family’s involvement in and around midtown Manhattan during the 1940s and 1950s. From my own vantage point, these are the types of first-hand recollections that serve to draw readers into this type of story, and add the flesh to the bones, if you will. He goes on to give a thumbnail sketch of how perceptions and understanding of the nature of “downtown” became part and parcel of American culture in song, literature, folkways, and so on. I found myself drawn in to the narrative by these descriptions and thoughtful examples. Unfortunately, the rest of the book does little to bring in substantive examples of how the nature of “downtown” manifested itself in a broad range of cultural or social phenomena, such as popular song, protests, and so on. True enough, the book offers exhaustive and ample discussion of the infrastructure of downtown, but still left me wondering about what else was going on downtown.

Proceeding from here, there were a few comments made by Fogelson that should have been either interrogated fully or simply left out of the work. He first mentions that this type of work is the “first word on the subject [of downtown],” a contention that I find bewildering, particularly given the tremendous amount of material available from even a cursory glance at the literature available from such resources as America: History and Life, which includes recent pieces on consumerism in downtown Atlanta and several monographs on residential hotels in and around American downtowns. I also found that while the phrases “spatial politics” and “spatial harmony” are referenced early on the work, Fogelson does not adequately explain their meanings or origins. While the book is certainly meant to be one of import for the general public and scholars alike, both terms could have been fleshed out a bit more when introduced in the text.

By Fogelson’s own admission, the narrative of this work is driven by examining the actions (or inactions) of the primary agents within the built environment, namely politicians, property holders, businessmen’s associations, chambers of commerce, and the like. I found this approach, while not novel, to be quite well suited to the task of discussing the myriad of policy developments that affected downtowns during this period. As such, we are treated to a number
of fine insights into the processes that shaped the very fabric of cities, such as the development of mass transit systems and the creation of the nation’s first zoning laws.

Returning back to my previous concern about Fogelson’s omission of interrogating the broader structural forces, I would like to note that he references several works that deal with this situation head-on. One is Max Page’s fine work, *The Creative Destruction of Manhattan, 1900-1940* (Page 2000). In this work, he discusses the process of creative destruction wherein urban landscapes are rent asunder through the sometimes pernicious market forces at play within cities. This method of analysis and urban investigation is derived from the work of the economist Joseph Schumpeter, who was intimately interested in the way in which this process plays out against the background structure of capitalism. I see where going deep into an investigation (or just an explication, for that matter) may have dimmed the eyelids of the casual reader, but knowing about such things, I found myself wishing for a bit more discussion of these structural forces that continue to have a dramatic and immediate bearing on urban regions more generally.

Any well-written book will always bring up more questions that it answers, and Fogelson’s is just such a book. While telling the gentle reader about the diverse Wagnerian-styled struggles within cities, such as the haranguing about the nature and disposition of public housing, one will find their mind wandering to such broader questions: Why do we build public housing? What are the functions of city government in contemporary life? Do cities hinder or enliven the human spirit? These are some of the questions I had after finishing the book, and no doubt other readers will feel much the same way.

**References Cited**


Max Grinnell is a dedicated urbanologist who currently lives in Chicago. He maintains a passionate interest in urban affairs, urban history, and the nooks and crannies of most cities. He is a graduate of both the University of Chicago and Amtrak’s renowned two-week "Safety First!" course.
I recently sat down to re-watch Phil Alden Robinson’s film *Sneakers* which tells the story of a group of espionage experts who are hired by the government to steal a universal code breaker. In one of the final scenes, the film’s villain (played by the marvelous Ben Kingsley) delivers the movie’s most memorable and meaningful line: “There’s a war out there, old friend. A world war. And it’s not about who’s got the most bullets. It’s about who controls the information. What we see and hear, how we work, what we think...it’s all about the information!” *Sneakers* came out in 1992, but this idea of information control being an invaluable possession holds truer today than ever before. Whether you are the chair of the Senate Intelligence Committee or a telemarketer, the rate at which you gather and exchange information is critical. Modern advancements in information technology and networked communications have transformed urban landscapes into complex wired networks that move faster than even John Diebold could have imagined. However, oddly enough we often take for granted how technology inhabits, shapes, and even lessens our physical and architectural space.

In his new book *Placing Words: Symbols, Space, and the City*, William J. Mitchell asks, “Do we still need skyscrapers?” He makes the point that corporations like Nike and Microsoft, which have headquarters located outside of metropolises, can reach consumers more effectively by utilizing attractive interfaces on their web pages, than with 12,000 pounds of steel. This is only one of several thoughtful inquiries led by Mitchell in his latest contribution to the field of architecture and media theory. A distinguished professor at MIT, he is the author of a book trilogy that includes *Me++: The Cyborg Self and the Networked City* (2003), *e-toptia: “Urban Life, Jim—but Not as We Know It”* (2000), *City of Bits: Space, Place, and the Infobahn* (1996). In that series, Mitchell placed the evolution of the digital era in historical context and provided a wealth of thought-provoking commentary on how technology has influenced humans and their built environment. *City of Bits* won a 2004 award from the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers for “distinguished literary
contributions furthering the public understanding of the profession,” which when considered in the larger scope of his academic resume is just a small feat. In Placing Words, Mitchell offers yet another collection of commentaries focusing on similar topics while bringing to attention new ideas about how structures in cityscapes can influence our reception or production of communication.

In a little over two hundred pages Mitchell manages to squeeze in thirty-two different essays, which in spite of the diverse range of topics, he pulls together with many common threads. Several pieces deal with how the physical space and construction of architecture can produce visual metaphors that communicate meanings to spectators. He discusses the power of this symbolism as seen in Daniel Libeskind’s design for the Freedom Tower, and on college campuses where building designs are representative of the think-tanks they contain. In another essay, he explains how historic architecture is often torn down because it has lost the ability to communicate this same kind of power and prestige, and that companies can achieve this more effectively through their websites.

In other essays, Mitchell explores both the pros and cons of utilizing technology in the public arena. In an essay titled “Guernica II” he discusses the advancements of military technology in cities and draws comparisons between war-ridden Baghdad and the devastating bombings in Guernica, Spain, in 1937. The connections Mitchell makes between the cities is rather chilling, for he reminds readers that no matter how sophisticated our technology or how accurate our intelligence, lives can rarely be spared when blowing up buildings. On the opposite side Mitchell talks about more advantageous ways that we have harnessed technology’s communicative capabilities, such as Howard Dean’s political campaign conducted on the Internet, or Mitchell’s own use of advanced communication devices in the classroom.

Potential readers should be forewarned that the subjects and language conveyed in these essays are catered towards a very specific audience, whether Mitchell intended for this or not. This is not to say that the subject matter is reserved solely for academics or that his style lacks coherence or freshness. However, one cannot forget that he is a seasoned academic who, at this point in his life, can write about anything he pleases, so do not be surprised when this “Architecture/Cultural Studies” publication also becomes an outlet for his left-wing political opinions. If you are a supporter of George W. Bush and his leadership style, you might not be a fan of Mitchell. Granted that Mitchell’s arguments are well-grounded and practical, they would probably be more at home in The Nation magazine than in a book classified as an “Art and New Media” academic resource on the MIT Press website. Mitchell also makes many art-historical and pop-culture references that are either hilariously witty or painfully cheesy, but I will leave the reader to judge. Finally, tech-gurus looking for insights about the newest wave of media technology might be disappointed, for Mitchell does not report on anything that has not
already found its way into the headlines.

