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Incidental Observations Concerning Pioneer Log Structures in Michigan

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Between 2000 and mid-2004, a team of Michigan State University faculty and consultants investigated and prepared a Michigan agricultural-heritage context report for the Michigan Department of Transportation (MDOT). My specific responsibility was to research and describe, for the entire state, an overview of the material-culture evolution of the farmstead from pioneer times through the early twentieth century. The investigative parameters were necessarily broadbrush, involving an intensive review of the literature for the Great Lakes region, perusal of county atlases and histories and other primary and secondary sources, and, because of funding constraints, very selective field observation.

During the course of the investigation, a number of potential future research agendas were identified. Pioneer-period log structures, which received only incidental attention during this investigation, deserve further field analysis. Most structures of horizontal or vertical log construction have disappeared from southern Michigan. Almost invariably, those that do survive have been covered by some sort of cladding material on both the interior and the exterior. Conversely, a considerable number of unclad log structures are still to be found in Michigan’s Cutover regions of both the Upper and Lower Peninsulas. The majority of the surviving log structures were built to serve agricultural purposes, and some still function in that capacity.

Despite an extensive literature devoted to log buildings in the United States, with the exception of Finnish constructions, virtually no documentary attention has been given to the subject in Michigan. There is irony to this lack of study because Michigan is a veritable crossroad of log-building traditions. These include the Midland and New England-Canadian traditions, a French-Canadian subset, and those of various Fenno-Scandinavian and Baltic ethnic groups.

The Midland, French-Canadian, and Finnish log-building traditions have been amply documented for other geographic areas. Therefore, comment will be limited to new or heretofore ambiguously formulated information. First, I will amplify upon what Terry Jordan has named the “Anglo-Canadian log-building tradition” (Jordan, Kilpinen, and Gritzner 1997, 59) and, in the MDOT report, what I called
the “New England-Canadian tradition.” Second, a Polish “cow-hay barn” will be described and related to similar Fenno-Scandinavian cow-hay barns.

The New England-Canadian Tradition

It was long believed that, with the exception of military constructions, colonial New England lacked a notched-log building tradition. Throughout the colonial period the frontier remained close to the seaboard so saws and other specialized woodworking tools could be supplied directly to settlements by ship without the logistical problems of hauling them deep into the interior. Consequently, settlers could erect saw-cut timber-frame structures from virtually the beginning of the settlement period.

Nevertheless, in 1976, Richard Candee documented that some notched log dwellings were erected in colonial New England. For the most part, the log dwellings Candee located were constructed between 1650 and 1750. Furthermore, they were cladded, thereby disguising their log origins. Although Warren Roberts has called attention to a few other examples in New England and elsewhere in the colonies, which he identified from the literature (Roberts 1996), no one has yet attempted to build upon Candee’s field work.

This alternative log-building tradition could be identified as the Yankee log-building complex, but because Loyalists subsequently carried the tradition into Ontario and westward from there, it is hereafter referred to as the New England-Canadian tradition. Originally it may have been derived from military engineering construction techniques. At the time of British settlement in New England, only military engineers, motivated by the resistance of logs to penetration by cannonballs and smaller projectiles, resorted to erecting log walls. Today we see frequent examples of technological transfers from military to civilian use. It is logical to assume that similar transfers are likely to have taken place in the colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Early New England examples of log dwellings, best documented by Candee along the New Hampshire-Maine border, were constructed of fitted logs saw-cut on all four sides and keyed with flush or boxed dovetail notches at the corners, then sided over with milled lumber. The availability of local sawmills made shaping and skilled fitting of the logs possible without the need to weatherize with chinking. Military log constructions in New England also used a variety of false notches, including the square notch with squared logs (Kniffen and Glassie 1986, 168-9, 171). Squaring the logs on all four sides is the key characteristic distinguishing the New England-Canadian log-building tradition from the Midland tradition (Roberts 1996, 30; Rempel 1976, 40, 96).

After the Revolutionary War, Loyalists took the Yankee squared-log building tradition with them into Ontario, while Yankee New Englanders carried it westward through New York into the upper
reaches of the American Northwest Territory. It is relevant to note that squared-log structures with a thickness of six inches or less have been called “plank houses” in New York and are reported to have been numerous (Simmons 1982). The tradition reached Michigan by both routes.

Westward-moving pioneers generally outran the availability of sawmills, so square-hewing the logs usually substituted for sawing. Some pioneers were sufficiently skilled at hewing that chinking was unnecessary. The William and Amanda Meyer single-pen cabin in Washtenaw County, Michigan, is illustrative (figure 1). Other pioneers were less skilled in four-squaring their logs and necessarily resorted to chinking to weather-fit their cabins (figure 2). Consequently, chinking, a characteristic of the Midland log-building tradition, was assimilated, as needed, into the New England-Canadian tradition (Roberts, 29-30; Rempel, 40, 96). While there is no necessity to trim logs on all four sides when the builder intends to chink, individuals schooled in the New England-Canadian carpentry tradition often did so anyway.

**Fig. 1** The William and Amanda Meyer single-pen log cabin in Superior Township, Washtenaw County, with squared hewn logs and square notching, exemplifies the New England-Canadian log-building tradition.
Just how common were square-trimmed log dwellings in pioneer Michigan? Well, as initially stated, my observations took place in the context of fieldwork in which log dwelling technology was incidental to broader research objectives. A number of years ago, while researching pioneer settlement in the Huron River Valley, I noticed that the term “blockhouse” appeared frequently in the accounts Michigan settlers made of their pioneering experiences. For instance, several references to the first log structure built in Ann Arbor describe it as a blockhouse. Recently, while reviewing some of Warren Roberts’s work, I came upon a specific and revealing explanation for the term “blockhouse.” Roberts quotes a Michigan resident writing in 1851, “the house Mr. Campan built is... what is called a blockhouse, i.e., a house built of logs that have been hewed square before being laid up” (Roberts, 38). Judging by the frequency with which the term “blockhouse” appeared in early pioneer accounts, four-squared log dwellings were common.

Let us now consider corner notching in relation to the New England–Canadian tradition. The complex dovetail notches used in colonial New England log dwellings were cut in sawmills. As settlers moved west through New York, northern Pennsylvania and Upper Ontario, simpler notching techniques and hand cutting tools were often resorted to on the post-colonial frontier. The half-dovetail, for instance, is a simplified version of the full-dovetail notch. One of the most common notching alternatives, however, was the easily formed
square notch, with which New Englanders were already familiar. As depicted on a distribution map by Kniffen and Glassie (175), the square notch is common in Michigan (figure 3).

According to Kniffen and Glassie, the square notch is a degenerative form of both the V-notch and the half-dovetail:

The two forms are distinguishable by the shape of the log: the V-notch and its derivative square notch are found on logs square or rectangular in section (that is, about eight by twelve inches); the half dovetail and its derivative square notch are usually found on planked logs (that is, logs hewn to some six inches in thickness and about fourteen to thirty-six inches in width) (171).

The square notch does occur in some structures associated with the Midland tradition, but most frequently in areas peripheral to the Pennsylvania–Upland South core area (Jordan, Kilpinen, and Gritzner, 66). It would go too far to conclude that all square-notched log structures in Michigan are material artifacts derived from the New England-Canadian log-building complex. Nevertheless, the presence of this construction trait in any given example is highly suggestive.
**Summary**

The prevalence of log dwellings with squared logs and square notches, when taken together with the importance of Yankee and Canadian settlers in the pioneering history of Michigan, suggests that the New England-Canadian log building tradition made a significant impact on nineteenth-century log building in the state. The issue needs careful analytical study given that chinking, derived from the Midland tradition, was assimilated into Yankee and Canadian log building practices on the frontier. Nevertheless, examples in which the logs have been both square hewn and square notched, whether chinked or not, would clearly be diagnostic of the latter tradition.

**Polish Outbuildings**

A semi-integrated type of cow-hay barn, in which one section is of log construction and the other of timber frame assembly covered with vertical-oriented boards, was first identified in Chisago County, Minnesota (A:son Palmqvist 1983). Subsequently other examples have been observed in central Wisconsin and around Green Bay (Noble and Cleek 1995). In all of these locations they were associated with Swedish settlement, and consequently they have been identified in the literature as Swedish cow-hay barns (figure 4). Some Swedish settlement also occurred in parts of northwestern Michigan on both peninsulas, so the possibility that Swedish vernacular buildings will eventually come to light in Michigan remains viable.

![Fig. 4](image_url)  
Prototype sketch of a Swedish-American cow-hay barn. The log cow pen is weatherized; the framed vertical-board unit, where hay is stored, is not. (Reprinted from Noble and Cleek, 110; used by permission.)
Literature describing ethnic farm buildings in the Great Lakes region is silent concerning Polish agricultural buildings. During two reconnaissance surveys in the vicinity of Posen, an area of Polish pioneering settlement in Presque Isle County, Michigan, beginning around 1870, I have observed six examples of an elongated rectangular cow-hay barn sharing a common two-unit morphology. One section is of log construction, the other of timber frame assembly covered with vertical-oriented boards (figures 5 and 6). Built by Poles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they are almost identical in morphology and building materials to the previously identified Swedish cow-hay barns in Minnesota and Wisconsin. The only difference between the Polish cow-hay barns I have observed and the prototype Swedish version (figure 4) is the location of the wagon drive, which in the Polish barns is at the juncture between the two pens. These observations suggest that the Swedish and Polish cow-hay barns are the product of a trans-regional material culture. In fact, a Bohemian barn erected near Francis Creek, Wisconsin, and subsequently moved to the Door Peninsula, which is depicted on the internet (Apps n.d., 8), has two pens, one of log and the other of vertical-board construction. Unlike the Swedish and Polish cow-hay barns, the wagon drive is located in the log pen; otherwise it appears in the photograph to be morphologically identical. Consequently, we suggest that this building type be renamed the Baltic Cow-Hay Barn. Allen Noble already has set a precedent with the Baltic Three-Room House, a dwelling type found in Scandinavia, Finland, and Russia (Noble 1984, 121-22).

Fig. 5 A Polish-American cow-hay barn in Posen Township, Presque Isle County.
The distinctive feature of the Baltic cow-hay barn is that it consists of two conjoined ground-level pens, which differ in function and building material (Noble and Wilhelm 1995, 11-12). One section is the cow barn, which is constructed of tightly fitted or chinked hewn logs to provide winter weather protection for the livestock. Conversely, the hay-barn portion is typically of timber frame construction sheathed in vertical boards. A unified timber-frame gable roof extends across the entire structure. Both gables are sheathed with vertical boards. Each part of the structure has its own entry in the long side, with the hay barn entry being larger to accommodate wagon access.

Finnish farmers who settled in the Great Lakes region also frequently constructed a combined cattle-and-hay barn, sometimes even adding a third unit, the horse stable (Kaups 1992). Unlike the Swedes and Poles, the Finns constructed the entire edifice in log although the hay pen generally was not weather-tight. Another difference between examples of Swedish and Finnish versions of the cattle-hay barn, as illustrated in the literature (Alanen 2000, figures 2-183, 2-186, 2-187, 2-196 and 23-197), is that a breezeway wagon drive frequently separates the two components of the Finnish version (figure 7). It is interesting to note that the enclosed wagon drive of the Polish cow-hay barn is in the same location as the Finnish breezeway.
Not all Polish settlers in the Posen area built semi-integrated cow-hay barns. Some constructed separate log outbuildings in close proximity. Figures 8 and 9 depict a cow and hay barn, respectively. Both are saddle notched, and interestingly, they are both weatherized with chinking.

Fig. 7 A Finnish log cow-hay barn with breezeway on the Nasi farmstead, Drummond Island, Chippewa County, Michigan. The cow crib is on the right with the collapsed roof. Entry to the hay crib is within the breezeway.
Fig. 8  A log saddle-notched cow barn on a Polish-American farmstead, Michigan route 65 south of Posen, Presque Isle County.

Fig. 9  A log saddle-notched hay barn on a Polish-American farmstead, Michigan route 65 south of Posen, Presque Isle County. One corner of the nearby cow barn can be seen on the left.
Summary

Polish settlers who migrated to Presque Isle County in the north-eastern quadrant of Michigan’s Lower Peninsula erected semi-integrated double-pen cow-hay barns using a weatherized log pen to shelter their animals and a pen of vertical-board construction for hay storage. These cow-hay barns appear to be virtually identical to those built by Swedish settlers in the Great Lakes region, and it is suggested that they be collectively referred to as Baltic cow-hay barns. Finally, the noted similarities and differences between Polish, Swedish, and Finnish cow-hay barns invite systematic comparative study.

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Note: All photographs by by Marshall McLennan except as indicated.

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The Promotional Efficacy of Brochures, Booklets, and Picture Postcards for the Fountain of Youth, St. Augustine, Florida

Keith A. Sculle

An historic landmark’s significance does not arise only from recovering and retelling its past. Among the many facets contributing to the luster of landmark status, not the least of them is unbiased scholarly authority. Society’s acceptance, however, cannot ultimately be conferred unless tourists visit the site. For over a century, the Fountain of Youth in St. Augustine, Florida, has earned tourists’ implicit respect by their visitation. Its most numerous souvenirs, its booklets, brochures (small booklets), and picture postcards, afford abundant resources to help unravel some of the visual dynamics underlying the site’s appeal to tourists.¹

This paper departs from the conventional moorings of material culture studies. It is in the very realm of what people see in the aggregate beyond the material culture created for a single purchaser or patron, that becomes the examination in this paper and, consequently, how people’s expectations determine “success” for a marketable object. It also focuses on tourists in the past and not in the present who can be sampled through questionnaires administered to living respondents (Waite and Head 2002). Brochures, booklets, and postcards are handled as historical evidence in this paper and not as sociological data.

Its broad issues are not explored here philosophically, that is in a wide-ranging analysis, but instead in the specifics of a single landmark, the Fountain of Youth. How do booklets, brochures, and picture postcards of this place function to create its distinctive appearance and atmosphere? What might tourists take away in memory due to those paper souvenirs? Before proceeding, please note the disclaimer: effort is neither undertaken nor implied here to explore the historical authenticity of the site as the location of Juan Ponce de León’s landing on April 2, 1513, or the fountain of youth there as the object of his desire. Those subjects are wholly separate from this paper. Whereas, the subject of the site’s historical legitimacy has inspired voluminous and detailed study, the matter of its paper souvenirs’ influence on tourists has been overlooked altogether, their value perhaps seeming trivial (Davis 1935; Reynolds 1934; 1937; Peck, 1965). Indeed, for the purpose of this paper, the landmark’s
importance is its capacity to attract tourists. Hence, the need arises to examine how the pictures and word pictures in the landmark’s booklets, brochures, and picture postcards have helped build a reputation as a site worth seeing.

A Brief History of the Landmark

The history of the present Fountain of Youth in St. Augustine can be traced to the late-nineteenth century, when owner Henry H. Williams “discouraged the visitors who came to drink from the little spring flowering in the grove, and to listen to the tales of Ponce de Leon told by the local hack drivers” (B, 32). A vernacular tradition had obviously been afoot for some time. Williams, an English horticulturalist, had acquired the property in 1868 and cultivated a grove and rose garden on it (B, 31; Reynolds 1934; 1937).

Meanwhile, as Florida began developing its reputation as a tourist Mecca, St. Augustine became one of the state’s first important site-seeing destinations. Warm climate, spas, and outdoor leisure largely contributed to Florida’s incipient tourist market but history offered St. Augustine the capacity to establish a distinctive niche in the new market. With structures since the colonial period dotting its landscape, boosters eventually felt assured in dubbing it “the oldest white settlement in the United States” (Florida 1965). Big stakes of many kinds hung on how the city’s past came to be defined in its historic landscape for tourists.

In 1874, Williams reopened his grounds to the curious and by the 1890s many visited his garden “where the spring was featured in connection with Ponce’s search, and the beautiful oleander walk, the old cedars and magnolias and the great wistaria [sic] ...” (B, 32-33). Although Williams discovered human bones on the site, he reburied them without fanfare, and built his future in the city’s tourist trade on managing his fruit and vegetable business with the growing hotels and markets (Harvey 2002). In 1902, two years after their arrival in the city, Louella Day McConnell and her wealthy husband purchased the site. A colorful individual, she managed the property as a recreational park until 1909 (figure 1), when she claimed that a tree uprooted in a storm at the time revealed evidence that Ponce de León had not only landed immediately offshore but drunk from the springs on her property (Reynolds 1934; 1937). An article in the St. Augustine Record accepted McConnell’s claims at face value (Harvey 2002). She had moved the site’s reputation beyond the verbal claims made by local guides into a place set apart from its surroundings and poised for official declaration as the site of Ponce de León’s historic act.

