PAST
Pioneer America Society Transactions

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PAST consists of papers and abstracts of papers presented at the annual meeting of the Pioneer America Society. Any paper that was presented at the previous year’s annual meeting is eligible for publication in this Journal. Manuscripts are not peer-reviewed, and the Editor will make grammatical corrections only. Manuscripts submitted for publication should conform to the Style Guide, which is available at www.castleton.edu/~scr10240/PAST.html. Authors should consult the most recent edition of PAST for examples of the preferred editorial style. Manuscripts should be submitted directly to the Editor via email as Word attachments or via conventional mail on disk or CD-ROM as Word documents. Photos and illustrations should be submitted electronically as .jpg attachments. Inquiries should be addressed to the Editor, including copyright permission, reprints, and letters to the Editor.

The Pioneer America Society, Inc., is a nonprofit organization in accordance with the laws of the State of Ohio. Dues and contributions are tax deductible. Annual dues of the Society, which include a subscription to Material Culture, PAST, and the Society’s electronic newsletter, are $40 for individuals, $15 for students, $50 institutional, $75 sustaining, and $250 for life membership. Membership information, dues, and other questions referring to the Society’s activities should be directed to either the Interim Director or the Secretary-Treasurer. Information is also available online at the Society’s web site, www.pioneeramerica.org. Back issues of several volumes of PAST are available for $5.00 each. Please contact Frank Ainsley, University of North Carolina, for more information.

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On the cover: Heritage Center of Clark County, Springfield, Ohio.
Photograph courtesy Artimus Keiffer.
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SPRINGFIELD, OHIO

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Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes

Mission Statement

The Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes (PAS:APAL) is a professional and scholarly organization formed to promote dialogue and discourse among its diverse membership. It exists to promote and support the serious study of material culture, in all its forms, and ongoing efforts of documentation and preservation of these artifacts extant in the Americas. The Society is an international, non-profit, educational association supported entirely by membership dues and contributions. Its membership is drawn from various academic disciplines (geography, history, anthropology, folklore), applied professions (architects, lawyers, preservationists, educators), along with informed and interested parties that enjoy the pursuit of interpreting the visual landscape and adding to the list of scholarly research.

The mission of PAS:APAL is an urgent one and has become more so in recent years. With each passing day, the objects that we identify as material artifacts, which is virtually everything created by human conduct and defines us as a culture, are disappearing at an alarming rate. Members of the Society gather annually at an organized conference to present to others their research into the fundamental objects, rituals, and ideals that have shaped the landscapes of the Americas. Sharing their research with a larger audience allows understanding and appreciation of such phenomena which can then be supported by the membership body. The knowledge of the past gives us insight into where we are today, and can provide some direction for future endeavors.

Publication of the Society’s peer-reviewed, scholarly journal Material Culture and conference proceedings in Pioneer America Society Transactions documents and disseminates this research and these findings to an international audience. This, in turn, allows others to fully appreciate that which they see on a daily basis. Thus, the mission of the Society is carried out for future researchers and an appreciation of the things we may consider today to be mundane. As they become oddities in the future, there will be a body of literature to give the proper context of such subjects from a contemporary viewpoint. As members, we hold this mission in high regard, and focus our expertise and energy to make sure that which defines us now is interpreted in the proper vein by successive layers of interested researchers.
Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes

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Echoes of the Past

In 1978, Pioneer America Society Transactions, or PAST, debuted as a record of the Pioneer America Society’s annual meeting. Since that time, PAST has published papers representing the topical and geographical diversity of subjects covered by Pioneer America Society members, and has kept readers informed of the latest research in fields related to the preservation of artifacts and landscapes.

In October 2006, a year after the cancellation of the annual meeting planned for Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the Pioneer America Society convened in Springfield, Ohio. Although no volume of PAST can fully convey the scope and diversity of papers presented at the meeting, those that have been selected to appear in this volume do begin to suggest the many interests and contributions of the Society’s members.

Jim Gabbert’s research regarding the Chilocco Indian Agricultural School introduces us to the forgotten remnants of a once-thriving and historically important “Indian training school” in Oklahoma. Gabbert’s article, coupled with Marshall Bowen’s work on Obsheena, an early twentieth-century communal settlement in central Arizona, demonstrates (among other things) the highly ephemeral nature of the landscapes—even recent ones—which the Society strives to preserve. Bowen’s “Obsheena” may also mark the first references to popular-culture icons Ozzy Osborne, Kid Rock, and Britney Spears in any Pioneer America Society publication.

Herbert Richardson and Charles Stansfield tackle a much broader subject, utilizing post-card images from around the world to illustrate how parks, streets, and public squares were used before the automobile became dominant in those landscapes. On the other hand, Claudette Stager and Martha Carver’s article about their experiences in planning a conference and preparing their book, Looking Beyond the Highway, continues this journal’s tradition of publishing articles that serve practical guides to the activities in which Society members are active.

This volume would not have been possible without the help of a number of people. I wish to thank the authors for their contributions and their patience, and particularly Herb and Bev Richardson for their hospitality and for allowing me to invade their home to scan a small portion of their incredible postcard collection. Deb Slater deserves tremendous credit for her work in preparing this volume for publication. I also want to thank Stephanie Abbot Roper and Artimus Keiffer for their help and support as this volume was prepared for publication.

Scott Roper
Editor
Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes

38th Annual Conference
Springfield, Ohio, October 5-7, 2006

Schedule of Events

Thursday, October 5

5:00-7:00 PM Board Meeting, Courtyard by Marriott Board Room
6:00-9:00 PM Registration—Heritage Center of Clark County Opening Reception

Friday, October 6

7:30 AM-5:30 PM Shouvlin Atrium, Wittenberg University
7:30 AM-3:00 PM Registration
7:30-9:00 AM Continental Breakfast
8:30–10:00 AM Paper Sessions
Room 201 Industry and Transportation (Chair: Ralph Lenz)
Room 105B Artifacts of Tourism (Chair: Claudette Stager)
10:00-10:30 AM Break
10:30 AM-Noon Paper Sessions
Room 105B Ethnicity (Chair: Marshall Bowen)
Room 201 Rural Structures (Chair: Neal Hitch)
Noon-1:30 Business Luncheon
Gary Gaffield: Greeting
Business Meeting
Paula S. Reed: 2007 Annual Conference, Hagerstown, MD
1:45-3:15 PM Paper Sessions
Room 105B Race and Place (Chair: Olga Medvedkov)
Room 201 Art and Architecture (Chair: Jerry Pankhurst)
3:15-3:30 PM Break
3:30-5:30 PM Paper Sessions
Room 105B Heritage Preservation (Chair: Kevin Rose)
Room 201 Student Paper Competition (Chair: Artimus Keiffer)
7:30-10:00 PM Awards Banquet, Courtyard by Marriott

Saturday, October 7

8:00 AM-5:00 PM Field Trip
South Fountain Historic District
Whitehall Farm
Hertzler House
Snyder Park (box lunch)
Pennsylvania House
Masonic Temple
Bushnell House and Walking Tour

8:00-10:00 PM Closing Reception, Frank Lloyd Wright’s Wescott House
Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes

38th Annual Conference
Springfield, Ohio, October 5-7, 2006

Schedule of Papers Presented

Session 1A: Artifacts of Tourism
Chair: Claudette Stager, Tennessee Historical Commission

8:30-8:50 AM  John Jakle, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
“The Highway Experience: Towards a Cross Cultural Perspective”

8:50-9:10 AM  Jefferson Rogers, The University of Tennessee at Martin
“Reelfoot Lake: A Century of Postcards from a Fishman’s Paradise”

9:10-9:30 AM  Kevin Patrick, Indiana University of Pennsylvania
“‘More than a Cave, Man:’ Interpreting Tourist Caves as Place”

9:30-9:50 AM  Keith Sculle, Illinois Historic Preservation Agency
“Making Some History: The Promotional Efficacy of Brochures, Booklets, and Picture Postcards for the Fountain of Youth, St. Augustine, Florida”

9:50-10:00 AM  Questions and Answers

Session 1B: Industry and Transportation
Chair: Ralph Lenz, Wittenberg University

8:30-8:50 AM  Mike Davis, Detroit Historical Society & Eastern Michigan University
“Detroit’s Milwaukee Junction: ‘Cradle of the Automobile Industry’
8:50-9:10 AM  Daniel Krall, Cornell University
“The Downtown Pedestrian Mall: Landscape Relic or Resource?”

9:10-9:30 AM  Herbert Richardson and Charles Stansfield, Rowan University
“The Uses of Public Spaces before the Automobile”

9:30-9:50 AM  Thomas Rasmussen, Albert University
“Growth of Commerce and Industry in Rural Western New York, 1870-1920.”

9:50-10:00 AM Questions and Answers

Session 2A: Rural Structures
Chair: Neal Hitch, Ohio Historical Society

10:30-10:50 AM  Robert Ensminger, Kutztown University
“Mysteries of the Isaac Long Barn”

10:50-11:10 AM  Hillary Murtha, University of Delaware
“Sweet Bells Jangled out of Tune: Sound and Silence, Visibility and Presence in the American Domestic Setting, 1800-1870”
(Warren E. Roberts Award Winner)

11:10-11:30 AM  Kevin Coleman, Intrepid Historical Services
“A Grain Elevator Typology: A Preliminary Classification System”

11:30-11:50 AM  Margaret Rasmussen
“Waging War with Wool—Thomas Jefferson’s Foreign Intrigue for U.S. Industrial Independence”

11:50 AM-noon Questions and Answers

Session 2B: Ethnicity
Chair: Marshall Bowen, University of Mary Washington

10:30-10:50 AM  Marshall Bowen, University of Mary Washington
“Obsheena: A Communal Settlement in Central Arizona”
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<td>11:10-11:30 AM</td>
<td>Caru Bowns</td>
<td>Pennsylvania State University</td>
<td>“New Echota: Evidence of Continuity and Change in Nineteenth-Century Cherokee Material Culture”</td>
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<td>11:30-11:50 AM</td>
<td>Jim Gabbert</td>
<td>Oklahoma State Historic Preservation</td>
<td>“Prairie Light: The Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, a Reflection of Federal Indian Policy”</td>
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Session 3A: Art and Architecture
Chair: Jerry Pankhurst, Wittenberg University

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<td>1:45-2:05 PM</td>
<td>Joanne Stuttgen</td>
<td>Independent Scholar</td>
<td>“Designing Place: Architecture as Community Art in Martinsville, Indiana”</td>
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<td>2:05-2:25 PM</td>
<td>Chris Mayda</td>
<td>Eastern Michigan University</td>
<td>“It’s Art and Geography?”</td>
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<td>2:25-2:45 PM</td>
<td>Katie Algeo</td>
<td>Western Kentucky University</td>
<td>“Pre-Park Habitation of the Mammoth Cave Region: Homesteads and Settlements”</td>
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<td>2:45-3:05 PM</td>
<td>Wayne Brew</td>
<td>Montgomery County Community College</td>
<td>“Big-Foot’ in the Landscape: McMansions and Their Place in Architectural History”</td>
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<td>3:05-3:15 PM</td>
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Session 3B: Race and Place
Chair: Olga Medvedkov, Wittenberg University

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<td>1:45-2:05 PM</td>
<td>Mary Ann Olding</td>
<td>Old World Research</td>
<td>“Researching Ohio’s Black Cemeteries”</td>
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2:05-2:25 PM Brett Rogers, William Woods University
“Farmers, Planters, and the Architecture of Slavery in the Hemplands of Missouri’s Little Dixie”

2:25-2:45 PM John Davenport, University of Kentucky
“New Orleans’ Bywater Historic District: Gentrification, Preservation, and Racialized Boundaries”

2:45-3:05 PM Dawn Bowen, University of Mary Washington
“Changing Patterns of Race and Residence in Early Twentieth-Century Richmond”

3:05-3:15 PM Questions and Answers

Session 4A: Hubert Wilhelm Student Paper Competition
Chair: Artimus Keiffer, Wittenberg University

Judges: Dawn Bowen, University of Mary Washington
Hillary Murtha, University of Delaware
Scott Roper, Castleton State College

3:30-3:50 PM Kelly Connor, Ohio Historical Society
“Where Did All These People Sleep? Reinterpreting Beds and Bedrooms at the Grant Boyhood Home and the Rev. John Rankin House”

3:50-4:10 PM Linda Pansing, Ohio Historical Society
“With a Silver Spoon in his Mouth: Interpreting Artifacts and Archaeology at the Grant Boyhood Home”

4:10-4:30 PM D’Weston Haywood, Northwestern University
“Piety and Pistols: Reverend John Rankin at the Intersection of Abolition, Faith, and Violence”

4:30-4:50 PM Glenn Taylor, Jr., Wittenberg University
“The Event Stadium: Historical Stimulant or Revitalizing Component?”

4:50-5:00 PM Questions and Answers
Session 4B: Heritage Preservation
Chair: Kevin Rose, The Turner Foundation

3:30-3:50 PM Mary Hoerner, HALS Co-Liaison, Ohio ASLA
“HALS and Ohio’s Landscape Heritage”

3:50-4:10 PM Martha Carver, Tennessee Department of Transportation and Claudette Stager, Tennessee Historical Commission
“Partnering Past the Pavement”

4:10-4:30 PM Krista Magaw and Douglas Bailey, Tecumseh Land Trust
“Preserving Our Rural Heritage”

4:30-4:50 PM Ronald Bovertsky, KCI Associates of Ohio
“Preserving Our Nation’s Transportation Heritage: Restoring the Blaine Hill Stone-Arch Bridge”

4:50-5:00 PM Questions and Answers
Abstracts of Papers Presented

Pioneer America Society
Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes
38th Annual Conference
Springfield, Ohio
October 5-7, 2006

Pre-Park Habitation of the Mammoth Cave Region: Homesteads and Settlements

Katie Algeo, Western Kentucky University

Mammoth Cave National Park was established to preserve a unique landscape of outstanding natural character. As with other national parks carved out of the eastern United States, the region that was to become the park was already well settled. Estimates of 500 families and over 2,000 individuals displaced by land acquisition for the park between 1926 and 1941 give an idea of the scale of settlement. With the aid of maps and archival photographs, this paper examines the vernacular housing and settlement patterns of those pre-park residents. A rich visual archive of homesteads and farmsteads exists owing to the work of Civilian Conservation Corp photographers who documented property conditions during eminent domain proceedings and prior to demolition. In keeping with the park service policy of the day, wilderness was to be preserved (or, more accurately, re-created) through the removal of houses and eradication of the cultural landscape of settlement. Today, traces of the old settlements are detectable, if faintly, in the palimpsest of the park landscape.

Preserving Our Nation’s Transportation Heritage: Restoring the Blaine Hill Stone-Arch Bridge

Ronald Bovetsky, KCI Associates of Ohio

This presentation is on the repair and the restoration of the Blaine Hill Bridge. The bridge is a 345-foot, S-shaped, three span, stone-arch structure built in 1828. The bridge was on the National Road and has been designated as the Bicentennial Bridge of Ohio. This program is a 30-minute slide presentation on the rebuilding of the 50-foot arch and the restoration of the other two arches and the approaches. The projects used innovative and unique construction methods and took great efforts to protect the historic value of the structure and the original sandstone. The site is unique in that three generations of interstate highways (the National Road, U.S. 40, and I-70) are within sight. A fourth-generation addition (I-470) is just on the other side of the hill.
Changing Patterns of Race and Residence in Early Twentieth-Century Richmond

Dawn S. Bowen, University of Mary Washington

Racial transformation of neighborhoods, particularly those in the central city, has been a long standing phenomenon 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 15 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’ socioeconomic status.

Obsheena: A Communal Settlement in Central Arizona

Marshall E. Bowen, University of Mary Washington

The last of four agricultural colonies established near Phoenix, Arizona, by Russian Molokans between 1911 and 1917, Obsheena was founded as a communal settlement occupied primarily by families from San Francisco. After a promising start, Obsheena unraveled in the face of personal conflicts, larceny of community property, and the loss of most of its young men, who were imprisoned for refusing to register for the draft during the First World War. The commune was dissolved in 1918, and most of its members drifted away. By 1925 only two Russian families remained on what had once been Obsheena property, and as the years passed the number of Molokan families living here fluctuated between one and three. Today, barely a quarter of the land is used for agriculture, while the remainder contains apartment complexes and residential subdivisions, strip malls, and an open-air concert pavilion. The only hint of the once-dominant Russian presence is a solitary farmhouse occupied by the elderly son of an original settler, and a mailbox showing his family’s name. The transformation of the Obsheena neighborhood is a tangible reminder of both the difficulties inherent in maintaining an ethnic communal society and the pervasiveness of urban sprawl in metropolitan Phoenix.

New Echota: Evidence of Continuity and Change in Nineteenth-Century Cherokee Material Culture

Caru Bowns, Pennsylvania State University

In 1825 New Echota was the capital of the Cherokee nation. The capital was planned as a symbolic gesture of the tribe’s political progress and ability to subsist as an independent nation on ancestral
lands bordered by Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina and Tennessee. With Georgia’s rising “nativism” movement to expand and President Andrew Jackson’s tolerance for removal of all Indians from the southeastern United States, the sophistication of New Echota’s material culture was contradictory to prevailing perceptions about the tribe’s social and cultural impoverishment. Referencing “culture” as a people’s dynamic response 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.

“Big-Foot” in the Landscape: McMansions and Their Place in Architectural History

Wayne Brew, Montgomery County Community College

This presentation will explore the architectural styles of “McMansions” and how these houses fit in with styles from the past. Wikipedia defines McMansions as a “slang architectural term which first came into use in the United States during the 1980s as a pejorative description and an idiom. It describes a particular style of housing that—as its name suggests—is both large like a mansion and as culturally ubiquitous as McDonald’s fast food restaurants.” Many McMansions built between the late 1980s and the present have similarities with the eclectic styles that were built between 1910 and 1930. But if one looks closely there are differences. Many of these McMansions are mixtures of eclectic styles with Victorian, Classical Revival, and Colonial elements thrown in. Are these McMansions neo (neo) eclectic or can they classified as postmodern? Using the language (loosely) of Venturi, Brown, and Izenour (“Learning from Las Vegas”) can we call these McMansions “ducks” or “sheds?” McMansions have generated much criticism, but how will people feel about these houses 50 years from now?

Partnering Past the Pavement

Martha Carver, Tennessee Department of Transportation, and Claudette Stager, Tennessee Historical Commission

In 1998 agencies that normally work together—sometimes in an adversarial way—joined to organize a conference centered on southern road culture and the Dixie Highway, one of the most
important transcontinental early interstate highways in the South. This presentation, a joint effort by the Tennessee Historical Commission and the Tennessee Department of Transportation, would share information about that project. The presentation will showcase the Dixie Highway and associated resources. It will focus on the lessons learned from the conference and how to maintain interest in the cultural landscape of the roadside. One opportunity was through The University of Tennessee Press, which expressed interest in seeing a manuscript based on the conference. Under the auspices of the Society for Commercial Archaeology, a book was developed, which has just been published. Royalties from the book will go to the Society for Commercial Archaeology.

A Grain Elevator Typology: A Preliminary Classification System

Kevin Coleman, Intrepid Historical Services

The evolution of the grain elevator is as fascinating as that of any other significant building or structure type in material culture. Based on that evolution, I have endeavored to assemble a typology for grain elevators. My online typology index, from which this presentation is drawn, helps to illustrate their evolution, typology, and significance. My research has been mainly visual, looking variously at my own photos of elevators, online images in aficionado websites, historical images that were part of research and documentation, and illustrations in historic bird’s-eye-view maps. Although mostly second-hand, this visual survey, in conjunction with a basic understanding of the operation and development of grain elevators, has allowed a thorough analysis of them. The basic arrangement of a grain elevator fits into two main “Type-Families” based on whether it is a discrete building (Self-Contained), or a semi-dispersed cluster of structures (Annex). Within those classifications, there are several distinctive types based on grain bin design (square-bin or round-bin) and arrangement (vertical or horizontal), and also on evolutionary level. Construction materials (wood, masonry, or metal) and construction design then determine different subtypes or material variants.

Where Did All These People Sleep? Reinterpreting Beds and Bedrooms at the Grant Boyhood Home and the Rev. John Rankin House

Kelly Connor, Ohio Historical Society

In society today it is common to think that the privilege of any child is to be able to have his or her own bedroom. Usually that privilege goes to the oldest child. Sometimes a family is even wealthy enough to buy a home with enough rooms for each child to have one of their own. This conception of the single-family home, however, is a “modern” one and does not work when comparing historical census data
with existing early nineteenth century houses. This paper compares the Grant Boyhood Home and the Rev. John Rankin House, two very important historical houses of the nineteenth century that also had very similar sleeping arrangement issues. This paper will discuss the customs of the early nineteenth century and use primary and secondary sources to interpret how the Grants and Rankins were able to cater to so many individuals in the home.