Mitchell’s greatest strength in this book is his ability to cohesively reflect on the evolution of the digital era and unpack for readers the monumental impacts that technology has made on our urban landscapes. After reading *Placing Words*, one is reminded how difficult it is to imagine how twenty-first century urban life could function without the chaotic flux of information technology and electronic media. However, Mitchell’s optimistic and sensible way of thinking convinces me that we have nothing to worry about, because as long as we educate ourselves on how these transformations constantly reshape our environment and the way we control and transfer information, we will always stay in control of it. Very few modern academics can do this more articulately, thoughtfully, or convincingly.

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Jarrett Hardester is currently a graduate student in Art History at the University of Saint Thomas. His research interests focus on early twentieth-century art, music, and film criticism.
The Ohio River Valley Series continues to highlight the historical significance of the people and places situated along the river’s edge. Two recent volumes make important contributions to the study of American history—and in particular, to the understanding of the experiences of African Americans.

Keith Griffler’s vivid account of African-American participation in Underground Railroad activities along the Ohio River is a fine addition to the series. In Front Line of Freedom, Griffler persuasively argues:

“the principal towns and cities along the Ohio saw the emergence of African American communities with their anonymous cadre of abolitionists and Underground Railroad operatives who constituted the shock troops of the antislavery cause. These women and men made their home on slavery’s doorstep, endured the innumerable bounties placed on their heads, and at times paid the ultimate price for their activities. Joined by a small but dedicated group of white and Native American activists, they founded a genuinely interracial freedom movement, a practical experiment in American democracy (pp.10-11).”
During the nineteenth century, the Ohio River served as a symbol of freedom for slaves and “free blacks.” In addition to being a natural border between states located within the river valley, the river also served as a source of division between southern slaveholders and anti-slavery abolitionists. Wilbur Siebert’s book *From Slavery to Freedom*, published in 1898, represents the earliest scholarly attempt to chronicle the activities of the region’s most prominent Underground Railroad “conductors.” Siebert is credited with starting the tradition of romanticizing the deeds of whites who sheltered and guided runaway slaves. Unlike his predecessor, Griffier devotes most of his book to revealing how African Americans routinely assisted runaway slaves on each side of the Ohio River, but received little recognition because their survival and success depended on their anonymity.

To provide the perspective of runaway slaves and African-American “slave rescuers,” the author incorporates underutilized primary sources left behind by nineteenth-century African-American participants and bystanders living in the Ohio River Valley. From them, readers learn of the adversity and danger African American river community residents endured on Ohio’s “front line” of freedom. Ordinary people of African descent are acknowledged for routinely venturing into slave territory to free others. The author notes how crossing over to the north shore did not result in absolute freedom for runaways. Heavily populated rural and urban African-American communities often served as havens, but local, state, and federal legal measures permitted slave catchers to recover “property” relatively easily. Even legally “free blacks” were unsafe, as they were occasionally hauled off by slave catchers and sold into slavery without any legal recourse. The presence of southern sympathizers and competing immigrants made matters worse when racial strife led to violence. Sometimes violence and harassment in the region became unbearable for them. A number of African Americans responded by seeking additional rights in Canada.

For those incapable of relocating to another country, some freedom was better than none. Griffier describes how African Americans cultivated a sense of community by developing social institutions for camaraderie and enlightenment. They earned their keep as farmers, menial laborers, business people, steamboat deckhands, ministers, and dockworkers. Teachers, preachers, and war veterans often emerged as community leaders. They campaigned against slavery in public and private, depending on the racial climate where they lived. On the eve of the Civil War an unprecedented number of African Americans and white sympathizers joined together to form an extensive network responsible for freeing thousands of slaves. During this period white abolitionist became more active than ever. In addition to participating in underground activities along the north shore, they also used their legal status, financial resources, and social standing to intensify the public campaign to abolish slavery. The arrival and enlistment of African American federal troops hastened the demise of the peculiar institution along the southern shore. As
the Civil War progressed, the significance of the Ohio River changed for people of African descent. Many were no longer crossing the river as runaways, but as newly “freedmen.” As such, no longer did the Ohio River represent freedom for African Americans. Instead, it became synonymous with opportunity.

Altogether, Griffier’s book is refreshing and insightful. Undoubtedly, this in-depth study of ordinary folks achieving extraordinary things in this enchanting place offers something for everyone. The author makes excellent use of newspapers, memoirs, photos, maps, oral history projects, manuscripts, special collections, published autobiographies, and other relevant secondary source material. His detailed analysis of African American slave rescue operations in the Ohio River Valley is sure to interest historians. Unlike earlier studies confined to the state borders of Ohio and Kentucky, Griffier’s book also examines the regional significance of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Indiana and Illinois as well. His attention to the topographical and cultural landscapes along the banks of the Ohio River will certainly appeal to geographers. Front Line of Freedom exemplifies how the Ohio River Valley remains a rich source for scholarly inquiry. Hopefully, it will inspire others to continue to explore its colorful past.

The Civil War transformed the Ohio River Valley forever. Newly “freedmen” saturated the area seeking opportunities for a more dignified existence for themselves and their loved ones. On Jordan’s Banks: Emancipation and It’s Aftermath in the Ohio River Valley measures how successful emancipated African Americans were at achieving this objective in various places within the Ohio River Valley, despite numerous challenges. Author Darrel E. Bigham argues that “slavery or the absence of it created an obvious difference between north- and south- shore communities before 1865; and even after the abolition of slavery in December 1865, traditional ways of doing things did not disappear...during this time of vast social, economic, and political change, when African Americans on either side of the Ohio were generally given little wherewithal to make a meaningful new start, the most remarkable advancement was the creation of communities that provided shelter and advanced the cause of the race. During a time in which whites in the North rapidly forgot that the Civil War was about race and liberation...and sought to make peace with their former white enemies, blacks on either side of the Ohio...not only endured. They persisted” (pp.7,9-10).

Bigham begins by asserting that long before the nation became divided over the issue of slavery, a considerable amount of variance existed in the treatment of both slaves and “free blacks” in the Ohio River Valley. Though there were some exceptions, whites on each side of the Ohio River tended to identify more so with the segregated culture created by the institution of slavery. Consequently, both races usually adhered to the social customs associated with it. The author’s comparison between locations revealed that certain factors mitigated the harsh treatment of African Americans before the war. He attributes variance to the size of the African American population
relative to whites, the presence of foreign immigrants, New England “Yankees,” the labor market, and African-American deference to whites. His comparison reveals the existence of several places in the north where free blacks were actually treated worse than slaves and free blacks in the south.