Walter B. Fraser, a businessman and eventually a St. Augustine city commissioner, mayor, state senator, and Florida gubernatorial candidate, acquired the property in 1927 and further developed it into an historic landmark. In 1930, a seven-member committee, among it the mayor (George W. Bassett, Jr.), the president of the
St. Augustine Historical Society, and the editor of the *St. Augustine Record*, authorized placement at the site of a plaque asserting it to be the location of Ponce De León's landing (Reynolds 1934; 1937). In 1933, Corita Daggett Corse, already an established author of Floridiana and, in six years, the director of Florida’s guide in the Federal Writer’s Project, published a well-documented site booklet (B). A year later, human bones were discovered at the site and Fraser hastened to protect them, calling upon the Smithsonian Institute to investigate. Archaeologists determined the remains dated from the early Spanish occupation of Seloy and Fraser, “in order to bring the visitor more vividly a picture of the Indian village of Seloy when it was busy with the everyday activity of Indian life, ... built a stockade enclosing an acre of ground in imitation of the Timuquan enclosures of 1564 as shown in the drawings of Huguenot artist, Le Moyne” (C, 22). Simultaneously, Fraser, characterized by historian Charles Hosmer as “an ambitious and aggressive mayor,” launched a three-year-long effort to persuade the committee determining the future of St. Augustine’s historical landscape, which involved Carnegie Institution funding, National Park Service administration, and numerous distinguished scholars, to decide for totally reconstructing the city from the era during its Spanish occupation. Although the committee did not adopt Fraser’s grand vision—instead adopting a plan emphasizing the historic growth over many years and no one period—Fraser continued his work at the Fountain of Youth park (Hosmer 1981). He won a court case in 1952 against the publishers

![Fig. 1](image-url) Louella Day McConnell produced this postcard en masse showing the well H. H. Williams made at the spring she claimed was Ponce de Leon’s Fountain of Youth.
of the *Saturday Evening Post* for an article in 1949 Fraser believed to impugn the integrity of his site and the *Post* failed to obtain an appeal (*Curtis Pub. Co. v. Fraser*). The fourteen-acre site attracted an estimated 75,000-100,000 visitors in 1983 (*St. Augustine Record*). To the time of this writing, the third generation of Frasers manages the site for its board of directors (Fraser 2004). During their ownership over three-quarters of a century, the Frasers have trained wide public attention upon the site, asserting the claim for Ponce de León’s historic landing. The booklets, brochures and postcards sold during the family’s tenure have broadcast the site far beyond any means previously used. Their contents help explain the site’s various attractions.

*Booklet and Brochure Front Covers*

Seeing the site’s paper souvenirs facilitates believing in the site’s significance and this visual confirmation begins on the booklets’ and brochures’ front covers. They function as metaphoric front doors inviting the tourist into a world apart from routine experience, launching the sacred journey which defines tourism (Tuan 1978; Graburn 1989; Sears 1989). Since landmark status depends on broad societal acceptance, these front covers are in one sense the most essential keys of the publications; for they construct the iconographic ease enabling tourists to feel welcome at the entry and reasonably hopeful of satisfying their expectations.

A spectrum of cover images ranging from the figurative to the literal assists in understanding the extent to which a visit to the site departs from life regularly observed. Two front covers are fully allegorical. In one, Ponce de León radiates from the sky, suggestive of a deity in heaven, the sails of his fleet beneath billowed in a strong wind suggestive of a fate about to be fulfilled (B) (figure 2). The other front cover depicts a gray-haired gentleman bowing before the vision of a beautiful young woman arising from a fountain, presumably the fountain of youth itself. She is all the more a remarkable departure for the suggestive outlines of her naked body (C). That cover’s pastel color contrasts dramatically with the deep hues of the first cover, each nonetheless lighted in degrees seldom seen in nature. When Ponce de León does appear in more common demeanor on front covers, he still strikes a theatrical stance, which signals that the viewer is peering into another dimension as if in a theater audience (DD; EE). Two brochures exclusively feature photographs of the actual site. Those literal depictions mobilize different means to ease the viewer into the actual landscape. One carries legends beneath each photograph to avoid any discomfort or embarrassment due to the viewer’s unfamiliarity with the place into which the viewer is invited. Indicative that this literal depiction may be less captivating to the tourist than the metaphoric covers, the uppermost photograph in the display assures that the tourist is about to enter another realm; it is labeled “Entrance to the Fountain of Youth” (AA). Having relied on
photographs breaching the separation from the viewer's life and the Fountain of Youth as a place apart, the second literal cover situates a contemporary figure in the site's ritual raison d' être (CC) (figure 3). This second cover exudes recoil from complete disclosure of the mundane, however, because the fountain’s beneficiary is situated beside a historically costumed attendant and in front of the group statue of Ponce de León meeting the natives at the springs. One is shown things as they are but they are things clearly staged.

Fig. 2 The cover by R. Hamilton on the booklet by Carita Doggett Corse (1933).
Words

Words serve as much in the booklets and brochures to stimulate mood as to teach information and this duality follows from the several possible reasons for a tourist’s visit.

In short, historical education is not the only motivation for tourist visitation. More widely shared is the human interest in health and longevity. The Fountain of Youth plays to this human interest. Nothing visual can prove this site the landmark deserving recognition as the place of Ponce de León’s landing. Reasons for it are argued in the booklets but words are positioned before and after those rational interjections to win affection for a distinctive sense of place because words as logic do not transport tourists out of the ordinary as effectively as do word pictures constructing that sense of place. Corse’s own booklet, itself a demonstration of her literary capacities, opens with another’s poem, Oliver Wendell Holmes’s “Fountain of Youth.” “Land of flowers,” “glittering,” “grove embowers,” “evenings silver flood,” and “sparkling fountain’s tide”: Holmes wrote those visually laden words (B, 3). Corse “lays it on thick,” to use the vernacular.

Another booklet, before ending in an epilogue reasoning that Ponce de León’s mission had the eventual practical value of assisting the start of the first European settlement in the land that became the United States, describes the physical features of the current site: “Shaded by great Magnolia Grandiflora with the great creamy petalled cups,” “sheltering aboriginal bones, is a replica of the ancient Timucuan Communal House,” “gazing on it one may easily visualize...,” “palms, native Florida shrubs and trees lend beauty and shade to the grounds” (E, 21-22).

A memorial park has been created for the tourists’ delectation. Come, rest, and contemplate: the setting encourages. Features in the garden dated to a specific time lend a sense of reality, namely, the cannon from the U. S. S. Constitution and the Timuacuan dwelling after the 1564 drawing. Several booklets and brochures, however, only hesitatingly make the site’s primary claim that Ponce
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deleón drank from the springs on site. For example, it is noted in one brochure that “according to tradition the famous explorer drank while his ships lay in St. Augustine Harbor.” Corse averred only, “it is reasonable to assume...” (B, 12). Another booklet begins with the statement that the story is “one of the most beautiful of all human chronicles, whether historical, traditional, or legendary, ...” and concludes: “who shall say this is not the Fountain of Youth which Ponce de Leon sought?” (A, 11). Instead of an authority’s certification, each member of the audience is asked to be their own final arbiter.

Several of the booklets’ and brochures’ maps of the various historic and other sites in so-called “Old Saint Augustine” invite further immersion in a romantic atmosphere antithetical to historical critique. All of these sites, regardless of their rank in age in the nearly two-hundred-year span from the foundation of Castillo San Marcos to the early nineteenth-century houses in the city, testify to their utility in an historical landscape of popular appreciation. By their inclusion in the fountain’s paper souvenirs, Fraser acknowledged perhaps that the potency of the centuries-old accumulation on the landscape was no less effective for his purposes than the reconstructed frontier city he originally championed. The living city, to use the concept of the committee which rejected Fraser’s goal in the 1930s, is no less a melange than the Fountain of Youth Park itself. History in this regard is less fact than euphoria induced by landscape, a value in the eye of the beholder.

Postcards

Picture postcards are special prompts among the site’s paper souvenirs. If the brochures are scripted with a modicum of historical information, they and their longer counterparts, the booklets, both include clear directions to the site and some a picture of the main entrance. This obtains potentially great advantage in whetting the tourist’s appetite by facilitating the way to the physical destination of personal satisfaction. The booklets’ comparative verbal length, amounting to sixteen or more pages versus the brochures’ single-fold format, suggest these more substantial souvenirs engage the more historically hungry tourist and, although saved after returning home, unlikely afford frequent matter for retrieval and reminiscence. Postcards, by contrast, share an easy portability with brochures and booklets but their small size permits easier storage and retrieval. Their visual emphasis and short printed text on the reverse lend to them a convenience akin to the photographic snapshot. Unique among the paper souvenirs, the picture postcards are designed to be mailed. For this reason they organize the greatest potential for virtual tourists (Hummon 1988). They also can lure the hesitant tourist in St. Augustine or the tourist there who would otherwise not know about the site.

In the picture postcard’s characteristic manner of advertising, it not only multiples the site’s commercial value. It underscores the
site's separation from the ordinary because the postcard's artwork is not intended for viewing with anything around it, a salient in the enframing void when held in one's hand. Thereby decontextualized, views of McConnell's archaeological discovery and Fraser's life-size diorama gain degrees of plausibility in postcard format that are less convincing on site. McConnell claimed to have found a cross of fifteen stones arranged vertically and thirteen horizontally by Ponce de León to celebrate the year of his landing (Reynolds 1934; Reynolds 1937). The diorama of the Indians' and Ponce de León's convergence at the fountain can also look less like a dubious reenactment and more like the imaginative crutch intended on site.

Postcards highlight other unusual features. The patio across from the springhouse above the Fountain of Youth itself is shown in unpeopled isolation, a garden landscaped for quiet contemplation. At the center of the site, the springhouse fashioned of distinctive coquina rock is the place where Ponce de León's "search for perpetual youth is re-enacted daily by the many visitors... " (Tichnor Brothers 60866); an inkling of the scholar's discovery in tourism of a sacred ritual is hinted at in these words on the reverse of one picture postcard (Hummon 1988). Another postcard illustrating four costumed interpreters confirms the popular approval of such anticipated departures from the mundane. With no interpretive text on the reverse, the purchaser of one card had reason for self-expression, pointing out with an "x" the two interpreters seen on site and granting an ultimate approval: "So pretty" (Curteich 8B-H875). Another card's printed text documents the marketer's strategy of immersing the viewer in this disarming ambiance: "Beautiful Girls, together with relics of the past, make the grounds surrounding 'The Fountain of Youth' truly an ageless spot" (Dextone 49-D-14). While booklets and brochures were shown above to have employed this immersive strategy for the entire city of St. Augustine, this postcard's declaration that immersion rendered "an ageless spot" explicitly confers that youth-giving potency on the fountain. It offers a timeless utopia free of any historical association including the need to prove Ponce de León's landing.

Although the picture postcards' messages were not the site's exclusive paper souvenirs memorializing the beautifully landscaped grounds, intrepid Spanish explorers, the Native Americans who preceded them, and the location where the first permanent European settlement was later founded, the picture postcards were able to invoke the memorial more often because of their greater volume. Thus, they augmented the moral function that historic sites fulfill in defining a distinctive landscape (Hummon 1988).

Lastly, postcards disclose tourists' varied responses to the site. While the act of touring positions the tourist on the brink of a changed state of being, the alternative taken at the brink is up to the tourist. Thus, within the sacred passage tourists make, all tourists are serious but not all go in search of serious knowledge (Cohen 1979; 1985; Smith 1989). One category of the Fountain of Youth's picture postcards is singular among its paper souvenirs in recognizing the
jocular potential in tourists’ ludic behavior. Two postcard versions similarly juxtapose “Before” and “After” scenes, the left depicting the gray-haired and wheel-chair confined frolicking at the beach as young adults in the right-hand panel after drinking from the restorative fountain. One sender did not need one of the comedic postcards to express, on the reverse, her own her jovial mission: “Hi pal, Visited the Fountain of Youth and boy, do I feel young. HA!” (Tichnor Brothers 69182). Another found it an incidental place of recreation: “We are on our way home—but had to stop here to renew our youth” (1380). Tourists negotiate their own meaning in landmarks and confirm it on postcards.

Conclusion

The Fountain of Youth in St. Augustine, Florida, exemplifies how seemingly insignificant paper souvenirs, tourist ephemera by some accounts, in fact have the capacity to help produce and document a landmark of multiple meanings. Their distribution far and wide publicized the site more than any means before them. At first a place of oral tradition told by local guides, its second and third owners endowed the site with strong physical properties by bounding it with a wall, maintaining a park inside, building a well for the legendary youth-giving springs and a springhouse above it, displaying an archaeological site, and placing a marker and monument. Its paper souvenirs enhanced those attractions by moving the Fountain of Youth into the realm of many widely recovered memories long after visitors left or prospective visitors’ attention was called to the site. They, in short, permit imagination’s first admission and endless re-entry. They also document a landmark of multiple meanings, only one of which is historic. Strikingly similar visual themes, despite their presentation via the different media of booklets, brochures, and picture postcards, have likely permitted tourists to pick and choose from them what they seek in their ritual journeys to this site. They are but the most recent ingredients added to a tradition the Fountain of Youth has achieved over a century for being a bona fide tourist attraction with some historical interest.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks John Fraser, Charles Tingley, Library Manager and Toni Wallace, Assistant Librarian, St. Augustine Historical Society, Research Library for help in completing this article.
Notes

1 All of the paper souvenirs for this paper are in the author’s collection: 5 booklets; 6 brochures, and 25 picture postcards. Because only two of the paper souvenirs, two booklets, carried copyright dates and, even these lacked full standard bibliographical information, the following system was created. Only five postcards are noted in the text above and their publishers’ numbers are cited in the text. The 25 postcards are not listed below.

Booklets

D. Anonymous. “The Fountain of Youth[,] Ancient Indian Village and Burial Grounds” [31 pp.], n. d. (Differs from “C” above in the cover bearing a silhouette of Ponce de León, which “C” lacks. The contents of “C” and “D” are identical.)

Brochures:

AA. “The Fountain of Youth,” 3 folds, 8 panels.
BB. “Map of St. Augustine, Florida,” 1 fold, 4 panels.
CC. “The Fountain of Youth,” 1 fold, 4 panels.
DD. “The Fountain of Youth Immortalized by Juan Ponce De Leon,” 1 fold, 4 panels.
EE. “Ponce de Leon’s Fountain of Youth,” 2-sided card.
FF. “The Fountain of Youth[:] Memorial Park and Gardens,” 2 folds, 6 panels.

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Cemeteries of the Texas Panhandle

Stephanie Abbot Roper
Scott C. Roper
Cindy Ferraresi

Since the 1960s, researchers have disagreed about how to categorize the cultural heritage of the Texas Panhandle. The Panhandle, defined as the 26 counties in the northernmost part of Texas (figure 1), was settled by Anglo-American and European migrants beginning in the late nineteenth century. American settlers arrived in the region from the upland and lowland South, including eastern and central Texas, at that time. German and, to a much lesser extent, Norwegian, Slovakian, and Polish migrants also established communities in the Panhandle in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while those of Mexican origin or heritage primarily have arrived since the 1930s.

Fig. 1 Counties of the Texas Panhandle.
As a result of observations made at 115 cemeteries and graveyards in the Texas Panhandle, as well as more than eighty in thirteen other states, we suggest that the Panhandle is actually a cultural-transition zone. In it, Southern (including African American and Native American), Mexican, Middle Western, and European cultures have mixed to varying degrees. “Southern” cultural traits are strongest in the southern and eastern part of the region, but gradually weaken and combine with “Northern” (or “North Midland”) characteristics farther to the north and west. Mexican and German cultural traits are clustered throughout the Panhandle and suggest some degree of assimilation during the twentieth century. Varying degrees of isolation, cultural interaction, and environment have influenced the creation of a cultural mosaic which exhibits mild and still-developing differences from other regional cultures in Texas.

*Cemeteries and Regional Culture*

Cemeteries are useful texts through which to interpret local and regional culture. These landscapes reflect the values of the living—they are landscapes created by and for those who are not dead (Lowenthal 1979, 122; Jordan 1982, 4; Foster and Hummell 1995, 93; Baird 1996, 138). Although “change is occurring” in and around cemeteries, the “traditional burial ground” is relatively conservative: folkways “survive better there than in the world at large” (Jordan, 6-7). Therefore, they “provide intact significant portions of the cultural-historical record needed by the researcher who is attempting to get at the roots of the characteristics of a region” (Hannon 1989, 237). Further, they permit insight into a community’s social, economic, religious, and ethnic structure (Jeane 1992, 107).

Regional and ethnic variations in graveyard types exist in the United States, a fact which Jordan termed “necrogeography” (Jordan, 1). Necrogeography is intertwined with American folk life and migration patterns. While researchers have developed regional-folk life and migration maps of the eastern United States, generally based on the work of Henry Glassie (Zelinsky 1992, 81; Jordan, Bean, and Holmes 1984, 70), these maps tend to exclude the Texas Panhandle—and the rest of the Great Plains—from consideration. As a result, the degree to which Upland Southern, Lowland Southern, and Middle Western cultures influenced the development of the Panhandle remains unstudied.

Those scholars who have considered the question of cultural influence on the Southern Plains have produced at least three different results. To Jordan, the Canadian River serves as the boundary between Southern influence to the South and Middle Western influence to the North (Jordan, Bean, and Holmes, 91). Meinig places that boundary south of Amarillo and Randall County (Meinig 1969, 93). In his view, the Panhandle “is the only area of Texas which does not have strong Southern antecedents,” having instead been influenced by the Middle West (106-07). Shortridge, using primarily
nineteenth- and early twentieth-century census data to document the birthplaces of “first effective settlers” in different Kansas counties, suggests that Southern influence actually extended into southern Kansas (Shortridge 1996, 189-97). While his study does not consider the Oklahoma or Texas Panhandles, he does find counties that were “Strongly Southern” and “Moderately Southern” in character along almost the entire southern border of Kansas.

Using the pay internet service Ancestry.com, we attempted to create our own understanding of settlement patterns in the Panhandle (Table 1). We utilized a search function with which we calculated the number of Panhandle inhabitants, listed in the 1910 federal census,

<table>
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<tr>
<th>County</th>
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<th>South</th>
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<tr>
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<td>1385</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carson</td>
<td>213</td>
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<td>Gray</td>
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<td>Armstrong</td>
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by the state in which they were born. (We chose the 1910 decennial census because during that year, the first generation of settlers still dominated throughout the Texas Panhandle.) We divided states into “Northern” (north of and including Kansas, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Delaware) and “Southern” (those that are located south of the aforementioned states), and placed Texas-born residents in a separate category. We did not search for those born in Western states or foreign countries. Our findings are preliminary, but from them we conclude that in 1910, “Northerners” slightly out-numbered “Southerners” in only five Panhandle counties: Dallam, Lipscomb, Oldham, Parmer, and Castro. By including Texas-born residents with those from the South, Southerners outnumbered Northerners in all counties. The degree to which Southerners outnumbered Northerners declined from east to west and south to north.