**New Orleans’ Bywater Historic District: Gentrification, Preservation and Racialized Boundaries**

*John Davenport, University of Kentucky*

This study addresses the racialized boundaries of New Orleans’ Bywater neighborhood through a critical examination of the dynamic relationship between processes of gentrification and historic preservation. Central to the landmark case of *Plessey v. Ferguson*, which set the legal precedent for Jim Crow segregation in the South, and the historical home to many of New Orleans’ noted Free Persons of Color, the issue of race has long played a role in the lives of Bywater residents. Designated as a local Historic District in 1993, based upon the neighborhood’s vernacular architecture, Bywater has witnessed intensified housing rehabilitation in recent decades. A broader scale analysis reveals a fragmenting of the Historic District into two bounded spaces and two respective communities: a relatively owner occupied residential area south of St. Claude Avenue and a predominantly renter occupied area to the north. This tension finds its most cogent expression along the “neutral ground” of St. Claude Avenue. Utilized as an amenity space for the daily activities of low income residents this “neutral ground” is both a contested space and a signifier of the underlying chasm between residents rich in cultural capital and an underclass with few visual signs of such.

**Detroit’s Milwaukee Junction “Cradle of the Automobile Industry”**

*Michael W. R. Davis, Detroit Historical Society and Eastern Michigan University*

Today Detroit stands in danger of losing legitimacy of its Motor City title. Auto plants have spread far and wide. But in midtown Detroit there remains an industrial area, known as Milwaukee Junction, that brands itself as the Cradle of the Auto Industry. Here survive remnants of long abandoned automobile factories and structural evidence of their vital infrastructure of suppliers from 75 to 100 years ago. Notable among them is the 1904 Ford Piquette Plant, now being restored by volunteers. Railroad lines predating the auto industry formed this industrial area, and continue to serve it.
Mysteries of the Isaac Long Barn

Robert Ensminger, Kutztown University

The Isaac Long barn near Lancaster, Pennsylvania is one of the oldest dated barns in the state. It appears today as a large, majestic, stone, classic Sweitzer Pennsylvania barn. A date of 1754 is carved into the lintel of one of the stable doors. There are, however, questions about its actual date of completion, original morphology, size, and variations in the elements, materials, and sequence of its construction. In this paper, confusing and conflicting aspects of its early life will be examined, and a resolution will be attempted.

Prairie Light: The Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, a Reflection of Federal Indian Policy

Jim Gabbert, Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Office

Overshadowed from the beginning by its more famous contemporaries, like Carlisle Indian School and Haskell Institute, the Chilocco Indian Agricultural School was the largest non-reservation boarding school in the Indian Service. Established in 1882, the school educated thousands of Native American children for over 100 years. The implementation of federal Indian policy is manifested in the physical qualities of Chilocco. The policies of Indian education and their effects on Native cultures are debatable, but there is no debate that Chilocco and its sister schools had a profound impact on those who attended. Other Indian schools have been recognized at various levels—Carlisle and Haskell are National Historic Landmarks—but Chilocco has remained unnoticed, forlorn and empty in the midst of the Oklahoma prairie. This paper serves to introduce the Chilocco Indian Agricultural School to a wider audience, to illustrate the physical qualities of the campus, and to hopefully gain needed recognition for this important monument to Native American education in the western United States.

Piety and Pistols: Reverend John Rankin at the Intersection of Abolition, Faith, and Violence

D’Weston Haywood, Northwestern University

Reverend John Rankin is often remembered for his progressive leadership in the Presbyterian Church, but he rarely is remembered for his fervent intent to defend his beliefs by force. He is most renowned for his ardent abolitionism, and with this came a determination to defend himself and his family at almost any cost. Rankin spent most of his career as a Presbyterian minister proselytizing a theology and faith of abolition. And so strong was this belief in ending slavery that Rankin was not opposed to violent conflict as a possible means to an end. This paper analyzes how Rankin, a devout Presbyterian, juxtaposed his Christian beliefs with his pro-violence
beliefs. According to several anecdotes recorded by colleagues of Rankin, family members, and Rankin himself, the pastor also instructed his children how to defend themselves in the name of abolition. Ultimately, Rankin’s stance positions his work in the history of the freedom struggles of African Americans as an alternative to the non-violent philosophy of the Civil Rights Movement.

HALS and Ohio’s Landscape Heritage

Mary Paolano Hoerner, HALS Co-Liaison Ohio ASLA

View some of Ohio’s best historic designed landscapes and gardens from 1803-1965. Learn how the rural cemeteries, like Spring Grove in Cincinnati, influenced our suburban developments. Get acquainted with the country estates of the wealthy, like Gwinn, the depression era building projects like the WPA Cleveland Cultural Gardens, Ohio’s Presidential sites, and more. And discover how HALS, the Historic American Landscape Survey, is working to preserve the history and culture found in these landscapes for our heritage.

The Highway Experience: Towards a Cross-Cultural Perspective

John A. Jakle, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Proposed in a photo essay is a line of inquiry focused on roads (especially highways) and roadsides (what lies marginal to highways), and how, in motoring, they combine to frame, for motorists, what might be called “the landscape experience.” Contrasts are drawn between roads and roadsides in the United States and New Zealand. In the United States, highway planning has emphasized efficient delivery defined in terms of traffic volume and autoist speed and safety, usually conceptualized in terms of least cost engineering solutions. Regarding primary roads, traffic engineers are concerned mainly to maximize traffic loads given specific traffic demands. Highway aesthetics, in general, give way to functionality. In New Zealand, on the other hand, scenic values enter forcefully into all highway planning, a reflection, in part, of a different culture of automobility whereby highways and roadsides are kept less intrusive as an aspect of built environment. Highways are at once artifactual (a kind of built environment with a history), symbolic (representing variously cultural values implicit in their use), and a means of visualization (how people see and interpret their surroundings as geography). Comparative analysis, thus, to establish important differences and similarities regarding highway values society.
The Downtown Pedestrian Mall: Landscape Relic or Resource?

Daniel W. Krall, Cornell University

Constructed in numerous declining commercial districts during the 1960s and 1970s, pedestrian malls were hailed as the “savior” of these once vibrant centers of downtown America. Often utilizing a “modernist” landscape vocabulary to generate increased pedestrian and business activity, designers of these spaces exhibited little regard for historic preservation concerns or interest in a community’s past. Now almost four decades later, many of these malls are being reexamined both for their physical appropriateness as well as their financial success. The majority of these urban landscapes have also achieved a level of vegetative maturity that offers an additional opportunity for critical evaluation. Inaugurated with much fanfare in late 1975, “The Commons” in Ithaca, New York, was promoted as a model downtown pedestrian mall and was one of two dozen sites highlighted in the 1978 book, Central City Malls. Utilizing this space as a case study, the author will discuss the evolution of the “The Commons,” examine how the physical space and the landscape have and continue to function, and suggest what the future may hold for this, and other similar downtown landscapes, in American towns and cities.

Preserving Our Rural Heritage

Krista Magaw and Douglas Bailey, Tecumseh Land Trust

Sprawl is the enemy of both farmland and urban historic sites. Hence, our local land trust in Clark County, Tecumseh Land Trust (TLT), has worked closely with Center City, the Springfield Preservation Alliance, and other local urban revitalization and historic preservation groups on a number of issues of mutual concern. This presentation provides a glimpse of local preservation efforts from the rural perspective. We are fortunate to have an experienced land trust here, some excellent working farms, and some surprisingly intact rural landscapes to link us to our past. But we are losing historic farm buildings that are an important part of those vistas at a rate even faster than the loss of farmland. TLT, a leader in Ohio farmland preservation, is not content with this loss. With support from the Turner and Springfield Foundations and TLT members, this land trust has set out to map existing farmsteads and markers of our rural past, and to selectively pursue preservation of critical structures and properties.
**America: It’s Art and Geography?**  
*Chris Mayda, Eastern Michigan University*

America, art, and geography belong together, because they blend feelings, emotion, and the everyday landscape of our life into a picture—perhaps fuzzy at first—but then, look again. Has the story of America been told since its beginning? Is this the end? Is there a new beginning? Have we learned anything? This film examines the everyday geography and the art of America.

**German and Polish Ethnic Landscapes in Rural and Small-Town Michigan**  
*Marshall McLennan, Eastern Michigan University*

During the nineteenth century and extending into the early years of the twentieth century, representatives of several North European ethnic groups settled in Michigan and purchased or homesteaded farms and even established villages, some of which evolved into local service centers of the sort once called “country towns.” This paper overviews the cultural impress in Michigan of two immigrant groups, the Germans and Poles (Polonians). Pockets of German settlement took root in various locations within Michigan’s Lower Peninsula beginning in the 1830s. Polish settlers arrived in Branch and Huron Counties during the 1850s, and in Presque Isle County in the northeast corner of the Lower Peninsula in the 1870s. For the most part, German and Polish settlers adopted American house forms and barn types, but differences in massing and scale, a preference for masonry construction, a variety of architectural mannerisms, and in the case of German Catholics, religious iconography, testify to their ethnic associations. Some German immigrants did build forebay barns in Osceola and Mecosta Counties, and Polish pioneers constructed traditional part-log, part-timber frame cow-hay barns similar to those built by Swedish settlers in Minnesota and Wisconsin.

**Sweet Bells Jangled Out of Tune: Sound and Silence, Visibility and Presence in the American Domestic Setting, 1800-1870**  
*Hillary Murtha, University of Delaware*

This paper examines the use of intermediary call-bell systems to define the relations and boundaries between employers and their live-in servants in the genteel nineteenth-century American household. Bridging space through sound, call-bells acted to separate and connect the two classes. Bells defined the polarities of power within the home: the employing family held the authority to ring for service, while a servant was obliged to answer the summons. The domestic setting retained its seeming privacy as bells cued servants to appear at need and then disappear again into their segregated quarters. Like the concealed bell-wires that ran through the walls, domestics were
supposed to be invisible, mechanistic, and reactive. The physical characteristics of call bell systems reflected the different recognition accorded to mistress and maid. While the bells in servants’ quarters were prominent objects, most bell-pulls, like the servants they called, effaced themselves from view. A coded system of differently tuned bell peals sounded throughout the house, partially replacing the verbal exchanges that connote human equality. Nineteenth-century conceptions of the genteel home as a private, reposeful sanctuary remote from the strident world of commerce necessitated a mass of denials and subterfuges. By separating the desired image of the home from its hidden workings, workspaces, and paid workers, bells helped preserve the culturally required illusions.

Researching Ohio’s Black Cemeteries

Mary Ann Olding, Old World Research

Attempting to nominate one of Ohio’s black and mulatto cemeteries to the National Register of Historic Places is difficult for many reasons. The significance of any cemetery is typically based on the quality of the design and layout, such as the “rural mystique” pattern with ornate statues, fountains, mausoleums, fences, and chapel-like structures; or because historically important people were buried there, and they have to be really notable. Neither one of these standards can be used easily to nominate black and mulatto cemeteries because of many reasons.

With a Silver Spoon in his Mouth: Interpreting Artifacts and Archaeology at the Grant Boyhood Home

Linda Pansing, Ohio Historical Society

Jesse R. Grant built a house for his family in 1823 in Georgetown, Brown County, Ohio. For the next sixteen years, this building would become the home to Ulysses S. Grant, the eighteenth President of the United States. How do we go about interpreting a house, such as this, where the history is of a boy who would be President—particularly where the home, in this case, belonged to the President’s father, Jesse R. Grant? This paper discusses the methods used to investigate the Grant Boyhood Home. By using not only the text but also the material culture, we are able to present a better picture of what went on in the house and how this may have affected the young Grant. In April 1895, Rachel Kelley, Jesse Grant’s mother, passed away. In the fall of 1807, Jesse went to live with Mr. And Mrs. Tod and their children in Youngstown, Ohio. He was fourteen years old at the time. The Tod family were very poor, and the young ate mostly mush and milk in their log kitchen. The set of special bowls and spoons with which they ate, however, left a remarkable impression on Jesse and he was determined to get a set of his own for when he had his own children. This story is Jesse’s own testimony of his life
written to the Shoe and Leather Reporter, in 1868, but does it mean as much without the physical evidence to go with it? This paper provides an introduction to the means and methods of interpreting archival narrative stories with material culture artifacts.

“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.

Waging War With Wool: Thomas Jefferson’s Foreign Intrigue for U.S. Industrial Independence

Margaret Byrd Adams Rasmussen, Albert University

Even prior to the War of 1812, Thomas Jefferson waged a personal campaign to achieve national independence from British textiles. From the suit of Merino wool he wore to be sworn in as President of the United States to his illegal import of the fine wool-producing sheep from France, Jefferson consorted with France to develop the woolen textile industry in the US to avoid dependence on British woolen goods. Through friendships made with the DuPont family while he was ambassador to France, he imported livestock and encouraged establishment of one of the first American woolen mills. As tensions seethed between England and France, the Duponts were more than willing to help undermine the English wool trade. Jefferson’s preoccupation with Merino sheep and his engagement, even while President of the United States, in illegal imports of agricultural goods, reveals the depth of his patriotism rooted in his belief in the importance of an agrarian society.
Growth of Commerce and Industry in Rural Western New York, 1870-1920

Thomas Rasmussen, Albert University

Before the advent of the railroad in 1850, at least 35 small rural villages in Allegheny County served local farmers who traveled by oxcart over rough roads to utilize the services of general store and blacksmith, or church and school. Village-based manufacturing and commercial activity expanded after 1850 in western New York when the railroad dramatically reduced transportation costs. Census material and early commercial directories provide detailed information about the economic structure of villages. We compare how economic life structure was organized in 1875 in early and late developing villages, and how economic structure changed from 1875 to 1905. The railroad (and later the automobile) contributed to the substantial growth of one regional village while most small villages declined in commercial importance.

The Uses of Public Spaces before the Automobile

Herbert Richardson and Charles Stansfield, Rowan University

In looking at public spaces of the past, it is necessary to understand for what purposes they were put to use. These spaces included squares and parks of different shapes and sizes, widened streets, or just streets of no great width. The uses were of two types: events in place like markets and concerts, and events in motion like parades. I should like to present photographs of such events in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and examine them closely to see what people liked and expected and what they were doing in them. When events were not taking place how were they used? Streets, of course, tended to be used all of the time, but squares and parks could be lonely places without people. Small squares and parks could be attractive with a sense of enclosure, but the large ones could seem empty and useless. It is the sense of enclosure that people liked, a point that has been proven many times by modern planners whose spaces remain unused, except, perhaps, for parking lots.

Farmers, Planters, and the Architecture of Slavery in the Hemplands of Missouri's Little Dixie

Brett Rogers, William Woods University

From the 1820s through the 1850s hemp culture in Missouri’s Saline and Lafayette Counties elevated a handful of enterprising Southern immigrants and their families to economic prosperity sustained by the largest concentration of slave labor in the state. Capitalizing on the demand for hemp in southern markets, these “planters” quickly translated their commercial dominance into social
and political dominance. As with the farms of comparable planters of the cotton belt, but on a much smaller scale, their built environments invariably reflected tradition, order, and varying degrees of prosperity. Combining public records, genealogical data, oral history, and a close examination of extant structures, this paper documents the social and material development of three antebellum landscapes within this region that have survived relatively in tact: the John T. Davis farm, Prairie Park Plantation, and Hicklin Hearthstone, paying particular attention to the rare slave quarters in each. Architecturally, the quarters examined in this paper range from Davis’s simple single-pen frame structure, which was once a common form throughout Little Dixie, to the unique five-bay brick quarters built by James Hicklin in the late 1840s and early 1850s. In all three cases, the buildings and their histories provide a lens through which we may better understand the African American experience in antebellum Missouri.

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.
Making Some History: 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. Clearly they broadcast knowledge of the site to whomever shares them and they re-stimulate the memories of visitors who purchased them. Their persuasive capacity for tourists of the Fountain of Youth may be due 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. They are the most recent ingredients adding to a tradition the Fountain of Youth had achieved for over a century as being a bona fide tourist attraction with some historical interest. They may be claimed to function as figurative tickets for imagination’s first admission and endless re-entry.

Designing Place: Architecture as Community Art in Martinsville, Indiana

Joanne Raetz Stuttgen, Independent Scholar

In 2004-05, the Morgan County (IN) Historic Preservation Society developed and implemented an eighth grade art curriculum based on the study of architecture and its application in the real world. Fourteen art honors students learned to identify historic architectural styles by their distinguishing features, gained an understanding of the complex social and historical impulses that created new fashions in the built environment, and learned to draw buildings in two-point perspective. Funding for this project was provided by a Historic Preservation Education Grant sponsored by Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana and the Indiana Humanities Council, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Students contributed their new knowledge and artistic skills to two community arts-based projects: historic district signs and traveling educational display panels. Providing students with their first exposure to the study of architecture, “Designing Place” represents a successful and important collaboration between individuals, MCHPS, the Metropolitan School District of Martinsville, and the Martinsville city administration. Additional grants in 2005-2006 allowed us to
develop a website so the course could be shared with and replicated by other teachers. We hope it will also serve as a model for similar projects in other communities.

**The Event Stadium: Historical Stimulant or Revitalizing Component**

*Glenn L. Taylor Jr., Wittenberg University*

Stadium architecture and its captivating futuristic prototypes have become both intriguing and stimulating subjects for many past and present architects. Increasingly interesting is the rich history and detail of the various arena designs that begin with the U-shaped hippodromes of the Greek Stadias and Roman elliptical or amphitheatrical styles to the more contemporary and innovative fortresses of concrete and mass produced steel components that many spectators call “home.” As technology rapidly increases, stadium engineers and architects persist to create magnificent works of art with their breathtaking stadium designs that are structurally sound but have the potential to become detrimental to the surrounding environment.

Architecture can present itself in various aspects which may include particular forms, styles, and historical values but it is important to recognize how each individual stadium influences its location, local economy, and overall landscape of a particular area. This paper will examine the social stratification of event districts in an attempt to analyze and characterize a sports arenas architectural influence on city revitalization and blighted urban space. Multi-purpose sports arenas have proved to thrive not only as places to enjoy great entertainment, but also as status symbols and landmarks for many cities all across the globe.
Obsheena: A Communal Settlement in Central Arizona

Marshall E. Bowen
University of Mary Washington

Establishing and maintaining a communal settlement is at best a difficult task, in large part because the principles of communal living often contradict the basic instincts of human nature. The precarious existence of these communities has usually ended when internal conflicts and outside forces combined to disrupt their way of life. The history of community formation in western North America contains many examples of such hopeful beginnings followed by collapse and disintegration (Hine 1953; Miller 1998; Pitzer 1997). One of these was Obsheena, founded by Russian Molokans in 1917 near the small town of Tolleson, Arizona, about ten miles west of Phoenix (figure 1). This paper describes the formation and operation of this communal settlement, explains why it failed, outlines the changes that have occurred here through the years, and provides a glimpse of what the site is like today, some 90 years after the first Russian colonists occupied the land.

Molokans are fundamentalist dissenters who broke away from the Russian Orthodox Church in the eighteenth century. Their belief system is complex, but at its root is nonviolence, rejection of icons and priests, reliance on the predictions of prophets, and adherence to Old Testament food laws. The Molokans’ name is derived from the Russian word for milk drinkers because of their refusal to abstain from consuming dairy products during Lent and other times of fasting. Because they were non-conformists who opposed military service, thousands of Molokans were exiled to Transcaucasia, where they established small farming villages and in time enjoyed a measure of religious freedom (Breyfogle 2005; Clay 2006; Hardwick 1993; Young 1932).

In the early 1900s, responding to prophesies of an impending holocaust and fearing that their young men would be forced into military service, thousands of Molokans fled to the United States. The first families reached North America in 1904, and the last arrived in 1912. Almost all of them settled in California. About 1,000 established homes in San Francisco, while approximately 3,500 made their way to
Figure 1. Lands settled by Russian Molokans near Phoenix, Arizona. Maps by S. L. Dowdy.
Los Angeles, where they congregated in a neighborhood that became known as Russian Town (Berokoff 1969; Hardwick; Young).

Molokans had little difficulty obtaining jobs in these cities, but many were dissatisfied with urban life and sought to return to the land, where they could resume familiar lifestyles and limit the exposure of their children to undesirable American values. The first move took place in 1906, when Elders from Los Angeles founded a large community in the Guadalupe Valley of Baja California (Dewey 1966; Muranaka 1992). Then, in 1911, another group from Los Angeles acquired property near Glendale, Arizona, northwest of Phoenix. Here, they laid out a traditional street village, called the Old Colony, that was modeled after communities in Russia and Mexico, and cultivated the surrounding land. During the next few years, Los Angeles Molokans acquired property south and southwest of the Old Colony, while another group arrived from Mexico by way of Chino Valley, near Prescott, Arizona, and settled a short distance to the north. After unsuccessful attempts to raise sugar beets, the Molokans turned to dairying and, with the beginning of First World War, to the production of cotton (Berokoff; Bowen 2006; Clay; Conovaloff 1983; Popoff 1971; Wren 1991).

