ANNUAL MEETINGS

An annual meeting is held each fall. The meetings are often thematic and are held in historical settings in order to include tours. The meetings are intended to inform those who attend, to produce papers of value to be published in PAST, and offer occasions to meet others with similar interests. Thirty-eight meetings have been held.

2006 Springfield, Ohio
2005 Baton Rouge, Louisiana (cancelled)
2004 Newtown, Pennsylvania
2003 Bridgetown, Barbados
2002 Springfield, Illinois
2001 Bardstown, Kentucky
2000 Richmond, Virginia
1999 Washington, Pennsylvania
1998 Wilmington, North Carolina
1997 Dearborn, Michigan
1996 Austin, Texas
1995 Fredericksburg, Virginia
1994 Mitchell, Indiana
1993 Pittsford, New York
1992 Warren, Ohio
1991 Milwaukee, Wisconsin
1990 Williamsburg, Virginia
1989 St. Charles, Missouri
1988 Mobile, Alabama
1987 Galena, Illinois
1986 Rochester, New York
1985 Edenton, North Carolina
1984 Cape Girardeau, Missouri
1983 Macomb, Illinois
1982 Marietta, Ohio
1981 Madison, Indiana
1980 Green Bay, Wisconsin
1979 Alexandria, Virginia
1978 Pleasant Hill, Kentucky
1977 Aurora, Ohio
1976 Lancaster, Pennsylvania
1975 Cape May, New Jersey
1974 Abingdon, Virginia
1973 Charlottesville, Virginia
1972 Frederick, Maryland
1971 Oxford, Maryland
1970 Berkeley Springs, West Virginia
1969 Washington, District of Columbia
1968 Falls Church, Virginia

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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](image-url)

**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.
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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TAYLOR, Alan  
THORSON, Robert M.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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Abstracts of Unpublished Papers
— P.A.S.T. 28 —

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 BARNES 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 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 COnTLY, 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 diagonal 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.
DOLINGTON 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 occupance 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 occupance, 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 enthral 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


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.

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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.

**References Cited**


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.
ON JORDAN’S BANKS:  
Emancipation and Its Aftermath in the  
Ohio River Valley  
by  
Darrel E. Bigham  

Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2005  
x + 428pp. Tables, Maps, notes, bibliographic references, and index.  
$45.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-8131-2366-6  

FRONT LINE OF FREEDOM:  
African Americans and the Forging  
of the Underground Railroad in the  
Ohio Valley  
by  
Keith P. Griffler  

Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004  
xvi + 169pp. Tables, photographs, maps, notes, bibliographic references, and index  
$35.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-8131-2298-8  

Reviewed for PAS by Ervin James, III  

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, Griffler’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, Griffler’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 Its 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.

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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 „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.

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

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004

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 Vernean 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 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 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 Ville, Illinois.
Women and Power in Native North America
by
Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman, editors

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000
x + 294 pp. Tables, map, bibliographic references, and index
$19.95 (paper), ISBN 0-8061-3241-8

Reviewed for PAS by Alison Norman

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 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 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.

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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.