The Civil War increased racial tension in the Ohio Valley. “Kentucky’s drama was shaped by Kentucky’s slaves and whites as well as by Union officials and soldiers” (p.66). Some white residents held African Americans indirectly responsible for the political strife and economic hardship the river valley experienced. Migration increased exponentially. Again, how slaves and free blacks were treated depended largely on where they were during the conflict. Union generals such as Sherman and Palmer enforced federal wartime policies differently. Early on in the conflict, some runaway slaves received support and encouragement from soldiers who shared Palmer’s vision. Kentucky’s neutrality provision prohibited Union soldiers from liberating slaves. Therefore, Sherman turned them away by the thousands prior to the abandonment of the neutrality provision and enlistment of African Americans.

Bigham determined that there was no uniformity in how slaveholders and slaves responded to wartime policies. Some slaveholders freed their slaves. Others used them as “stand ins” in order to meet military enlistment quotas. Surprisingly, some rural slaves chose to remain with their masters after gaining more bargaining power. Others sought protection from the Union Army the moment troops arrived. A substantial number of slaves headed directly for the north shore. Divergent labor systems prevented the south shore economy from being in total ruins. Even though southern agricultural production suffered tremendously, merchants and industrialists prospered in river valley towns and cities. Places along the north shore were similar in this regard. Freedmen, foreign immigrants, and former planters competed for new employment opportunities created by the war.

The treatment of African Americans continued to vary from place to place during the postwar years. “African Americans were settling where the employment opportunities were greatest....service and river-and the transportation-related job opportunities continued to attract and to retain large numbers of blacks” (p.107). Bigham astutely observes how both social customs and the size of the African American population often influenced how residential patterns developed in various places prior to the 1880s. For instance, sizeable African American populations settled in Louisville and Cincinnati. In Cincinnati, racially segregated neighborhoods existed. In Louisville, socioeconomic status more often determined where African Americans lived. Generally, African American populations down river were relatively smaller, but some places experienced substantially greater increases. On the south shore some emancipated slaves continued to live with former masters. Downriver numerous north shore African Americans chose to establish their own households in the countryside.
Indeed, African Americans continued to carve out lives for themselves regardless of the circumstances. Naturally, even the problems African Americans encountered differed from place to place. Generally, social equality remained fleeting for most African Americans on both sides of the river. They created their own political organizations to combat institutionalized racism. After white Republicans discarded African American support for federal elections during the 1880s, savvy African American leaders realized “…Political independence would bring better rewards, as the two parties would compete for blacks’ favor” (p.184). African Americans were most successful at effectuating meaningful political changes at the local level. In addition to equality, the author determined “marriage and the family mattered much to African Americans on both sides of the Ohio in postwar years” (p.245). African Americans continued to develop a sense of community by creating their own social institutions. Bigham concludes that “the greatest attainment of postwar blacks was ‘a distinct society and culture, with black professionals in medicine, law, journalism, and religion providing the leadership’” (p.270).

*On Jordan’s Banks* is well written and thought-provoking. The author’s comparative approach is especially useful for understanding how the experiences of emancipated African Americans varied in the Ohio River Valley. The amount of primary sources he uses is quite impressive. The analyses of the region’s economic development, educational reform movements, geography, immigration patterns, and civil rights activity will interest a variety of readers. May the innovative scholarly works continue to flow from the Ohio River Valley Series like the mighty river at the heart of it all!

Together, these books compliment each other remarkably well. Each book measures the regional impact of matters of national importance during the nineteenth century. For historical purposes, they are particularly useful for learning more about the implications of slavery, the Civil War, and emancipation within the Ohio River Valley. *Front Line of Freedom* provides a wealth of information concerning the institution of slavery and abolition movements in Ohio Valley border-states. *On Jordan’s Banks* analyzes the ramifications of Civil War and emancipation throughout the Ohio River Valley. Both depict the resilience and optimism African Americans displayed while transitioning from slaves to freedmen. Regardless where they settled, family, church, fraternal bonds, and school all became firmly entrenched institutions within their respective communities. Both books demonstrate how African American heritage is deeply rooted in the Ohio River Valley from Alexander County, Illinois to Ashland, Kentucky.

Geographically speaking, the authors focused heavily on an opposite end of the river, with Cincinnati serving as the “middle ground” for their analyses. Reading both books will provide readers with a fair assessment of what the Ohio River valley resembled during nineteenth century. Both volumes devote significant attention to
central business districts strategically located along the banks of the Ohio. The culture of slavery, industrialization, gentrification of neighborhoods, and “white flight” are bound to be of interest to both cultural and urban geographers.

Both authors wrestle with historical forces that shaped the Ohio River Valley. Readers will learn that racism, injustice, poverty, illiteracy, immigration, violence, and crime are as much a part of the Ohio River Valley’s past as the river is. While each book makes it apparent that the Ohio River Valley continues to face some of these very same challenges, they also illustrate how the human spirit often prevails. In Front Line of Freedom readers learn of friendship and cooperation between African Americans and whites. They formed alliances that transcended race, religion, and socio-economic status in furtherance of humanity. Likewise, the same can be said of the relationship between AMA missionaries and freedmen in On Jordan’s Banks. Both authors write about individuals possessing humility, courage, and compassion. The flaws and virtues of those historical figures featured in both books reveal much about the human experience. The commonalities between the past and present will definitely resonate with readers.

Regardless of what one’s purpose is for reading these two books, the reader is likely to find both enlightening and enjoyable.

Raised in Cincinnati, Ohio, Ervin James III graduated from Princeton High School. He received both his undergraduate and graduate education in the South. Currently he is actively pursuing a Ph.D. in History at Texas A&M University in College Station. His academic fields of interest include urban history, urban geography, and African American history.
EVERYDAY AMERICA: Cultural Landscape Studies After J. B. Jackson
by Chris Wilson and Paul Groth, editors

x + 385 pp. Notes, list of contributors, illustrations, and index
$55.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-520-22960-6;
$19.95 (paper), ISBN 0-520-22961-4

Reviewed for PAS by Monica Kuhn

John Brinkerhoff Jackson’s books, articles, and the journal he established and edited, Landscape, have influenced a generation of scholars in landscape studies and in related fields. Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies After J.B. Jackson is an edited collection of writings on the broad field of cultural-landscape studies in the United States from the perspective of—and in light of—the Jackson’s groundbreaking career. This book grew out of a conference, titled “J.B. Jackson and the American Landscape,” held in 1998 at the University of New Mexico shortly after Jackson’s passing in 1996 (p.viii). One of the editors is Paul Groth, Jackson’s successor as a cultural landscape historian at the University of California-Berkeley. The other editor, Chris Wilson, is the J. B. Jackson Professor of Cultural Landscape Studies at the University of New Mexico’s School of Architecture and Planning (pp.358-61).

Contributors to this volume include a wide variety of professionals, including professors representing several disciplines, as well as architects, journalists, planners, architectural historians, and others who have been influenced by the writing and teaching of—and professional relationships with—J. B. Jackson. The contributors are mainly from fields that promote the study and interpretation of cultural landscapes for educational purposes; broadly, this includes professionals who incorporate landscape-studies methodologies into design projects, working with clients and other stakeholders to produce architectural or planning solutions to their needs. Seasoned scholars familiar with Jackson’s work and career, as well as newcomers to his work, will enjoy the different perspectives offered here on the work of Jackson and his variety of interests, among them the impact of automobile travel and auto-related culture on the ever-changing American landscape.