Meanwhile, Molokans from the peasant village of Selim, in what is now Turkey but was then part of Russia, had settled in San Francisco and were facing difficult times. Their jobs as laborers paid poorly, and housing was hard to find, which often forced three or more families to crowd into space meant for one. Others lived in hastily built shacks in the back yards of friends and relatives. Destruction of two of the group’s larger dwellings by fire in 1911 did nothing to improve their situation. In desperation, more than a dozen of these families moved to Potter Valley, 120 miles to the north, where they tried to make a living by raising chickens and selling eggs. But the venture was a failure, and within little more than a year most had returned to San Francisco. By 1916 they were no better off, and their future seemed bleak (Coates 1982; Conovaloff 2005; Crocker 1908-1916; Miller; Papin 1999; Tripp 1980; United States Department of the Interior 1910; Wren).

It was at this time that Michael P. Pivovaroff, spiritual leader of Arizona’s Old Colony, came to the rescue. As a man who knew him explained, Pivovaroff was moved by the Holy Spirit to declare that Molokans should “emulate the early Christians and have no poor amongst [them],” and that this could be achieved by having “but one heart and soul and all of their possessions...in common” (Wren, 32). Molokans had experimented with communal living in Transcaucasia, and Pivovaroff saw no reason why this principle could not be applied to life in America. He broached the idea with community Elders, and while they were hesitant to give their full support, no one wanted to oppose what was seen as a divine inspiration. Pivovaroff visited San Francisco in the spring of 1916 and spoke with the people from Selim, emphasizing the social and economic benefits of country living, outlining his vision of a communal way of life, and inviting
them to visit Arizona to see the irrigated farms for themselves. A few months later three representatives of this group traveled to Glendale, where they shared a number of mystical religious experiences with their hosts, inspected the crops, and worked out the details of how a communal undertaking would operate. Convinced that they had found a solution to their problems, the visitors went back to San Francisco, promising to return as soon as possible with their own families and others interested in participating in communal life (Clay; Papin 1999; Wren).

Pivovaroff hoped that all residents of the Old Colony village, as well as other Glendale Molokans, would contribute to the support of the San Francisco people, but he was sorely disappointed. Some questioned the wisdom of his plan, while others backed out when it became known that they were expected to contribute a great deal more than the newcomers to the venture. Only seven Arizona people, including Pivovaroff, agreed to participate. These included five Old Colony men who have been described as “among the most intensely devout” (Clay, 15) in the community, a farmer with land adjoining their village, and a man living a mile to the south. No one in the community of Molokans from Mexico joined the undertaking. The Arizona participants agreed to contribute $20,000, all of their land, many tools and farming implements, about 200 cattle, and a number of horses and chickens. In contrast, the people from San Francisco were expected to contribute $500 apiece and whatever livestock and tools they owned, which as a practical matter amounted to almost nothing (Clay; Conovaloff 1983; Papin; Wren).

In January, 1917, 20 families from San Francisco arrived by train in Glendale, where they were escorted to a special church service. After this, they elected Pivovaroff to oversee and manage the venture, and Lukian I. Conovaloff, who had been in charge of the Potter Valley settlement, to serve as Secretary and Treasurer. At first, the San Francisco people lived with their hosts and helped them till fields near the village, but overcrowding and the small amount of land at their disposal soon made it clear that the newcomers needed a separate place to live and farm. With the help of Pivovaroff, who was highly respected in local business circles, the group purchased 440 acres about four miles south of the Old Colony village and two miles northeast of Tolleson. Pivovaroff also obtained lumber for building houses, and acquired additional dairy cows for them. The new settlement, designed to accommodate all of the settlers from San Francisco, was named Obsheena, which in the Russian language means community or commune. Although the land was to be owned and farmed by the entire group, it had been divided into 20-acre parcels by the company that sold it, and this arrangement was never completely erased (Conovaloff n.d.; Holmquist 1917; Miller; Papin; Wren).

The newcomers got right to work. Following the instructions of an experienced carpenter from the Old Colony village, they built 20 houses and a church building, completing each structure in about a week (figure 2). Raw land was cleared, gardens were prepared, cotton, grain, and alfalfa were planted, and several corrals were erected for
the dairy cows, which were milked by Obsheena women and herded by their children. Feed was brought in from existing hayfields near the Old Colony village. In early spring, two additional families joined the group, and three single men, visiting from Los Angeles, were persuaded to become members. This latter trio built a small house for themselves a short distance north of the church and, as one man put it “went to work [in the fields] with zeal” (Wren, 37). By June, 1917, with houses in place, crops coming up, and some 250 cows being milked, Obsheena seemed to be on solid footing (Papin; Wren).

Unfortunately, the community unraveled almost immediately. The first signs of trouble appeared in early summer, when temperatures rose to well over 100 degrees. With the exception of the three men from Los Angeles, the settlers had spent most of their lives in Selim, at an elevation of more than 6,000 feet, and in chilly San Francisco, and were unprepared for the heat. Some began to grumble about having to work in the fields from sunrise to sunset under such conditions, and became angry when they saw that others had easier

**Figure 2.** The Russian Molokan Obsheena neighborhood in 1917.
jobs such as hauling feed or maintaining equipment. A few bristled at receiving instructions, which they viewed as taking orders, from experienced farmers who had been in Arizona since 1911 and knew what had to be done. Cultural differences between the people from Selim and their hosts, who came from two villages in present-day Armenia and had somewhat different traditions, did nothing to ease tensions (Clay; Coates; Wren).

Before these feelings of discontent could spiral completely out of control, Obsheena was confronted with a more serious dilemma. With the entry of the United States into the First World War in April, 1917, all men between the ages of 21 and 31 were required to register for the draft. As pacifists, most of Arizona’s young Molokans refused, and in August 34 of their number were sent to prison. Of these, 21 were residents of the Obsheena settlement and two were members from the Old Colony village. Only four members living in Obsheena and five with homes in the village, each one too old for the draft, avoided imprisonment. These individuals tried to do all of the farm work at Obsheena, but it was impossible, in part because they were older and less vigorous than the men who went to prison, and partly because five of them also had major responsibilities for cultivating land near the village (Moore 1972; Veronin 1999, 20; Wren).

Under such stressful conditions, it is not surprising that some individuals failed to adhere to the principles of communal living. Sensing that the endeavor was about to collapse, several men took tools from the community warehouse and hid them near their homes, planning to use them at a later time. One person who stole tools later sold them and kept the money for himself. Another hauled cotton that had been picked by Obsheena’s women and children to a local gin, where he sold it and pocketed the proceeds, throwing the entire community into turmoil. These events caused great sorrow for Piv-ovaroff, who called an emergency meeting of the membership, which excused the conduct of the offenders and then decided to dissolve the organization. The question of how to allocate the community’s material possessions dragged on for months, and was not resolved until most of the imprisoned men arrived home in June, 1918. Their presence gave decisive political control to the people from San Francisco, who voted to divide the assets equally among all members, much to the dismay of the men who had welcomed them to Arizona only a year earlier, and had contributed most of the cash, equipment, and livestock to the undertaking (Papin; Wren).

The land was returned to the firm that held the property before 1917, and new contracts were drawn up for people who chose to remain. Residents were allowed to purchase the 20-acre parcels where they had been living, but only nine elected to do this. Four families used their share of the assets to buy cheaper land short distances away, and two rented small farms on the margins of settlement, several miles to the south and southwest. The remainder, too discouraged to stay or too poor to obtain land, returned to California (Tripp; United States Department of the Interior 1920a, 1920b, 1920c; Wren).
Molokans who remained in the Obsheena neighborhood soon faced a new predicament. Initially, high wartime prices for cotton provided a good income, but when the cotton market collapsed in late 1920, several farmers went bankrupt and had to move back to California. After their departure, only four original families remained, and in 1924, with numbers dwindling still further, they discontinued services at their church and joined the congregation that met in the Old Colony village. By 1925 the original Obsheena area contained just seventeen occupied dwellings, and of these only two were the homes of Molokans (figure 3). The others were occupied by farmers who had purchased property abandoned by the Russians, and by farm laborers with roots in Mexico. It was still possible to discern vestiges of the original parcels, including narrow lanes and fences that defined some property lines, but these were becoming less visible as farmers acquired more land and enlarged their fields, obliterating these remnants in the process (Berokoff; Coates; Harper 1926; Papin; Popoff; Veronin).

Figure 3. Obsheena in 1925.
Transformation of the area continued in the following years. By mid-century the church building was gone, and at least ten of the original Obsheena houses had been demolished. Some of these had been replaced by modern dwellings, but other sites were now devoid of residential structures. Several dwellings had been erected since 1925 to house farm laborers, and in most cases these modest buildings were situated close to the homes of their occupants’ employers. The number of Molokan households now stood at three, and included the home of the son of an original settler who had returned after his marriage to a Los Angeles woman in the 1930s (figure 4). The heads of all three Molokan families were related either by birth or by marriage. Dairying remained important, but by now the Molokans, like their non-Russian neighbors, had moved into the production of market vegetables, particularly lettuce and cantaloupes (Salisbury Publishing Company 1949; Veronin).

**Figure 4.** Obsheena, circa 1950.
The Molokan presence was further diluted when Lukian I. Conovaloff’s daughter, whose husband had died in 1959, remarried and moved to the home of her new spouse near the Old Colony village. With her departure and that of her brother, who relocated to a farm closer to Tolleson, only one Molokan family lived on land once held by Obsheena. Later, this woman’s second husband died and she returned to her former home, where she lived until 1987, but by this time changes were occurring that ultimately would alter her old neighborhood almost beyond recognition. These included construction of an apartment complex and commercial buildings on former Obsheena lands and, just beyond the community’s original boundaries, creation of a residential subdivision and a massive shopping mall (Clay, 29; Coates; Veronin).

Today, barely a quarter of the land that was once Obsheena is used for agriculture. Of this, about a third belongs to Molokans, while the remainder is owned by Arizona and California investment firms and the local school district (Maricopa County 2006). Farming takes place within sight of apartment buildings, and some fields contain real estate signs, telling evidence that crops will not be planted here much longer. Many irrigation ditches are abandoned and in disrepair, and houses are going up in what were once fields of cotton and alfalfa. A 20,000-seat concert pavilion, where performers such as Britney Spears, Kid Rock, and Ozzy Osbourne have appeared, now dominates the southeastern part of Obsheena. The only hints of the former Molokan presence are a solitary old farmhouse occupied by the elderly son of an original settler, and a mailbox showing his family’s name, and these will soon disappear. Whether they are used to describe the short-lived communal experiment or the changes that have taken place here through the years, the words of a man whose father was an Obsheena member still ring true. “What had started out in the Spirit,” he wrote, “ended in the Flesh” (Wren, 39).

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Indian Education

From its inception, the United States has had an evolving relationship with Native American tribes, at once antagonistic and paternalistic. Official policies of the federal government have tended toward separation and isolation, assimilation, and finally accommodation and recognition. In referring to the Indians, President Thomas Jefferson set the tone in an address to Congress: “In truth, the ultimate point of rest and happiness for them is to let our settlements and theirs meet and blend together, to intermix and become one people. Incorporating themselves with us as citizens of the United States is what the natural progress of things will bring on; it is better to promote than retard it” (Merritt 1922). Official policy and public opinion, though, preferred isolation or separation to proximity and assimilation. The first treaty between the new United States and an Indian tribe was with the Delaware Indians in 1778, wherein the Delaware ceded their ancestral lands in the Delaware Valley for new lands in the West (Ohio and Indiana). The ever-increasing thirst for land led to the removal of the northeastern tribes and later, on a greater scale, to the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole) of the Southeast to the American West and Indian Territory.

Even when the government waged war on tribes, it acknowledged the need for accommodating and educating those Indians who either remained within the states or were removed west to the territories. The first federal appropriations for Indian education were made in 1819, with money diverted to churches and missionary organizations to create schools. By law, the tribes themselves funded much of the expense of these mission schools as well. In Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma), the first schools established among the Five Civilized Tribes were Christian mission schools, started at the behest of the tribes themselves. The earliest of these schools was
Union Mission, established in 1820 for Osage Indians in what soon would become Cherokee land. Other early, prominent mission schools included Dwight Mission, established in 1830 in the Cherokee Nation, and Wheelock Seminary (later Academy), established in 1832 in the Choctaw Nation. Both were organized by the Presbyterian Church at the behest of the tribes.

In the face of increasing settlement pressure after the Civil War, the federal government removed the Plains tribes to Indian Territory or placed them on reservations of land thought worthless or substandard in other territories of the American West. These removals were not always peaceful; this was the era of Indian wars, of the Washita Massacre, and of Little Big Horn. Federal policy led to the establishment of church missions and schools on these new reservations to help pacify the so-called “savage” tribes.

The year 1878 saw a change in government policy, brought about by the idea of one man, Army Captain Richard Henry Pratt. In 1875, Pratt escorted Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa prisoners of war from Fort Sill, Indian Territory to Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida. While at Fort Marion, Pratt brought in teachers to instruct the prisoners in English. In 1878, as the prisoners were paroled to their homes, a group requested to remain and continue their education. Pratt, with the help of the Indian Bureau, enrolled them at Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia, an historically Black college. The program of academic and industrial training appeared to Pratt to be the solution
to the “Indian problem.” In remarking on the program, the Commissioner of Education noted in his 1878 report that “[the Indian students'] education there has gone forward with such satisfactory results that one addition after another has been made by government authority to the number of pupils under training” (Department of the Interior 1880, xxv). Pratt convinced the Indian Bureau and the War Department to allow him to set up a formal school open to all Indians, following a curriculum similar to that of Hampton Institute, but overlaid with rigid military discipline. An old cavalry barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania was made available and transferred to the Department of the Interior in 1879. The experiment, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, became a permanent institution when Congress enacted a law establishing the non-reservation school system in 1882 (Hendricks et al 1924).

In addressing the educational needs of Indians at the time of the establishment of Carlisle, the Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1878 pointed out that “[a] most promising effort for the education and civilization of a number of selected Indian youth in schools at the East superior to their own, and removed from all the bad influences of the wild tribes, was successfully begun in 1877-’78, and seems likely to be eminently beneficial” (Department of the Interior, xxvii). Boarding schools on the reservations long had been established for individual tribes, but it was the prospect of removing the Indian youth from their usual environs that attracted the attention of policy makers and educators who subscribed to the philosophy of assimilation.

![Figure 2. Leupp Hall, constructed 1905. Photo taken spring, 2005.](image-url)
A year after the establishment of the Carlisle school, a small school was opened at Forest Grove, Oregon (later it was moved to Salem and renamed “Chemawa”). After the Congressional Act of 1882, nonreservation schools were opened in Kansas (Haskell Institute), Nebraska (Genoa), and Oklahoma (Chilocco). By 1926, eighteen non-reservation schools, 59 boarding schools, and 131 day schools existed, all operated by the Indian Service.

These schools, of various sizes, varied in degrees of quality as well. Quality instructors and administrators were a rare commodity. A brief history of Indian education, published in an orientation manual for Bureau of Indian Affairs employees, summed up the state of these educational facilities in 1889: “The Indian Bureau has been made the dumping ground for the sweepings of the political party that is in power... . You will find people who are there only to draw their pay” (Department of the Interior 1959, 30). A field report from that year indicates that many of the institutions lacked proper facilities, that the teachers were incompetent, and that commissaries were poorly stocked, often with unnecessary items (31).

Reform after reform brought changes to the schools, both in how they were managed and in the physical characteristics. Each wave of reform brought new buildings designed to address those conditions thought unsatisfactory. New curricula were introduced periodically, meant to address the shortcomings in the educational program. The focus of these curricula, though, was the idea that English be the centerpiece. In addressing a conference in 1918, H. B. Peairs, former Superintendent of Haskell Institute and Supervisor
of Indian Schools, discussed the newest curriculum introduced to the government schools:

[T]he citizens of this nation must be English speaking people. They must not only be able to speak English but they must be capable of thinking in English to enable them to clearly understand and fully appreciate the Institutions of the United States of America... . In the primary grades English is the center around which all other subjects are made to group (Peairs 1918).

Peairs continued on to extol the virtues of physical education for the Indians (“...many tribes of Indians have gradually degenerated physically...”) and manual or practical training (Peairs). This repression of native language and culture continued as a focus of Indian policy until the 1928 Merriam Report, “The Problem of Indian Administration,” spurred changes in the Indian Bureau as a whole and especially in its Education Department.

Lewis Merriam summed up some of the changes made in the years immediately following publication of the Report. “The former practice of the government boarding-schools was to suppress all that was Indian in the children. English was the only language used. Indian art, Indian songs, Indian dances were taboo. Anything Indian was necessarily inferior.” He decried the institutionalism of uniform curricula; “Gone are the days when all United States government Indian schools had a uniform course of study with standard examinations sent out at the end of the year from the Washington Office” (Merriam 1931, 256-57).

As part of this new attitude and policy (and as a way to save money), Indian children were encouraged to attend their nearby public schools. The Johnson-O’Malley Act of 1934 (or Indian Reorganization Act) provided federal funding for Indian students to attend public schools, helping to offset the loss of tax base for Indian land within the school districts. In some cases, where populations were widely dispersed, dormitories were constructed for Indian children near public schools.

The role of the government Indian schools continued in this vein through the next decades; the schools continued to combine academic and vocational training in an effort to serve a dual purpose—to promote pride in culture while preparing the students for productive life on or off the reservation. By the 1970s, though, budgetary constraints and
cultural forces acted in concert to produce a decline in attendance at many of the schools. Haskell Institute had transformed itself into a junior college in 1964, while many schools were closed, including Chilocco in 1980 and the Phoenix Indian School in 1987. The father of the schools, Carlisle, had closed in 1918.

Chilocco Indian Agricultural School

The location of the industrial Indian school selected by Inspector Hayworth, is about six miles south of Arkansas City, in the Territory, on what is known as Chilochi creek. The section of ground on which the building is to be erected, is mostly bottom land, and contains several good springs. A better place could hardly be found in the Territory... . We understand $25,000 has already been appropriated for the building, and $31,000 for supporting the school (Cherokee Advocate 1882, 1).

So was announced to many in Indian Territory by the Cherokee Advocate, published in Tahlequah, the capital of the Cherokee Nation, on October 24, 1882. It was January, 1884, before the doors of the school opened to students.

The Indian Appropriation Act of May 17, 1882, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to cause to be constructed “a building suitable in size and convenience for the instruction and care of one hundred fifty Indian children” on a reserve of good agricultural land adjacent to the Kansas border, near the Ponca and Kaw reservations. The initial
land acquisition was to have been one section, 640 acres, but upon inspection by James Hayworth, Superintendent of Indian Education, a tract of almost 1,200 acres was selected. After an Executive Order of the President of the United States in 1884, the final area for the Chilocco Reserve would encompass 8,598 contiguous acres, or twelve square miles (Cordon and Richards 1912, 402). The land was taken from a parcel known as the Cherokee Outlet, which after the Treaty of 1866 had been set aside for the resettlement of Plains tribes. The first school building was begun in 1883 and opened for classes in January of the following year (Indian School Journal 1935). A three-storey stone building, it served as dormitory, classroom, and dining hall. It stood as an imposing landmark on the treeless prairie.

The first students, recruited by Hayworth, were Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa children. The male students were immediately put to work on the farm, in addition to their English lessons; the female students were instructed in the domestic arts.

The first Superintendent, Jasper Hadley, was replaced in the second year by Dr. Henry J. Minthorn, the foster father of Herbert Hoover. Minthorn successfully lobbied to raise the appropriation for the school and he began an expansion of the physical plant, adding five new buildings in his first two years. The campus continued to grow over the years, adding or replacing buildings steadily until the 1960s.

During the early expansion period, outside contractors performed much of the construction at the school. A quarry located on the south bank of Chilocco Creek, east of the Santa Fe tracks, was the primary source of building materials. A decision concerning the construction of a new staff cottage in 1907 marked a change in the educational direction of the school as well as the construction and maintenance of its physical plant. A Request for Proposals was issued in 1905 for a simple stone cottage. Bids received were higher than expected and the decision was made to construct the cottage utilizing student labor and the plans and specifications previously used for other cottages. The use of students to construct new buildings and then to make necessary repairs and maintenance became a core aspect of the school’s vocational curriculum for the next 75 years. While construction of some of the larger buildings was overseen by outside contractors (or in cases where special skills were needed), for the most part students participated in ever-increasing numbers in construction projects.