Panhandle landscapes support our supposition that the region is a transition zone between Southern and Middle Western cultures, punctuated by ethnic “pockets.” For example, Canyon, located south of Amarillo in Randall County, is the site of at least one Middle Western I-house, two German-American two-door houses, and an Upland-Southern dogtrot log cabin (now located outside the Panhandle-Plains Museum). Foursquares, stucco-clad Craftsman-style houses, and a number of other styles also are visible throughout the Panhandle. An enumeration of house types is beyond the scope of this paper, but the survival of these house styles suggests the one-time existence of a variety of peoples with different regional origins and ethnic backgrounds.

**Southern and Midwestern Influences**

Upland Southern graveyards are well documented. According to Jeane, they are “characterized by hilltop location, scraped ground, mounded graves, east-west grave orientation, creative decoration expressing the art of ‘making do’ ... [and] the use of grave shelters,” among other things (Jeane, 108). To these traits Jordan adds the litchgate, or “corpse gate,” beneath the “overarching span that often bears the name of the cemetery,” family plots; fencing around the cemetery; decorative plants including roses, crepe myrtles, cedars, and junipers; modest-sized gravestones; and, reflecting the Calvinist religious principles that dominate through much of the region, an aversion to Christian symbolic icons such as the cross or crucifix (Jordan-Bychkov 2001, 75).

The typical “North Midland” cemetery has not been well documented in its regional context. Thus, for comparative purposes we visited cemeteries in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico. North-Midland cemeteries (those in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kansas) may best be described in terms of what they lack as compared to Upland
and Gulf-Coast Southern burial grounds: scraped earth, perpetual mounding, and grave shelters. Southwestern Kansas cemeteries also seem to have been influenced by the “garden” cemetery movement, with wooded landscapes, curved paths, and in some cases family plots adorned with an obelisk memorializing the family, all of which diffused to Kansas from Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts, by the 1860s (Ambler 2006, 21-23).

“Scraped-earth” gravesites—graves scraped bare of all plant life—exist throughout the Panhandle. Today this “scraping” often is aided by the generous application of herbicides. The widespread nature of this practice suggests that Upland Southern culture pervades the entire Panhandle. Mounding—the intentional and continued arrangement of soil into a pile or mound over a burial site (figure 2)—is relegated to five communities in the southern Panhandle: Quitaque (Briscoe County), Hulver and Estelline (Hall County), Shamrock (Wheeler), and Oklahoma Lane (Parmer County). Even so, concrete grave mounds (figure 3) support the possibility that the practice could be found farther north in the late 1920s. We identified a handful of concrete mounds at fourteen cemeteries in the Panhandle. This trait was observed as far north as Lipscomb (Lipscomb County), Pampa (Gray County), and Dalhart (Dallam and Hartley counties), though most examples are located in the southern portion of the region (south of Interstate 40). In the north, mounding probably never was as widespread as in the southwestern part of the region, and may have died out as Southern and North-Midland cultures intermixed.

Grave covers (figure 4) provide one of the more intriguing and understudied aspects of Southern cemeteries. Usually made of

![Fig. 2](image) Three graves exhibiting the practices of scraping and mounding in Estelline, Hall County.
granite, these rounded slabs are placed on the ground, creating a permanent, grass-free area atop a grave site. They may be a commercialized form of the scraping-and-mounding practice. Grave covers diffused northward in a relatively regular pattern in the middle of the twentieth century. In fact, they appear in the greatest numbers and at the earliest dates (1920s and 1930s) in the southern portion of the Panhandle, and moved northward through the region into the 1940s and 1950s. They began to appear in southwestern Kansas beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, but have not yet reached as far north as Interstate 70.

Other Southern traits in the Panhandle include family plots with individual grave markers, and burial positions (feet facing east, men lying south of their wives) consistent with those identified by Jordan and Jeane. Children’s graves tend to be marked with small stones on which appear an image of a lamb, usually lying down. Statuary is rare in Texas cemeteries, particularly on adult grave sites, but statues of angels or children occasionally mark the graves of those who died young (figure 5). Carvings on children’s graves include toys and stuffed animals, most notably teddy bears. Frequently, children’s graves are smaller, partly out of the expense of the marker (Foster and Hummel, 106-07), though possibly the size accords with (or commemorates) the small size of the child. Along with the permanent

Fig. 3 Concrete grave mound dating from 1928, Pampa, Gray County. This grave mound is adorned with whitewashed shells.
Fig. 4 Grave covers in Canyon, Randall County.

Fig. 5 Statue adorning the grave site of a girl who died at the age of eight in 1907, Tulia, Swisher County. Statuary representing humans is more commonly seen on the graves of children than on those of adults in the Panhandle.
grave adornments, some children’s graves include decorations placed by loved ones, such as toys, stuffed animals, and artificial flowers. More recently, entire sections of cemeteries are dedicated solely to the interment of infants and children.

Texas Panhandle burial grounds are highly gendered spaces. Men’s gravestones sometimes include references to their mortal occupations, while women’s graves are more likely to be adorned with the words “wife” and “mother.” In some cases, particularly where the names of both spouses appear on a single stone, the wife’s identity is subsumed entirely by that of the husband, so that John Smith’s wife might be listed as “Mrs. John Smith” rather than with her own first name.

Race and class also are visible elements of many Panhandle cemeteries. The remains of African Americans and economically disadvantaged whites generally rest beneath small, simple, sometimes homemade markers. Poverty and a lack of education might be seen in the lack of personal information on the stone, hand-carved (and sometimes backwards) letters, and misspelled words. Occasionally, the word “unknown” appears on a marker, indicating either that burial records do not contain the name of the individual buried there or that the deceased was an unknown transient. Until the 1960s, communities such as Hereford (Deaf Smith County) and Quitaque spatially segregated white graves from those of other ethnic groups, relegating those of African Americans (and sometimes Mexicans and Mexican Americans) to a rear corner. Where a grave marker was purchased with public funds, even into the mid-1960s, the grave of the deceased is marked with the words “colored adult” or “colored child” (figure 6). Racial or ethnic segregation once occurred in at least six Panhandle cemeteries, five of them in counties south of Amarillo. However, some communities simply did not permit African Americans to live within their towns, which explains why some cemeteries—including Dreamland Cemetery in Canyon—exclude any African American graves, segregated or not, before the 1950s. Also, not all graves are marked with the deceased’s race, making verification of segregation practices in other communities difficult.

Not only do headstones insinuate wealth through comparative size and scale, but also, many graves within cemeteries of the Texas Panhandle highlight organizational affiliations. In some areas, Masonic and Eastern Star symbols are common among larger stones with English names. Scattered throughout the Panhandle are the distinctive tree-stump grave markers of the Woodmen of the World (Ridlen 1996; Stott 2003). In Clarendon, we found one cemetery, located behind a Catholic burial ground and across the street from the Clarendon Citizens’ Cemetery, dedicated to burials of members of the International Order of Odd Fellows.

Unlike what Jordan observed in communities of southern and eastern Texas, we found a complete lack of grave sheds. These small, gable-ended shelters can be found covering individual Southern white and Native American graves (Jeane, 115). Grave sheds once
may have existed within some Panhandle cemeteries, although we found no landscape, photographic, or anecdotal evidence to support this possibility. Rather, we believe that grave sheds are impractical on the relatively treeless Texas High Plains, and that pioneer settlers from the South who were familiar with the practice abandoned the technique early in their adaptation to the dry environment.

**German and Norwegian Cemeteries in Texas**

Texas was the only southern state, other than Missouri, to which significant numbers of ethnic Germans migrated (Jordan 1966, 41). Within the Texas Panhandle, German immigrants founded several towns (Jordan, Bean, and Holmes, 83-86) including Nazareth (Castro County) and Umbarger (Randall County), both settled almost exclusively by German Catholics. Most other German communities in the Texas Panhandle appear to have been settled by Lutherans.

Within German cemeteries, several distinct patterns emerged. Most notably, boundaries of most German graveyards are clearly marked by fences and/or evergreen trees. Moreover, German-Catholic cemeteries display a clear symmetry and distinct linear organization among the gravestones. In the earliest burials to occur in Catholic cemeteries, a chronological burial pattern emerged, as was noted by Jordan (1982) in other parts of Texas. In Umbarger, located along a
rail line not far from Amarillo and Canyon, this pattern had shifted by World War I as residents adopted the Southern custom of burials within family plots. This shift never occurred in Nazareth (figure 7), which was much more isolated, and does not seem to have been strictly observed in German-Lutheran burial grounds. Catholic cemeteries in Nazareth and Umbarger were consecrated as per religious tradition, and central crucifixes and an abundance of crosses marking gravestones characterize both. While practically no curbing exists in German Catholic cemeteries, we noted that curbing does surround individual and family graves in many German Lutheran cemeteries.

German culture has survived to varying degrees and for varying amounts of time within German cemeteries. In both the Holy Family Cemetery in Nazareth and St. Paul’s Lutheran Cemetery near Canyon, the German language and letter styling survived only for about a decade after the first interments. Iron crosses, which were placed on early grave sites in several German graveyards, most notably in Umbarger and Nazareth, became less common before World War I (Figure 8; see Kloberdanz 2005). On the other hand, in St. John’s Lutheran Cemetery near the more isolated community of Lipscomb (Lipscomb County), we noted the persistence of the German language

Fig. 7 Nazareth, Castro County. Deceased are buried adjacent to one another in the order by which they died, though space is reserved between each for the future burial of the surviving spouse of the deceased.
as late as 1962 before it was entirely supplanted by English.

German cemeteries, especially Catholic ones, appear to have included separate children’s sections at an earlier time than those of primarily Southern influence, although the children’s section in Umbarger was abandoned in favor of family plots prior to 1920. In areas in which few non-Germans settled, German cemeteries maintained more traditional attributes rather than be assimilated into the dominant cultural norms.

Although we only observed one Norwegian cemetery (figure 9), it is evident that the cemetery is essentially similar to German Panhandle ones, though with notable exceptions. The Oslo Lutheran Cemetery in Hansford County is surrounded by pine trees and located behind the town’s Lutheran church. Yet, unlike German Lutheran graves, no curbing exists and all of the writing on the stones is in English.

**Fig. 8** Elaborate iron crucifix, early 1900s, Nazareth. Information is provided on the cross in German.
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Family plots abounded and do not appear to have been arranged in chronological order, indicating that the Norwegians who migrated to Oslo may have assimilated early (see Eckert 1998; 2002).

**Mexican Cemeteries**

Although we discovered a small number of graves with Spanish-language surnames that date from before World War I, most such graves generally date from the 1930s or later, and particularly since the 1960s as a result of the expansion of cotton cultivation into the region (Arreola 2002, 62). The earliest Mexican gravesites were solitary rather than family plots, reflecting the itinerant nature of many pre-World War II Mexican migrants to the area. We found that with the earliest Mexican burials, segregation within cemeteries existed. In Dalhart, Happy, Hereford, and Pampa, for example, migrants from Mexico tended to be interred along the edge of the public cemetery. It should be noted, however, that Catholic cemeteries usually represent sanctified ground. Many Catholics, regardless of ethnicity, prefer that their remains and those of family members be interred in Catholic cemeteries or sections of cemeteries. In more recent interments, this has resulted in self-segregation, with concentrations of Mexican and Mexican American graves in particular sections of several cemeteries in the Panhandle.

*Fig. 9* A Norwegian cemetery in Oslo, Hansford County.
Along those same lines, we found few older graves of those of Mexican heritage in cemeteries along the border with New Mexico. For example, we could identify only one Spanish-language surname interred in the cemetery at Texline (Dallam County). Similarly, in the border county of Parmer, the several ethnically Mexican burials in Sunset Terrace Cemetery were very recent. Yet, in nearby Texico, New Mexico, such graves date from before World War II. Among them are the only graves in the region around which we found true Mexican cerquitas, small wooden or iron fences surrounding individual graves (figure 10; see Sanborn 1989). We noted relatively few in the Panhandle, though Jordan found them in other parts of Texas (Jordan 1982, 71).

Most Mexican gravestones include etchings of crosses. Some had hand-written epitaphs in Spanish, often carved or written in black paint. Meanwhile, many markers symbolize the date of birth with a six-pointed star and the death date with a cross. Some graves display remarkable folk artistry. Although Mexican and Mexican American families generally prefer individual graves rather than larger family plots, where there are family plots, individual graves are highlighted. Gravestones often include phrases such as “father of” or “mother of” to emphasize family connections. The painstaking process of decorating graves can be seen as a means by which Mexican immigrants

![Fig. 10 Texico, New Mexico. Despite their preponderance in this New Mexico cemetery, few cerquitas were found in the Texas Panhandle.](image)
and their progeny maintain their cultural heritage and identity and incorporate the dead into the lives of the surviving family members (figure 11; Gosnell and Gott 218, 221).

Many Mexican graves are distinguished for their highly colorful arrangements of artificial flowers and other bright accoutrements covering the entirety of the grave. Sometimes bordered by store-bought edging, individual graves might contain ceramic statues of saints and angels, the Virgin Mary or Jesus Christ pointing to his heart, plastic flower arrangements spelling out familial connections in English such as “mom,” whirligigs, and other decorations (figures 12-13). These artifacts are part of “a highly symbolic visual process through which families continue to experience a sense of ongoing relationship with departed relatives” (217). Some Mexican graves exhibit scraped earth, while others incorporate ceramic tiles, often with patterns of bright contrasting colors. Occasionally we noticed incidents of mounding of Mexican graves, though this was not a common occurrence and may be a recent trend (230). The importance of filial loyalty among recent Mexican immigrants can be seen in the careful attention to the upkeep of Latino graves in the Texas Panhandle.

![Fig. 11](image_url) Mexican-American grave site in Friona, Parmer County. The handprints and names of the deceased’s siblings adorn the grave concrete.
Fig. 12 The Madonna, Jesus on a crucifix, and an angel watch over this grave in Tulia. In this case, the grave has been scraped, mounded, and covered with white, pink, red, and purple plastic flowers.

Fig. 13 Mexican-American grave site in Kress, Swisher County.
Recent Assimilation

The most recent graves within most Panhandle cemeteries display varying degrees of assimilation into the societal norms of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Following national trends, gravestones tend to be mass produced with laser-engraved etchings. We observed among all ethnic groups a tendency to include on gravestones common iconographic images of interwoven hearts or wedding bands for married couples, faces of the deceased, or interests or occupations of the dead. Examples include Harley-Davidson motorcycles, trucks or farm equipment, and sewing implements. Pride in Texas and regional culture were evident by frequent cowboy and ranching imagery (Hobbs 2005), the state of Texas, or a football helmet indicating that the departed was a fan of the Dallas Cowboys. These icons may be observed on markers for deceased with Spanish, German, and British surnames. One need only see the recent grave covers and other mass-produced, English-language markers found over German and some Mexican-American grave sites to realize that these groups are assimilating into the culture of the Panhandle.

Some Southern trends continue to be found in contemporary Panhandle cemeteries. Grave covers continue to proliferate in Panhandle cemeteries, especially among families with other family members interred in a similar fashion. Scraped earth above graves continues unabated throughout the Texas Panhandle. However, we observed that scraped-earth graves are in danger of disappearing in some places, perhaps as family members die or otherwise are unable to care for the graves. The Southern practice of mounding is vanishing altogether.

Why have the cultures of the Texas Panhandle become more alike? We believe that assimilation has resulted from interactions between cultures, distance from their source regions, and connections to popular trends. Furthermore, the process of cultural adaptation to the dry steppe climate of the Southern Plains has created the beginnings of a regional culture that differs slightly from those of other American regions. Ultimately, Southern cultural traits continue to dominate in the southeastern part of the Panhandle, but they have mixed with other traits in northern and western sections. With Latino immigrants being the latest major immigrant group, they have assimilated to a lesser degree than older ethnic groups, though as time passes, Latino graves may continue to reflect a further acculturation into the larger society of the Texas Panhandle. As with all people who migrated to the Texas Panhandle, they came with belief systems, but those beliefs—or expressions of those beliefs, have change with time and are reflected in all aspects of their culture, including the ways they view their dead.

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank David Donnelly and Patricia Silva for their assistance in compiling information for this paper.
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The Pioneer America Society
Proceedings of 1973 and 1974

Scott C. Roper

Pioneer America Society Transactions first appeared in 1978 as a record of the Society’s tenth annual meeting. Albert J. Korsok served as the editor of the new publication, as he would through 1982. (Korsok co-edited the 1982 volume with then-Executive Director Allen G. Noble, who became the publication’s sole editor the following year.) Nine of the sixteen papers presented at the 1977 meeting in Aurora, Ohio, appeared in the inaugural issue of the journal.

The 1978 volume of PAST was not the first attempt to record the transactions of the Society’s annual meetings. In 1973 and 1974, the organization published Pioneer America Society Proceedings. Gene Wilhelm, Jr., a geographer from Slippery Rock State College in Pennsylvania and a charter member of the Pioneer America Society, served as the publication’s editor. In those two years, 21 papers appeared in the fledgling journal.

The December, 1972 conference was held at the Francis Scott Key Hotel in Frederick, Maryland, with the theme “The Reconstruction of Pioneer America.” Henry H. Douglas delivered the meeting’s introductory address, “Today and Tomorrow” (reprinted in this volume of PAST). Douglas was a native of Montana born to what he termed “pioneer parents.” After receiving his Bachelor of Arts from Ohio’s Oberlin College in 1929, Douglas moved on to Western Reserve University to complete his Bachelor of Library Science. Subsequently he worked at the Library of Congress, retiring in 1960 to start, with his wife June, an offset printing business in Falls Church, Virginia. Seven years later, concerned with the effects of the expanding automobile culture on the landscapes of the United States area, Henry and June Douglas founded the Pioneer America Society. The couple served as the Society’s first Executive Director and Secretary-Treasurer, respectively.