Chapter One, which is an introductory chapter written by the book’s editors, provides an exposition on the sections of the book,
each of which explores a different aspect of cultural-landscape studies as it relates to Jackson’s work. This book is divided into four sections: “Evaluating J. B. Jackson,” “Teaching and Learning Landscape Vision,” “Questioning Theoretical Assumptions,” and “Interpreting Twentieth-Century Urban Landscapes.” In each, four different authors each take a different approach to the topic.

The first section explores the lifelong work of Jackson and his approach to cultural-landscape studies, which changed the field forever. Jackson’s work initiated a paradigm shift from an idealization of folk or traditional landscapes, into an appreciation of and an open-mindedness to exploring and evaluating such landscapes. He also led scholars in shifting their thoughts away from the rural-agricultural ideal and the small town main street, and away from the neatly categorized, more traditional, static approach, to one that considers the more varied, quickly changing landscapes accommodating the car, the car traveler, and the messiness of more modern, or even post-modern, landscapes.

One of the key concepts in cultural-landscape studies involves taking a closer look, a deeper look at what is in front of you when you visit a new place. My favorite chapter about this topic is Pierce Lewis’s “The Monument and the Bungalow: The Intellectual Legacy of J.B. Jackson.” Lewis writes of a field trip on which he would take his Pennsylvania State University students to Bellefonte, Pennsylvania. Through class lectures and the day trip, he would teach them to analyze two frequently overlooked elements in the small town’s landscape: the war memorial in front of the county courthouse (pp.100-04) and the subdivisions of California-type bungalows (pp.105-07). His students learned the vocabulary necessary to discuss what they see, as well as the tools necessary to look at aspects of the landscape such as location, form, and names of war veterans, to uncover and interpret more about the history of this town. He encouraged students to look at the landscape elements, and to develop theories about how to interpret what they see to tell them more about the times and places in which these elements were built.

Journalist Grady Clay’s chapter, “Crossing the American Grain with Vesalius, Geddes, and Jackson: The Cross Section as a Learning Tool,” discusses capturing the spirit of individual American cities through the development of an auto-tour cross-section. This chapter provides a good illustration of how Jackson’s approach to looking at the world allows for the new and the different, and allows for the vernacular, lower-style, common buildings that earlier scholars may have shunned as intrusions, as “bad infill,” or as mistakes on the landscape instead of a healthy change, as elements that can teach us something about ourselves and our country. Clay’s path through the city of Louisville, Kentucky, would take one past all of the sectors of city life that would give a visitor and accurate picture of the city, of the different industries, commercial sectors, housing areas, and areas of town where people interact.
In the last section, authors introduce several case studies in modern urban cultural landscape studies, including in the final two chapters which parse the cultural landscape of east Los Angeles Latino neighborhoods and the commercialization of health-care-provider locations in modern medicine. The progression from formal medical office buildings as the only outlet for health care to the advent of outpatient surgical centers and other providers in commercial building—such as strip malls—is detailed, also with examples from the Los Angeles area.

*Everyday America* provides a good variety of voices, including academic authors and other professionals, who show the influence of Jackson’s work on not only what is studied, but also how it is studied. Several authors discuss Jackson’s reluctance to be grouped with academia, but note that he lectured at Harvard and Berkeley, among other places. They highlight the ways in which *Landscape* broke ground, and of how he would write expressing different viewpoints, sometimes using pseudonyms, to spark discussion and debate. As in his journal, this book provides a good variety of voices, of perspectives on the study of the landscape of the United States, and is a well-paced journey through Jackson’s legacy into the present and future of the field.

Both well-read Jackson scholars and relative newcomers to his works will find this book interesting. It will inspire those unfamiliar with his work to read his own words, as well as those of the many noted authors referenced throughout or who contributed to this volume. *Everyday America* is a good reference for those who study and work with cultural landscapes, and those who are learning how to educate others about these concepts, in academia or in other fields, such as journalism, architecture, and cultural resources management.

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Monica Kuhn is an Architectural Historian with the Ohio Historic Preservation Office. Her interests include urban cultural landscapes, as well as vacation/travel landscapes in the U.S., and historical geography in general. She holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in Anthropology from The Ohio State University and a Master of Science degree in Historic Preservation from Eastern Michigan University.
MEMORY AND ARCHITECTURE
by
Eleni Bastéa, editor

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004
xv + 335 pp. Illustrations, photographs, maps, notes, bibliographic references, and index
$49.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8263-3269-2

Reviewed for PAS by Marie Alice L’Heureux

The cover graphics of Memory and Architecture intertwine cursive and block type text on burnished earthen-colored backgrounds between images that evoke time-worn and hand-hewn places. I read the credits and wondered, “Tunnel-vaults in San Bernardino de Sisal make sense, but in the ancient Mayan city of Palenque?” I have never been to Palenque, but have seen many images of the magnificent ruins and my memory leads me to think the image (jacket front bottom) is mislabeled. I may be wrong. But if I had visited, I would know for sure. First-hand experience is so multi-dimensional—your eyes, body, and memory are engaged.

This disjunction between conceived ideas of places that have been experienced compared to those seen only remotely in pictures or through descriptions—the slippage between memory that is experienced or learned—is one of the themes of this book. Another is the complexity of reading or representing places that are not fixed, but are being changed and transformed even in our imaginations. And finally, this volume engages the questions of who holds the power to represent, document, and preserve our built environment?

The interaction of memory and the built environment has been explored in recent decades—in works usually focused on monuments and contested landscapes, and as a backdrop to events rather than as the embodiment of social relationships. The built environment has also been seen as a tangible representation of history that defies contrary interpretations. Yet as careful studies show, the physical evidence is not always legible. The built environment cannot be simply read as a narrative—erasure and change, willful or not, are as much legacies of history as the bricks and mortar that remain. This fact transcends context, but each story has its particular twist and history that must be explored to understand the ways that built and cultural space reinforce certain representations and points of view while they undermine others.

The fourteen chapters of Memory and Architecture are organized into four sections around the themes of national memories,
literary memory, personal cartographies, and architectural-design education.

The first section starts with Eric Sandweiss’s “Framing Urban Memory,” which lays out the conundrum for historians who are faced with updating and re-presenting the dusty collections of urban historical societies. These nineteenth century repositories were created by the privileged “fit, though few” and preserved images and memorabilia that favored descriptions of American cities as places of “equality, liberty, and stability” when cities were more clearly the handmaidens of commerce, profit, and inexorable change. Sandweiss argues that even as curators have moved from exhibitions of unmediated objects to “ideas” that include the once excluded, the control over this representation is still in the hands of the powerful. The history of cities is also more often being fixed and framed in preservation districts that further commodify the city.

With the 800th anniversary of the founding of Dresden looming in 2006 and the city in the throes of rehabilitation, Mark Jarzombek uses his persuasive essay, “Disguised Visibilities” to propose alternative definitions of Dresden’s historic areas, its future vision, and the expansion of the public realm beyond official representations. His narrative juxtaposes the fate of the Frauenkirche (destroyed by allied bombing in WWII, rebuilt 1992-2005, and adopted as the symbol of the city’s past and rebirth) with that of the Jewish synagogue (original by Gottfried Semper, destroyed by Nazis in 1938, and replaced since German unification by a modest modern building outside of the designated historic area). Jarzombek proposes that a surviving evocative socialist statue, Trauender Mann (Mourning Man), which was relocated during the Frauenkirche rebuilding, be relocated to a point equidistant between the church and synagogue. This would include the synagogue in the history of the city and acknowledge the destruction of Dresden by the Allies as well as of the Jewish population by the Nazis.