Another change that occurred in the first decade of the new century was reflected in the makeup of the student body. In 1910, there were over five hundred students in residence at Chilocco. Until that year, none of them were from the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma. The Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole and Creek had been barred from attending Chilocco; they had their own schools, both mission and government. The addition of these new students, coupled with increased interest in the school from other tribes, led to increasing economic pressures on the operation and maintenance of the school. Superintendent Edgar Allen, writing to United
States Representative Bird S. McGuire in 1912, reflected on the perceived slight given to Chilocco in the Congressional budget for the Indian Office. Allen remarked on the proposed $103,000 for Chilocco:

This is $5,000 less than the Indian Office estimate and that much less than other schools of the same class are receiving on the same per capita basis. Other schools are allowed also an additional sum equal to the superintendent’s salary. In the case of Chilocco, that is $2,750.00. This is the only school in the Service where this allowance is not made. At Haskell Institute, for example, the appropriation is for 750 children at $167 per capita whereas their capacity and average attendance is only about 650. We get an appropriation for 500 and our average attendance was 526. You will see by that, Haskell gets an allowance for 100 children more than it has and we for at least 25 fewer than we have. On top of this Haskell is allowed an additional sum for the superintendent’s salary and Chilocco is not. Then too, Haskell is allowed $11,000 for Repairs and Improvements and this school but $6,500, while we have the most expansive plant in the Service on account of our large farm (Allen 1912).

In requesting an increase of $10,000 to the proposed budget, Allen states that “This will have the effect of putting us on the same basis of other schools of the same class and we are certainly entitled to be so placed.... I am able to carry this extra number [25-30 students] on account of the income that is received from our farming operations” (Allen).

The increase did not happen. Chilocco seemed to be both blessed and cursed by its size and success. The farming operation provided a good income to the school; enough, perhaps, that Congress and the Indian Service felt justified in keeping the appropriations down for the school, imagining that the operation of the farm could help the school toward self-sufficiency.

The farm and the farming operations were the central focus of the school and its academic and vocational training for the first half of its existence. The school’s vocational training focused primarily on agriculture for the male students and domestic science for the female students. In 1904 the Cherokee Messenger noted that the “Indian School Journal claims that at Chilocco is the only real agricultural college for Indians in the country,” and that “everything is based on the farm and its kindred industries. The language, the mathematics, the geography... is derived from and based upon farming and stock raising as far as possible”(Cherokee Messenger 1904).

While it might have been an exaggeration that everything revolved around agriculture, the subject was still the main focus. Half of each day was spent in the academic classroom and half in the vocational classes. Because of the size of Chilocco, the school offered unique opportunities in agricultural education for its students. In addition to the collective nature of the instruction in farming and stock-raising,
the school offered something akin to independent study. In 1924, Chilocco implemented a program that set aside parcels of land equal to the average farm size in the state. Students could lease the tracts and work them as their own, using school equipment and seed. A student farmer, working half days during the school session and full time during the summer, ran the farm on his own. At the end of the period, the student kept one quarter of the fruit of his labor (Indian School Journal 1926).

Although agricultural training was the primary vocation taught at Chilocco, the school offered other industrial training as well. Some aspects of the vocational training, most notably the Print Shop, gained their own renown and reputation. And, beginning in the 1910s, the school improved its academic program as it sought accreditation. The institution became a graded school during this decade, adding a two-year high school program, and by 1927 offered a full course of accredited classes through grade twelve. Superintendent L. E. Correll, in a special edition of The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine, noted that “Administration at Chilocco is varied and unlike that of any other school in the Service, because it seeks to give training in so many fields” (Correll 1932, 5). Chilocco offered academic course, physical education, and a host of vocational programs (including, but not limited to, carpentry, masonry, printing, domestic science, and of course, agriculture and stock-raising). The school retained this educational model, set forth as the school gained accreditation in the State of Oklahoma, until its closing in 1980.

The end of World War II brought changes to the school—not in its educational mission, but to the composition of its students. An influx of Navajo children swelled the ranks of the student body. The Navajo students, for the most part, spoke no English and were initially segregated in special classes designed to accelerate their progress. The post-war years marked the heyday of the school—its enrollment reached nearly 1,300 in the 1950s, with a diverse student body that represented tribes from coast to coast and Alaska.

**Chilocco’s Demise**

Cultural changes, both in society and in the programs of Indian Service, that began in the 1960s contributed to the school’s decline. By 1973, the population of the school was halved. As the only vocational school in the Indian Service in Oklahoma, it still attracted
students, but in many cases, Chilocco became choice of last resort for troubled youth. A student remarked that the vocational education was what brought him the Chilocco: “I can’t do English very good, but I can do vocational things. If they close this school down, there is no place else to go. There are a lot of us who will either just go home and sit, or drop out and go on welfare” (Oklahoma City Times 1979, A1). By 1979, the student body numbered fewer than 150. Indian boarding schools, either on or off reservations, were seen as archaic by many and expensive by those who controlled the budgets. The United States Senate, in its budget recommendations for Fiscal Year 1979, recommended the closing of Chilocco and the Seneca Boarding School, also in Oklahoma. On July 15, Chilocco, the only vocational school operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, closed its doors.

The closing of the school led to a dispute over the disposition of the land. The Cherokee Nation laid claim to all of the land, citing its previous ownership. The Confederated Tribes of North Central Oklahoma, which included the Ponca, Tonkawa, Kaw, Pawnee, and Otoe-Missouria, also laid claim to the land. In the end, the five tribes divided the bulk of the reserve, and held the campus jointly. The Cherokee were granted a portion of the acreage and were also granted a 50 percent share in the mineral rights for the entire reserve.

The campus buildings have been under-utilized since the school closed. Initial attempts at creating an independent vocational training school failed. The site was leased to a controversial drug and alcohol treatment program for a number of years, but has been unused since 2000.

Chilocco was the largest of all Indian schools in Oklahoma and was the only government-operated, off-reservation school. Even when viewed beyond its role as an Indian school, its campus remains
significant in its cohesion of design and its historic integrity. Chilocco and its more than 70 buildings, structures, and sites stands today, forlorn and neglected, on the prairie of northern Oklahoma. It stands as a reminder of what some might consider a failed federal Indian policy or as a landmark institution that touched the lives of countless children. It is certainly worthy of further study, additional recognition, and a sensitive preservation plan.

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The Uses of Public Spaces before the Automobile

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We have always been fascinated by public spaces and the ways in which they are used. In the past these have included mostly streets and squares. Public parks have also been important, although their numbers have been many fewer. The uses have included events in motion, such as parades, and events in place, like markets and concerts.

It is always best to start with definitions, so let us look at the terminologies that have been used for these spaces. “Street” has meant over many years a main or major thoroughfare as opposed to a lane or alley, although in cities it came to be a way of any size. It was meant to include the sidewalks, and in some cases the buildings and lots on either side. In the seventeenth-century records of Deerfield, Massachusetts, there is a reference to the “common street” which, as in many other New England villages, was laid out quite wide, wide enough to include the public buildings and other uses like militia practice and storage (Sheldon 1896, 17). However, the meaning of “street” was imprecise, and it could simply mean a public way or road. Noah Webster, in 1828, went out of his way to mention that in New England usage the word meant “any public highway.”

The word “square” was descriptive in some instances, meaning literally an open area or plaza in the form of a square. Webster used this meaning when he described it as a four-sided area with houses on each side. This literal meaning was continued in the courthouse squares of Midwestern towns and cities. Later the New York City square was defined as the area where two streets came together to form a triangle. Over time the village square was simply an open space where two or more streets met to form an open space of any shape, or sometimes merely a plainly visible widening of the main street. Many of these spaces were called squares in nineteenth- and twentieth-century photographs, particularly of New England.
The word “park” came from England as meaning an enclosed space for animals used for hunting purposes. Webster continued this meaning in his definition of park as a large piece of ground for beasts of the chase. The word entered the American language in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in a number of ways. There are references to open meadows in Kentucky and park-like valleys in the Rocky Mountains, or just any broad valley in a mountainous region. By the twentieth century the word had been refined to mean an area set aside for public recreation and leisure usually owned by a city, state, or the nation.

The photographs we have used for this project include stereoviews (1870-1920) and post cards (1900-1960). We can see from these pictures from around the world that the uses of these spaces were pretty much the same in all cultures. Markets particularly seem to have been universal. Sometimes these were roofed-over enclosures, as in France and the West Indies, among other places; sometimes umbrellas were used, sometimes tents. Food markets were probably the most common, but many markets sold other commodities. Flower markets were quite common in north European countries, but not, apparently, in the United States.
Squares

Figure 1 shows a Fair Day parade in the square of Bellows Falls, Vermont. Advertising floats, patriotic displays and a fire truck can be seen showing off to a large crowd which fills this space in the downtown area.

In figure 2 we see a typical market scene in Montreal. It is crowded with merchants who have driven their carts into small spots and have had their horses taken away. It is called a “market place,” but many like it were called “squares” even though they were not at all square-shaped. This one was a large elongated space leading to an important monument.

Figure 2. Market Place and Nelson’s Monument, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Stereoview by Underwood and Underwood, c. 1900.
Figure 3. Piazza Erbe, Verona, Italy. Printed postcard, c. 1905.

Figure 4. West Market at Taykyl, Korea. Printed postcard, c. 1910.
Two aspects should be kept in mind when studying these scenes: the sense of enclosure, which is obvious, and the problem of sanitation, which is not. Public spaces which are successful have borders—limits—so people have a sense of stability and a sense of direction. The enclosure provides a feeling of safety, but the exits must be obvious; people want to know how to get out. The larger the space, the taller the borders. If they are too low, people lose their sense of direction; if they are too high they can feel claustrophobic.

The other aspect is a practical problem—sanitation. We tend to forget that before pavements and automobiles, people often were choking in dust and manure when conditions were dry, and mired in mud and manure when conditions were wet.

This market is an example of success in every respect. The weather is good, the animals have been removed, the area supposedly cleaned, the borders set at a good height for visibility, and the open end provides a closure to the vista with the tall monument, as well as an exit. The crowded, busy scene provides interest and entertainment, even if one was not there to buy.

Photographs of squares usually have the same qualities because pictures were taken in good weather on busy days. Sometimes umbrellas were used to keep out the sun (or rain) and provided a canopy over the entire square, or part of it. A picture of the square in Verona, Italy (figure 3) shows the entire square covered with umbrellas between buildings a bit too high for the rather small space. A similar scene of a flower market in Brussels has a canopy of umbrellas next to very tall buildings but only one corner of a large square was being used. A market at Taykyl, Korea (figure 4) is very busy and has borders visible from afar, but they are quite low and may not have been visible within the crowd. An African market at Palime, Togo does not have much to sell, but is also small in every other way, including the low, open buildings surrounding it.

Sometimes we can see a building in the square, like a roof supported on posts, which could provide protection from the elements. This type has been popular in eighteenth-century Philadelphia. A very large descendant of this was the old city market in Savannah, Georgia (figure 5), a completely enclosed building with wide openings. The view shows market stalls around the outside, suggesting an overflow. Many cities in the United States were likely to have such large market buildings by the late nineteenth century.

Sometimes extremely large spaces were used for parades or public exhibitions. A picture of Whitehall in London shows the Horse Guards Parade, more or less swallowed up in the vast space. Probably the most famous large space is St. Peter’s Square in Rome with its colonnaded border, which could be filled with people for a Papal benediction.

But what about these spaces when nothing was going on—not markets, not parades, not speeches nor benedictions? Except for the very small ones, they could be bleak and uninteresting. St. Peter’s square has an architectural interest which most of these spaces
Figure 5. City Market, Savannah, GA. Printed postcard, c. 1910. This building was in Ellis Square, in the northwest quadrant of the city. It was demolished in 1955.

Figure 6. Public Square, Belleville, IL. Printed postcard, c. 1905.
lacked. Red Square in Moscow is large and contains St. Basil’s Cathedral, but one photograph shows that it did not invite interest and was an intimidating place when it was practically empty. In one old post-card view a typical American square on the Philadelphia plan in Belleville, Illinois (figure 6) is almost deserted, even forbidding—lonely like an Edward Hopper painting.

Figure 7 can be compared with figure 1, the former showing the almost empty Bellows Falls square which had been so crowded on Fair Day. The lonely dog seems to exemplify this scene nicely.

New England had many spaces laid out in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; among these are the greens and commons which we have inherited. Originally they were used for public buildings including the Meeting House, for militia practice, markets, and other gatherings. An 1860s photograph of the common in Barre, Massachusetts (figure 8) shows the unorganized open space with some people and traffic next to the building border facing it on one side. Later, as in so many towns, any buildings on the common were demolished or moved to the side, the space was enclosed with a fence, trees planted, and monuments erected. This made-over space would then sometimes be referred to as a park. A photograph of the square in Foxboro, Massachusetts, shows what a common looked like after such a transformation (figure 9). While the borders were not yet built up completely, walls had been built, trees planted, and large flagpole
Figure 8. Town Common, Barre, MA. Stereoview by George T. Putnam, c. 1870 or earlier. The closely packed buildings with gables to the street are typical of the mid-nineteenth century in New England. The Greek Revival building with the tower was the multi-purpose meeting house/town house and is still in use. The stone building is the Episcopal Church, which since has disappeared.

Figure 9. “The Square, Foxboro, MA.” Stereoview by F. L. Pond, Foxboro, MA, c. 1870.
**Figure 10.** Market Street, Williamsport, PA. Printed postcard, 1905.

**Figure 11.** Dock Street, Philadelphia, PA. Printed postcard, c. 1910.
erected, but the fenced-in space was entirely empty, and without adequate borders it seemed to spill over into its surroundings.

**Streets**

The most positive thing about streets is that they could be used all the time as well as for special events. Sometimes they were a bit narrow for markets and parades but they still served these purposes admirably as long as traffic was diverted. We can see in one postcard a street put to everyday use, the Foochow Road in Shanghai. It is dominated by people walking, pushing carts, or pedaling bicycles or rickshaws. This is the kind of street landscape that so many cities are trying to restore today.

*Figure 12.* Petticoat Lane on Sunday Morning, London. Printed postcard, c. 1910-1915.
Figure 13. Perahera, Ceylon. Printed postcard, “Skenn Photo,” c. 1910. Peraheras were pageants held in some cities in Ceylon to commemorate various religious or secular events in its history.

Figure 14. Fourth of July Parade, Bucksport, ME. Photographic postcard by Porter, 1913.
Figure 15. Poultry Day, Lisbon, NY. Printed postcard, c. 1905.

Figure 16. Otsego County Firemen’s Parade, Oneonta, NY. Photographic postcard, c. 1910.
Figure 17. City Arcade, Birmingham, England. Printed postcard, c. 1910.

Figure 18. Main Street, Hettinger, ND. Photographic postcard, 1909.
In figure 10 we have two wide cross streets put to use as a market in Williamsport, Pennsylvania. There is even room for some horse-drawn traffic between the stalls. Dock Street in Philadelphia (figure 11) shows a similar scene with awnings already in place, but in this case it is probably a wholesale commercial district rather than an open market.

Petticoat Lane in London (figure 12) is about as congested with people as any street could be and must have been an exciting place to be as long as one was on guard for pickpockets. The pictures in the next three figures are equally intimidating. The parade in Ceylon, now Sri Lanka (figure 13), with the elephants and numerous umbrellas, looks well organized even if very crowded. However, it is hard to find any organization in the chaos that was the Fourth of July parade in Bucksport, Maine in 1913 (figure 14). The horse-drawn vehicles are going in both directions with only a few pedestrians, including two policemen, mixed in. Poultry Day in Lisbon, New York (figure 15) looks equally chaotic. Sanitation must have been quite a problem on this small-town street, as it also was with the elephants and horses in the preceding pictures. Old views show a Damascus street equally crowded, as was the intersection of Essex and Hester streets in New York, where many European immigrants were congregated.

Parades, however, could be well organized, as a picture of a Fireman’s Parade in Oneonta, New York, suggests (figure 16), and as a picture of a parading band in the village of Williamsville, Vermont also shows, where the marchers are walking on a narrow road surrounded by small houses and yards in what is almost a rural scene.

One way of solving the problems of sanitation and inclement weather was to build a completely enclosed street. These were called “arcades” in English and became popular in cities from the 1840s onward. The most famous was the Galleria in Milan. A smaller version of this was the City Arcade in Birmingham, England (figure 17), where people could move freely between built-in shops under a glass-enclosed arch. These were the precursors to modern malls—but, of course, without the parking problems.

Streets could be used for still other purposes besides traffic, shopping, markets, and parades. One scene shows a sidewalk coffee-house in Sophia, Bulgaria, with people eating under the shade with strolling passers-by on the street. The public space over a street in Geneva, Italy, was being used to hang the wash on lines strung between windows.

Streets, however, could be as empty as squares. Why the street in Hettinger, North Dakota (figure 18) was made this wide is unclear. Perhaps it was descended from the common street of New England, which was made wide enough for public buildings as well as gatherings and militia drills. None of that was happening on this street on the prairie where the two sides seem lost in space and give the pedestrian no comfort from intimate enclosure.

Main streets seemed increasingly empty of people as traffic increased. A view of the main street in Fair Haven, Vermont (figure 19),
Figure 19. Main Street, Fair Haven, VT. Photographic postcard, c. 1910.

Figure 20. Main Street, Fair Haven, VT. Photographic postcard by Eastern Illustrating Co., Belfast, ME, c. 1930.
Figure 21. Sunday Afternoon Band Concert, Eden Park, Cincinnati, OH. Printed postcard, c. 1910.

Figure 22. Hatch Memorial Shell, The Esplanade, Boston, MA. Printed postcard, c. 1940 or later.
Figure 23. Fairgrounds, Danbury, CT. Printed postcard, c. 1910.

Figure 24. Main Street Looking East, Spartanburg, SC. Photographic postcard, 1942.
showing horse-drawn vehicles looks busy at first because there are so many of them, but there were only a few people. The same scene in the 1920s with parked automobiles shows only one pedestrian in the foreground (figure 20).

**Parks**

Parks became increasingly popular in the nineteenth century. Besides the New England commons which were cleaned up, graded, and organized into fenced-in parks, and old city parks like the squares in Savannah, new city parks of many acres were created, Central Park in New York being the most famous. Besides Central Park, which was well photographed, pictures of parks are not so common, since there was little activity, except at specified times. Figure 21 shows a band concert in Eden Park in Cincinnati where the carriages are parked on one side of an open space, and the automobiles on the other; the bandstand is between them, and the audience is sitting on bleachers close to the carriages, not the automobiles. A sense of enclosure was provided by a hillside with trees across from the listeners. The park was providing a site for something which had been traditional on commons and village squares. All it had that they did not was ample parking space. The Hatch Memorial Shell in Boston (figure 22) provided better acoustics set in a space which seems open-ended, although the Charles River provided a border on one side.

Some parks had fair grounds, like Crescent Park near Providence, Rhode Island, but many of the agricultural fairs, like the Danbury Fair in Connecticut, were on private property (figure 23). The fairs had large spaces with many activities, but a midway was always provided with buildings, sometimes only tents, on either side to give the needed sensations of enclosure and direction.

Some final pictures can show where these public spaces were headed in the twentieth century. Main Street looking East in Spartanburg, South Carolina (figure 24) shows what is left of a square in 1942. A monument standing alone is separated from a small diamond with a flagpole and one tree, with an elevated space railed in and seeming to serve no particular purpose since no one could easily reach it. The rest of the space is devoted to traffic lanes. A lone pedestrian is crossing the wide space near the monument and people can be seen crossing the single streets in the distance where it was safer. With its cacophony of building heights and signs, this was not a pleasant place to be except in an automobile heading for better things. The photographer did not even bother to put “square” in the identification, but only “Main Street,” which was, by that time, all it was.

Main Street in Machias, Maine, in the 1920s had many automobiles parked both diagonally and parallel, but only a few people. The Main Street of Damariscotta, Maine in the 1950s (figure 25) shows automobiles only on the pavement, and a few pedestrians carefully walking on the sidewalks. To venture across the street would pose a problem. By this time traffic, which was dangerous, and pedestrians
had been absolutely separated, each going in its own path. Since people were not much aware of the damage from carbon monoxide or carbon dioxide and the consequences of global warming then, they could reasonably point out that the sanitation problem had been solved.

From here things only went downhill. Modern architects and planners have not understood the importance of enclosure, direction, and borders. Rather they have given us high-rises with empty unused space around them, or buildings which sit on open sites which seem to drift off into undifferentiated spaces and wide uncrossable traffic corridors. On the other hand, restored older spaces like Boston’s Faneuil Hall market complex with its old warehouses on either side have proven to be extremely popular because they provide a human scale and the visual amenities (as well as necessities) which people have always wanted. James Howard Kunstler has written an unforgettable description of Boston City Hall with its blank walls on its barren man-made eminence overlooking the crowded old market area:

Windswept, cold, vacant, cruel, at the same time that it is petty and bland, it’s an agoraphobe’s nightmare of the uncomprehended space. It shows a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of the public space, particularly of how the edge needs to operate in order for people to feel comfortable and interested—to clearly define the space and provide destinations for people walking in the vicinity. Boston City Hall

Figure 25. Main Street, Damariscotta, ME. Photographic postcard by W. P. Brewer, c. 1955 or later.
Plaza fails with the grandiose and narcissistic self-assurance characteristic of the period (Kunstler 2001, 204).