The 1973 Proceedings featured nine papers presented at the 1972 meeting and written by scholars and professionals representing a wide range of disciplines, interests, and approaches. The issue included articles written by two folklorists (Warren Roberts and William Lynwood Montell), a sociologist (Thomas Rose), an art historian (Allan Thomas Marsh), an architect (E. Blain Cliver), and three geographers (Mary Lee Nolan, Hubert G. H. Wilhelm, Frank Innes). Yet despite the common theme, papers actually represented a variety of subjects, including Montell’s “The Upper South and the Case for Oral Folk History,” Roberts’s “Folk Architecture in Context: The Folk
Museum,” Nolan’s “Family Histories and Genealogies: Method for Investigating Pioneer Life Styles,” and Innes’s “On the Relevance of an Accurate Reconstruction of Pioneer America.” Geographically, the topics seemingly were not as diverse, as they concentrated primarily on Ohio, the Upland South, and—not surprisingly—Maryland, where the conference was held.

Henry Douglas’s paper may have been the most notable of those presented at the 1972 conference. With it he set the meeting’s tone by defining the meaning of the term “pioneer” in as broad a manner as possible. “The Society’s definition of ‘pioneer’ is not limited to life on the frontier, or to life in pre-automotive America,” he wrote. “Rather, it encompasses all life in rural areas and towns which to some degree still typifies a former, more common way of American living” (Douglas 1973, 1).

Moreover, Douglas addressed the purpose and goals of the Pioneer America Society itself, a fact to which Albert Korsok pointed six years later in the first volume of PAST (Korsok 1978). According to the Society’s Executive Director, PAS had been founded to document the “life, work, heritage, and environment of the common man,” and “to make a written and graphic record of the remaining cultural and environmental vestiges of pioneer America, including the less pretentious houses and other structures that interpret our stylistic eras in a vernacular manner.” Furthermore, the Society not only should be concerned with the “human” landscape, but also with the natural world of which humans are a part. To accomplish its goals, PAS would promote the study of pioneer life through “folklore, historical-cultural geography, agricultural history, planning, and other disciplines whose methodologies and techniques can be used to document the past and the present” (Douglas 1).

In 1974, the Pioneer America Society published the second and final volume of the Proceedings. This issue contained twelve papers centered on the theme “pioneer life styles,” all presented at the 1973 meeting in Charlottesville, Virginia. The range in topics was even broader than in the previous year’s Proceedings, covering subjects as diverse as slave life in Virginia, the use of log construction in the Texas Cross Timbers region, an historical account of “The Whale as Seen by His Hunters,” and one article entitled “Life Styles for Earthmanship.” Geographers again dominated the Proceedings, accounting for five of the papers published in the 1974 volume (Edgar Bingham, Thomas Hannon, Jr., Terry Jordan, Milton Rafferty, Larry Smith). Historians (Kenneth Martin, Herbert Richardson) and folklorists (Kay Cothran, Charles Perdue, Jr.) contributed two papers each, while a museum curator (John T. Schlebecker) and an independent writer (Darwin Lambert) also provided pieces.

Perhaps the most provocative paper to appear in the 1974 Proceedings was Henry Douglas’s “With Awareness Comes Responsibility.” Arguably the paper is not as eloquent as the one published in 1973; it reads much more like an address. But in it, the Society’s Executive Director expanded upon the remarks he delivered at the previous
year's meeting, and placed the work of the Society squarely in the context of American social and political movements. He pointed out that an “interest in the art, literature, and history of our past and involvement in the appreciation and preservation of the great things in our past (be these exalted or humble) automatically makes you a more concerned and more responsible person.” A person concerned with history, he continued, inevitably is concerned with “conservation of all kinds: clean water, clean air, and ecological and technological balance in all things” (Douglas 1974, 1).

To Douglas, threats to both the natural environment and the pioneer landscapes of the United States came from a common source: the automobile, which constituted a “monstrous problem” that “is going to get much, much worse than it is now.” He pointed out that automobiles and their associated landscapes “are destroying our historic buildings and places, and making our cities places to escape from rather than to seek,” and that the situation would only deteriorate. Douglas felt that the Pioneer America Society could and must help to solve the problems created by the country’s automobile culture. “Our purpose,” he wrote, “is to identify, to document, to publish the results of our efforts, and to promote preservation where feasible” (2). Yet the Society had a deeper, more political function as well:

The Pioneer America Society conceives of our pioneer past as continuous and inseparable from the present and the future. Yesterday provides the heritage, but the legacy belongs to tomorrow. We must translate the heritage of yesterday into the values of tomorrow.

In evaluating the past we must address ourselves to the pressures and the problems of the present. Saving a significant landmark of the past ... is not a problem of the past, it is a problem of the present as a gift to the future....

Our purpose must be to place in perspective the significance of our heritage in relation to now and to tomorrow, to develop approaches to our pioneer heritage which will concretely tie it into the present and future problems of modern society (3).

*Pioneer America Society Proceedings* ceased publication after only its second issue. However, members continued to look for ways by which to document and publish the results of the Society’s work. Thus, in 1977 Albert Korsok became the editor of the new *Pioneer America Society Transactions*. Today, like some of the Pioneer America Society’s other early publications, the short-lived Proceedings is largely unknown among many of the Society’s current members. I include below a list of papers that appeared in the Proceedings in 1973 and 1974. For those who are interested in the Society’s history, the long-defunct publication still serves, as its editor intended, as a
document of the members’ diverse interests, approaches, and beliefs during the Society’s formative years.

**Pioneer America Society Proceedings 1973-1974**


**Cliver, E. B.** 1973. “Reconstruction: Should we do it?” *Proceedings* 1, 7-17.


**Other Reference**

Today and Tomorrow

Henry H. Douglas

The Pioneer America Society, incorporated in 1967, is an international, non-profit, educational organization dedicated to discovering, recording, documenting, and promoting preservation of the remaining cultural and environmental vestiges of pioneer America. The Society’s definition of “pioneer” is not limited to life on the frontier, or to life in pre-automotive America. Rather, it encompasses all life in rural areas and towns which to some degree still typifies a former, more common way of American living. Interest in preserving historic sites, buildings, and natural areas has intensified since World War II, but the major thrust of this effort has been toward preserving and interpreting houses, sites, and areas associated with the wealthy, the politically or militarily important, or for public recreational purposes. The Pioneer America Society was founded because of the belief that the life, work, heritage, and environment of the common man are no less important. In the main the Society bypasses the larger urban areas where other organizations are already effective and the vast wilderness areas of the nation which receive so much attention today.

The intent of the Society is to make a written and graphic record of the remaining cultural and environmental vestiges of pioneer America, including the less pretentious houses and other structures that interpret our stylistic eras in a vernacular manner. The Society is concerned, as well, with the landscapes that support both human and natural life. It is only as information about these structures, their geographical surroundings, and the way of life they support becomes available that public awareness and interest in their preservation can be aroused. The Society’s aim is to provide such information; to lead and channel public interest toward documentation and preservation; and to support publications and programs which increase our knowledge, awareness, and methodology of recording and promoting preservation.

The Society feels that traditional, historical, architectural, and archeological research provide only part of the basis for a complete understanding of pioneer America. This work must be buttressed by the information available through folklore, historical-cultural geography, agricultural history, planning, and other disciplines whose methodologies and techniques can be used to document the past and the present. This multidisciplinary approach provides a depth and breadth to understanding the past that has not heretofore been available through a coordinated effort.
By stressing the three dimensional aspects of pioneer life, that which exists at this point in time and place, the Society attempts to provide information on that which can be seen and touched. Inherent in the attempt to record surviving vestiges of our past is the desire to see such sites, buildings, areas, objects, and landscapes as have permanent value preserved, preferably with a continuation of original use: a working farm; a textile mill still producing fabric; or a canal with boats and workable locks.

Such preservation involves using the site or area as more than a display case for objects. Instead, its use would be that of an organic unit continuing a use and a way of life for the education and instruction of the public. Where such use is impossible, the Society supports adaptive use which does no harm to the site or object, but still insures it of an active and continued life. In all cases the Society stresses complete documentation, especially where no continued or adaptive use can be found and destruction results. Such documentation involves use and interpretation of the written word, the production of photographic and cartographic material, the use of the site or structure as a document subject to interpretation, and the use of oral history among other techniques and methodologies.

But why should the Pioneer America Society be so concerned with preservation? Simply because time is running out on us. Our cultural and environmental heritage are in a real crunch. Our older people are rapidly passing on. Soon there will be no one left with any living memory of what life in America was like before the automobile changed it all. Another reason is that the nation is now in the process of a vast metamorphosis brought about by a rapidly expanding population and by an accompanying vast increase in land values. There is money to be made everywhere by bulldozing almost anything that exists and replacing it with something big, new, and modern that will produce a large return on the original investment. It is constantly happening everywhere. For example, those of you who came to Frederick from the Washington, DC area via Interstate 70S or the older 355 highway know what I mean. Office buildings, shopping centers, apartments or other housing complexes are gobbling up farm land and open space at a dizzying rate.

Topographic maps are very useful devices for they are a great help to anyone doing an historic study of an area. They help us to see vastly more elements of the landscape. However, it is ironical that such maps also help developers, realtors, engineers and others to see more too. Every square inch of the Frederick Quadrangle, for example, has been or is being constantly scanned by developers of every kind looking for ways to make changes that in turn will make them money. City planners, county planners, state and national planners cannot justify their salaries without suggesting or instigating changes. Planning is big business. All this adds up to a frightening situation, making it unnecessary for me to sketch more than the broad outlines.
It also becomes unnecessary for me to dwell upon what all this does to our historic sites and structures and environmental areas. You know what it does. Read *Echoes of History* and *Preservation News* for more evidence. In fact, the entire economy of our nation has developed into an immense crusher of our environmental and cultural American heritage. For example, I would like to quote from the Washington Post for November 26, 1972:

The interstate highway system, the most ambitious and expansive project of its kind in the nation’s history, is four-fifths complete, the government announced yesterday. Of the planned 42,500 miles in the system, 33,796 are now open to traffic, according to Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe. There are still 8,704 miles to go, Volpe said. Of that total 3,742 miles are under construction. ... Of the mileage completed, Volpe said, 27,383 miles are in rural areas while 6,413 are in urban locations. That represents 79.6 per cent of the total planned urban construction and 79.5 per cent of the expected rural roadbuilding. ... $49.30 billion has been poured into the Interstate system since the project was stepped up in 1956. As of September 30, $13.13 billion in work was under way or authorized, including $9.08 billion in construction and $4.05 billion in engineering and right-of-way buying.

Note that this report says nothing about the millions of acres these new roads occupy, nor anything about the farms, villages, historic places, and natural environments they destroyed. As the interstate highway program enters its final phase of construction, what about the future? Secretary Volpe said nothing of the future beyond the completion of the present interstate system, although Congress is already proposing an entirely new system of roads which would start in the 1980s. As taxpayers we are told that in July, August, and September, 1972, the Federal Highway Trust Fund took in $1.4 billion in tax revenue. This is equivalent to $5.6 billion for the entire year of 1972. It is impossible for you or me to comprehend the vastness of a billion dollars even with inflation. Not one dollar of the vast amount of money was set aside for preserving some of the endangered cultural, historical, and environmental assets destroyed by the interstate highway system. Instead, the money will go to developing the new highway system, and, of course, this action will be backed by: the Federal Department of Transportation, every State Highway Department, the auto industry, developers everywhere (highways provide access), realtors, surveyors, construction firms, banks, insurance companies, and chain enterprises of every description. The list is endless.

Soon the entire nation, unless a change of attitudes and values results, will be like Fairfax County, Virginia, where more than 400 square miles are being treated like a city and where 1,500 farms in
1950 have dwindled to approximately a dozen still dependent upon farming for a livelihood.

Once such an economic monster as I have been describing gets into motion, it is a Herculean if not impossible task to ever wind it down. The best the Pioneer America Society can do is discover, identify, document, and record as many historic and environmental areas as is physically possible, as soon as possible, and to use our time, energy, and influence to preserve some of them. But perhaps more importantly the Society can arouse public opinion to help preserve our remaining pioneer vestiges through educational efforts. Historians, conservationists, preservationists, and environmentalists are gradually exerting more influence in the affairs of the nation. The movement is still small, but it is growing and becoming more powerful. Little and big battles are now being won. Thus the Pioneer America Society can become a potent force in this respect; it is up to us to help make this influence grow. The only alternative is to throw in the towel and let the bulldozer and its accompanying mentality take over completely. The Pioneer America Society will not let this happen.

Notes

1 Reprinted from Pioneer America Society Proceedings volume 1 (1973) 1-6. Delivered at the fifth annual meeting of the Pioneer America Society, December 1-3, 1972, Francis Scott Key Hotel, Frederick, MD.
Abstracts of Papers

ONE BLOCK AT A TIME: RACE AND RESIDENCE IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Dawn S. Bowen
Mary Washington College

Racial transformation of neighborhoods, particularly those in the center city, has been a long-standing phenomena and one that is largely taken for granted. Few studies, however, have sought to document that change at the block level. This paper, an outgrowth of a larger project on African American neighborhood formation in Richmond, Virginia, uses manuscript census information for a sixteen-block sample area to illustrate the process of change during the first three decades of the twentieth century. It demonstrates that there was a slow outward movement from a concentrated core of black residence into blocks that had been occupied by whites. This detailed analysis also shows that the shift was not limited simply to race, but involved significant changes in residents’ socio-economic status.

TRANSFORMATION OF A RUSSIAN MOLOKAN FARMERS’ VILLAGE IN ARIZONA

Marshall E. Bowen
University of Mary Washington

Located northwest of Phoenix, Glendale is Arizona’s fourth largest city, and is well-known for its miles of subdivisions and shopping malls. But Glendale also has a strong rural heritage, with irrigated fields that were once farmed by a wide variety of ethnic groups. One of these was a community of Russian Molokans, who established a traditional street village here in 1911, and cultivated hundreds of acres of outlying land. After a promising start, the village declined in the face of personal, political, and economic problems. By 1930 the site contained only two Molokan households and five dwellings occupied by non-Russians, and in 1971 not a single Molokan lived here. Today, just a handful of original buildings remain, and several of these will soon be demolished as one part of the village is transformed into still another subdivision. But a church and cemetery, long, narrow house lots, agricultural land, and barnyard livestock are reminders of the legacy of this special place, which remains a semi-rural island that has not yet been fully consumed by an expanding suburban sea.
NEW ECHOTA: EVIDENCE OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY CHEROKEE MATERIAL CULTURE

Caru Bowns
The Pennsylvania State University

New Echota was the Cherokee capital, planned and constructed in 1825 as a symbolic gesture of the tribe’s political progress and ability to subsist as an independent nation on ancestral lands bordered by the states of Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina and Tennessee. With Georgia’s rising “nativism” and President Andrew Jackson’s tolerance to remove all Indians from the southeastern United States, the political and material culture of New Echota was the Cherokee’s counter to prevailing public perceptions about the tribe’s social and cultural impoverishment.

Referencing “culture” as a dynamic response of a people to its physical and social environments, this paper positions New Echota as a site of both continuity and material change in the Cherokee Nation before Removal. The extant material culture associated with New Echota and nineteenth-century Cherokee Georgia was redundant in neighboring “frontier” towns and forms a compelling body of evidence for Cherokee “advancement” and progress in the southeast before Removal. Although the true nature and function of an artifact can be misinterpreted, the study of material artifacts presumes an integral relationship between form, function and cultural uses. New Echota offers an opportunity to explore what the Cherokee valued materially in their environment and how the town functioned to mediate social interactions and relations.

HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL PATTERNS OF STRUCTURE AGE, STYLE, AND TYPOLOGY IN NEW ORLEANS’ FRENCH QUARTER

Richard Campanella
Tulane University

This research maps out over 2,250 individual structures in the French Quarter of New Orleans, Louisiana, along with their construction dates, architectural styles, structural typologies, and iron adornment. The resultant patterns are then interpreted in terms of local and regional history, the historical geography of downtown New Orleans, and the diffusion of architectural styles and types.

Source of these data is the 130-binder Vieux Carre Survey, a detailed tabulation of the chains-of-title of French Quarter parcels conducted by historians and architects in the 1960s. For the first time, these data were digitized and spatially analyzed in aggregate form, revealing patterns at new levels of detail.
Distinctive temporal and spatial patterns emerge from this analysis, among them the decline of colonial-era styles and the rise of Greek Revival, the distribution of Creole versus American styles and their correlation to ethnic geography, the decline of the cottage and rise of the shotgun house after the Civil War, the internationalization of styles in the late nineteenth century, and the relationship between structural typology and the flow of tourists in the present-day French Quarter. Spatial distributions of the neighborhood’s famous iron-lace galleries shed light on where and how this circa-1850 fashion diffused.

This study fosters understanding of the changing landscapes of the lower Mississippi River region by investigating an exceptional cityscape—a living record of the historical built environment—in the heart of the region’s premier city.

**HABS AND THE ARCHITECTURAL DOCUMENTATION OF VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE: \*
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**CASE STUDIES FROM LOUISIANA**

**Guy W. Carwile**

**Louisiana Tech University**

In 1933, the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) was created through a joint collaborative effort between the National Park Service, The American Institute of Architects, and the Library of Congress. The fact that architects were present at the inception of HABS is one of the reasons architects are aligned with the Survey more so than other disciplines studying historic structures such as anthropologists, cultural geographers, historians, and architectural historians. HABS drawings produced solely by architects, or architectural students, have traditionally focused on the pictorial aspects presented by a particular subject: how it looks, how it is organized, and so on. Other disciplines, by contrast, look at and study different aspects of buildings including localized and regional traditions, cultural contexts, and social history, which in conjunction with the architect’s contribution allow for a comprehensive understanding of a historic structure.