Two studies complete the section. Fernando Lara’s “Patrimony and Cultural Identity” explains the particularly Latin American twist to the importation and transformation of modern architecture into Brazil. Maria de Lourdes Luz and Ana Lúcia Vieira Dos Santo’s work in progress uses the coffee plantation legacy of the Paraiba Valley as a base for students to explore issues of culture and design and obviously forms part of an ongoing study.

The second section, “Literary Memory Spaces,” includes four chapters that engage memory, representation, and place in shifting social settings and geographic contexts in literature, especially as they relate to displacement. Sabir Kahn’s essay, “Memory Work,” richly portrays the interaction of tactile place and fluid memory in two autobiographical novels about South Asian women as they are rerouted from their paths and re-rooted in new places. They are not only transformed by the experience but also acquire new knowledge about their earlier memories and situations.

Tel Aviv’s Old Cemetery is the ground that Barbara Mann uses
to plumb deep literary relationships, the Jewish Diaspora, and the layers of remembering and forgetting that are embedded in the imbricated history of the cemetery. Carel Bertram does a similar weaving using the imagined-and-represented traditional Turkish house used in texts as a stand-in for history and continuity in the early days of the Turkish Republic, when religious and secular realms were so abruptly sundered.

Eleni Bastéa tackles the contentious subject of the effaced and replaced identities in Thessaloniki and Istanbul in “Storied Cities.” Both cities were very diverse before the partition and the displacement of about one and a half million people in 1923. Bastéa uses literary works by authors who spent their childhoods differently situated, and compares their relationship to the city, noting the tenacity of early unmediated memories.

The third section, “Personal Cartographies,” starts off with Catherine Hamel’s moving essay “Beirut, Exile, and the Scars of Reconstruction.” Epigrams focus each section as Hamel tries to make sense of a city she knew from childhood but remembers as a different place—traumatized memories that cannot be reconciled. Hamel illustrates the text with wonderfully abstracted ink-and-wash drawings.

Christine Gorby moves to another former battleground—West Belfast—in “Diffused Spaces.” She explores the manifestation of sectarian divisions and overlapment of religious geographies in the urban realm as they seep around and between the demising walls of the Catholic and Protestant areas of the city.

V. B. Price’s essay, “Profaning Public Space“ expresses adeptly the horror of witnessing the relentless mindless expansion into the fragile desert ecosystems by cities of the Southwest. Price concludes that it represents “dis respectful growth—treats specific places, with their distinctive cultures and natural limitations, as if ... they had no meaning, no history, no network of memories and natural patterns unique to themselves“ (p.179-80).

The final section, “Voices from the Studio,” was perhaps where Bastéa started when mulling over this project. Thomas Fisher, dean of the University of Minnesota, begins with a discussion of the source of design ideas in “What Memory? Whose Memory?” Rachel Hurst and Jane Lawrence present a pedagogically rich exercise that addresses collaboration among disciplines, while engaging first-year students in a multi-layered exercise that spans the creation of carriers for small food items to the sharing of a meal—all the while exploring and inhabiting places outside of studio. As a complement to the literature and memory section, Sheona Thomson combines text and space in a beginning design studio and effectively promotes the necessary interaction of memory, words, and images in the development of an architectural imagination.

Memory and Architecture ranges broadly exploring the themes of memory and the built landscape and touches in part on the social and cultural aspects of built space. Each section would probably
appeal to a different audience, although there is some overlap, with the first section having the broadest appeal. Here I would include Christine Gorby’s piece on West Belfast, which is more of a research piece than the other personal cartographies.

The process of design education is an area that needs a lot more in-depth study and documentation, and would be of great interest to design educators. This section could easily be expanded into a book-length work. There are a few weaknesses in the book--some studies seem a little preliminary for such a volume--but the text would be useful for architects, geographers, researchers in cultural studies and urban studies, social historians, and historians of the particular area studies covered.

Mary Alice L’Heureux teaches urban design at the University of Kansas. Her areas of research interest include politics, ideology and built space.

TROWELING THROUGH TIME:
The First Century of Mesa Verdean Archaeology
by
Florence C. Lister

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004
xliv + 288 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliographic references, and index
$24.95 (paper), ISBN 0-8263-3502-0

Reviewed for PAS by Michael A. Lange

Troweling through Time is a history of archaeological processes carried out at Mesa Verde and the surrounding area. Florence Lister is listed as both an archaeologist and a historian of archaeology, and it is the latter that the author wears throughout most of this book. She aims to recount the stories of the people who have done and continue to do archaeology in and around Mesa Verde, rather than a history of the area itself. Nor is the book an examination of Mesa Verdean archaeology itself; there are no site plans of Pueblo structures, no lengthy descriptions of excavations. The readers of Material Culture will be happy to note that Lister does have several passages listing the artifacts found by various excavators of Mesa Verde. However, archaeologists expecting site analyses and technical discussion will be disappointed.

A certain familiarity on the part of the reader with the Mesa Verde area is assumed by Lister. A lack of maps, even general maps of the Four Corners area, might leave those unfamiliar with Southwestern
geography and prehistory confused at times, especially when describing the tangled canyons which make up much of the Mesa Verde area covered in the book. Lister sets out to review the history of archaeological work in the area, and present that work to those without archaeological knowledge. In this, she does an admirable job, but those without geographic knowledge do not fare so well.

Lister’s archaeological roots do show through frequently, though often in compact fits and starts. The historical presentation is interspersed with discussions of the archaeological process, which are enlightening and entertaining:

Without the laboratory work that usually takes more time and diligence than what is spent on one’s knees with trowel in hand, there is little justification for archaeology. It is a time when field notes are deciphered before they grow cold, specimens are analyzed, maps and charts are prepared, literature searches are made, and ideas about what one has witnessed are shared with colleagues (p.116).

Passages such as this one state the obvious to an archaeologist, but give insight into the realities of archaeology to the uninitiated. Such glimpses appear throughout the larger narrative of the book. Of particular interest to me was the description of the early years of Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, which was founded by Stuart Struever. Struever went to the Southwest to found Crow Canyon patterned on the Center for American Archeology in Illinois, which he had founded earlier. I worked at the Center for American Archeology, and Lister’s description of Crow Canyon brought back many fond memories from Kampsville. If nothing else, this attests to Lister’s evocative description. Her history also provides insight into the evolution of archaeology as a science. Little tidbits of information about developments in the technology, philosophical approach, and methodology of archaeology can be found in the presentation of 100 years of investigation at Mesa Verde.