References Cited


Partnering Past the Pavement

Claudette Stager  
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Having blithely agreed to work on a publication for the Society for Commercial Archeology (SCA) after its 1998 conference, with no background in editing a book, the authors decided that our experiences completing the project were relevant. Therefore, in addition to shameless self-promotion, we embarked on a crusade to tell everyone about the process of completing a conference-based book, especially the partnerships we formed.

Partnering Past the Pavement, which began as the 1998 SCA conference, involves the partnership of both people and ideas. Formed in the 1970s, the SCA is the oldest national association devoted to the preservation and promotion of the twentieth-century commercial landscape. Its publications and conferences help preserve, document, and celebrate the structures and architecture of the twentieth century. These features include diners, highways, gas stations, drive-in theaters, bus stations, tourist courts, and neon signs.

In 1997, the SCA decided to hold the following year’s conference in Chattanooga with a theme focusing on the Dixie Highway: “Drivin’ the Dixie: Automobile Tourism in the South.” The Good Roads Movement had resulted in a plethora of highway associations for routes such as the Dixie, the Lee, the Lincoln, and the Bankhead. These corridors varied in distance and scope from short intrastate routes to transcontinental highways. They also varied in their impact on communities. The Dixie Highway (figure 1) proved to be one of the most important routes in the South. Stretching through nine states from Sault Sainte Marie, Michigan, to Miami, Florida, with two parallel routes, a couple of connectors, and several branches, the route delivered “snowbirds” from the North and the Midwest into the South for business and pleasure.

Chattanooga seemed a logical place to hold the conference since it was the national headquarters of the Dixie Highway Association from 1915 until the association disbanded in the late 1920s, besides which the city lies roughly midway on the route. In addition,
The Chattanooga-Hamilton County Bicentennial Library holds the Dixie Highway Association collection.

The location also proved convenient, as the conference planners worked in Nashville (130 miles to the north), Chattanooga, or in Atlanta (120 miles to the south). This group included individuals from the Georgia and Tennessee State Historic Preservation Offices, the Georgia and Tennessee Departments of Transportation, and the Southeast Tennessee Development District, which represents portions of three counties in northern Georgia.

SCA’s conference included both papers and tour sessions. A day-long tour of the Dixie Highway in Georgia preceded one day of papers. Another day-long tour of the Dixie Highway in Tennessee (figures 2-3) followed the paper sessions.

**P-A-R-T-N-E-R-I-N-G Past the Pavement**

Like most things in life, it is impossible to host a conference by yourself. It involves many people and that is a key element of the “partnering” mentioned in the presentation title. However, another goal of our conference was to move beyond the “pavement” of historic roads, and to do that the conference committee attempted to partner that history with the built environment, as well as trying to use the conference as a catalyst for spin-off projects.

So, what were the partnering experiences?

**Promotion is key.** Although many of us travel to other areas for conferences, we often see our own areas as lacking in attractions. Jeff Durbin, a Board member of SCA and then 106 coordinator at the Georgia State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), was key to our success in that he firmly believed that the Dixie Highway was a worthy conference topic and that the Chattanooga area had enough roadside architecture and history to attract and entertain a national audience. While the rest of the committee was willing to help, it took

**Figure 1.** Portion of the Dixie Highway Strip Map. All images are courtesy of the authors unless otherwise noted.
Jeff to initiate the project. Someone has to be a spark or a visionary to conceive the big picture idea.

**Audience:** Know the audience and gear the conference to them. While a group may be diverse, there still will be common threads. For this group, everyone recognized that a common interest would be roadside architecture and historic signs. Located on one of the tours was the Chattanooga Choo-Choo, a 1908 Beaux Arts landmark and one of the most famous early preservation stories in the region. However, opposite it is the 1930s Ellis Restaurant with its striking façade of structural glass and a neon sign with a leaping frog. The group was fascinated with the frog and paid only cursory attention to the Choo-Choo—which was what had been expected. Afterwards, the bus driver said of all of the tours he had done in Chattanooga, this was the first time he had seen a group that was more interested in the frog than the Choo-Choo. Try to anticipate your group’s interest—such as the frog—but be prepared for diversions.

**Realistic:** Be realistic: if the conference includes tours, drive the route, preferably more than once. The conference committee had realized that the attendees would be very interested in signs. However, there was not enough time to stop for every sign, nor was it feasible for the bus to park at several places. Therefore, stops were prioritized. Also, before the start of the actual tour, be sure to schedule stops with on-site personnel. On the Georgia tour, a security guard refused to let attendees take photographs or go on the site. One individual

*Figure 2.* Chattanooga’s Market Street Bridge, a 1917 bascule lift bridge, was on the Dixie Highway Tour.
knew the owner and called him, and he then called us the next day and profusely apologized, but one advance phone call would have avoided this situation.

Tolerance and flexibility are essential. The group’s planning sessions were nothing if not lively. Typically, people who have the types of personalities to undertake the sponsorship of a conference also tend to have firm opinions about how to do that, and those opinions do not always mesh well. At the conference, the conference chair referred to his committee and openly wondered if any of them were still speaking to him. It was a valid question.

Nothing new under the sun? It is all a matter of perspective. What may seem boring and “everyday” to you can be unique and colorful to others. People in other areas may never have heard of sites familiar to you, and ironically, many people never visit local sites, always thinking they will do that “some day.” The conference drew attendees who were local and lived in the area as well as people from outside the region who—as inconceivable as it may seem to Southerners—had never heard of a number of seemingly well-known places. For instance, some attendees never had heard of Rock City, a legendary Southern tourist attraction on the Tennessee-Georgia border that contains rock formations, gardens, and scenic vistas of seven states; or of Georgia’s Paradise Gardens, the work of Howard Finster, a nationally recognized self-taught outsider artist who specialized in religious outdoor sculptures.

Figure 3. Circa 1920s postcard of the Rhea–Mims. The text reads, “Rhea-Mims Hotel, Newport, Tenn. Along the Dixie Highway.”
Explore your region, and partner with it to allow it to entertain your guests. While paper sessions certainly have value, balancing them with field work, mobile workshops, or tours increasingly have become part of conferences and allow attendees to explore other communities. Since its first conference in 1978, the SCA has incorporated field trips, and Chattanooga was no exception. In view of the fact that the focus of the conference was the Dixie Highway, organizers decided to have one day of paper sessions and two days of tours of the Dixie Highway, one day in Tennessee and one day in Georgia. In addition to seeing traditional roadside elements of the built environment such as roads and bridges, motels, and service stations, the conference also tried to highlight regionalisms such as dance caves, kudzu, and fireworks. The group attempted to induce companies with a Southern flair to donate items and door prizes. It was easy to obtain snacks such as Moon Pies and RC Colas, but we had less success with larger firms such as Martha White. For someone raised in the South, the amazement that conference attendees expressed at the fireworks stands (figure 4) was truly inconceivable.

Recruit a varied group for your conference committee. Obviously, no one can stage a conference alone, but it is often tempting to stay within your own comfort zone or within your own clique. Too large and the group is divisive and unwieldy, and too small and the group is overwhelmed and unable to deliver. The 1998 conference committee was composed of a core group of about half a dozen and a wider group of about a dozen, and each brought something different to the...
committee. For example, one of us asked the Park Service to donate entry fees for a site, one of us copied the tour book and donated that to the SCA, one of us got tickets donated to ride the Incline, and one of us knew the county sheriff who had his prisoners pick up trash along the route including at one of our stops, a roadside park at the Bowing Springs Cave.

Images: Images of and about the conference are also an opportunity to create and maintain partnerships. The Chattanooga conference offered for sale slide packets related to the conference and the tours. As noted above, many attendees were sign enthusiasts, and the tours could not provide enough opportunities to take photographs. However, the conference could offer examples in the slide packets, some of which were of better quality than slides made by the average photographer. And when the weather does not cooperate with the conference, packaged images may be the only acceptable images that people can obtain. Today, with digital cameras and CDs, it is even easier to offer this service to attendees, providing a variety of images to study or use once back home and creating a link back to the conference.

Negativity can take all the fun out of any partnership. Be patient. Be flexible. Be thick-skinned because there will always be complaints and very few compliments. Sessions will not always turn out as planned but, sometimes, they can be better. For example, few conferences have all the topics covered that the organizers feel should be addressed, but “off-topic” sessions also have value (and may be better than those the organizers planned). Have fun and enjoy your own conference—most people will never realize there were glitches much less remember them.

Goals—keep in mind what your goals are and that they can be achieved in expected and unexpected ways. Prior to this conference, there had been little interest in Tennessee in road history or roadside architecture, and one of our underlying goals was that the conference would stimulate such an interest by lending credibility to resources that people had often considered too mundane to be historic. For example, since the conference, the Rhea-Mims, a 1923 hotel on the Dixie Highway has been rehabilitated for use as senior housing with Transportation Enhancement funds.

Partnering Past the P-A-V-E-M-E-N-T

If you are lucky—and work at it—you can achieve your goals. With a lot of stops along the way, this was the case with the Dixie conference. In developing a book we found that while the precepts followed for the conference were important, organizers had to deal with new issues, form new partnerships, and learn new skills.

As the committee worked on planning the conference, The University of Tennessee (UT) Press contacted the SCA to see if the group was interested in producing a book based on the papers given at the conference. The conference committee was interested, although members were concerned that the UT Press did not guarantee
publication. In 1990, a book based on the SCA’s 1988 “Americans and the Automobile” conference in Dearborn, Michigan was published, and committee members thought a second publication would provide name recognition for the organization and, possibly, a profit. However, committee members also expressed a reluctance to take on the task. On the positive side, the hefty 280-page tour guide was already written and excerpts could be used for the book. Finally the committee decided to ask presenters whether or not they might be interested in a book by asking them to complete and submit a form. The response from presenters was enthusiastic and most agreed to take their presentations and revise them into a chapter for the book. Here was an idea that might keep up the interest in Southern roads and culture that resulted from the conference.

Having all the partners who were involved in the conference was not practical in planning and compiling a book. Initially, three SCA members agreed to coordinate and edit the manuscript. Although the conference was called “Drivin’ the Dixie” there were several non-Dixie Highway and non-Southern papers. Because of this, the editors decided that each paper would be a stand-alone chapter and the book would be conference proceedings as much as anything else. This would result in some repetition between chapters, but the editors planned to eliminate this. Also, with stand-alone chapters, the idea was that readers could peruse only the chapters in which they were interested. Each chapter would have a similar length and number of images. Guidelines on preparing their chapters and deadlines for draft chapters were sent to the authors. Most authors responded in a timely manner, having more than enough information and images. In fact, limiting the number of photographs per chapter was a major concern for authors. Limiting the length of chapters was a problem for a few authors, but overall, the initial plan for the manuscript worked well.

Of course, the proposed book was not going to make anyone rich or be on any best-seller lists. Any profits would go to the SCA. The main purpose of the book was to promote roads and roadside history, especially that of the Dixie Highway, and bring more name recognition to the SCA. Other than authors from academia, few authors had incentive to complete the manuscript. People moved, changed jobs, married, divorced, had children, and did all the things people normally do. Unfortunately, the editors were the worst procrastinators. Time passed. Authors no longer emailed or called to see what happened to the manuscript. Most assumed the project was no longer viable, and the impetus to keep up the interest in roads and places showcased in the conference was lost.

More time passed. The most critical change as far as the manuscript was concerned was that two of the editors decided they could not complete the project. A new co-editor, Martha Carver, was coaxed into helping Claudette Stager, the one original editor remaining with the project. The two had worked on other projects and both were tenacious—some might say stubborn or compulsive—about getting
things done. In a relatively short time, all the chapters in the manuscript were edited, images were chosen, an introduction to the book was written, and everything was sent off to UT Press.

Of course, nothing ever goes as planned. The original acquisitions editor took another job and the new editor was unfamiliar with the concepts proposed for the book, other than to know it had taken a long time to get this far. The UT Press sends manuscripts to readers and if they recommend the book for publication the manuscript is submitted to the press’s board, which has the final recommendation. The manuscript, with the working title *Roadside America 2*, was sent out to two readers. The readers liked the concept of a book on Southern roads and culture but, starting with the title, there was not much else that they did like. Still, both readers had suggestions to improve the book and the UT Press said it was interested in seeing a revised manuscript. The most surprising thing was that with the exception of a few chapters, the readers each liked or disliked different parts of the manuscript.

One critique of the manuscript was with the organization of the chapters, or, as the readers pointed out, the lack of organization. The manuscript was divided into segments on road history, resources along the road, and the Dixie Highway as an example of both. Another comment was that the book was not really Southern and it would be a good idea to delete a few chapters and focus on what the South had to offer. The readers also noted that the quality and tenor of writing varied among the authors, which the editors already knew and expected to be the case in an anthology.

Being determined people, the editors immediately revamped the manuscript, using ideas from the readers, and new ideas they developed. The easiest change to make was getting out the red pencils and trusting their instincts when it came to editing. The hardest change was telling authors that their chapters would not be included in the revised manuscript. The book was always intended for people who had an interest and general knowledge about Southern roads, road history, roadside buildings, and fun things to do along the road. In reorganizing and focusing the book on the South, the editors decided that one way to interest people in the importance of Southern roads was to have more chapters about resources along the road. Showy roadside attractions seem to interest people easier than historic roads do. However, once people become interested in roadside, they often expand their interest into the history of the road. So we added additional chapters on motels, resorts, concrete crosses, and towers by using reprint articles from past *SCA Journals*. A chapter on a road associated with the Dixie Highway, the Tamiami Trail, was also added to the manuscript. By connecting the history of early automobile roads with the stops along the routes, the editors hoped that both road historians and roadside-culture aficionados would enjoy the book and learn something from it.

Again, these new authors were excited about being included in the book. As far as reorganizing the book, there were no longer
three parts to it and it was no longer a conference proceedings. The introduction was expanded and revised so that it illustrated what the book was aiming to do—interest more people in the history of Southern roads and roadside culture—and why this was important. As for the title of the revised manuscript, during a lengthy and boring meeting, someone mentioned that people should look beyond the boundaries of roads. Suddenly alert and doodling variations on this idea, the new manuscript became *Looking Beyond the Highway: Dixie Roads and Culture*.

Everything was sent back to the UT Press just in time for another round of reading, and this time the reader favored publishing it. Next, the press’s board approved the manuscript. In fact, the board member responsible for making the recommendation on the book seemed to like it more than the reader.

Now the manuscript went to the image people, copy editor, and layout people. A critical change in focus occurred at this juncture. Begun as a result of an SCA conference that showcased the Dixie Highway, the final publication downplayed the conference and instead focused on the history and culture of the South, with the Dixie Highway still having a major role. The book is scheduled for publication in August of this year.

There are some small and some major lessons learned from this experience. One lesson learned is that you should ask what the standard for images is from the publisher right away. Many photos, maps, or postcards had to be rescanned or sent directly to the UT Press. Never assume that just because a publication is defunct that no one owns the image rights. Someone somewhere probably does own them and there may be a hefty cost to get the rights. The editors also learned that terms, such as architectural styles, that were common to professionals in our field were foreign to a copy editor. All of these issues were time consuming but not difficult.

More critical to the project was a partnership that was willing to work together and willing to change during the long process. Although the conference started with several state and regional agencies helping to put on the event for the SCA, the publication relied on the work of the editors—who were on the conference committee and worked for two different Tennessee state agencies—and the continuing auspices of the SCA. The book has a fresh focus geared toward a new and broader audience than a book about the conference. *Looking Beyond the Highway* (figure 5) goes beyond the promotion of historic roads; it now contributes to the growing scholarship on the twentieth-century culture that defined the South.

An unfortunate aspect of this process is that any momentum gained from the conference was long gone. The conference generated interest in the Dixie Highway and roadside culture for a short time after the event but this interest never materialized into something more concrete. There has been sporadic interest by individuals in Southern roads and the Dixie. As part of its history lecture series, the Nashville public library planned an ambitious program that would
have taken the Dixie Highway, Natchez Trace, and Tennessee’s roadside culture to major cities in the state. Financing for the project never materialized and the project was dropped.

A more positive and more indirect result is that staffs from our state agencies—the Tennessee Department of Transportation (TDOT) and the Tennessee Historical Commission (THC)—are more aware of Southern roads and culture and now promote it more. For example, both the Rockwood and Crossville Highway Patrol buildings on the Dixie Highway have been listed in the National Register. The Rockwood building received a matching federal grant through the THC and last year had a grand opening of the building as a history
museum. After years of neglect, there is renewed interest in the Airplane Service Station in Knoxville. A new partnership of citizens, the county non-profit historic preservation organization, the county, and state agencies worked tirelessly to purchase the building and they are now looking at obtaining grants so the building can be used again. More than the initial partnership of state and regional agencies, promoting historic roads and roadside culture in Tennessee will be done by these smaller, more ephemeral or ad hoc groups.

Finally, here is what we learned about the process:

- Persevere especially when mistakes or delays happen;
- Advance to the next stage in the process even when it does not seem possible;
- Vary approaches;
- Explain what you are doing and what you want clearly and often;
- Motivation—you need it and have to keep remembering there is a goal and end in sight;
- Enthusiasm is always important;
- Nadir—there will be at least one low point;
- Tenacity is very important throughout the process.

**Notes**

1An earlier version of our paper was presented at the fifth biennial Preserving the Historic Road conference in Boston in April, 2006.
BOOK REVIEWS

ENTERPRISING WOMEN
250 Years of American Business

by Virginia G. Drachman

Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005
vii+184pp. Photographs, Notes, Bibliographic References, and Index
$39.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8078-2762-2
$25.00 (paper), ISBN 0-8078-5429-8

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Melissa Aho, Metropolitan State University

Enterprising Women: 250 Years of American Business by Virginia G. Drachman is a delightful 184 pages of 250 years of women in business in America. Published in conjunction with an exhibition, it should not be viewed as an exhibition catalogue, but as a stand-alone reference in the history of American business women and the culture that surrounded them during the times they lived. More than a social and cultural history of women in American business, Enterprising Women weaves the life stories of a handful of women and the issues with which they had to deal to follow their dreams of entrepreneurial success.

The women profiled in this book share many of the same traits, the main one being the need for financial independence for her family and herself. There is a common theme of financially strong women supporting equality, civil rights, charities, and education. Drachman, a professor of History at Tufts University, does a thorough job of stressing family support for the majority of the women discussed in the book. How much positive support and help a woman received from her parents and husband appears to have had an effect on each woman’s success. Family, children, and household responsibilities, or lack of them, also played a large role for business women. The book stresses this point and demonstrates how women handled these issues.

The 250 years of American business women’s history is divided into five chapters focusing on the best-known women of their times. After a brief introduction, Chapter One, “Seeking Independence, 1750-1830,” concentrates on the women who helped win a revolution and found a nation. These early business women were running plantations and introducing new crops to the new fledging nation and agricultural society. Highlights of this chapter include Eliza Pinckney who introduced a new cash crop, indigo, to the plantation she managed and to the nation (9-14), while others like Mary Katherine Goddard went outside the traditional sphere and created
a business in publishing newspapers. Goddard was so successful and highly regarded that she was chosen in 1777 to print the first official copy of the Declaration of Independence with the signatures of all the signers (14-19).

Chapter Two, “Profit in the Service of Women, 1830-1890,” discusses how women became part of the growing economy of the United States and were involved in many aspects of the Industrial Revolution. Women during this time helped run iron works, created medicine, ran dress and hat shops, and even—like Martha Coston—invented signal flares. Other women, including Myra Bradwell, became or tried to become lawyers. Unfortunately, Bradwell and others like her were prohibited from the bar. Refocusing her energies, Bradwell’s entrepreneurial spirit took hold and she founded the Chicago Legal News. With her connections and the Chicago Legal News, she helped push her many issues including temperance, prison reform, reform of the legal profession, business, women’s rights and social reform (61-69).

In Chapter Three, “Fashioning the Business of Beauty, 1890-1960,” the reader gets the first real glimpse of the huge commercial market and culture of women’s beauty products. Drachman writes “For the most part, women entrepreneurs continued to find their best business opportunities in areas that catered specifically to women” (76). This chapter beautifully illustrates this with women like Carrie Marcus Neiman, who helped create the famous Neiman Marcus department stores (77-78), and Sarah Breedlove Walker, who became Madam C.J. Walker, one of the first African-American women to achieve financial success through hair and beauty products (79-87). Other women entrepreneurs profiled who made their fame and fortune in the cosmetic and fashion industry include Helena Rubinstein, Elizabeth Arden, Lane Bryant, and Hazel Bishop with her long-lasting kissable lipstick.