This paper will focus on the architect’s role in the documentation of historic buildings with an emphasis on vernacular architecture. Using my experiences with Louisiana Tech’s documentation program since 1995, I will describe the architectural approach that has been used in the past and how that approach might be transformed to increase the quality of information being provided in the HABS drawings of vernacular buildings. I will argue that the inclusion of smart, vector-based 3-D drawings, interpretive drawings relative to structure, and interpretive annotations to architectural drawings are necessary additions to the standard roster of HABS drawings and information relative to vernacular buildings.
DRYING THE LAND: REPRESSING NATURE AND RE-IMAGINING SPACE IN THE MISSISSIPPI-OuACHITA FLOODPLAIN

Christopher Morris
The University of Texas at Arlington

This paper will examine the transformation of the floodplain in northeast Louisiana, between the Mississippi and Ouachita Rivers. North America’s first large and complex settlements were located here in a mostly wet environment. In the nineteenth century, Europeans and European Americans began to “dry” the land, to prepare it for agriculture, by clearing, draining, and leveeing. What had been middle ground between land and water, wet and dry—wetland—became either one or the other. Dried fields covered the former floodplain. Water lay behind earthen walls, segregated from the land taken by humans and harnessed to their economy. The process of draining, leveeing, and planting imposed a particular vision of nature on the floodplain, a vision in which the human and natural worlds stood in opposition, and in which complex ecologies were broken down into parts that could be isolated and understood, and then readmitted into the human world only if they could be managed, and if not, left outside in the natural world. Land, in a sense, was “de-natured.” The river, far too strong a force of nature for people to control, was walled off, segregated, placed beyond the limits of human life. It was an illusion, of course. People have never lived outside the natural environment. The imposition of this flawed vision led to all sorts of unforeseen problems, as “nature” continually intruded or leaked into the human world. The Mississippi River and the “nature” of the floodplain that made no clear distinction between water and land, wet and dry, simply would not be repressed, at least not for long.

RE-EVALUATING THE ACADIAN HOUSE IN MARITIME CANADA: THE APPLICATION OF DENDROCHRONOLOGY AS A DATING TECHNIQUE

Peter Ennals, André Robichaud and Colin Laroque
Mount Allison University

Earlier research on the Acadian dwelling in Maritime Canada argued that few pre-expulsion houses survived the Grande Dérange-ment of 1755-1759 and that Acadians who remained in the region adopted subtle methods of masking their ethnicity identity by adopting the common Anglo vernacular styles on the exterior of their houses in the subsequent two centuries. However over the past four decades, Acadians have been asserting a more prominent place and voice in regional culture, and the rebirth of ties with their Cajun
cousins through events such as the well-attended Acadian international festivals has re-awakened interest in their collective material and folk history. One expression of this is a curiosity about the age of surviving ancestral dwellings.

The development of the Mount Allison Dendrochronology Lab, the first such laboratory in Atlantic Canada, has led researchers to use the oldest timbers found in surviving first period buildings as tools in reconstructing historical climate change in the region. This work also caught the attention of those interested in Acadian family history and culture. A number of structures that hitherto had not been generally linked to early Acadian settlement have recently provided dating samples. This paper reports on this work and the potential that the convergence of cultural history and this technique has for re-evaluating the nature and extent the pre-and post expulsion Acadian housing in the region.

THE LOST HOUSES OF ST. DOMINGUE: THE SEARCH FOR AN ARCHITECTURAL LEGACY

Gregory Free
Austin, Texas

One of the western hemisphere’s most dramatic stories is that of the French colony of St. Domingue — its rise to perhaps history’s most profitable colony, its bloody revolution, and its ultimate descent into political, social, and financial disorder. The colony’s violent history virtually destroyed over a century of achievement — and consequently a great deal of its early material culture. St. Domingue remains one of the principal and least explored sources of the architectural patrimony of the American Gulf Coast. Sadly, our study of this legacy is limited to a handful of early buildings, scarce archival materials, a few academic studies, and by the dangers of fieldwork in present-day Haiti.

This paper will present recent fieldwork in the provinces of western Puerto Rico, where, in 1803 several thousand refugees fled the carnage of St. Domingue and established prosperous new lives. The distinct architectural traditions they brought with them still remain, though hidden. For the student of the Creole world, the recent discovery and documentation of French colonial houses in Puerto Rico can teach us what the lost houses of St. Domingue can not.
BATTLE HARBOUR:
THE LANDSCAPE OF EMPIRE AND COMMERCE

Warren R. Hofstra
Shenandoah University

Paper sessions for the June 2005 meetings of the Eastern Historical Geographers Association were held at Battle Harbour, a restored fishing village on the south coast of Labrador, Canada. During the EHGA visit, Battle Harbour, itself, became an object of interest and discussion. To Martyn Bowden the landscape of warehouses, fishing stages, shops, dwellings, government buildings, and other functional structures was an expression of the merchant triangle, a concept ordering many British colonial outports in North America and the Caribbean. To others, the irregular and high-relief topography of rock, tundra, and marsh served as the formative influence over spatial organization in the settlement. Certainly the location of structures according to the scarcity of scattered building sites created a landscape lacking, out of necessity, the rational form and rectilinear grid of contemporaneous communities throughout the lowlands of British North America. The seeming jumble of warehouses and storerooms at Battle Harbour’s dockside epitomized an extreme case of spatial anarchy.

In this paper I intend to revisit Battle Harbour and the challenges it represents for morphological analysis. In my interpretation the array of buildings, especially in the commercial wharf area, makes perfect sense as a closely ordered expression of British commercial practice in its relation to imperial expansion into mainland Canada after the 1763 Treaty of Paris. The financial and institutional organization of British trade and the system of double-entry bookkeeping employed to facilitate and document it more than any conceptual order or environmental influence explain and give meaning to the landscape of Battle Harbour. Thus Battle Harbour comes to represent the landscape of empire and commerce.

INCIDENTAL OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING PIONEER LOG STRUCTURES IN MICHIGAN

Marshall McLennan
Eastern Michigan University

Little attention has been given to pioneer-period Michigan log structures. Nevertheless, Michigan comprises a crossroads of log-building material culture practices, including the Midland, New England-Canadian, French Canadian, Finnish and Swedish traditions. Only the Finnish log-building tradition has received some attention in the Michigan context. While undertaking fieldwork for another research project, the presenter had the opportunity to make incidental observations regarding pioneer-period log structures. Two
sets of observations are the subject of this paper: amplification of the New England–Canadian log-building tradition and the identification and description of a type of cow-hay barn built by Polish settlers in Presque Isle County. This barn type appears to be identical to the Swedish cow-hay barn found in Minnesota and Wisconsin. It is suggested that this outbuilding type be renamed the “Baltic cow-hay barn.”

ROBERT (1799-1890) AND SARAH (1799-1889) SMITH

Mary Ann Olding

Robert Smith and Sarah were enslaved mulattos born in 1799 near Fredericksburg, Virginia, on a plantation named Mannsfield owned by Mann Page III. The Page name represented a prominent landholding family related to the wealthy Robert “King” Carter who built Carter’s Grove. The large plantation lying on the west side of the Rappahannock River included 4500 acres, a 1770s mid-Georgian stone mansion, and numerous outbuildings where enslaved people lived and worked. The story of Sarah and Robert Smith is historically important because three 1889 obituaries of Sarah Smith give detailed accounts of their lives from slavery in Virginia to freedom in Ohio. After Mann Page III died in 1806, Robert and Sarah were hired out in Fredericksburg for 20 years after their owner’s death, and were married in 1822. A year later all slaves were sold from the auction block in Alexandria. Robert was sold to Dr. Coleman, who lived in the same city. Robert became a barber in a hotel where he earned money. One account stated that Dr. Coleman taught Robert Smith to read and write.

From 1830-1834, Robert Smith was owned by Robert Raper in Wytheville, Virginia, where he worked as a barber and operated a confectionary. Robert Smith was described in his emancipation papers as “a man of yellow complexion, about five feet five inches high and is about thirty years old and is lame in the left ankle, the same having been thrown out of place.” During those four years, Sarah and her son, Jackson, born October 5, 1828, were in Alexandria. They were property of John Armfield, co-owner of the Franklin and Armfield, the South’s largest slave trading firm. Sarah’s obituary stated that Armfield authorized “Robert Smith, a colored man who lived at Wythe Court House, to take Sally Smith, a yellow woman, thirty-five or forty years old, her son Jackson, a yellow boy five years old, and a yellow girl named Adeline to Wythe Court House.” The girl was described as being four or five years old and had the last name of Carter, according to her name written on the front of the freedom document.

After the Smith family bought their freedom, they came to Cincinnati in 1835. They settled in the small town of Piqua where they became financially independent, and were revered members of the community at the time of their deaths in 1889 and 1890, respectively.
Although Robert Smith’s occupation is listed as a barber, he owned considerable property in Piqua, one of Ohio’s earliest settlements near the summit of the Miami and Erie Canal that connected the Ohio River to the Great Lakes. How did the Smiths, the first blacks in Piqua, rise from enslavement, move to a bustling canal town in frontier Ohio twenty-five years before the Civil War, buy and sell fifteen lots in Piqua before 1865, have a personal property value of $4000 in the 1860 census, and have extensive obituaries in the Piqua Dispatch newspaper that told their life stories at their deaths in 1889 and 1890? How typical is the story of black entrepreneurs in Ohio’s settlement history that more often focuses on the flight of runaway slaves on the Underground Railroad or the tragedy of freed slaves brought to a hostile northern state unprepared and untrained for independence?

EXPLORING THE PYRAMIDAL HOUSE

Philippe Oszusckik
University of South Alabama

Vernacular-house scholars have readily identified and discussed the folk house types; and Westward expansion of these house types has been thoroughly documented, beginning with Fred Kniffen, Henry Glassie and others. The pyramidal cottage, however, has received little attention, perhaps due to its later development in the late nineteenth century and its resemblance to the Georgian plan cottage that emerged in the Carolina source area during the eighteenth century. Glassie suggests that it is a later nineteenth- to early twentieth-century development of the Georgian cottage “with steep hip or towering pyramidal roofs and a variety of porches...which disguised its unchanging mid-eighteenth plan.”

At least two basic plans of the Pyramidal Cottage exist and at least two cultural sources are involved—English and French. One is the Georgian plan correctly observed by Glassie. The other is the four-room cottage without a central hall, possessing a single chimney at the peak of the pyramid. Furthermore, the Caribbean cultural hearth may have influenced both subtypes. Pinpointing one geographical hearth in the United States may be impossible although, generally speaking, the Lowland South is most likely the North American hearth because of a great concentration of the cottage in the region.

The Pyramidal Cottage did not mature as a house type until circa 1890 and lasted into the 1920s, at which time the bungalow was the demise of all folk house types.
“MORE THAN A CAVE, MAN:”
INTERPRETING TOURIST CAVES AS PLACE

Kevin J. Patrick
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Place is molded from the intrinsic qualities of a pre-existing landscape by people who are intimately associated with that landscape. Over time, outsiders come to experience the made place, and may or may not contribute to its ongoing evolution, but certainly interpret the place through their own set of perceptions. The subjective evaluation of a place as, to some degree, “good” or “bad” can influence future place-making. Central to every commercially operated show cave is a seemingly immutable subterranean environment that took hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of years to create. Its human interpretation, however, is ever changing. Show caves examined in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and elsewhere can be interpreted as special places with their own unique set of material and non-material attributes, and environmental influences. As with other places, a series of signs point the way to a cluster of structures that support a human-manipulated natural setting. Cave visitors experience the place through the recitation of its natural and human history, typically a mixture of fact, fable and legend, and through layers of interpretive schemes involving place-naming and allusion. In the end, their collective evaluation influences how the cave will be interpreted in the future.

ANDREW CLARK AND THE INTERPRETATION OF CHANGING LANDSCAPES

Michael Roche
Massey University

Andrew H Clark (1910-1975), an influential figure in North American historical geography in the mid-twentieth century, spent 1941-42 in New Zealand teaching and completing the research for his Berkeley PhD, later published under the title of The Invasion of New Zealand by People Plants and Animals (1949). This paper considers his writing on New Zealand in terms of how it prefigures some of the themes of his later books such as Three Centuries and the Island (1959) and Arcadia (1968) as well as his other writings. “Isolation” and “insularity” which emerge as two themes of Clark’s work are to some extent metaphors for his response to other changes in the discipline in the 1960s. The paper will conclude with some thoughts on aspects of Clark’s work that remain pertinent to historical geographers working in the early twenty-first century.
REELFOOT LAKE: A CENTURY OF POSTCARDS FROM A FISHMAN'S PARADISE

Jefferson S. Rogers
The University of Tennessee at Martin

Commercial postcard collections can serve as sources of information that reveal the evolution of a locale’s physical and cultural landscapes. Although postcards have their limitations as historical records due to their promotional emphases and the biases of their publishers, they can provide an often rare form of longitudinal documentation of an area’s individual structures and surrounding environments. In addition, changes in what scenes are depicted and how they are captioned by postcard publishers can possibly reflect important changes in how a locale has been valued and used by both visitors and local entrepreneurs. This presentation draws upon a collection of over 180 unique postcards that depict the physical and cultural landscapes surrounding Reelfoot Lake in northwest Tennessee over a 100-year period. While the lake’s formation due to the famous 1811-12 New Madrid earthquake and its reputation as a “fisherman’s paradise” have been consistently heralded in postcards over the decades, aspects of physical and perceptual change since the early 1900s are evident as well. Analysis of this collection not only shows the modernization of Reelfoot Lake’s touristic infrastructure but also reveals a growing awareness of its role as an important natural habitat in the Mississippi alluvial valley.

CEMETERIES OF THE TEXAS PANHANDLE

Stephanie Abbot Roper
New Hampshire Community Technical College
Scott C. Roper
Castleton State College
Cindy Ferraresi
Dimmitt (Texas) Middle School

 Graveyards and cemeteries in the Texas Panhandle, an area defined as the 26 northernmost counties in Texas, reflect the mixed settlement origins of the region as a whole. Researchers typically have categorized the Panhandle as having been influenced by Southern, Middle Western, or German cultures, and more recently by settlers of Mexican origin or heritage, but disagree on the extent to which each of these cultures influenced the region. Based on observations recorded at 115 Texas cemeteries and approximately eighty others between January and August 2005, the authors of this study agree that Southern, Middle Western, German, and Mexican cultures have mixed and continue to dominate the region. Yet we also assert that
the processes by and degrees to which disparate groups assimilated to the Panhandle have varied considerably. Ultimately, cemeteries reveal that the Panhandle is comprised of a mosaic of cultures, with early Southern and later Mexican influences strongest in the southern Panhandle. Researchers exaggerate the presence of Middle Western cultures on the region, but are correct in that the North Midland’s greatest influence is found in the northern portion of the region. Finally, weakened German traits are present in the Panhandle only as relics or echoes of the culture’s early settlement, pre-assimilation past.

**THE PROMOTIONAL EFFICACY OF BROCHURES, BOOKLETS AND PICTURE POSTCARDS FOR THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH, ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA**

Keith A. Sculle
Illinois Historic Preservation Agency

An historic landmark’s significance does not arise only from recovering and retelling its past. Among the many facets contributing to the luster of landmark status, not the least of them is unbiased scholarly authority. Society’s acceptance, however, cannot ultimately be conferred unless tourists visit the site. For over a century, the Fountain of Youth in St. Augustine, Florida, has earned tourists’ implicit respect by their visitation. Its most numerous souvenirs, its booklets, brochures, and picture postcards, afford abundant resources to help unravel some of the visual dynamics underlying the site’s appeal to tourists. These souvenirs are figurative tickets for imagination’s first admission and endless re-entry. Thus, their persuasive capacity for tourists of the Fountain of Youth may be due even more to the reinforcement of the tourists’ personal narratives than they are to the opportunity for teaching professionally validated history lessons about an historic landmark.

**TRANSITORY ACCOMMODATIONS IN A TRANSITORY LANDSCAPE: THE HOTELS OF PITHOLE, PENNSYLVANIA**

David T. Stephens
Youngstown State University

Alexander T. Bobersky
Warren, Ohio

Pithole was a flash-in-the-pan boomtown during the mid-1860s oil excitement of northwestern Pennsylvania. The town began in January of 1865 as a single oil well amid a buckwheat field. An early scribe noted that in the vicinity were a crude log cabin, an unpretentious
frame house, and another house about a quarter of a mile away. By May, 1865, Pithole had been platted and was a thriving community of 2,000. At its zenith, in September of 1865, it was a place of 15,000, served by a daily newspaper and having an opera house, post office, two banks, two churches, thirty-five boarding houses, and fifty-four hotels. It was incorporated as a borough in December — wheat field to city in less than a year. By December of the next year, 1866, the town’s population was down to 2,000. Only one hotel was open in 1869 and the 1870 Census showed a population of 281. Pithole’s charter as a borough was annulled in 1877. The following year the county commissioners bought the site for $4.37. Today, all that remains are mowed grass strips where streets once ran and a few depressions marking former basements.