Witty and truthful observations, such as “Exploration, like archaeology, is often a crapshoot” (p. 3), enliven Lister’s presentation of Mesa Verde history. Unfortunately, the historical presentation itself is often disjointed. Lister does not attempt to follow the chronology of her book’s subtitle directly. Instead, she presents the history of Mesa Verdean archaeology by focusing on the various names who have influenced it. Beginning with the accidental “discovery” of the Chaco Great Houses by James H. Simpson, Lister details the involvement of the people who formed the area’s archaeology: the Wetherill family, Edgar Hewett, Jesse Walter Fewkes, Virginia McClurg, Alden Hayes, Alfred Kidder, and even John D. Rockefeller. She tells each person’s story in turn, and the chronologies of those individual stories sometimes overlap, leading to an overall narrative which jumps back and forth at times.

This disjointed presentation is compounded by the style of writing. Lister moves from recounting specific events to relating these events to the greater history of Mesa Verdean archaeology, but the transitions are often abrupt, making for a jarring narrative flow. The
information presented in the paragraphs is certainly sound, but often the style of Lister’s writing makes accessing that information more difficult than it need be. Additionally, she often attributes motivations to the historical figures without clearly presenting evidence for her interpretations. When writing of Victoria McClurg’s first visit to the Mesa Verde area, for example, Lister writes:

McClurg appealed to the commander of Fort Lewis ... for a military escort to accompany her on a horseback trip into the Mesa Verde country. He refused, no doubt thinking it a hairbrained idea for a lone woman to risk an encounter with barbarians just to see something as unimportant as dirty wrecks of old houses. But McClurg persisted until the commander finally relented, probably in disgust. ... McClurg was awed by this wreckage [of the cliff dwellings] seemingly crunched one hundred feet below the rimrock and hundreds of feet up from the canyon floor. It was a sight she never forgot as the climax to what must have been an adventure of a lifetime (p.8).

There is much useful information contained in the prose, however. Those interested in the history of the Southwest, in archaeology, in prehistoric and historic Native America, or in the intertwining of science with political and historical processes will find Lister’s book a worthwhile read. The last chapter of the book departs from the historical narrative, giving instead an overview of the different phases of occupation of Mesa Verde. This archaeological information is enlightening, but it is not overly technical, making it accessible to non-archaeologists. The bibliography contains a wealth of primary sources on Mesa Verde and archaeology, and the well-constructed index enhances the book’s usefulness. The vast majority of the footnotes are merely citations, however, with very few offering much additional information. As a bonus, the book also opens with over 70 photographs spanning the entire history of Mesa Verdean archaeology. These images do much the same as the text that follows—both present snapshots of the most important historical figures and moments in the history of the area, providing a good feel for the place and the people who have shaped Mesa Verdean archaeology.

Michael A. Lange received his PhD in folklore from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, after receiving MAs in anthropology and Scandinavian studies from the same institution. He has previously worked as an archaeologist, doing cultural resource management for several companies as well as teaching archaeology at the Center for American Archeology in Kamps Vive, Illinois.
Early feminist historians assumed a universal subordination of women across cultures and history. This book attempts to bring together ethnographic information from a wide variety of Native North American cultures to critically rethink of the role of women in Native society. Inspired by Eleanor Burke Leacock, the numerous authors of this collection suggest that, contrary to widespread belief, Native women often did hold power and respect within their own communities. They stress the complementarity of the genders in Native cultures, and autonomy for Native women. However, this is a collection written by anthropologists for anthropologists, and as a historian, the essays often raised more questions than they answered. I found myself repeatedly asking, “When are we talking about?” “What are the sources?” “How does the author know this?” “What about the issue of the bias and perspective of those early twentieth-century anthropologists on whom so many of these essays rely?” Despite these questions, I found that this collection offers fascinating insights into the roles of Native women in cultures across North America, and for this reason, it is an important book.

Women and Power in Native North America was born out of a symposium at the 1988 meeting of the American Anthropological Association, was first published in 1995, and later was published in paper in 2000. The initial goal, as stated by the editors, was to challenge the existing gender stereotypes that place Native American women into the binary categories of “squaw” or “princess.” The authors wanted to complicate our assumptions about gender relations in Native American societies, and they succeed in doing so. The collection consists of eleven chapters dealing with ten different cultures in North America, including the Inuit, Seneca, Tlingit, Blackfoot, and Navajo. The collection is more heavily weighted toward the “American” part of “North America”, but in general, the geographical and cultural range is laudable. Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman discuss issues such as popular culture and Native American women, pioneering anthropological work looking at Native American women, and the concepts of gender and power in the introduction to their collection. Daniel Maltz and JoAllyn Archambault offer intelligent concluding remarks that discuss the cultural variations of women’s status across North America, and consider the colonial context of the subject as well as what they call
the dangerous utopian fantasies in which Native people are cast either as noble savages or lowly heathens.

As a gender historian, I am interested in how gender roles are constructed and reconstructed over time, and in considering the factors that have led to these changes. The question of historical change is one that could be looked at more closely in many of these essays, despite the fact that the editors write that "modern ethnohistory is searching not for the pure cultures of the past but instead for an understanding of how cultures and the roles of people change over time" (pp.11-12). Many of these essays are studies of an undefined time period, or of two vague periods, the past and present. Historians will find this problematic, as was noted by an important historian of the subject in an earlier review of this collection (Shoemaker 1996, pp.542-43).

The essay in the collection that best considers this sort of change is Joy Bilharz's "First Among Equals? The Changing Status of Seneca Women." Bilharz considers the various arguments over the status of Iroquois women, including those that suggest that the (pre-contact) Iroquois nations were matriarchal. She discusses how early European contact had little effect on women's status because their economic and production roles (as agriculturalists) changed little and because they maintained political power in the selection of Chiefs and in choosing the fate of war captives (pp.104-05).

According to Bilharz, it was the early nineteenth century teachings of the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake that stressed Euro-Christian gender roles (and a nuclear family in which the father's appropriate role was farmer, and the mother's, homemaker) that resulted in the initial loss of status for Seneca women. When the Seneca Nation was founded in 1848, women were effectively disenfranchised, and the decline in their status continued. What is particularly noteworthy about Bilharz's article is her discussion of how these women have regained power in the twentieth century. Seneca women were involved in organized responses to the construction of the Kinzua Dam in Pennsylvania, the forced relocation of their people, and the flooding of one-third of the Allegheny Reservation in the 1960s. Women used their experience in political organizing and began to hold positions in the Seneca Nation of Indians. Bilharz's study is not only an interesting account of a centuries-long power struggle, but is centrally concerned with change over time, and the causes of such change. One problem with anthropology (at least for historians) is that the research methodology tends to capture a culture in one time and space. The result is that sometimes cultures are portrayed as ahistorical, static, and unchanging. Bilharz's work, on the other hand, which seems to rely on a more historical approach, carefully tracks the changes in this community, and suggests why these changes might have occurred. (For more on the subject, see Bilharz 1998.)