Covering the same period as the third chapter, Chapter Four, “Breaking New Ground, 1890-1960,” introduces women who created business opportunities in untraditional fields. Unique women mentioned in this chapter include Marie Webster who created a business by making quilts and quilt patterns (113-15); Julia Morgan, an architect who created the Hearst Castle San Simeon; Jennie Grossinger, who built a hotel in the Catskill Mountains; and Ruth Handler, who is world-famous as the creator of the Barbie doll and also high-end breast prostheses.

The final chapter, “Women Take Charge, 1960-2000,” discusses business and financial success among women in the worlds of construction, gelatin food, and newspaper publishing. Chapter Five also wraps up the book and looks to the present and future, where women are still dealing with the same issues as in the past 250 years: “gender discrimination, access to capital markets, and the balance between work and family” (161).
While this is a wonderful text that tells the story of a few well-known business women, *Enterprising Women* appears to have left out women that were not of a certain status or culture. While the book concentrates on Caucasian and African-American women, very few other minority women are mentioned, and no physically disabled women, no women with risqué backgrounds, and no lesbian, bisexual, or transgender business women are mentioned as part of the American entrepreneurial story. Some examples of unconventional women who could have been profiled but were not include sisters Ada and Minna Everleigh, who were high-class brothel owners who retired with an estimated one-million dollars, or lesbian Rosie O’Donnell, an entrepreneur with her own TV show and magazine.

Regardless of who was left out, the book does a wonderful job of exposing readers to the unique history of entrepreneurial women in American business past and present. *Enterprising Women* is highly recommendable for undergraduates and those studying American business, business culture and women’s history.

**FORM FOLLOWS LIBIDO**
*Architecture and Richard Neutra in a Psychoanalytic Culture.*

by *Sylvia Lavin*

Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004
x+182pp. Illustrations, Photographs, Notes, and Index
$30.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-262-12268-5.

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by *Peder Anker, University of Oslo*

“[Richard] Neutra houses were pleasure palaces, and some of them had a G spot,” Sylvia Lavin argues in a fascinating book about the famous architect, *Form Follows Libido* (95). Instead of analyzing Neutra’s buildings in view of competing modernists, she understands them in the context of the psychoanalytic culture of the pleasure in which Neutra and his clients participated.

Lavin’s point of departure is the importance of Sigmund Freud’s psychology in understanding Neutra’s architecture. In this, she follows a recent trend among architectural historians by discussing the relevance of the history of science to design. Anthologies such as *Architecture of Science*, edited by Peter Galison and Emily Thompson (1999), as well as *Architecture and the Sciences*, edited by Antoine Picon and Alessandra Ponte (2003), have documented a rich field of mutual inspirations between the scientists and practicing architects. Lavin’s book illustrates how this broadening of focus among historians of architecture can provide novel perspectives on designers and their work.
The problem with existing interpretations of Neutra, Lavin argues, is that he is understood in the context of other modernist architects and not in view of his writings or the culture in which he practiced. As a consequence Neutra has become “both a canonic figure in the history of modernism and an unknown architect obscured by his own historiography” (11). This is a fair criticism: there are hardly any in-depth studies based on archival sources of his buildings, with the possible exception, perhaps, of Thomas S. Hines’s (1982) celebratory biography.

“Richard Neutra was a founder of environmental design,” Lavin claims in her opening line (3). It is an ironic proclamation, as there is little about his architecture that resembles the past or current work of ecological designers. What Lavin suggests is that one needs to broaden the notion of what constitutes the “environment” to include spaces construed for the betterment of human psychology as well as landscape ecology. Neutra’s agenda was to create a psychologically healthy environment inside buildings and connect them with the surroundings. He fashioned himself in the image of a therapist serving the unconscious environmental needs of his clients by creating architectural spaces of delight and pleasure.

Neutra’s preoccupation with psychoanalysis has hardly been noted by historians, even though he knew Freud himself through his friendship with his son Ernst (who also became an architect). Born in 1892, Neutra was a native Viennese who spent his formative years in the fin-de-siècle city of intellectuals spellbound by the famous psychologist. In the 1930s Neutra’s interest in psychoanalysis turned towards environmental psychology, when he came to believe that buildings were an attempt to return to the mother’s womb.

A house could be of therapy to a client in therapeutic need, Neutra thought. A good portion of the book focuses on a series of buildings which Lavin understands in view of the client’s psychological needs and the architect’s response to them. Neutra deliberately modeled his role as an architect for domestic clients on the analyst working with neurotic patients. He wanted, Lavin shows, his clients to think of him as a doctor with whom they could have emotional intimacy, something he deemed important in order to construe an architectural space of therapeutic quality.

Understanding a building in terms of a return to the mother’s womb implied a dismantling of conventional barriers of being in outside and inside environments. By breaking down this demarcation, Neutra sought to help the client in overcoming his or her birth-trauma. His solution was to let some of the building’s structure stick out as “spider legs,” a technique which in effect became his architectural trademark. Lavin argues that “the spider legs create what might be called an intermediary zone, a kind of birth canal that mediates the passage from inside to outside.” At the same time they deal with the
inherent fear of spiders since the legs “minimize this anxiety by functioning as architectural umbilical cords” (63). His ultimate goal with the spider legs was to connect the outer landscape with our inner landscape of intimate organic events. This is surely an original and refreshing reading of Neutra, and Lavin supports her interpretation with a rich body of textual, archival, and circumstantial evidence.

Neutra practiced in the social and cultural context of bohemianism that was sweeping California in the 1950s, and many of his clients were experimenting with various sorts of therapeutic activities that had little or nothing to do with Freudian psychology. One such therapy was the “orgone box” cure recommended by the psychologist William Reich. He established a laboratory in which one could liberate one’s “orgone” (from “orgasm” and “organism”) by sitting in a box designed especially for this purpose. The personal effect was improvement of health, better sex, and happiness, while the landscape and the ecosystem allegedly could benefit from the orgone energy in the form of a more temperate climate. Neutra’s famous Chuey house was designed as a salon for orgone box users, and his Survival through Design, published in 1954, was inspired by Reich. Lavin’s point is not to document an architect’s eccentricities, but instead to place Neutra in a culture in which the pursuit of emotional and physical happiness became an architectural commodity. Unlike his predecessors, Neutra pursued a moody architecture that differs from the rationalist agenda of many of his modernist colleagues.

This book is an original and well-argued piece of scholarship. As with all good books, the reader is left with a desire to know more: more about Neutra’s Vienna, more about the environmentalists, therapists, and lifestyle experts he engaged with, more about his clients, and more about the architectural and scientific debates of the period. A total of 144 pages of text and images is just too little when one is working with such remarkable material. This is not to say that the book is not a valuable contribution to architectural history worth both time and attention.

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MANUFACTURING MONTREAL
The Making of an Industrial Landscape, 1850 to 1930
by Robert Lewis

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000
xvii+336pp. Tables, Illustrations, Maps, Notes, and Index
$45.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-8018-6349-X

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Jean-François Auger, Université Louis-Pasteur

In studying the history of cities, geographers tackle the role of industrial development in shaping the landscape. They have found that manufacturing districts moved from the city’s center to the greenfield sites at the urban fringe. In addition, they have noted that, through a process of suburbanization, the establishment of working-class neighborhoods followed. In North America, according to many, these two phenomena took place beginning in the 1920s and expanded after the Second World War. During this period, industrialists established their plants on large inexpensive lots, and, by the same token, contributed to the specialization of the outer core in mass-production.

These fundamental assumptions, however, are seriously threatened by Robert Lewis. In his book Manufacturing Montreal, Lewis makes new claims regarding the industrial geography of cities. First, he demonstrates that decentralization started in Montreal as early as the 1840s and was consolidated by the 1890s. He extends this claim to some other North American cities through interesting but scarce comparisons with Montreal. Second, he shows that the outer-core manufacturing districts were all but characterized by a strong specialization in the system of mass production. Each of them, indeed, contained a diversity of firms clustered together. For instance, large-scale manufactures were verging on retailing stores, workshops, and craftsmen ancillary to their activities.

These claims are backed up by strong evidence produced through an original methodology. Undertaking a breathtaking work of scholarship, Lewis has patiently compiled data from the city’s water-tax assessment for the years 1861, 1890, and 1929. With this technique he has computed figures on the firms’ locations, rent shares, numbers, and sectors of activity; he has arranged these data in statistical tables and mapped them out. Moreover, Lewis relies on standard sources to draw short vignettes of clothing manufacturers, shoemaking, cigarette and cigar making, locomotive work, and printing firms
and discusses them in light of the foregoing question of the city’s industrial landscape. With the aim to expose his results, he embarks with the reader on a scenic drive through Montreal to review each district from east to west via the city’s center.

In the first part of the book, Lewis studies manufacturing districts, decentralization, and working-class suburbanization during the period between 1850 and 1890. By the middle of the nineteenth century Montreal had achieved a status as Canada’s metropolis for finance, commerce, and industry. Small, labor-intensive, and consumer-oriented industries characterized the city’s economy. Most of the manufacturers grew in the central district, “Old Montreal,” near the harbor and train tracks along the St. Lawrence River. Firms in this district were innovative and technologically sophisticated with highly regulated chains of production. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, Montreal saw the development of a range of new manufacturing districts. On the East Side the Francophone Catholic working class was living in the districts of Sainte-Marie and Hochelaga. New firms established there specialized in the production of rubber, tobacco, and soap, all in large premises. On the West Side manufacturers sprung up in Canal and Griffintown districts in wood-working, metal-working, and food industries. British and Irish immigrants gathered together in neighborhoods close to these manufacturers.

In the second part of the book, Lewis sheds light on the changing composition of manufacturing and working-class districts over the period ranging from 1890 to 1930. Whilst during that period the city followed hazardous patterns of development, the establishment of new districts on greenfield sites expanded and deepened further. Henceforth the city’s center became increasingly occupied by office-based multistorey buildings and by some specialized manufacturing tightly clustered. Manufacturers escaping from that district saw their rent values lowered significantly. Furthermore they gained access to larger spaces where they could rebuild factory layouts and introduce new pieces of equipment. Hence Montreal saw the addition of new districts, Mile End and Plateau, located on the northern fringe. Installed there were Jewish and Italian immigrants who found employment in the manufacturing along the Canadian Pacific Railway track. All in all the oldest manufacturing districts underwent profound changes in their industrial base, while districts farther out experienced continuous growth.

Over the long run, manufacturing and working-class decentralization which shaped Montreal’s landscape, according to Lewis, was the result of factors such as manufacturing pathways, property dynamics, and growth politics at the municipal level. Broadly speaking this result is of interest not only to geographers who study urban landscapes throughout time but also to historians of North American
industrialization since the nineteenth century. The latter’s attention will be caught by discussion over the relation between the manufacturers and the working-class, the design of factory layout and the mass-production system, and finally the depiction of technological changes in a wide range of manufacturing sectors.

If historians are to rely on Lewis’s methodology, they should remedy some insufficiencies in their further studies. They should not take for granted, for instance, that the water tax is a universal indicator of industrial location. It was too dependent upon the municipalization of the water-supply system and changes in the role of assessment. Moreover they may tap into the city’s overall representations in maps, engravings, and photographs, documents which are, unfortunately, not exploited to their fullest in this study. Last but not least, the historical geography of industry is not limited to the dynamic of a one single city, whatever its centrality in a country’s economy. For the period under consideration, Montreal’s economy was closely integrated in the Northeast American system of industrial production. In this large geographical ensemble manufacturers were moving of location according to the comparative locational assets. Some American manufacturers, for instance, established their plants in Montreal to counter the Canadian National Policy, which included a high protective tariff on imported goods from 1879 on.

In brief, Manufacturing Montreal is a strong empirical study on the relation between urbanization and industrialization, which are too often roughly drawn by historians in their studies of the nineteenth and twentieth century.

**THE SACRED GAZE**
*Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice*

by David Morgan

Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005
xv+318pp. Notes, Bibliographic References, and Index
$55.00 cloth, ISBN 0-52-024287-4

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Kelly J. Baker, Florida State University

*The Sacred Gaze* is the culmination of David Morgan’s previous work on religion and visual culture, which includes *Visual Piety* (1997), *Protestants and Pictures* (1999), and his co-edited volume with Sally Promey, *The Visual Culture of American Religions* (2001). This work serves as both an exploration of religious visual culture as
well as a study in the theory behind it. As always, Morgan is clear, articulate, and thoughtful, and this work, like his others, is groundbreaking in its approaches to the importance of the visual in the realm of the immaterial, religion. Morgan systematically approaches the place of seeing and visual artifacts in the world’s major religious traditions, Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism, to demonstrate how the seeing and the visual help craft the religious worlds of believers. His argument, then, is “that seeing is an operation that relies on the apparatus of assumptions, inclinations, habits, and routines, historical associations, and cultural practices,” and that there is a “sacred gaze,” which is an “act of religious seeing as it occurs within a given cultural and historical setting” (3). Seeing is a social act, and thus, religious seeing, the sacred gaze, is also a social act constructed by the beliefs and practices of a religion as well as cultural and historical forces. Morgan is interested in not only how images are approached by believers but also how images function—what do images do? Yet this book is as much a work of theory as it is a work of history, and he attempts to provide a theory for the study of religious images and how the seeing and vision operate in religious practice.

Thus to explore seeing as a religious act and “to see seeing,” Morgan examines images as evidence, how images function in religious rituals, “covenants” between images and their viewers, iconoclasm and idolatry, images as encounters between cultures, seeing and gender, and seeing and national identity (6). Each of his chapters tackles one of these themes. For the readers of Material Culture or PAST, the first chapter would prove the most beneficial because Morgan defines visual culture and argues for the importance of including the visual as evidence for historical narratives.

For this author, visual culture is both “the images and objects that deploy particular ways of seeing and therefore contribute...to the construction of reality” and the method of study in a multitude of disciplines “whose object is the conceptual frameworks, social practices, and the artifacts of seeing” (27). Moreover, visual culture does not imply art-historical or object-centered analyses but analysis of practice—how objects operate. An emphasis on this highlights how artifacts help in the construction of our worlds, religious or otherwise. Images and artifacts, then, should be used as forms of evidence because they help complicate other forms of evidence, primarily textual. These forms of evidence should be considered “interdependent” in Morgan’s terms (46). Additionally, images often resist the words used to describe, and using both images and texts offers more complete historical explanations.

The other chapters (Chapters Two through Five) focus on how images function in religious traditions from serving as parts of religious ritual to communicating influence and power to displacing rival
claims of other traditions. For Morgan, viewers enter into a covenant, or compact, with images that provides basically the “terms of engagement,” what the viewer hopes to find in the image. Images, however, do not fall under the contractual obligation of one type of covenant; many different covenants might be at play. These covenants range from communal, asserting what community holds true, to open to allegorical to deconstructive, questioning the process of vision altogether, to name only a few (106-10). Each religious image, then, functions under many of these compacts at one time, and viewers can take from an image an ordering of a religious world or possibly questioning of authority of the image. The power of these covenants between viewers and images explains the role of idolatry and iconoclasm, adoration and destruction, in visual culture.

Religious images are revered and broken because of their relationships with faith communities and the divine. Violence is perpetrated against images to break the covenants between believers and their images. Iconoclasm replaces one religious practice with a rival because there is a fear of what images might do unattended. For Morgan, iconoclasm points to a narrative employment in the history of this violence: images cannot tell the truth (145). The reasoning is this: religious images cannot tell the truth because they cannot fully represent the invisible, the divine. Religious traditions are at best ambivalent about some images because of this concern yet religious images also function as tools of missionizing. The artifacts of seeing complicate the histories of these traditions by pointing to contradictions and conflicts, which Morgan demonstrates in a variety of case studies. His last two chapters (Chapters Six and Seven) move from the more explicit theories of visual culture to social histories of images that explore the construction of gender and nation. For Protestants of the nineteenth century, Morgan demonstrates how gender was conceived in images from their print culture and how models of feminine and masculine were crafted. In his last chapter, he traces the religious visual culture of the American nation from dominant Protestantism to models of Catholic national identity to the “generic Christian view that followed World War II” to competing claims about the nation’s Christian heritage (254). He even explores the sacralization of the American flag, and this case study in particular using images to show shifts in American culture and character.

Overall, this book is much-needed addition to the study of religion and visual culture because it provides a method of study for those who work in religious studies as well as those who work with artifacts. Morgan artfully defines both visual culture and religion, so that this book serves as resource for beginning scholars as well as senior scholars. I actually use his definition of religion for my undergraduates because of its flexibility. Additionally, it is hard for me to find much wrong with his analyses of the “sacred gaze” in various
cross-cultural contexts. My only concern is that religion is a visual process but it is also an embodied one. Morgan notes the importance of combining the visual with other forms of evidence, but I would also put forward the importance of the body in religious experience. We see and we feel to orient ourselves in our worlds. Seeing is an important part of believing, but embodying religious practice, kneeling, praying, singing, bowing, and holding religious artifacts, is also essential to belief. Religion is vision and embodiment. Using one’s body in religious practice, then, also makes belief and tradition real to adherents. Despite my minor complaint, this work is groundbreaking and needed. I would recommend it to anyone who has an interest in visual culture, religious studies, social history, cultural history, or material culture because it soon will become required reading for those interested in the artifacts of belief.

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MEMORY, OBLIVION, AND JEWISH CULTURE IN LATIN AMERICA

by Marjorie Agosín, Editor

Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005
248pp. Introduction, Notes
$50.00 (cloth), 0-292-70643-x
$19.95 (paper), ISBN: 0-292-70667-7

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Teresa Camacho

In Memory, Oblivion, and Jewish Culture in Latin America, editor Marjorie Agosín has assembled a group of essays that touch upon identity issues of Jews living in Latin America. Agosín includes fifteen essays that are divided into five sections: “Sephardim in Our Memory;” “Journeys;” “The Paradox of Communities;” “A Literature of Transformation;” and “Culture, History and Representation.” All of these essays investigate not only how Jews
exist in the region as a whole, but also how their relationships as an Other affect their identities within their respective home countries.

According to Agosín, Sephardim represent one of the most obvious and important links between the Jews of Europe and those of Latin America. The literal meaning of Sephardim is “Jews from Spain,” though today the word refers to others from the Mediterranean basin including Jews from Turkey or Morocco. It comes from the word Sepharad, which occurs in Jewish sources dating from Biblical times as the name for Spain.

The two opening essays, “Remembering Sepharad” by Reyes Coll-Tellechea and “The Sephardic Legacy” by Angelina Muñiz Hubermna, do a good job of establishing this link, but in the process the reader is led to believe that the rest of the book will provide an in-depth examination of the Sephardim of Latin America. Yet a stronger link is established to the Ashkenazi—that is, Jews from Germany, Russia, and Eastern Europe—who also dwell in Latin America, particularly in Argentina and Chile. The importance of Ashkenazi communities in Latin America is not contested, but since the two opening essays hark back to Sepharad, the Sephardim are given great weight and their impact in Latin America is not examined to the extent that the authors would lead the reader to believe. Moreover, the authors refer to an alleged convivencia of Jews, Muslims and Christians in medieval Spain much in the same manner as medievalists María Rosa Menocal and Vivian Mann have insisted in their work. In actuality, Jews were legislated against in the Spanish legal code, Las Siete Partidas, and miscegenation was not allowed between Jews, Muslims and Christians under threat of severe penalty. The three groups tolerated one another, but the relationship was not as harmonious as some scholars suggest. There was transmission of knowledge and Jews played an integral role in this given their skill in languages and translation.

The establishment of a link with Spain and the fact that many Sephardim feel ethnically Hispanic is something that is not typically explored, so to have this tone set in the two opening essays is refreshing. However, as in American Jewish Studies, the focus of nearly all of the remaining authors is on second- and third-generation Ashkenazi experiences, with the supposition that the Ashkenazim set the pattern for what is Jewish. This is not to say that the essays are not full of life or that experiences are at all uninteresting. For instance, the reader learns that the first Jewish community in the United States was founded in New Amsterdam (present-day New York City) in 1654 by Spanish-Portuguese Sephardic refugees from Brazil. There, they founded the first synagogue, Shearith Israel, in what would become the United States, and their community was the only Jewish community in the United States until 1825. But with this early emphasis on Sephardim, it seems the reader is led astray.
Only three of the essays are about Sephardim. A focus on this group would have tied together the issue of identity and experience through language and created a more solid link for those Sephardic Jewish communities. After all, Sephardim have been bicultural since the time before the Spanish diaspora, and continue to be so on some level in Latin America.