Here we examine the fifty-four hotels that were built to house the adventurers, speculators, fortune seekers, and others seeking easy money that swarmed to this oil bonanza. Accommodations in Pithole ranged from hotels that catered to entrepreneurs from New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland, to those for the transient workers who moved with the ebb and flow of oil discoveries and busts.
BOOK REVIEWS

OUT OF THE SHADOWS: African American Baseball from the Cuban Giants to Jackie Robinson by Bill Kirwin, Editor


Reviewed for PAS by Thomas Aiello

Out of the Shadows: African American Baseball from the Cuban Giants to Jackie Robinson is an interdisciplinary compilation of articles from the venerable NINE: A Journal of Baseball History and Culture. It argues that black baseball was principally defined by its unique version of the game, and by its struggle through the shadow of white leagues and white prejudice, into the full light of integration. In so doing, it offers a telling evaluation of “a sense of community and power” (xi), but also seems to veer toward false goals. The integration of baseball incalculably influenced the Civil Rights movement and the eventual death of Jim Crow, but it also functionally ended the Negro Leagues. Making the death of an entity its greatest achievement seems to devalue the original importance of that entity. The introduction, written by editor Bill Kirwin, seems to celebrate this trajectory toward death-as-victory, but Kirwin’s brilliant selection of articles argues a different point: Black baseball had significant social value before Jackie Robinson ever arrived in Brooklyn, and baseball’s race problems were not completely solved when he did.

Kirwin’s selections, in large part, evaluate this “sense of community and power,” a sense of community best presented by Rob Ruck in his essay, “Baseball and Community: From Pittsburgh’s Hill to San Pedro’s Canefields.” Ruck describes the reciprocal relationship of baseball and social pride in the poverty-stricken regions of early twentieth century Pittsburgh and San Pedro. The relationship also affected population. In 1920s and 1930s Pittsburgh, for example, the black community (already separated from its white counterpart) divided into Old Pittsburgh and New after the great migration of impoverished blacks from the South. Those groups further divided into neighborhoods based on skilled or unskilled labor, income, and tenure in the city. The divisions magnified community loyalties to the two hometown teams, either the Pittsburgh Crawfords or Homestead Grays. But the black population in its entirety, more than 50,000 in
the 1930s, held the black game sacrosanct.

Scott Roper demonstrates that the growth of baseball and community, however, was not always linear. In “Another Chink in Jim Crow?” Race and Baseball on the Northern Plains, 1900-1935,” Roper describes a sporting fraternity willing to include the native population, but still reticent to grant similar concessions to African Americans. The northern plains never had the population influx that industrial cities received, but racial tensions within sport did not require a manufacturing base for their existence. Jean Hastings Ardell produces yet another fork in the winding road of black baseball’s community development, describing the careers of three women who played in the Negro Leagues, principal among them Mamie “Peanut” Johnson. Sex divisions only piled further upon ethnic divisions, racial divisions, class divisions, and neighborhood divisions, making baseball all the more important as a unifying force.

So the inclusiveness of “community” varied by region, gender, and skin color. But William C. Kashatus demonstrates that baseball’s integration would have to develop along similar curved lines before finding similar results in the major leagues. “Dick Allen, the Phillies, and Racism” describes a different reciprocal relationship—a stereotyped man and the dictates of his stereotype. The Philadelphia Phillies were the last National League team to integrate, and the town that supported them demonstrated an aversion to black players. Dick Allen joined the team under the general public assumption that he was a no-good drunken troublemaker—a no-good drunken black troublemaker—and he soon began to see himself as such. His disruptive behavior, alcohol abuse, and blatant narcissism sullied an otherwise productive baseball career and have continued to keep him from election to the Baseball Hall of Fame.

Long before Dick Allen’s struggles with himself and his integrated team, organized African-American baseball began with the formation of the Cuban Giants. The team barnstormed in Florida, then up the eastern seaboard, entertaining a largely white audience. They were, notes Jerry Malloy, neither Cuban nor giants (the team called themselves Cubans because the Latino label carried less stigma than did the African American label). Their story — and the story of their opponents and antecedents — comes to the historical community by way of Soloman (Sol.) White. He was a former player who devoted his post-athletic years to chronicling the stories and history of the black game he cherished. Jerry Malloy’s second contribution to the volume argues successfully that White’s recollections, opinions, and observations form the basis for all early Negro Leagues scholarship in an age before their efforts merited much coverage in the press.

Gai Ingham Berlage follows with a well-researched and informative essay on Effa Manley, arguing for the league-wide (and, in fact, baseball-wide) influence of the co-owner of the Newark Eagles. Manly exerted her power in the late 1940s to try to keep the Negro Leagues together following Major League Baseball’s integration. She argued that black baseball had a cultural and athletic value divorced from
any potential inclusion with white players. Manley lost her argument, and though she sold Larry Doby to the Cleveland Indians and took the lead in ensuring black owners’ compensation for ballplayers crossing the color line, the Negro Leagues folded under the weight of integration. Though Manley’s critique would prove invalid — as baseball’s integration has undoubtedly enriched the game for all — her reminder that integration sapped the Negro Leagues of talent and ultimately caused its death remains instructive.

Not only did Manley lose to the larger Major Leagues, she also lost to Sol. White. In this account, as in others, White’s *Official Baseball Guide* plays a far larger role than Manley’s *Negro Baseball...Before Integration*. So does White’s optimism. In choosing the work of authors from a variety of different disciplines, however (sociology, history, psychology, geography, and management, among others, are represented), Kirwin is able to marshal that optimism in the service of critical evaluation. That evaluation, presented in one collected volume, presents a strong representation of *NINE*’s scholarship and a valuable contribution to black baseball’s historiography.

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**9/11 AND TERRORIST TRAVEL:**
*A Staff Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Acts Upon the United States.*

*by The National Commission on Terrorism*

Franklin, TN: Hillsboro Press, 2004

xi + 288 pp. Preface, Photographs, Appendices

$10.00 (paper), ISBN: 1-57736-341-8

Reviewed for PAS

*by David Timothy Duval*

In the wake of the London Underground bombings of July 7, 2005, including a second round invoked shortly after, a report such as the National Commission on Terrorism’s *9/11 and Terrorist Travel* becomes significant once again. Published nearly three years after the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon (as well as upon United Airlines Flight 93 in Pennsylvania), the report itself is rife with incredible details on the “operation” by over two dozen individuals who made the world sit up and take notice of the potential for terrorist activities. Rather than outline, in detail, the contents of the book itself, in this brief review I outline several key issues and policy directives that this report has spurred, and even regale a personal anecdote.

First, the issue of cross-border travel (obviously Canada and
Mexico) and general international customs in association with ports-of-entry via air has been of particular concern since September 2001. The new agency established by the Federal Government, the Transportation Security Administration (TSA), is now responsible for ensuring that the strictest of security measures are followed at airports around the countries. Significantly, other countries, including New Zealand where this review is being written, have followed suit.

Second, and related, the process of visa application and confirmation has been tightened, especially in light of the fact that the process of acquiring visas by some of the hijackers was initiated some two years before the attacks themselves. This is the obvious theme to this report, as the first sentence in the book's Preface reads as follows: “It is perhaps obvious to state that terrorists cannot plan and carry out attacks in the United States if they are unable to enter the country” (ix).

To address this issue, foreign nationals currently arriving into the United States are fingerprinted and have their eyes scanned. Some countries, Canada included, are exempt, although for this reviewer, who is Canadian but a New Zealand resident, this is usually the impetus for several additional questions from curious Customs officials. In fact, on one occasion, I was pulled aside and waited while another Customs official tapped away on a computer keyboard. After a minute or two, he looked up and asked, “Where did you obtain your Ph. D.?” This was interesting, given that there was nothing on my travel documents that would indicate I had the title of “Doctor,” and even then it would not be overtly clear whether I held a Ph. D. or was a physician. After answering, I asked him if there was anything I should be concerned about, which was really meant to imply whether there was something the United States should be concerned about. Cheerfully, he replied, whilst handing back my passport, that they were just doing some background checks. As intrusive as this might seem to some people, I found it rather reassuring.

Interestingly, although not mentioned in the book/report, the introduction of stringent security measures has brought with it a bit of a tit-for-tat customs war in recent years, with other countries now requiring American travelers to provide fingerprints upon entry at their airports (sometimes in response to the introduction of the new security measures imposed at U.S. ports-of-entry). Despite the almost worldwide increase in security associated with air travel, discussion boards on the Internet are rife with discussions on the matter of increased airport security around the world, with no clear agreement whether such efforts now mean, in fact, safer air transport.

The third aspect that has come about as a consequence of the September 11 attacks and the information contained within this publication is the effect it has had on human mobility, particularly in relation to temporary forms of mobility such as tourism. This is not to disparage the tragedy itself, but it has been a significant consequence. Directly, travel was immediately changed after the events of September 11, with more Americans choosing to stay within the
United States as opposed to traveling overseas. International airlines felt this, although in the past few years, travel has almost returned to pre-September 11 levels. Interestingly, aviation fuel prices plunged after the London bombings (despite the ominous sounds of “peak oil”) because of the fear of a drop in demand. As this review is being written, it is still too soon to determine whether the London event will have an impact on tourism in the city itself.

9/11 and Terrorist Travel is a worthwhile read, not only because it traces in great detail the events, the response and the aftermath of the incident, but, more importantly, because it raises issues such as those above and serves as a sobering reminder of the scale of mobility of people in an age of rapid transit. Particularly intriguing are the full-color photos of the visa applications and other official identity documents issued to several terrorists.

LISTEN HERE:
Women Writing in Appalachia
by
Sandra L. Ballard and Patricia L. Hudson, Editors

673 pp. Notes, Selected Bibliography, Index
$25.00 (paper), ISBN 0-8131-9066-5

Reviewed for PAS by D’Arcy Fallon

“I’m a hillbilly, a woman, and a poet, and I understood early on that nobody was going to listen to anything I had to say anyway, so I might as well say what I want to,” says West Virginia poet Irene McKinney in the introduction to Listen Here: Women Writing in Appalachia. That unapologetic, plainspoken attitude is echoed throughout this remarkable new anthology of 105 Appalachian women writers, many of whom have been forgotten or marginalized by the mainstream literary establishment.

Activists, nurses, and teachers appear alongside journalists, aerobic instructors, musicians and mothers in this lively collection that celebrates a landscape often lampooned or misunderstood by outsiders who have stereotyped Appalachia as a region inhabited by backward hicks or stock characters just off the movie set of Deliverance.

One of the keenest pleasures in Listen Here lies in its diversity of voices and genres, from poetry and drama to excerpts from novels to short stories, creative nonfiction, and children’s books. The purpose
of the anthology, according to editors Sandra L. Ballard and Patricia L. Hudson, is to recognize women writers whose voices have been forgotten or whose Appalachian roots have been overlooked. Ballard, the editor of the Appalachian Journal, and a professor of English at Appalachian State University, and Hudson, a freelance writer, spent nearly a decade compiling the anthology. Their efforts were clearly a labor of love, resulting in an unforgettable chorus of voices singing about the human experience, whether it is wearing the ill-fitting mantle of illegitimacy ("Bastard Out of Carolina" by Dorothy Allison) or the account of a "fallen" woman tragically shunned by the members of her isolated mountain community ("A Circuit Rider’s Wife" by Corra Harris).

As the editors note, many of the writers in the anthology did not have the luxury of devoting themselves to full-time writing careers, but had to juggle multiple responsibilities as caregivers to parents and children, in addition to working their day jobs. "Unlike Carl Sandburg and Ernest Hemingway whose wives brought them breakfast on a tray and set it outside the door so as not to disturb them, most of these writers have had no such emotional or physical ‘elbow room’ in which to create," Ballard and Hudson write. "Yet this anthology makes it impossible to deny their creativity" (3). Although a few of the writers are from the 19th century, most are contemporary. The collection includes such literary heavyweights as Annie Dillard, Barbara Kingsolver, and Lee Smith, all of whom have enjoyed nationwide acceptance, but it also makes ample room for many lesser-known regional writers.

Focusing on Appalachian writers for practical and political reasons, the editors cite the late Jim Miller, an Appalachian scholar who had supported their proposal for the book with these words: "This Appalachian region is still seen as the site of an unmitigated patriarchy, with the result that the region’s women writers and the impressive body of work they have created is not sufficiently visible, recognized or appreciated. This collection can make a significant contribution toward correcting this misperception" (3).

The anthology is enlivened by brief but fascinating biographies about the authors. For instance, reading about Anne Newport Royall (1769-1854), the country’s first female journalist, readers learn that she supported herself through travel writing, commentary, and social history. She was a dogged reporter, willing to go to great lengths to get that story. Note the editors, "A dubious legend has it that she once caught President John Quincy Adams skinny dipping in the Potomac and sat on his clothes until he agreed to an exclusive interview (517). These little personal snapshots about the authors are followed by "other sources to explore"—lists of primary and secondary sources that can lead to a deeper exploration of their works.

There are stunning gems throughout the anthology. Narratives of redemption, unexpected generosity and beauty shine brightly in a hardscrabble region known for poverty and isolation. In an excerpt from Cynthia Rylant’s 1992 Newberry Award-winning book Missing
May, the young narrator, adopted by her Uncle Ob and Aunt May after her mother died, describes her new home in West Virginia:

Home was, still is, a rusty old trailer stuck on the face of a mountain in Deep Water, in the heart of Fayette County. It looked to me, the first time, like a toy that God had been playing with and accidentally dropped out of heaven. Down and down and down it came and landed, thunk, on this mountain, sort of cockeyed and shaky and grateful to be all in one piece. Well, sort of one piece. Not counting that part in the back where the aluminum’s peeling off, or the one missing window, or the front steps that are sinking (523-24).

While the Appalachian region, with its rivers, abundance of flora and fauna, hills and “hollers,” has much to offer, it takes ingenuity and fortitude to survive the economic realities of life there. Writer and painter Emma Bell Miles (1879-1919), whose marriage the editors described as unstable and peripatetic, lived in a tent with her husband when money was tight. Emma sold some of her sketches to support them and was often the main breadwinner (445). An excerpt from her nonfiction book The Spirit of the Mountains (published in 1905) captures the allure of a life in untamed nature: “Solitude is deep water and small boats do not ride well in it. Only a superficial observer could fail to understand that the mountain people really love their wilderness—love it for its beauty, for its freedom” (447).

Ellesa Clay High in Past Titan Rock recounts living in a remote Kentucky region known as Red River Gorge. Her description of the hills’ dark beauty as she makes the dangerous drive on a windy road to Red River Gorge strikes a note of moody foreboding: “I’ve got a feeling I won’t have to worry about traffic where I’m going… .Now it’s the forest that squeezes close, branches slapping my windshield… .All now is trees, or the shadows of trees. And mud and gloom. I’m sure I’ve made a terrible mistake, and one I can’t back out of” (284).

Like the memoirs and stories in Listen Here, many of the selected poems reflect a rural life dominated by close family ties, religion, and an oral tradition. A stanza from George Ella Lyon’s “Where I’m From” celebrates a Kentucky childhood immersed in family stories, down-home cooking, and family admonitions:

I’m from fudge and eyeglasses,  
from Imogene and Alafair.  
I’m from know-it-alls  
And pass-it-ons,  
from Perk up! And Pipe down!  
I’m from He restoreth my soul  
with a cottonball lamb  
and ten verses I can say myself (370).

The book’s heft (a whopping 673 pages) can seem a little intimi-
dating at first, but many of the selections are so compelling that idle browsing quickly turns into sustained reading. The book’s command—“listen here”—is worth obeying.

BAYONETS IN THE WILDERNESS:
Anthony Wayne’s Legion in the Old Northwest
by
Alan D. Gaff

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004
xix + 419 pp. Illustrations, Maps, Notes, Bibliography, Index
$39.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8061-3585-9

Reviewed for PAS by Douglas K. Lehman

In Bayonets in the Wilderness, Alan D. Gaff has written the latest and fullest account of Major General “Mad” Anthony Wayne’s campaign against the confederation of Native Americans in the Old Northwest during 1792-1794. Gaff, who lives in Fort Wayne, Indiana, attempts to correct many of the long-standing inaccuracies and falsehoods surrounding Wayne’s campaign by turning to manuscript collections and journals of participants and by delving deeply into newspapers accounts, going beyond the major newspapers to smaller, local papers. The result is a detailed, yet highly readable, account of the two years Wayne spent training the Legion of the United States to enter battle against an organized army of Native Americans. This latter group was led by Little Turtle of the Miami tribe and Blue Jacket of the Shawnee tribe, who had handily defeated two American armies, one under the command of Brigadier General Josiah Harmar and the other under Major General Arthur St. Clair. Gaff has authored a number of military histories of Civil War and World War I units, and co-edited General John Gibbons’s journal of his time on the United States western frontier during the 1870s.

Gaff presents a straight-forward account of Wayne’s efforts to produce the first professional army in U.S. history. Wayne, a Revolutionary War hero, was a charismatic figure and a masterful military mind. The task of creating an army which could meet the threat presented by Native Americans presented a number of challenges that would need to be met and overcome. First was the recruitment of troops. Wayne relied on veterans of the American Revolution to fill the officer corps. The officers and sergeants were then sent out to various locations in the states to recruit the rank and file. Most
of the recruitment was focused on Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, as these states provided much of the pressure to settle the Old Northwest. They also were the states which had suffered the most recent conflicts with Native Americans; it seemed that every family along the border had lost loved ones through death or captivity from raids. Gaff shows that the recruiting efforts went further afield with rendezvous in Vermont, Massachusetts, Delaware, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

If Wayne is the hero of Gaff’s book, then Brigadier General James Wilkinson is the anti-hero. Wilkinson, in charge of Fort Washington at Cincinnati, felt command of the Legion should have been his and attempted to show Wayne in a less-than-favorable light to Secretary of War Henry Knox and other decision-makers. Wilkinson had his supporters in the west, among his existing troops, who were incorporated into the Legion. The problem began before Wayne had even arrived at Fort Washington when Wilkinson question Wayne’s motives in his desire to review final sentences in court-martial cases. Wilkinson hinted that perhaps Wayne was more interested in political rather than legal reasons for holding onto this power, which was traditionally reserved for the commander in the field. This situation would haunt Wayne throughout the campaign. Gaff makes use of the Wayne papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Wilkinson papers at the Library of Congress, as well as other manuscript sources and early newspapers, to delve deeply into the relationship between these two men.