My second concern with many of these essays is their sources. Historians and anthropologists find their evidence through different
methods, even when they might be looking at the same subject. As Bernard Cohn wrote in 1987, “research in history is based on finding data; research in anthropology is based on creating data” (Cohn 1987, p.6). I think it is the creation of data by some of the authors of essays in this collection, as well as the use of earlier anthropological data, that troubles me. A critical question that must be posed when considering the various cultural subjects in these articles is “Why don’t we ask these people their own stories?” Although it is not infallible, oral history, as opposed to an anthropologist’s observations, could have provided greater insight into the cultures studied in many of these articles. I quite enjoyed Alice B. Kehoe’s essay, “Blackfoot Persons,” not only because she discussed the fascinating subject of “manly-hearted women” (p.115) and argues that European gender categories miss the point (p.124), but also because she uses Native mythology as a primary source for evidence. Kehoe tells us that these “myths recount, one after another, how women bring blessings to the people” (p.117). I am, however, not as willing to trust Kehoe’s use of personal observations formed during her experience living on a Blackfoot reservation. It seems problematic to make connections between Native American mythology, early twentieth-century anthropological data, and late twentieth-century observations. These sources give us information on the Blackfoot at different times in their history, and it seems that there could be problems with representations of Blackfoot culture created by anthropologists from different cultures. Additionally, Kehoe did not discuss the role of women pre- and post contact, and the changes that may be associated with this major cultural event.

Henry S. Sharp’s essay, “Asymmetric Equals: Women and Men among the Chipewyn,” contains an excellent analysis of early explorer Samuel Hearne’s journal. From a historian’s perspective, this sort of critique of early contact literature is very valuable. Sharp considers Hearne’s “cultural baggage and biases” and suggests that we need to remain attentive to the ways that such factors determine the reliability of primary sources. Hearne’s journal depicts Chipewyn women as so-called “beasts of burden,” carrying packs, pitching tents, gathering firewood, and dressing skins (pp.52-53). Thanks to Hearne and other European observers, these women became “exemplars of the negative side of aboriginal Native American life” (p.49). Sharp suggests that Hearne ignored the potential for female labor to act as a source of empowerment for women, as did other members of “an English-speaking world more interested in domination than complementarity” (p.53). Sharp then delves into twentieth-century anthropological observation of the Chipewyn and suggests that although studies have shown that the position of women is “improving”, this does not address the issue, “since what is meant by improving is only that the Chipewyns are coming more closely to resemble whatever our culture currently considers socially and ideologically desirable” (p.67). A different approach is recommended by Sharp, one that explores the complicated symbols and metaphors of gender in
contemporary Chipewyn culture. Sharp’s use of these three different types of data (historical contact literature, anthropological studies, and contemporary culture) succeeds at further complicating the popular image of Chipewyn women as overworked and undervalued, and suggests instead that, as is the case with many other Native cultures, complementarity existed between the genders.

This collection is an important one. Not only does it bring together work on cultures from across the continent, but also, the authors use different methods and sources to try to understand Native North American women’s lives. Although I do have concerns with the lack of attention given to change over time, as well as the problematic nature of the sources used in several essays, I will defer to Nancy Shoemaker who warns that historians “will have a difficult time overcoming their disciplinary prejudices,” and who argues that “a book intended to satisfy the conventions of anthropology should not be judged by the standards of history” (Shoemaker p.1543).

References Cited


Alison Norman is a doctoral candidate in the History of Education program at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. She is interested in the complicated relationships that existed between first wave feminists and social reformers, and Native Canadian women, especially in Ontario. Her research looks at white women’s efforts to “help” Native women through local organizations, Native women’s participation in these organizations, and the racial and gendered dynamics of these relationships.
SONS OF THE CONQUERORS
by
Hugh Pope

New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2005
432pp. Photos, maps, appendixes, index
$35.00 (cloth), ISBN 1-58567-641-1 (US).

Reviewed for PAS by Hakki Tas

“Sons of the conquerors” is an honorific the Turks use for the descendants of Turkic nomadic colonizers who migrated from the steps of Central Asia to the Balkans. By this title, Hugh Pope, the Istanbul correspondent for the Wall Street Journal, directs attention to the probable re-emergence of Turkic peoples in the twenty-first-century political arena. They can no longer be treated as marginal players on the edge of Europe, or as distant allies taken for granted by the European Union and the United States, Pope avers. A world population of 140 million people over more than 20 states in geopolitically important areas of Eurasia deserves much scholarly attention; Pope’s book is a much-needed contribution to the thin literature in the area.

In this age when scholars prefer to focus on differences, Pope analyzes the similarities between several Turkic peoples, and highlights the need for further anthropological research about the Turkic world. The book consists of six sections, which the author believes reflect “the collective qualities” of the Turkic peoples: their military tradition, the patrimonial character of political governance, a sense of shared history, their pragmatic interpretation and mystic practice of Islam, their contentious “love-hate” relationship with the West, and their optimism about the near future summarized as “The twenty-first century is ours.” Especially notable is the epilogue, in which the author traces the probability and potentials of a Turkic alliance.

The analyses and observations in the book are the outcome of Pope’s travels through 20 countries in 15 years. Writing something more than a chronicle, Pope takes the readers on a long enjoyable journey from the Uygur villages in China to Virginia, home of Melungeons who claim Turkic descent, and from the presidential palace in Turkmenistan to the ghettos in Germany where “Euro-Turks” live. His fluency in Turkish allows him to talk to many people from presidents to villagers; therefore, the book provides a deep insight into the lives of Turkic peoples. Peppered with plenty of anecdotes, it is highly readable.

Sons of the Conquerors makes four major contributions to the studies in this area. First, it provides a broad perspective by including...
several Turkic populations and states; this is quite different from the one-country studies. Second, Pope sees a hinge point in the increasing influence of the Turkic states in global political formations and suggests the possible birth of a new political power. Though recent policy research programs on the Near East are most interested in Arab states and Iran, the author tries to shift the attention to the Turkic world. The rich material sources and fast economic development in Central Asia, and the increasing importance of Turkey in the Middle East may prove the author right. Third, Pope underlines the peaceful version of Islam practiced by Turks. “Islam Allaturca” presents a high level of compatibility with liberal values. The empirical findings and conclusions both challenge and provide correction to the positions of those having cultural essentialist claims about Islam’s backwardness.

The fourth novelty of the book is its stress on the shared victimhood of the Turks whose conventional image has usually been that of barbarians and oppressors. He gives some examples of Turkic victims: Azerbaijan’s “Black January” in 1990; the Nagorno-Karabagh war (1988-1994), during which one in twelve of all Azeris were killed by the Armenians; the eight million Uygur Turks still suffering under Chinese rule; the Bulgarian communist government’s mistreatment of its Turkish minority in the late 1980s; and the hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs and Tatars who died under Stalin’s rule. Seeing Turks as victims was an odd reversal of historic roles, Pope states. He also observes a high level of nationalism in response to this sense of unjust loss and victimhood. The book is worthwhile for these sections alone.

A major criticism of this book, however, is Pope’s cultural primordialism in his efforts to identify “homo turkicus.” His generalizations about “the collective qualities” of the Turkic peoples, who live in an area from the Balkans to China, are the weakest aspect of his book. Even if there is a common ethnic culture among 140 million Turkic people, it must be studied within an historical context-bound framework. His references to the “Turkish psyche,” “Turkish mentality” or “plundering instinct” hearken back to some Orientalist travelers of earlier centuries, whom he occasionally quotes (p.86).