David Bailey’s “Tuesday is a Good Day” and Murray Baumgarten’s “My Panama,” in the section “Journeys,” offer a link to the German Jewish Ashkenazi identity. That identity is linked always to Nazi Germany and the Holocaust and those who needed to abscond during World War II and the Holocaust. The three essays in the section are written primarily as memoirs rather than as academic essays and they create a bridge from Nazi Germany to Latin America as an inverted Avalon which provided a refuge fraught with discrimination and anti-Semitism. The annihilation of German Jewish communities necessitated the rebuilding of a home away from Germany and an identity that was not fully German, but an amalgamation of German, Jewish, and Latin American. They had to begin anew in a land whose language they did not know and reestablish their identity as Latin Americans even though they had been Germans all of their lives. The voyages in both essays mean new beginnings and difficulty in assimilating to a new language and culture.

The section titled “The Paradox of Communities” also provides a link to the previous section and a link to Ashkenazi identity in Latin America. Graeme S. Mount’s “Chile and the Nazis” presents a picture of anti-Semitism and neo-Nazism in Chile from before the end of World War II until the regime of Augusto Pinochet. On the other hand, prejudice and problems for new Jewish communities, practices stemming from within the already-established Orthodox community organization, and that community’s predominance in establishing ritual, practice, and identity in Mexico City are the subject of Diana Anahalt’s “Are You Sure They’re Really Jewish? A Selective History of Mexico City’s Bet Israel Community Center.” In Adina Cimet’s, “Dancing Around the Political Divide Between the ‘Legal’ and the ‘Regal’ in the Mexican Jewish Community,” the manner in which the Orthodox community regulates legal matters is rigid. In fact, their tactics to control the manner in which the community and its people operate is almost mafia-like. Of the three essays, Mount’s is the most academic and interesting, but his main point—that of condemning Pinochet’s policies in allowing Nazis to high political posts and allowing them to drive policy in reference to Jews—is not apparent until the end. It seems it is simply an examination of the German Jewish community of Chile which had an influx of immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century and then explores the dalliances and relationship of Chile and Germany and finally Chile’s allowances for war criminals. Anahalt’s and Cimet’s essays are not as effective, though more anecdotal, and
would allow one to use them as a starting point to examine Ashkenazi and alternative Jewish communities in Mexico.

Of the remaining essays, two are particularly notable. In “Preserving the Family Album in *Letargo* by Perla Suez”—in the “Literature and Transformation” section—Rhonda Dahl Buchanan attempts to identify what constitutes a Jewish text, and uses memory as a Jewish construct by analyzing the writings of Perla Suez, an Ashkenazi Argentine. According to Buchanan, Suez uses voyage and language as methods within her text as sources of Jewish identity. In particular, Suez seeks to find the “lost” Jewish past through her memories of her household, particularly her grandmother who is the transmitter of Jewish knowledge and without whom she never would have learned anything about her Jewishness. Suez is more Argentine than Jewish and needs a link to her past, since there is a disconnect between those of her grandmother’s generation and those of her parents. As a result, there is a missing link that she needs to find to regain that part of her identity she believes is missing. As such, she informs her readers that she will chronicle the voyages of Jews who are newly arrived in Argentina. But as Buchanan states, Suez cannot chronicle her own journey adequately, since she is too close to her subject. Jewish identity is a painful voyage in self-discovery for Suez, whose family life was fraught with the madness of her mother and a lack of affection from a distant father. Thus, hers is a slow journey, one that, hopefully, she will continue for herself in subsequent books no matter how painful.

Ruth Behar’s “Adio Kerida,” from the section “Culture, History, and Representation,” is another moving contribution to this work. Its subject represents a wonderful example of the continued Hispanic identity of Sephardim in the Americas. In her essay she navigates to understand herself as a dual Jew—Ashkenazi on her mother’s side and Sephardic on her father’s side. This fact manifests itself in identifying more with her father throughout her life and returning to Cuba, the land from which her parents were exiled. In Cuba she finds Jews like herself who are attempting to find what it means to be both “Latin American” and “Sephardic Jew.” Further, she meets some who are Sephardic Afro Cubans and marvels at how they incorporate their faith into their identity. Adio Kerida is a nineteenth-century song that represents the sadness and bitterness of leaving a loved one, much as Sephardim left Spain and were forever separated from the land they loved. It also serves as the title of Behar’s film, which she dedicated to her father who complained that she shamed him in making the film and in returning to Cuba to conduct research. In the end her father allows her to film him and appears on film as very Sephardic—particularly when he sings “Adio Kerida” and then eats at the Rinco Criollo, a Cuban restaurant that always “puts a smile on his face.” Behar’s father is an example of one whose identity is
such that he lives in both the world of his faith and upbringing and the physical/political world from which he was exiled—Cuba. Behar’s father epitomizes the exiled Jew, first as a Sephardic Jew and then as a Cuban Jew who was exiled in his lifetime from the homeland he always knew. Not only does he know exile through his religion but also through the political situation of his life and his land. He is both Jewish and Cuban—or as Behar says, “Juban.”

Behar’s essay, at least as well as any other in this collection, conveys the beauty of recognizing that identity is formed of many things—religion, nationality, language, culture, and traditions at a minimum. These characteristics are not static, but fluid, and they allow people to be more than just Latin American or Jewish.

**RESTORING SHAKERTOWN**

*The Struggle to Save the Historic Shaker Village of Pleasant Hill*

**by Thomas Parrish**


Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Marilyn Casto, Virginia Tech University

Many books, coffee-table and otherwise, address restored, preserved, or adaptive-use spaces. Few publications chronicle the process of instigating and carrying a project to completion. Many volumes on historic villages illustrate the finished site, skipping lightly over what the place looked like prior to restoration and exactly what was involved in making restoration decisions. The impression thus created tends to be that such projects are straightforward marches to completion with no question of the direction in which to proceed. With *Restoring Shakertown*, Thomas Parrish has filled a gap in the literature with his history of how the Shaker community at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, was saved from deterioration. This is not a book about the beauty of the site or the characteristics of Shakers, but rather a case-study examination of the issues involved in acquiring historic property as part of restoration efforts, the financial concerns, and the questions debated about the restoration’s goals and purposes. Resolution of those issues is essential to successful projects, but such concerns are largely out of sight and out of mind for visitors.

Shakertown at Pleasant Hill is located near Harrodsburg, Kentucky. Founded in 1806, by the early nineteenth century it was one
of the largest Shaker communities. The last of the Pleasant Hill Shak-
ers died in 1923, although the Shakers had closed the community in 1910. In its heyday, the village incorporated 250 buildings and 4500 acres of surrounding land that supported various activities, including farming and production of numerous articles from brooms to cheese. The site is now an outdoor museum.

The book includes a capsule history of preservation that places Shakertown in the context of similar projects that focused on capturing a moment in time, as opposed to the preservation movement's later stress on demonstrating events that occurred over a site's lifetime. In the course of restoring the site, nonconforming buildings were removed and twentieth-century wires and pipes were hidden.

Today’s visitor to the village views a serene landscape that gives little idea of the underlying struggles to preserve the structures and the surrounding land that is integral to the overall impression of the site. By the time interest in its preservation arose, imitation brick paper covered some buildings, there was a gas station, porches and lean-tos has been added to several buildings, and the utility poles and wires of modern life marched down the street. There was a very real possibility that all trace of the Shakers would vanish.

The first tentative steps toward saving the site came with discus-

sions held following the 1955 establishment of the Foundation for
the Preservation of Historic Lexington and Fayette County (later the
Blue Grass Trust for Historic Preservation). Focused work began in
1961 and continued through that decade. As efforts intensified, the
Shakertown Land Company was established as a nonprofit orga-
nization to avoid financial issues associated with profit-producing
farmland. Recreating and maintaining the peaceful rural ambiance
deemed essential to the project necessitated discussions with the
Commonwealth of Kentucky that resulted in agreement by the Com-
monwealth to relocate Highway 68. Supporters stressed the potential
economic benefits of a successful tourist attraction and negotiated
the purchase of land to provide a buffer around the historic site. As
has been the case with other prominent restorations, the project
was driven by a few individuals possessed of determination and the
ability to rally others to the cause. As Parrish points out, obtaining
funds meant negotiating a labyrinth of federal agencies and dealing
with the resultant necessity for putting construction contracts out
for bids. Leaders of the restoration efforts had to create a financial
plan and determine how the restoration might contribute to the area’s
economic development (and therefore deserve local support).

Visitors to restored structures often have little idea of just how
the process of restoration played out. Restorations are sometimes
undertaken with inadequate estimates of funding. Parrish clearly
asserts the importance of cultivating potential donors, the economic
impact that restoration can have for an area, and the expense of
running such projects. As he points out, donors “much prefer building a building to helping pay the electric bill” (126). Personnel issues are not something most visitors to historic sites think about, but effective leadership and staff are essential to carrying out restorations and keeping them running. Individuals can be essential in driving action. With regard to one of Shakertown’s searches for leadership, Parrish notes that “the miracle worker who could raise money, design the restoration, develop and preside over conferences and educational activities, and keep the board happy had not yet been born” (131).

As Parrish demonstrates, a good board is vital to the success of restorations. Shakertown initially appointed trustees for limited terms, a decision they later reversed in the belief that when trustees left the board, there was a loss of knowledge.

Parrish draws attention to Shakertown’s attempt to define a purpose beyond architectural or Shaker history. People involved with the restoration early on felt that the site should make a contribution to improving human life, believing that the serene setting would contribute to thoughtful and productive contemplation. Initially an ambitious global approach based on the Arden House conferences founded at Columbia University in 1950 by university president Dwight Eisenhower focused on such topics as “The Shaker Character: Does It Have Meaning for Today?” Through the 1970s speakers included philosopher Mortimer Adler and historian Jacques Barzun, as well as a series on the U.S. Constitution and similar subjects. In the late 1970s the Shakertown Roundtable series of annual conferences began. After initially featuring speakers such as Averell Harriman, in the 1980s the Roundtables redirected the focus toward Kentucky concerns hoping that through these conferences, Shakertown might make vital contributions to society.

Not everyone was an enthusiastic supporter. Some believed that the Roundtables diverted staff attention away from the physical structures and with a change in administration in 2000 the Roundtables ceased. A shift in direction focused new attention on the historic buildings and furnishings, including the 1999 Dorothy Norton Clay Furniture Collection.

The emphasis on maintaining peaceful rural surroundings in which the visitor can be immersed in the past has affected the design of necessary physical facilities. Continuing work on the site has included a 1994 new administrative building designed with the appearance of a black barn in order to blend into the landscape and a 1995 research and collections facility built of concrete block but enclosed within a black tobacco barn. The book also discusses ongoing archaeological investigations.

Parrish has a lively writing style that contributes to a very readable book. It is written for a general audience (although based on primary archival research and interviews) and anyone with an
interest in preservation or in Shakers would find much of interest. More importantly, anyone planning to undertake a restoration could gain an understanding of the potential pitfalls, the importance of serious and sound financial planning, and the role of political maneuvering in executing such projects.

**INFORMAL EMPIRE**

*Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture*

by Robert D. Aguirre

Minneaplis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005

xxix+198pp. Map, Illustrations, Notes, and Index

$59.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8166-4499-3

$19.95 (paper), ISBN 0-8166-4500-0

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Melvin Davis, Middle Tennessee State University

During the Victorian Era, British interest in the newly formed Latin American republics led to an enormous influx of capital into Mexico and Central America from investors hoping to swoop in and fill the vacuum after the break with Spain. This aggressive approach helped breathe life into what historians often call neocolonialism, which was, in short, Britain’s way of creating an informal empire in the West. Instead of employing a traditional approach to empire building based on the acquisition of territory, the British government sought to make inroads by way of political and economic dominance. Mexico’s and Central America’s material culture proved important for this undertaking as Englishmen overtly plundered antiquities and carted them back to London. As the Victorian Era waned, the United States supplanted Britain as the central neocolonial presence in Latin America, leaving the once-important power to ponder its loss in this arena. Recognizing that scholarship has to a large degree ignored the transatlantic cultural exchange that took place between Britain and Latin America in the nineteenth century, Robert Aguirre, the author of *Informal Empire*, fleshes out this complex relationship by focusing on the untold stories behind the objects of culture that were intricate components in Britain’s attempt at an informal empire.

Through a series of essays, the author details Victorian interest in Mexican and Central American material culture and how British collectors often went to great lengths to collect and display artifacts that they had acquired, legally or illegally, from Mesoamerica. Aguirre weaves his tale through careful analysis of various disparate,
yet ultimately connected episodes that took place between 1821 and 1898. Among these he examines the British display of panoramas and museum collections centered on Mexican life, Victorian fascination with freak shows, and British governmental intrigue. Aguirre closes with an analysis of English adventure author H. Rider Haggard’s *Montezuma’s Daughter*, which he reads as British longing for an empire that never reached fruition.

The book opens with a discussion of William Bullock’s two-part exhibition of Mexican artifacts, which took place between 1824 and 1825. These shows had lasting importance as many of the pieces from these shows eventually went on permanent display at the British Museum. Bullock, who earned a reputation for displaying oddities, oversaw all phases of the Mexican exhibitions from the travel necessary to acquire the items to their final display. Bullock, at least in the eyes of many fellow Victorians, was a rescuer of antiquities rather than a cultural thief. At the same time, his exhibits served as apologia for the Black Legend as he pointed toward Spanish religious zeal and intolerance as driving factors in the destruction of Mexican antiquities. Britain, he maintained, unlike Spain, sought to preserve rather than destroy Mexican culture. In addition to traditional museum displays, Victorians also showcased Latin American and pre-Columbian society via the panorama. Of course, the motivation behind these displays was the presentation of Mexico, and other Latin American areas, as safe economic choices for investors.

Although museum displays and panoramas depicting past and present in Mexico and Central America were enticing visual stimulants for would-be investors, they also helped promote an image of the current inhabitants of these areas. Victorians also made use of the unusual vehicle of the freak show to help establish ideas concerning culture and race. The discovery of two children in the wilds of El Salvador convinced Victorians that they had found descendants of the ancient Aztec. The children captured public attention as they were displayed and paraded across England. Medical experts prodded and probed the wrongly dubbed “Aztec Lilliputians” and in the end concluded they were not descendents of a lost race but, rather, peoples of low intelligence. This overblown dehumanization of the children reinforced the superiority of white Europeans over other ethnic groups—in particular, the mixed-race mestizo that predominated in Latin America.

Informal imperialism was, for the most part, ad hoc. Aguirre does, however, detail a fourteen-year plot initiated in 1851 by Lord Palmerston, the British foreign secretary, to obtain a collection of Mayan ruins for the British Museum. The British government, which felt its influence giving way to the United States, hoped to keep pace in the race for the acquisition of ancient artifacts. The highly publicized Central American adventures of John Lloyd Stephens and Frederick
Catherwood piqued English interest that they should accomplish something similar. Although this plan to acquire artifacts from Copan ultimately failed to see light, it serves as a testament to the importance that officials placed on their desire for an informal empire.

Overall, *Informal Empire* is a very well conceived and executed work. Aguirre aptly pools a variety of sources from several disciplines to solidify his conclusions. He does an admirable job of melding this information into an informative and mostly very readable book. There should be a high interest in this work from various academic fields due to its interdisciplinary nature. The questions of race, culture, and empire, as well as the Hispanic response to these issues in many instances, will wet the appetite of the curious researcher. The only shortcoming of the book is that its content is perhaps too dense for undergraduates or laymen and will receive far greater attention from advanced graduate students and faculty.

**ALONG THE JUNIATA**

*Thomas Cole and the Dissemination of American Landscape Imagery*

**by Nancy Siegel**

155pp. Illustrations and Bibliographic References
$20.00 (paper), ISBN 0-295-98311-6

**Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Kelly Denzer, University of St. Thomas**

Nancy Siegel wrote *Along the Juniata* to accompany an exhibition featuring pieces from the permanent collection of Juniata College. Her book addresses the demand for American landscape imagery in the mid-nineteenth century and the dissemination of the imagery in the art market through engraved and ceramic variations and copies (11). Also discussed is the artistic license often used in the transformation of the imagery on collectable and utilitarian objects. Siegel includes excellent descriptions and great color illustrations of each piece she discusses.

The work of artist Thomas Cole (1801-1848) is the focus of Siegel’s research, and she traces the history of one work in particular, Cole’s 1827 drawing entitled *Scene in the Alleghany Mountains*. Cole was a member of the Hudson River School, a group of artists active in the mid-nineteenth century and known for their romantic paintings of America’s landscape. His 1827 drawing was based upon recollections of travels he made through the Allegheny region of Pennsylvania. Cole made the trip twice, first in 1819 and again in 1823. Siegel uses this drawing to discuss an extant soup plate produced
between 1831 and 1861 by the William Adams and Sons Company located in Staffordshire, England, now in the collection of Juniata College. This soup-plate image is a copy from the engraving after Cole in John Howard Hinton’s book, *The History and Topography of the United States* first published in England in 1830-1832. It is not known if Cole knew of the Staffordshire ware bearing his imagery; there is no mention of it in his journals (91). Adams and Sons used fourteen views from the Hinton book and named the series “American Views;” seven were after Cole engravings.

Siegel organizes the book chronologically. Chapter One traces the early years of Cole’s career and his interest in the American landscape. Siegel begins with an expertly detailed description of Cole’s 1827 drawing and she addresses the importance of bridge imagery in Cole’s career. She also mentions the detailed attention to foliage and identifiable flora in Cole’s work, detail that was very important to him and no doubt made him the perfect artist for Hinton to include in his book on the wilds of the United States. Siegel goes on to retrace Cole’s first year in America, 1818; significant because of his love of travel through Pennsylvania and the fact that he traveled by foot or coach, as the railway had not yet been through. She provides an in-depth investigation into the conception and life of the original drawing. Siegel’s thorough research includes a recap of Cole’s travels based on his father’s travel diary and a history of road development and transportation in Pennsylvania. Overall very interesting, especially to historians, her background into his early career and travels does get lengthy.

In Chapter Two, Siegel recounts Cole’s time spent in Europe and his commission for the Hinton book. She documents Cole’s commitment for paintings, to be copied by engravers, to the publishers of Hinton’s book, Fenner Sears and Company in England. She includes letters from Cole to Fenner and Sears that are kept with his papers in the New York State Library as well as correspondence with his friend Joshua Bates in England. Cole’s original painting based on the 1827 drawing of the Allegheny scene is lost, and the letters and notes by Cole included in his papers give no clue as to the path of the painting after leaving Fenner and Sears. Juniata College Museum owns an oil painting based on Cole’s drawing, but this has been determined to be a copy based on the engraving in the Hinton publication dated circa 1840.

Chapter Three includes a short history of Adams and Sons Potters and a description of the technique used to transfer images to pottery that is easy to understand. There is also an interesting history of pottery for antique enthusiasts. She addresses the importance of nationalism and patriotism in the North American market in the early nineteenth century and therefore the need of the potters in England to capture the essence of America on their wares. Particularly popular
were portraits of “statesmen, cities and towns of note, landmarks of historical or political importance, and scenes of the American landscape” (86). Siegel also notes the didactic role of the pottery used by diners, as well as the promotion of national awareness and pride by buying the wares (86, 97). Her writing and passion for her subject is sure to send a reader interested in antiques eager to scour shops for Staffordshire ware.

In the Epilogue, Siegel continues discussion on Cole’s work as well as the art of other Hudson River School artists in the permanent collection of the Juniata College Museum of Art. Color plates accompany discussions on the work of Asher B. Durand (1796-1886), John W. Casilear (1811-1893), Thomas Moran (1837-1926), and Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902) among others. Through these examples she is able to emphasize the fervor Americans had for products both aesthetically pleasing and as a show of patriotism. Siegel mentions the affordability of Cole’s work on pottery and the ability for a larger portion of Americans to own his work in that medium. Staffordshire was affordable; however, did they know they were dining off the images of great artists? Cole’s name was not included on the wares, and as noted earlier, she states that it is unlikely Cole knew his images were being used.

Siegel’s study successfully examines the role of artists in creating beautiful utilitarian ware, a tradition that continues through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this case, however, it is not known if those doing the purchasing were aware of those doing the decorating, so the premise of Americans affording to “purchase his imagery” is true, they were buying images of a great artist, but it is not clear they knew. This issue is a minor thread in Siegel’s tapestry of discussion on material culture and the role of the artist in the mid-nineteenth century.

*Along the Juniata* is an excellent introduction to the role of artists in material culture and the collection of Juniata College. Anyone interested in American history as it relates to art and material culture will find this book intellectually stimulating and visually pleasing.
Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America presents two separate, loosely connected stories about the marketplaces of American cities before 1900. The author, Helen Tangires, has both personal and intellectual connections to urban foodways, as she points out in her preface. Much of the book reflects these interests by detailing with the institutional and organizational histories of nineteenth-century markets, particularly the imposing, monumental enclosures of the Northeast. Woven throughout this narrative, in both separate chapters and sections, is also a diffuse examination of how markets bolstered a “moral economy,” which the author defines as “local government’s effort to maintain the social and political health of its community by regulating the ethics of trade in life’s necessities” (xvii). The result is a more effective and sound exploration of “public markets” than of “civic culture.”