Wilkinson was not Wayne’s only problem in creating the Legion of the United States and keeping it fit for battle. The recruiters frequently took men who were criminals and continued their criminal ways once in the army. To weed them out and remove them from the force took time. Petty rivalries arose between officers and enlisted men and between the Wayne and Wilkinson forces, all of which required much of Wayne’s time and energy. The Kentucky cavalry volunteers provided another time-consuming matter for Wayne. While they served as a powerful force to strike rapidly against Native American forces, the volunteers also carried an independent streak. Wayne struggled constantly to keep the Kentucky frontiersmen in line. Finally, he was confronted with supply contractors who frequently failed to provide the necessary supplies to the troops. In fairness, it must be noted that the contractors faced the same hardships and perhaps more. They were targeted by raiders from the Native American forces, as the Indian leaders knew that if Wayne’s forces could not be supplied, perhaps he would retreat. They would find out that Wayne was not going to retreat.

Gaff follows Wayne’s actions as he builds the Legion into a crack fighting force that finally moves north through the largely trackless wilderness of western Ohio to the St. Clair battlefield. He reclaimed the battlefield and built Fort Recovery on the site. With Native Americans keeping Wayne’s force under surveillance he knew he would be unable to surprise them, but he also took great precautions to
prevent a surprise attack on his army. Following the establishment of Fort Recovery, Wayne moved north again to junction of the Auglaize and Maumee Rivers where he established another strong fort, Fort Defiance. From here he set out to confront the Native Americans and British near Fort Miamis.

Along the Maumee River, just south of Fort Miamis, in an area where a tornado had recently destroyed the forest and created a jumble of fallen trees, Wayne’s Legion met and destroyed the confederacy of Native Americans at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. With this crushing defeat, and the refusal of the British to assist the fleeing Native Americans, Wayne succeeded in bringing the Native Americans to the table for peace negotiations. Following a further expedition up the Maumee River to the Miami villages and the establishment of Fort Wayne, Wayne summoned the principal chiefs and leaders of the defeated tribes to Fort Greeneville, where he brought the fighting in the Ohio country to an end with the Treaty of Greeneville.

The hardships faced by the Legion of the United States during this campaign are among the toughest conditions faced by troops up to this time. Gaff highlights many of the problems Wayne encountered with the suppliers of provisions; on a number of occasions rations were reduced for his soldiers. Wayne enforced a strict discipline among the men, most of whom did not really know what they were in for when they enlisted. A number of soldiers were executed for crimes such as desertion and dueling was quite common, especially between the Wayne and Wilkinson factions.

A number of soldiers with Wayne would go on and make their mark in the years to come. Among them were Lieutenant William Henry Harrison and Lieutenant William Clark. Harrison would eventually become President of the United States and Clark would team with Meriweather Lewis to explore the Louisiana Purchase. Other soldiers provided their names to counties, towns and streets, such as Lt. Colonel John F. Hamtramck (Hamtramck, Michigan), Captain William Wells (Wells Street in Fort Wayne, Indiana), Lieutenant Colonel William Darke (Darke County, Ohio) and Captain William Eaton (Eaton, Ohio).

Gaff’s work should stand as the definitive work on Wayne’s Legion of the United States for some time. He notes the unfortunate lack of records from the Native American standpoint of the campaign and seems to have exhausted any printed and manuscript sources. In sum, Bayonets in the Wilderness is a very good piece of scholarship which fills a gap in the history of the Old Northwest.
A CREOLE LEXICON: Architecture, Landscape, People 
by 
Jay Dearborn Edwards and Nicholas Kariouk Pecquet du Bellay de Verton 

299 pp. Appendix, Index. 
$95.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-8071-2764-7 

Reviewed for PAS by Christopher N. Matthews 

Students of early Louisiana and its Creole heritage have long faced a challenge not shared by many of their peers in American material-culture studies: the bulk of their primary documentary sources are written in French. This fact alone might not appear to complicate studies of Louisiana’s material culture; after all, the French language may be learned at most colleges and universities in the United States, and is easily translated with a common French-English dictionary. The problem lies in the dialect, the form of the language spoken in Louisiana. Louisiana French is a Creole amalgam of diverse dialects that also draw on the languages of Iberia, West Africa, Native America, and even local “restricted code expressions” (xx). Simply put, no modern French-English dictionary would ever suffice in the translation of Creole Louisiana’s documentary record. 

In an attempt to fill this void, Jay Dearborn Edwards and Nicholas Kariouk Pecquet du Bellay de Verton have compiled A Creole Lexicon: Architecture, Landscape, People. The primary purpose of their work is to provide a more useful tool than currently exists for understanding the vast Creole Louisiana documentary and material archive. After a short preface and introduction, the lexicon provides descriptions of nearly 3000 terms relevant to the material heritage of early Louisiana. These descriptions are “somewhere between the conventional structures of a dictionary, an encyclopedia, and a thesaurus” (xxviii). Some, such as “poste,” consist of only simple and brief definitions (“Post, pillar” [167]). Others, however, are described by referencing their history as material forms, their functional uses in Louisiana, and their component parts; for instance, twelve members are listed under the heading “lucarne” (dormer), each having its own Creole name (131-2). In addition, most of the complicated entries are illustrated with excellent line drawings. In all, 104 illustrations showing the details of architectural joinery, various house forms, and landscape features are distributed through the lexicon. 

The lexicon is followed by a reverse dictionary of sorts, grouped as sixteen “Topical Indexes.” These sections group terms of similar categories such as “physical geography,” “units of measure,” and
“people, professions, social and racial categories, cultural and governmental institutions.” With the indexes, a user may locate the pertinent discussions of relevant English concepts such as “riverbank” being found in entries for batture, berge, côte, écore, levée, and rive (211).

The lexicon is not a dictionary of Louisiana Creole. Its focus is the historic material culture of Creole Louisiana, primarily in the area of architecture, which includes buildings, fences, boats, materials, landscapes, natural resources, and the routine labors of those who commissioned, built, and lived in and/or used Louisiana’s historic houses and other artifacts. From this perspective, in an almost accidental way Edwards and Kariouk bring to life the culture of early Louisiana. As they state, “the heart of any culture is most specifically and meaningfully reflected in the richness of its vocabulary” (xiii). Carefully passing through the lexicon, readers may pick up the terms of the distant past, but more so, they will see embedded in this language of building, making, and knowing the material world the social forces that made these actions culturally productive. Most dominant to making social sense of Creole Louisiana is the plurality of histories and peoples that came together to produce a novel context for making life. Telling the histories of objects with the words people came up with to the describe them, the lexicon does much more than offer definitions. Its most significant contribution will be the many ways in which it promotes the understanding of the colonial context as one where the unfamiliar worlds of new landscapes and new people were made sense of everyday. While this book is biased towards those in power, without their terms and the histories that generated them we cannot truly appreciate the people whose lives are now the source of Louisiana’s Creole heritage.
The Spirits of America: A Social History of Alcohol
by Eric Burns
Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004
352 pp. Epilogue, Acknowledgments, Notes, Select Bibliography, Index
$29.00 (hardcover), ISBN 1-59213-214-6

Reviewed by PAS by Kevin Raleigh

In the ten chapters that comprise The Spirits of America: A Social History of Alcohol, Eric Burns traces the social history of alcohol in the United States through both geographical and biographical contexts, beginning with the Revolutionary War period and ending with the repeal of National Prohibition in 1933. Burns first connects liquor consumption to civilizations and places in world history, ending with colonial America, from which his theme of drinking as a national pastime is rooted and expounded. In the first chapter, Burns describes through an historical lens the extent of the social acceptability of alcohol in this country’s colonial and Revolutionary War eras. He then shifts to the initiation of the stigma of alcohol in Chapter Two. While present in colonial America, this stigma is suggested to have most significantly occurred due to the abstinence efforts of General James Oglethorpe in the colony of Georgia in the 1730s and by the research of Dr. Benjamin Rush, the Father of American psychiatry, whom Burns names as “perhaps the first temperance advocator” (54).

Alcohol’s social history continues into the nineteenth century in Chapter Three, in which the author describes the development of temperance societies in the United States, the proliferation of prohibition on state-wide bases in the 1850s, and the retraction of these laws during the Civil War. Chapter Four traces how the shunning of alcohol renewed in both social and political venues during the Reconstruction Era, and highlights the role that women played in this process. This focus is further developed in the subsequent two chapters, which are devoted to biographical sketches and accomplishments of Frances Willard and Carry Nation. Despite their shared beliefs of alcohol as sinful and harmful, these women approached those beliefs through entirely different methods—Willard was a founder of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, while Nation became a legendary figure known for destroying liquor bottles and establishments with a hatchet.

In Chapter Seven, Burns departs from women’s prohibition efforts, instead highlighting historical male figures including Howard Hyde Russell, who founded the Anti-Saloon League in 1893, and Wayne Wheeler, its national director. This chapter also introduces the reader
to the political history of prohibition in the United States, culminating with the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment in January 1919 and the National Prohibition Act, later the Volstead Act, “meant to be the muscle behind the Eighteenth Amendment” (183). The division of the country into “wet” and “dry” monikers is introduced here, a fitting description that segues nicely into Burns’s discussion of the Roaring ‘20s in Chapter Eight.

In the eighth chapter, Burns focuses on the illegal activities that pervaded the country from 1920-1933. Burns describes speakeasies, bootlegging and alcohol manufacture both through socio-historical and economic contexts, with particular attention given to several known large-scale bootleggers of the time, including George Remus and Bill McCoy. Chapter Nine then focuses on the other side of the prohibition law, its enforcement, with a piece on the Prohibition Bureau and biographical accounts of Eliot Ness, Isidor Einstein and Moe Smith and their role in Eighteenth Amendment enforcement. The book’s final chapter is situated in time before and after passage of the Twenty-First Amendment, discussing both significant individuals and anti-prohibition organizations that formed and the resulting changes in America just after 1933. The epilogue sketches a few highlights of alcohol’s social history in modern times, notably the historical development of Alcoholics Anonymous, Mothers Against Drunk Drivers (later renamed Mothers Against Drunk Driving) and a discussion of the political process that the State of Oklahoma endured in its quest to end state-wide prohibition, which occurred in 1959, after several attempts.

Three hundred pages is inadequate in covering the United States’ social history of alcohol through political, economic, moral and biographical venues, but Burns gallantly attempts this in a work that is overall entertaining and informative. His choice of key players in the alcohol debates over the past two centuries is compelling and justifies his perspective of alcohol’s social history. He also uses this social aspect to situate well-known events, such as the day National Prohibition was repealed, within wider social contexts, tracing what key players did on such a day and peering into their thoughts at the time. Further enhancing his work are anecdotes explaining the origin of present-day alcohol-related commonalties such as the club cover charge, as well as colloquialisms that have entered the lexicon, such as “the real McCoy” and “white mule.”

While informative, Burns’s publication sacrifices some details and abbreviates perspectives of key figures, events and organizations that he mentions. One may come away from his work yearning to delve further into scores of issues that he presented, like tantalizing hors d’oeuvres served before a magnificent dinner that never comes. Burns’s tone is conversational, though at times unnecessarily flip-pant: as one example, when describing the Union Temperance Society of Moreau and Northumberland, historically significant as the first such organization of its kind in the United States, Burns writes that “The Union Temperance Society of Moreau and Northumber-
land...soon became a prototype [for other temperance organizations]. Or, just as likely, it did not” (63).

Equally challenging is the book’s reference system. It does not have footnotes or parenthetical text references; rather, following its acknowledgments is the “Notes” section, organized by chapter, with referential notes listed by page numbers that are often repeated several times to accommodate the array of quotations and ideas obtained from other sources. For example, one of the notes of Chapter Four is listed as: “109 ‘Drunkenness is a disease,’ quoted in Holbrook, p. 92” (310). To find the Holbrook reference, the reader is forced to go to the next section, “Select Bibliography.” The title “Select Bibliography” also leaves this reviewer wondering if all bibliographic references were included.

Equally puzzling is Burns’s acknowledgment that “I am not, by training, a historian, but I play one in the preceding pages and have been well prepared for the role” (301). He is a broadcast journalist, yet his methodology is certainly historiographic: he speaks of interviews he conducted, transcripts and documents he reviewed and places he visited, yet it does not appear that he sought advice or input from any academic historian. Doing so would have probably supplemented his “well-preparedness” by providing additional rich historic details, facts and anecdotes complementing his offerings. Furthermore, such consultation would likely have solidified the frequent loose ends of certain stories and biographies that he generally concluded or dismissed by resorting to glibness.

One of Burns’s citations is Andrew Barr’s *Drink: A Social History of America* (1999), and upon first glance this reviewer wondered what would distinguish Burns’s work from this one. Certainly there is significant overlap of key events, but Barr’s work is more geographically diverse, examining occurrences, events and irregularities based on location, with greater emphasis given to the appearance and re-appearance of temperance organizations. Thus, while Burns also uses geography to situate events, his detail paid to it is less so. What Burns lacks in a more recent social history of alcohol, from the 1960s to the present, Barr offers. Conversely, however, save for several decades of the mid-nineteenth century, Barr does not delve as extensively into colonial history or into the 1920s as does Burns. Neither does Barr offer substantial biographies of prominent figures in the alcohol debates, nor does he situate persons and their actions within the mood of the era in which they lived. For example, Barr never mentions Frances Willard, and only briefly mentions Wayne Wheeler. While the purpose of this review is not to offer a comparative analysis between these authors, these brief notes are included because those who have studied historical and geographical aspects of alcohol have undoubtedly crossed paths with Barr’s book, with its similar title to this work by Burns.

Overall Burns’s work certainly contributes to the historical literature on alcohol in the United States and on the key events and players in its debates spanning 200-plus years. Despite its occasional
shortcomings as noted above, the book is easy to read, certainly informative, and would be of great interest to a wide and diverse readership.

References Cited


FISH INTO WINE:
The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century

by

Peter E. Pope

Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004
ix + 463 pp. Tables, Maps, Notes, Glossary, Index
$59.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-01-567890-8
$24.95 (paper), ISBN 0-8978-5576-6

Reviewed for PAS by Thomas A. Rumney

From the opening pages of his book, *Fish Into Wine*, Peter Pope explains an unexpectedly different place, people, settlement and economic system that grew and developed on the eastern maritime fringe of the North American continent during the seventeenth century. *Fish Into Wine*, a different sort of title in its own right, explains, discusses, and evaluates the colonies of Newfoundland as they were founded and functioned during the early days of European colonization of Canada’s Atlantic fringe.

The land that was to become Newfoundland was but a portion of a much broader economic, political, and social process that saw Europeans spread out across all sailing directions in the Atlantic Basin in search of commercial resources, lands to settle, and adventure. Newfoundland, however, was noticeably different from most of the other colonies that were to be established along the eastern edges of the North American continent by British, French, and other colonizers. To begin with, Newfoundland was a plantation--but not of the sort of Tara, cotton, and captive laborers. And, it was more than a place merely colonized. Newfoundland’s plantation came to connote a waterfront process of resource exploitation and a settlement that only eventually would become permanent and year-round. Few other European colonies were so focused upon fishing. And, in this cold, foggy, maritime sea- and landscape, even the word “planter” came
to mean something different: an economic personality of significance to the elaborate fishing trades of the island.

Newfoundland, as a colony, developed as no other European colony in North America, and much of the most significant characteristics of the area derived from the activities and decisions of a modest number of leaders and capitalists during the seventeenth century. Prominent among these leaders were George Calvert, who eventually would depart for Maryland after less-than-totally successful efforts in Newfoundland; and the Kirke clan, who became much more powerful and wealthy from these cold waters. Essential to these elites and to the many more who were of more modest means were the many fisheries, fishing techniques, and preservation methods that were established along and off the shores of the island. Initially relegated to summer, Newfoundland’s different fisheries (including those inshore or on the Banks, those dedicated to whaling, and others) created a coastally oriented human landscape of processing facilities, housing, and support structures, all the while pushing the local natives, the Beothuk, into the interior and away from their main source of survival.

During the earliest phases in the development of these fisheries, almost none from among the region’s European travelers (French, British, Basque, Spanish, and others) wintered over on the island. In fact, winter encampments often were discouraged by the leaders of the fisheries. Yet, eventually and slowly, small numbers of fishers, traders, dram-shop owners, smiths, and their families stayed and became the seeds for a permanent population of colonials. These people, largely from the West Country of England, Eire, and western France, created a homeland both reminiscent of western Europe, and separate from it. All the while, except for an occasional hunting jaunt, Newfoundland remained a thin ribbon of commercial settlement strung along the twisted coasts of the island.

In terms of quantity, quality, and profitability, Newfoundland’s fisheries were consistently bountiful. Yet, one thing also was assured: the products of these fisheries could not be sold at home. Rather, they had to be moved off the island after processing, and sold in a variety of markets throughout Europe and the Caribbean. Quickly, after early trading contacts occurred, those carrying and selling the fish realized that they could enhance their economic well being by carrying a great number of other cargoes to many ports on both sides of the Atlantic. Among the most profitable of these were wines and spirits. The markets for such drink, both in Newfoundland and other New World colonies were prodigious and ever growing. Newfoundland ports often served as wholesaling and distribution foci for the wine trade as well.

The dynamics of the regional economic and settlement systems were in a state of constant change. As more fishermen over-wintered, more families came to stay, too. The cultural landscapes of the still-coastal hamlets and ports changed as well. More elaborate housing and barns, processing facilities, commercial establishments, and
boatyards came about. Aside from St. John's, the largest settlement, many other places came and went, grew or declined, depending on the fortunes of the fisheries. By the end of the century, and after conflict with the French, Newfoundland had become a place entirely different from other North American colonies and places.