There is also the question of whether the “Turkic world,” that the author takes for granted, actually exists. He himself admits that a united Turkic front is unlikely at least for now. There is no Turkic world, only a huge region where the Turkic peoples live. Though one can see some common cultural and linguistic ties binding the Turkic peoples, the sense of attachment and belonging among them is still questionable and needs much selective nurturing by the political elites. *Sons of the Conquerors* has a similar character; each chapter is devoted to a separate country and similarities are noted by the author, but there is little discussion of interconnectedness and cooperation among the Turkic peoples.

Generally, the Turkic people share widespread ignorance about
their common roots. *Sons of the Conquerors* demonstrates well how significant similarities still exist despite long distances. However, Pope’s attempt to decipher the ethno-cultural nucleus of the Turks results in ambiguities and logical pitfalls. Nevertheless, he provides a first-hand and a first-class account for those who want to learn more about the lives of the Turkic peoples. The book’s empirical breadth also allows non-area specialists to get an up-to-date overview of these societies.

Hakki Tas is a PhD student and research assistant in the Department of Political Science at Bilkent University. He is a TUBITAK (Turkish Science and Technology Foundation) fellow and leads a project on contemporary Islamism in Turkey. He published in Political Studies Review and the Millennium Journal. His main research interests

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**ARCHIGRAM:**

*Architecture Without Architecture*

by

Simon Sadler

Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2005

x + 242pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographic references, and index

$35.00 (paper), ISBN 0-262-69322-4

**Reviewed for PAS by Prof. Christopher Yip**

The 1960s saw the emergence of Great Britain as a leading force in popular culture and the cultural avant garde. Mary Quant made popular the mini-skirt, which was followed later in the decade by the micro-skirt and hot pants. The Beatles hit the top of the British music charts in 1963 with “Please Please Me” and exploded onto the U.S. music scene later that same year, soon to be followed by the Rolling Stones and many other bands. Archigram became an equivalent phenomenon on the British architectural scene, and gained a following worldwide. They (the core members being Warren Chalk, Peter Cook, Dennis Crompton, David Greene, Ron Herron, and Mike Webb) were all born before World War II and reached young adulthood by 1960.
Throughout Archigram: Architecture Without Architecture, Simon Sadler ties Archigram’s ideas and projects to their historical context focusing upon architectural precedents and aspects of intellectual history. In Chapter One, “A New Generation: Archigram’s Formation and Its Context,” Sadler portrays Archigram as trying to revive the energy of the pioneering phase the Modern Movement, and rejecting the rather stayed and institutional English architectural environment in which they found themselves. “It was literally a neo-avant-garde, a revival of the avant-garde activities that made modernism exciting at its early twentieth-century launch” (p.44). They sought to break out of an architectural profession of bureaucratic compromisers by going back to early modernism for its energy and vitality, and freely borrowed from some of their elders, such as the Smithsons. The image of the architect as visionary genius was reasserted over the policy-making anonymous architect locked away in large public and private offices. The result of their early efforts were projects like Plug-in City, which borrowed the idea of the megastructure, and added plug-in apartment and other units moved around by extensive transport links. Units would be expendable, and the consumer could select a unit just like a new car and dispose of a unit just like an old car. This world would constantly be becoming. “Classless, popular, high-tech, go-with-the-flow–Archigram had devised an exhilarating alternative to doctrine” (p.50)

Chapter Two, “The Living City: Pop Urbanism Circa 1963,” examines Archigram’s Living City show which..."heralded a way of thinking about cities that later became commonplace: that cities, being more than mere functional organizations of space, are the life support machinery of a culture in perpetual change” (p.8). They created projects and drawings emphasizing the formlessness of space, behavior and life in contrast to the boring rigid objects architects were producing. New pod units and high tech additions were juxtaposed with traditional buildings and urban settings. “Living City” was against the rational objectivity of British architectural planning, and in favor of individual freedom enhanced by technologically sophisticated environmental appliances. Residential and commercial units were stacked and interwoven with extensive circulation lines.

Their love of interchangeability and constant flux displaced permanent buildings as the goal of an architect’s efforts. In Chapter Three, “Beyond Architecture: Indeterminacy, Systems, and the Dissolution of Buildings,” Sadler notes how Archigram’s championing of change naturally led to a hostility to the traditional architectural monuments and a shift to consumer architectural appliances indistinguishable from other common appliances. This fascination with technology and consumption as the solution to society’s problems, helped to produce an apolitical avant-garde movement insensitive to other incipient movements, such as feminism and ecology. Indeterminacy, simultaneity and change were good. Traditional buildings just became slums or ancient monuments.
The kit-of-parts which could be plugged in or unplugged, led them "toward the most active, immaterial, and indeterminate architecture conceivable, a continuous realm of biological-electronic control systems" (p.117). Since they were not actually studying science and engineering breakthroughs, one got the sense that they were playing at innovating solutions to undefined problems.

Sadler examines in Chapter Four, "The Zoom Wave: Archigram's Teaching and Reception," Archigram's popularity and survival was closely linked to its following among students in architecture schools, and their eventual decline in popularity. All six of the members taught at one time at the Architecture Association in London, and many other schools in England and United States. The author notes that the Architectural Association became their headquarters as they worked to create a niche for themselves in the architectural program of the school. An important part of their journal was distributed through the schools. "Zoom" was introduced in their 1964 edition, and stood for their beliefs..."in pop, the future, technological innovation, enterprise, indeterminacy, and hyperfunctionalism" (p.141). Events replaced permanent construction in many of their projects.

Archigram's popularity and survival depended in large measure upon maintaining their student following, since they could not expect support from the Royal Institute of British Architects and the professional establishment, which they attacked and ridiculed. The problem, Sadler suggests, was their "techno-libertarian" attitude in which technology and individualism would solve all the problems of society. They saw themselves as apolitical, which increasingly put into question their avant-garde status with the rise of the anti-Vietnam War protests, the questioning of capitalism and consumer society, the feminist movement, the ecology movement, and the racial equality struggles. The defense of a technological modernism hostile to traditional building argued from the position of popular culture and fashion seemed less and less appealing to those seeking radical architectural solutions to multiple social problems. Furthermore, Sadler notes that "Archigram had little interest in history, after 'Living City,' it abandoned the city; its response to theory was confused" (p.188). The late 1960s saw the rise of Postmodern Historicism led by Charles Moore, Robert Venturi, and Denise Scott Brown in the United States. Aldo Rossi in Italy argued for matching contemporary architecture to the typology of the city, and theory took on a central role in Continental and American architectural thinking. Archigram seemed less relevant.

Sadler, in the conclusion, sees Archigram's legacy as restoring avant-gardism, and reviving the interest of architects in technology; they influenced the later high tech movement represented by such people as Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers. While Archigram championed a more extreme modernism, postmodernists became the new avant-garde who were headed in the opposite direction from Archigram. There is a great deal of information and insights
into Archigram and the 1960s English architectural scene in this unnecessarily dry work. For those interested in Archigram it is worth a read.

Christopher Yip has taught architecture, architectural history, and theory and criticism at the University of Colorado, Boulder, the University of Hawaii, and presently, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo. His research areas include Asian American architecture and environments, nineteenth- and twentieth-century architecture, and Asian architectural history.