Newfoundland has a split personality, looking eastward to Europe for markets for its fish and trade, and westward for other businesses with New England and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Dominated by a few successful business people, like the Kirkes, this was a colony that was less formal, and more focused upon a single commodity. While constantly pushing inland the native Beothuk and whittling away their numbers to the point of their extinction in the early nineteenth century, Newfoundlanders rarely strayed far from the smells of salt water and drying fish. This focused and limited world in a land of few other recognized resources, remained this way until after Newfoundland joined Canada.

By the time one is finished with Pope's examination of early Newfoundland, the reader has a firm grasp of the complex, thorough, and detailed understanding of this island. Of necessity, Pope focuses on the European impacts and dimensions of the island's human tapestry, and gives brief though sufficient notice to the Beothuk tragedy. The author uses a definitely multi-disciplinary approach to explain and interpret the efforts, events, and undertakings of tens of thousands of participants. History, politics, geography, anthropology, archeology, economics, and maritime technology all serve to give depth and breadth to this study. While not found on every page, reprints, maps, diagrams, charts, and other visual aids are used often and effectively. The research completed for this volume is both profuse and varied, with primary and secondary resources being used in great number. The book also is clear of writing, editing, and printing mistakes. The University of North Carolina Press is to be commended for its good work.

If there is a quibble with the book, it could be with the lack of a bibliography. Footnotes — many footnotes — are located at the bottom of almost every page of text in a more traditional format. Yet, even this possible negative point may be insignificant. With its extensive length (463 pages), this volume is a long and detailed read. Given the large quantity and variety of references used, an extra-large block of pages that repeats information might not be warranted. Still, it could be helpful for those interested to have that concentrated listing of references.

In Fish Into Wine, Peter Pope has produced a worthy, informative, and erudite volume that enriches the ongoing studies of Canada, the North Atlantic, and North America in general. This book belongs on the shelves of those who study this region and its past.
HONKY TONK HERO

by

Billy Joe Shaver

Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005
xiv + 191 pp. Illustrations and song lyrics
$19.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-292-70613-8

Reviewed for PAS by Cory Joe Stewart

When the legends of country music are listed, the list no doubt will include Johnny Cash, Waylon Jennings, Willie Nelson, and Kris Kristofferson. All of these artists owe a debt to the creativity and songwriting skills of Billy Joe Shaver. Shaver has been described as a singer, songwriter, poet, actor and outlaw. His autobiography, Honky Tonk Hero, is not the definitive work about his life. There is far more to this man than can be compressed in these few pages. Rather, this work has the feel of a conversation with a man looking back on his life, briefly hitting the high and low points, to introduce himself and put his accomplishments into context.

Shaver addresses the purpose for his autobiography in his introduction, writing that, simply, God wanted him to tell his story. This example illustrates how Shaver’s personality comes through directly in much of the book. His story begins before he was born in Texas, as Shaver briefly describes his family background. Soon it becomes clear that where he is from is an integral part of who he is. The culture in which he grew up shaped his music, religious beliefs, and his personality.

Shaver’s life, like any, is full of turning points, and the book focuses on four. The first of these was the loss of portions of three fingers on his right hand while working in a saw mill. A guitar player usually would see this as a major impediment, but to Shaver it represents the moment at which he realized that he would concentrate on writing songs. He had composed poetry and songs during most of his life up to that point, and had even received some recognition from one of his teachers. Songwriting, however, had yet to be a professional goal.

Shaver’s first breakthrough came when Kris Kristofferson covered “Christian Soldier,” a song which Shaver wrote for — and which was turned down by — Chet Atkins. This song did not make the songwriter an overnight success, but it did garner him the attention of many artists in country music. This attention led to the next turning point in his life, when Waylon Jennings promised to record an album of Shaver’s songs after meeting him at a music festival organized by Willie Nelson. Shaver relates many anecdotes in which he tried to remind Jennings of his promise, including one colorful incident involving a standoff with Jennings’s bodyguards. Jennings eventually
did record the album, the classic *Honky Tonk Heroes*. This album has become legendary in the country-music industry, and helped to give birth to the “outlaw country” genre that eventually would include Jennings, Willie Nelson, Kris Kristofferson, and David Alan Coe, among others. *Honky Tonk Heroes* was an immediate success and inspired Willie Nelson to record his monumental *Red Headed Stranger*.

Jennings’s triumph resulted in large measure from the time at which he recorded and from the atmosphere of the music scene, both of which Billy Joe Shaver captured in his lyrics. Shaver’s professional life hinges on that album. He saw many successes after that, but often had difficulty working in the world of country music. Like so many critical successes, the industry had difficulty figuring out what to do with the songwriter. Was he best categorized and marketed as a rock artist, or country? Promoters could not agree.

Meanwhile, Shaver very much lived up to the outlaw image he presented in his lyrics. His personal life was altered, however, by an event that took place in his house. The songwriter relates that one evening, he saw what he believes to have been either an angel or a demon. After a transitional experience on a stone altar, Shaver decided to cease his hard living. He never went to rehab, but he ended his drug addiction. Like most addicts, fighting addiction has become a lifelong process for him.

Death became the fourth turning point: Shaver’s wife, whom he married three times, died of cancer; and his son and musical partner, Eddy, died under mysterious circumstances shortly thereafter. The last album on which he and Eddy worked together, *The Earth Rolls On*, met with moderate commercial success and was praised by critics. Also, around this same time Billy began to garner attention from those outside the music industry, particularly actor Robert Duvall, who cast Shaver in his film, *The Apostle*. The time period has been referred to as that in which Billy Joe Shaver “reemerged,” but as Shaver points out in his book, he never went anywhere.

*Honky Tonk Hero* is written in the same colorful language as Billy Joe Shaver’s songs, and is full of anecdotes about fights, concerts, meeting Elvis Presley, and seeing Hank Williams as a young man. The reader may get the sense that Shaver is casually relating his tales from across the table. To ascertain the importance of such a book is difficult. Country music historians and fans no doubt will find it useful. The final 100 pages included lyrics to every song Shaver has recorded and a list of his albums. Shaver’s story is so personal in nature that country-music historians may be disappointed that they are not given a broader image of the events surrounding the musical culture of the period, particularly the emergence of the outlaw scene. Nevertheless, this is a work that tells the humble story of a legend who has influenced the careers of so many in American music.
The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader is a collection of essays dealing with how consumerism both shapes and is shaped by gender identity. The book is divided into four sections, each containing essays and archival material. The first part looks at the home, the second at identity, the third at who creates the gendered image, and the last at resistance to dominant material culture. The abiding message is that people create their own identity, and that providers of material goods base their decisions on what people buy. Thus, gender identity through consumer culture is not forced on anyone, rather each group decides for itself what promotes its own character.

Part One, “The Home: Stretching the Boundaries of the Domestic Sphere,” contains four essays on various aspects of domesticity. Jewish women were capable and respected homemakers and businesswomen in the Progressive Era. They, more than any other immigrant group, controlled what was bought for the household, and they also had more money than most. The Jewish women were responsible for mainstreaming their children into the dominant American culture. At the same time, in London’s West End, shopping became known as a pleasurable and refined activity, due to advertising by Selfridge’s department store. Their advertisements showed ladies enjoying shopping, being part of the public sphere, while remaining “ladies.” In New York, gay men created domiciles and communities by taking over social centers such as the YMCA, certain cafeterias, and rooming houses. The last essay in this section shows how the do-it-yourself boom in the 1950s allowed men to become part of the private sphere without losing their masculinity, by using power tools. The archival material is two descriptions of Playboy’s version of the perfect bachelor pad.

In Part Two, “You Are What You Buy: Individual and Group Identity through Proper Consumption,” the effect of advertising images on certain groups is documented. American Indians in nineteenth-century advertising sold all manner of goods from baking powder to baseball teams while reducing the Indians themselves to mere stereotypes in the American mind. Soap advertisements, with their emphasis on white skin, promoted British imperialism and the raising of darker-skinned natives to almost British–white–status. In the
1920s, lesbians did not promote their own culture as openly as gay men did, but Harlem, with its willingness to take advantage of white customers, provided an outlet for experimental women. Marketing for African-American women’s hair products shifted from promising straight, glossy hair to a more natural look, demonstrating the growth of pride in an African heritage. Advertisement for khaki pants played on the desire of most men *not* to stand out from the crowd. The archival material is two ads that show changing gender roles, but traditional racial ones.

The third part, “Under Whose Direction: Consumer Culture’s Message Makers,” rejects the idea that male advertisers force their products on a helpless female consumer population. First, there were powerful women in the advertising business from the beginning, and they, too, promoted the domestic ideal for women. Also, much of men’s ideas of female identity came from men’s magazines such as *Esquire*, with its misogynistic and overly sexualized images. The growth of shopping centers after World War II increased the appeal of mass consumption for wealthier people in the suburbs while poor, inner-city residents were forced to shop at run-down, poorly-stocked stores. Even feminist jargon could be used by marketers. Once women were free to go to school and have careers, advertisers began to brainwash them into believing that they had to be beautiful and young to be successful. In Jamaica, romance books featured young women that were not only of color, but who defied gender roles by having careers and rejecting unsuitable suitors. These books, marketed toward young teen-aged females, had a much more realistic worldview than most romance novels. The archival material contains cartoons from *The New Yorker* and *Fortune* magazines.

Part Four, “Purchasing Possibilities: Sexuality, Pleasure, and Resistance in Consumer Culture,” demonstrates how people used consumerism to resist a dominant culture and how they resisted marketing that did not fit their ideas of race, class, and gender. Middle-class women shoplifters were treated with leniency by shop owners eager for their business. Was their surreptitious taking a facet of resistance to class and gender constructions? Working-class girls from the 1880s to 1920s found that they, too, could get material goods without paying for them by dating richer men. During World War II with its rationing and intolerant patriotism, Hispanic men resisted the dominant culture by adopting the zoot suits of African Americans. The resulting culture clashes and violent rioting, mostly attacks on Mexican Americans by service men in uniform, show the strength of the backlash against that resistance. Color was also a factor in Jamaican beauty pageant, where white skin brought victory, enraging those who valued their racial heritage. Jamaicans of color resisted the idea that only white was beautiful. The last essay illustrates how advertisers could appeal to the gay market without offending the straights by including ambiguous and single-person images in their ads. The archival material here includes two poems.
The overall theme that women and minorities were not helpless victims of white males when it came to consumer culture is well supported. While these essays do not necessarily break new ground, they do demonstrate sound research and show how a narrow focus can shed light on a broader topic. The book would work well in a gender studies or material culture class. Individual essays would be appropriate and useful for Women’s Studies, Chicano Studies, and Queer Studies courses.

MUSIC IN OHIO
by
William Osborne

Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2004
ix + 662 pp. Preface, Illustrations, Appendices, Selected Bibliography, Index.
$60.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-87338-775-9

Reviewed for PAS by Jeff Wanser

A colleague in my college’s Music Department and I have had a long-running discussion over the importance of Ohio in American music. It was sparked by the construction of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum in Cleveland in the mid-1990s, and by our mutual puzzlement (neither of us being from Ohio) over its placement in a city that seemingly had little to do with the origins of the music. Instead, its situation had a great deal to do with its marketing and promotion through Alan Freed, prominent radio disc jockey, who soon left Cleveland for New York and eventual scandal and ruin. How could Cleveland rightly claim rock and roll? Could Ohio claim any musical genre? I have since discovered Cleveland-style polka, and its very own Hall of Fame in Euclid, Ohio (a fine facility, if you are in town), but discussions with my colleague largely have been cloaked in ignorance.

I was happy to have the opportunity to read William Osborne’s Music in Ohio, encyclopedic in scope, which attempts to assess the history, importance and influence of all aspects of music both from and into Ohio. For at least two reasons, writing this saga must have been a daunting task. First, synthesizing the musical history of any state in all its various forms likely will create a disjointed affair. Can one connect the events and trends in classical music with activities in jazz or folk genres? Will the effort really be a synthesis or just a juxtaposition of summaries? The second problem is Ohio itself,
less a state than a collection of city-states, with markedly different cultures and histories, where the red and the blue are pretty clearly demarcated, and the north meets the south somewhere along Route 40, the National Road.

Osborne, Distinguished Professor of Fine Arts at Dennison University, tries to be comprehensive (more than 500 pages) without being exhaustive, acknowledging that major gaps remain and that some areas of Ohio’s musical heritage are better documented than others. He chose a topical rather than strictly chronological approach, although often he takes up topics in a rough historical sequence. Six large sections divide up the musical world into convenient but overlapping areas, further sliced into 38 chapters. Part One outlines the period up to the Civil War, focusing on four cities of prominence: Marietta, the earliest major settlement; Cincinnati, soon to loom the largest; Cleveland, looming later; and Zanesville, for which there is considerable early documentation. All four reflected general trends of the trans-Appalachian frontier in the transplantation of sacred music traditions which then took their own course, the mix of vernacular and popular styles, and the slow, steady development of interest in and support for classical music. Cincinnati clearly dominated in almost every area of music for much of the nineteenth century, in terms of music education, singing societies, orchestras, music publishing, instrument manufacture, and other areas. Its key location on the Ohio River and its status as the unofficial capital of the West until after the Civil War were major factors. Also important was the influx of thousands of musically inclined German immigrants determined to preserve and perpetuate their culture through a variety of institutions, including the men’s singing society. Some of these continue to the present, despite waves of anti-German sentiment generated by the two World Wars.

New England, the other font of musical wisdom, appeared most prominently in northeast Ohio’s Western Reserve, the Yankee part of the state, but extended its fingers into every corner, particularly in music education — the subject of Part Two. Singing schools, initially separate from the public school system, but later often incorporated into them, were transplanted to fertile Ohio soil. Shape-note singing books were brought to early Ohio and later published there, while other systems of notation were tried and abandoned, as standard notation eventually won out. Shape-note singing disappeared in Ohio, but later reappeared with the northward migration of African Americans in the twentieth century. Osborne covers in depth the valiant efforts of advocates to place music (almost always choral) into the public school system in various cities. Here he discusses Cincinnati and Cleveland, but also Columbus, Zanesville, and Oberlin as case studies. One can see similar processes of musical growth in each community; the development of Handel and Haydn societies for singing and teaching, the opening of music stores providing better access to instruments and sheet music, and the growth of private, then public instruction for music. Everywhere, a mix of classical,
sacred and patriotic music was promoted, with the important addition of songs written especially for children’s education.

After his geographic survey, Osborne examines a number of specific institutions in separate chapters, including the Cleveland Music School Settlement, the Dana Institute/School of Music (Warren, later Youngstown), the Oberlin College Conservatory of Music, and others. In each he outlines their origins, growth, economic and political struggles, physical facilities, curriculum, and other information in detail that only an alumnus could love. However, with the detail, one can begin to see similarities of trajectory in these institutions’ lives, relationships between them and their larger communities, overall trends in music, and the effects of wars and economics on musical culture. Unfortunately, Osborne leaves it to the reader to tease out some of these larger patterns.

Classical, or art, music is the next section in the parade, with chapters on the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, the Cleveland Orchestra, Baldwin-Wallace College’s Bach Festival, and others. These chapters are treated similarly to the previous section, with extensive lists of conductors, repertoire, and changes in venue. Osborne apologizes for not treating all of the state’s orchestras and other musical entities with equal detail. Institutions in Toledo, Columbus, and Akron are among those that are not included.

Part Four relates a series of chapters concerning religious music and singing societies. There is some overlap with previously presented material, but the perspective is quite different, with sections on hymnals and publishing, Mormon, Shaker, and Moravian music, and Welsh and German singing societies. His chapter on White gospel song in the context of Protestant revival is particularly enlightening, and the sections on German and Welsh musical traditions are very well presented, opening up areas of music history about which I was largely unaware.

Part Five attempts to cover all other musical genres in a string of chapters. Osborne discusses Ohio folk music in a somewhat cursory manner, with some detail given to the ballad tradition, especially as related to the Civil War and the Underground Railroad. Much less space is given to canal and river songs, and bare mention is made of the continuing popularity of folk festivals. Blackface minstrelsy is given a chapter, but this material is better covered elsewhere. The author is at his best when delving into the brass and marching band traditions and Slovenian, or Cleveland-style polka. Less successful are his forays into jazz, pop and rock genres, which seemingly do not lend themselves to a statewide treatment. The study of jazz in a particular city might be very useful, but music scenes are local, and Ohio is just not the right scale of analysis to address issues of interest in these musical styles.

The last section of the book concerns the music industry, including instrument makers, publishers and recorded music. The history of the companies that made Baldwin pianos and Wurlitzer organs in Cincinnati (now gone elsewhere), several major publishers of sacred
music, and the origins of Muzak all make for fascinating reading, but much of it seems like an afterthought or appendix to the rest of the book. True appendices follow, in the form of musician biographies and lists of Ohio-published sheet music. The notes and bibliography are excellent.

For the researcher of material culture there is a wealth of information presented related to the time-space framework for music making, the venues and technologies through which it has occurred, and the spatial variation in the state related to urbanization, ethnicity and other factors. Osborne’s emphasis, however, is on the music and the individuals who created it, so that material considerations are largely implicit. Like all such endeavors to synthesize a vast subject, the book has strengths and weaknesses, and in the areas of music education, classical and ethnic music, the book is very strong. Other sections are less so, but the only howling frustration is the lack of maps and an insufficient number of photographs and illustrations to help capture the feel of music in the context of place.

As for my discussion with my colleague, Osborne relates something far more important about Cleveland’s music history than Alan Freed, who came and went in a flash. His radio sponsor was Leo Mintz, Cleveland record-store owner and innovator who introduced the open browsing bin and the listening booth in his retail record shops in the 1940s. Now that’s innovation!
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