The book, which spans the years from the Revolutionary War to the Progressive Era, is divided into three sections and eight chapters. The sections are organized both chronologically and thematically. Part I examines the years between roughly 1780 and 1830. Tangires begins by surveying the laws regarding markets in early America. In short segments with titles such as “Weights and Measures” and “Fixing Market Days and Hours,” she succinctly summarizes how cities sought to regulate the buying and selling of food. In Chapter Two the author turns her attention to the ways in which market houses were designed, financed and built. Together these first two chapters offer a solid, if rather truncated, overview of how marketplaces came into existence and continued operation in the decades before Jackson’s presidency.

The final chapter of Part I, titled “Marketplace Culture,” surveys life within the confines of these buildings. Tangires offers up a number of fascinating stories and characters, including shoppers, grocers, butchers and street entertainers. The problem is that these accounts do not support, and sometimes even contradict, her larger argument that markets “offered a unique atmosphere of freedom and frankness and fostered a universal language and behavior” (48). How welcoming and universal were these structures, for example,
when “respectable women” were repeatedly told in popular journals to avoid them and servants often shopped for their masters (54)? This disjunction between the arguments and evidence presented in each chapter is a recurring problem in the book. The laws regulating street vendors summarized in Chapter One, for instance, probably protected the profits of individual market retailers and investors as often as they did a broader “social welfare” (17).

Part II, “Cracks in the Market Walls,” suffers least from Tangires’s tendency to overstate or overlook evidence. The literal and figurative heart of her work, these three chapters trace closely and thoroughly how marketplaces in New York City and Pennsylvania responded to increasing competition after the middle of the century. The section begins with a detailed recounting of the “meat shop controversy” in New York during the 1830s and 1840s, an agitation by butchers for private shops that ultimately left public markets by the 1850s “weakened by inadequate facilities” (93). In Chapter Five, Tangires investigates how Philadelphia sought to “unify and modernize” its marketplaces by privatizing them during the 1850s (98). Finally, the last chapter of the section focuses on the effects of deregulation during the last quarter of the century, when New York’s poorly managed public markets limped along and Pennsylvania’s “highly capitalized buildings” proved that “marketing under one roof” was still viable in urban areas (147).

In the final section, “Regaining a Share of the Marketplace,” Tangires turns her attention to turn-of-the-century markets in cities other than New York and Philadelphia. After a failed attempt at national reform, public markets flourished, especially in the South and Midwest, she argues in Chapter Seven, because municipalities assumed the responsibility of ensuring a “healthy, adequate, and affordable food supply” (172). During the Progressive Era new kinds of urban markets, including the all-in-one house and the wholesale terminal, not only “secured a future for the public market system in the twentieth-century,” she posits in the last chapter, “[they] represented an important victory over laissez-faire in food provisioning” (174).

The limitations of Tangires’s eagle-eyed focus on market structures and controversies are particularly evident in the third section. When discussions of local context or broader historical forces do creep in to her story they generally fade from view quickly. In the section “Domesticating the Public Markets,” for instance, the author suggests that late-nineteenth-century market houses sought to attract middle-class consumers by creating environments that could rival those of the grand department stores. This may by true, at least in limited cases, but at what expense? If public markets sought to attract bourgeois customers downtown again, what happened to their existing poor clientele? Similarly, Tangires tackles the question of
how the increasing numbers of grocery stores impacted public markets in a single, succinct paragraph. Her conclusion that “the two forms of urban food retailing” coexisted in many cities only begins to address this complex development.

Helen Tangires’s work is like many of the buildings she has studied. It is built on a solid foundation but with uneven and shaky walls. Scholars looking for information on how public markets were constructed and operated will find this to be an invaluable resource. Those interested in the place of market houses in nineteenth-century social and cultural histories will encounter numerous, fascinating examples that need further research and elaboration. Public Markets and Civic Culture brings to light the importance of markets in nineteenth-century urban life, even while its broad perspective overlooks or obscures many essential details.

**Drawing on America’s Past**

_She and the Modernists, and the Index of American Design_

by Virginia Tuttle Clayton, Editor

Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002
ix+256pp. Illustrations, Bibliographic References, Appendices, and Index
$45.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-8078-2794-0

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Victoria Grieve, Utah State University

_Drawing on America’s Past: Folk Art, Modernism, and the Index of American Design_ is the companion catalog to an exhibition on view at the National Gallery of Art from November 2002 through March 2003. Both the book and the exhibition celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the museum’s acquisition of the Index of American Design, created by the Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration between 1935 and 1943. Virginia Tuttle Clayton, associate curator of old master prints at the National Gallery, edited the volume of three essays and eighty-two color images of Index watercolors, and contributed the first essay, “Picturing a ‘Usable Past’.” Elizabeth Stillinger, a historian of American decorative arts, wrote the second essay, “From Attics, Sheds, and Secondhand Shops: Collecting Folk Art in America, 1880-1940.” University of Colorado art historian Erika Doss, contributed the final essay, “American Folk Art’s ‘Distinctive Character’: The Index of American Design and New Deal Notions of
Cultural Nationalism.” The authors’ backgrounds in art history and the book’s function as an exhibition catalog influenced the emphases and approach of the volume.

Clayton promises to offer several new insights to our understanding of the Index of American Design. First, she argues that the Index was an effort “to furnish, for the visual arts, the kind of usable past [critic Van Wyck] Brooks had urged Americans to discover or invent” in the early decades of the twentieth century (1-2). Second, Clayton seeks to prove that Index administrators were “dedicated modernists, not antiquarians” who aimed to create a resource for modern artists and designers, as well as to educate Americans about their shared cultural past (2). Divided into three sections, “History and Operation,” “Goals,” and “Accomplishments,” Clayton’s essay relies chiefly on primary sources, including writings by Brooks, cultural historian Constance Rourke, Index records and administrative manuals, artist interviews, WPA records, and exhibition catalogs. Although the first section of the essay offers a standard history of the Index, Clayton contributes details about the techniques and aesthetic contributions of several Index artists, including Elizabeth Moutal and Edward L. Loper.

The second and third sections of the essay are more provocative. Clayton discusses the goals of the Index in the context of the quest for a “usable past,” the relationship between folk and modern art, the documentary impulse of the 1930s, and the developing field of industrial design. In discussing the accomplishments of the Index of American Design, Clayton acknowledges that the changed postwar atmosphere prevented the Index from achieving its most idealistic goal of creating a distinctive American art for the common man, but she argues that the Index accomplished two important objectives. First, the Index provides a unique perspective on the art world of the interwar years, and second, and most importantly, the Index has shaped definitions of a distinctly American art since the 1930s. By providing a sense of cultural identity, the Index of American Design made “commonplace and indelible in American culture the idea that folk art was the quintessential expression of a purely American brand of creativity” and offered “proof that what was unconventional was American” (35).

Clayton’s art-historical approach is clear in her handling of the debates that have swirled around the controversial term “folk art” in recent decades. Although she acknowledges the arguments of folklorists John Vlach and Simon Bronner, she avoids involvement in the debate, saying that such matters “did not greatly trouble” Index administrators and “did not penetrate the planning and production” of the project. Arguing that such concerns are “outside the realm of” her study, Clayton misses an opportunity to contribute to one of the major issues surrounding study of the Index of American Design.
Clayton also fails to acknowledge that folklorists such as Vlach and Bronner, and historians such as Joan Shelley Rubin, Wanda Corn, and Wendy Kaplan have studied the Index in terms of the “usable past” and as an attempt by modernists, not antiquarians, to document the roots of American art.

In “From Attics, Sheds, and Secondhand Shops: Collecting Folk Art in America, 1880-1940,” Elizabeth Stillinger situates the Index of American Design in the larger context of American folk art collecting. The essay enumerates early folk art collectors who were motivated by a variety of reasons: antiquarian, ethnological, historical, and nationalistic, as well as by aesthetic trends such as the colonial revival and Arts and Crafts movements. Stillinger contributes new information about lesser known collectors such as George Sheldon and Edna Greenfield, but there is little cohesion. Stillinger places the Index of American Design within this context of collecting, defining the Index administrators as “the ultimate folk art collectors,” but her work on the Index largely duplicates Clayton’s. Stillinger argues that the rise of modernism motivated collector Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, theorist Holger Cahill, and promoter Edith Halpert, who together “established folk art firmly as art rather than as history or ethnology” (54). Like Clayton, Stillinger alludes to, but does not tackle, one of the major debates surrounding the Index of American Design and its role in defining folk art.

Art historian Erika Doss contributes the most critical and stimulating of the three essays, “American Folk Art’s ‘Distinctive Character’: The Index of American Design and New Deal Notions of Cultural Nationalism.” Although there is again some overlap with Clayton’s essay, Doss addresses some of the critical issues at stake in understanding the importance of the Index. For example, Doss points out that although the New Deal in general, and the Index in particular, focused theoretically on affirming pluralism and difference, diverse identities in practice were molded into “a federally designed blueprint focused on cultural commonality and consensus.” There was, Doss argues, a reluctance to allow diverse cultures to exist on their own terms; although the objects included in the Index “were conferred with a national, official status,” they were also “largely dissociated from their specific origins and contexts” (67). Thus, Doss approaches the debate over the term “folk art” that Clayton and Stillinger evade, and applies a more critical lens to the activities and goals of the Index. Doss considers her subject from a more historical than aesthetic perspective.

The majority of the book is dedicated to full-page color reproductions of Index of American Design watercolors, some of which are accompanied by photographs of the original objects. The 82 plates offer examples of Index work: wood carvings, Shaker textiles, quilts,
toys, tavern signs, cigar store figures, weathervanes, and more. The captions for each object, most written by Deborah Chotner, document the provenance and history of the piece, the artist (both original, if known, and Index), and information about the general history or usage of the piece. In her description of a mid-nineteenth-century sampler now in the Mercer Museum of the Bucks County Historical Society, Chotner writes that samplers were “widespread throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries” as examples of the “accomplishments that were the primary emphasis in the education of girls.” Although samplers were no longer made in much of America by the mid-nineteenth century, the tradition persisted in Pennsylvania, where the original artist, Uree C. Fell, created it in 1846 of “a soft, brightly colored wool thread known as Berlin yarn.” The Index artist, Elmer Anderson, used an unusual method, “drawing white lines on a dark field to provide the illusion of the woven cotton background” (54). The captions offer interesting and detailed information about the artists, the objects, and the Index renderings.

*Drawing on America’s Past* is a well-written and important effort to reopen more critical discussions about the Index in particular and the cultural programs of the New Deal in general. The authors offer some new perspectives and updated information that general readers and scholars in art history, cultural studies, folklore, and history will find interesting. In addition to the fine color reproductions, the volume includes two useful appendices. The first offers updated biographical information about Index artists, and the second offers brief descriptions about the Index of American Design in the thirty-seven states in which it operated.

**WHO OWNS NATIVE CULTURE?**

by Michael F. Brown


Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Jennifer Guiliano, University of Illinois

Michael F. Brown’s *Who Owns Native Culture?* examines the intricate intersections of culture, property, and legal rights in order to probe the extent to which laws can control the movement of ideas. “Does it make sense for ethnic groups,” Brown asks, “to define their cultural practices as property that cannot be studied, imitated, or modified by others
without permission? How far can democratic states go to provide indigenous peoples with cultural protections without violating the rights of the general public?” (7). Surveying culture at its broadest to include early twentieth-century anthropological materials, copyright cases, contemporary trademarks, and debates over biopiracy and sacred religious sites, Who Owns Native Culture? argues that the need to create democracy and reinforce the existence of Native culture and life should supersede the question of legal ownership. The crux of the problem, according to Brown, is “not who owns native culture but how can we promote respectful treatment of native cultures and indigenous forms of self-expression within mass societies” (10). Drawing from the works of cultural anthropologists, including Clifford Geertz, and theorists of indigenous cultural property, Brown successfully argues that the use of law to secure individual ownership can be potentially limiting to indigenous peoples and the larger society in Australia and the United States. In recapitulating a terrain familiar to historians and anthropologists, Brown capably delineates the tensions and schisms within indigenous societies regarding their cultural heritage and contemporary use. Yet, for this reader, Brown never truly answers three fundamental questions: who controls the authority of use and access when the community is in disrepair or dispute? What are the limits of cultural exchange when there is no legal recourse to control the reproduction of cultural knowledge? And how has the legitimization of indigenous cultural authority been obfuscated by the legacies of colonialism?

Who Owns Native Culture? explores a variety of manifestations of cultural knowledge and the repercussions of communal versus individual ownership. Beginning with early anthropological efforts to capture “vanishing” Indians under Reverend Henry R. Voth and Frances Densmore, Brown argues that the use of physical force to capture and reproduce Indian knowledge was a clear violation of the relationship between Indians and anthropologists. The relationship between the anthropologist and the subject, namely between Hopi and Ojibwe Indians and Voth and Densmore respectively, assumes both parties’ freedom to control the exchange of knowledge. Without the freedom of consent, the socio-cultural relationship and its products are flawed. The problematic nature of individual versus communal consent arises further in the case of Bulun Bulun and Milpurrurrru v R and T Textiles Pty Ltd. In his conclusions about Bulun Bulun, Brown follows the Australian court decision to argue that an individual can secure legal protection for artistic productions based on communal knowledge but that the community itself does not have ownership rights. It is this linking of communal ownership to individual rights that offers “troubling possibilities” for indigenous peoples, according to Brown. Delineating who constitutes a community legally positions “the community” as inviolate. It firmly hardens who can claim indi-
vidual communal authority and displaces many groups, including urban Indians, from dialogues about cultural ownership.

In the next phase of the text, Brown shifts from the idea of “communal” ownership to corporate ownership in order to consider trademark law and biopiracy, respectively. Brown convincingly argues, in the case of trademark debates over the Zia Sun symbol and the New Mexico state flag, that there is an historical pattern of cultural borrowing. While debates over the use of these symbols reveal the weaknesses of copyright law, namely its “time-limited quality and its inability to effect absolute control over protected work,” the difficulty of enforcing trademark law lies in the inability to define original ownership (72). More specifically, the issue of the use of tribal-insignia by Native and non-Native groups alike, Brown writes, reveals the challenging nature of defining what constitutes official trademark insignia. Due to cultural exchanges that have blended Indian and non-Indian symbols and systems together, it is impossible to render clear authority of ownership. “The most pressing challenge for native societies is not the greed of businesses that traffic in indigenous symbols... . The fundamental problem is technology, which provides new ways of reproducing information and images whose circulation was once more easily monitored. This threatens traditional authority and the authority of tradition itself” (93). The commercialization of indigenous networks of knowledge about plants on behalf of global pharmaceutical corporations further obscures the idea of one individual having legal ownership over a specific indigenous knowledge. The efforts of initiatives like the International Cooperative Biodiversity Groups Program (ICBG) and corporations like Merck and Monsanto to profit from knowledge held by indigenous groups reveals tension between intellectual property, commercial viability, and corporate ownership. Projects like ICBG Peru and ICBG Maya contend with the ownership of particular plants and their medicinal uses by native peoples on the one hand and demands of market economies where wonder drugs have become paramount in generating capital. Brown believes that the efforts to secure legal permission from the myriad of indigenous groups who may share the knowledge of a particular plant and its uses is fruitless. Instead, pharmaceutical companies should practice informed consent with the group who initially supplies the knowledge and should construct a system that provides aid to these societies including a percentage of the financial windfall. Somewhat idealistically, for Brown, the ultimate goal of bioprospecting and trademark law should be a simultaneous concern for ethical use and cultural need.

Turning from the extraction of cultural knowledge to the use of physical space, Brown argues that authority of ownership is not necessarily tied to cultural knowledge. Brown traces disputes over land use based on religious significance at Bighorn Medicine Wheel.
and Devil’s Tower in the United States as well as Hindmarsh Island in South Australia. These three physical spaces exemplify the ability of negotiation to occur on a “middle ground” that can be attuned to native concerns while still maintaining democratic procedures of use. In turning to Hindmarsh Island, Brown reveals the problematic nature of religious and cultural knowledge within indigenous societies. When the state government proposed a bridge and a marina that would dramatically change the landscape of the island, a group of Ngarrindjeri filed a complaint that the island was a sacred religious space known only to their small group. The Ngarrindjeri quickly divided between those who believed this knowledge was legitimate and those who felt it had been fabricated in order to protect the ecological environment in the area. The outcome was, for Brown, less important than the ways in which the debate illustrates the obfuscation of determining a simple claim to physical space. While convincing in demonstrating the problematic claims to public space, the determination of claims to public space largely ignores the colonial legacies of land dispossession.

“The reality of pluralistic democracy,” Brown writes, “is that groups living together must be free to talk about one another’s history and culture” in order to build a “durable civic life” (224). More specifically, legal restrictions on the use of traditional ecological knowledge, public spaces, cultural symbols, and indigenous beliefs would create divisions instead of affirming the collective good. It is in touting the collective good over that of individual and communal rights that ultimately rends the fabric of cultural borrowing as Brown articulates it. In this, he underplays the importance of Native American tribes as “domestic dependant nations” and largely avoids recognition of their legal right to identify and protect cultural resources including communal beliefs. The US has a long legal history that recognizes nation-to-nation status in the administration of state and federal matters. While Brown offers many opportunities to interrogate the intersections of cultural knowledge and legal ownership, he leaves open fundamental questions including: Would the extension of indigenous sovereignty into federal copyright claims and debates over ownership alter the landscape of debate? Further, if the legal system is not the way in which to challenge the process of cultural borrowing, where should indigenous groups turn when the democratic public is inattentive to its concerns?
THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF NATIVE MUSIC

by Brian Wright-McLeod

Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005
x+450pp. Photographs, Album Cover Facsimiles, Bibliographic References, and Index $55.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-8165-2447-5
$26.95 (paper) 0-8165-2448-3

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Ralph Hartsock, University of North Texas

Brian Wright-McLeod, with a Dakota-Anishnabe heritage, has been a music journalist, Native American rights activist, radio host in Toronto, and a Native music consultant for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). For the scope of such a project as The Encyclopedia of Native Music, the author had several options: field recordings by Folkways and other archives; classical compositions based on Native American music, such as “Potawatomi Legends” by Otto Luening or “Indian Sounds” by Gloria Coates, both of whom have had high regard for the overtone series as used by Native Americans; or third, the music of the Native Americans themselves. The Wright-McLeod chose this latter option, and selected only commercially available recordings.

The encyclopedia is divided by the genre of the music: Arctic/Circumpolar Region (11-30), Chicken Scratch (31-42), Contemporary Music (43-259), Flute Music (262-81), Peyote Ritual Music (283-98), Powwow Music (299-393), and Traditional/Archival Music (395-439). Each section begins with an overview of the genre and its regional aspects. He describes various archives and ethnologists preserving this culture. He then gives detailed descriptions of instruments (see, for example, “qillat,” 12) and vocal techniques. Entries are alphabetical within each section. For biographies, especially in the Contemporary Music, Contemporary Recordings section (44-217), Wright-McLeod lists the name, tribe, and subgenre (country, folk, new age, fiddle); for ensembles he presents “Lineups.” Footers guide the user to proper sections and subsections. Contemporary Spoken Word Recordings (243-59) include audio books, comedies, interviews, legends, storytelling, poetry, and radio plays.

Descriptions of some of the musical instruments may be found in The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments (1984); it actually lists the instrument in the example above as qilaaht, with a reference to the related Kilaut. Wright-McLeod presents a strong case for the cultural importance of the flute (261-62). In some entries he lists awards, discographies, videos, and other information (for instance, Aglukark, 16-17).
The section on Traditional Archival Music (395-439) includes Folkways and other field recordings, although his discographical information is very brief, and sometimes inconsistent. Citation forms vary; in some the author lists the date of production or recording, while in others he lists only a label number. Examining two entries in the reviewers collection (423), *Healing Songs of the American Indians*, lists FE-425, and each tribe is named; this was produced in 1965, clearly on the recording in hand. *A Cry from the Earth* is listed as 1979, the publication date; the cassette in hand has the number, 3777. The brief annotation does not name the contents, which are listed on the recording’s container.

The author’s annotations vary; he presents interesting facts about the recordings or labels: *Children’s Songs in Inuktitut*, on a seven inch vinyl disc, was available only for regional broadcast on CBC (25). Article length varies as well: he devotes much space to jazz singer Mildred Bailey (50-53), with an image of an album cover; he presents an entire page for Lakota jazz musician Frederick P. Whiteface (208-09), but only twelve lines for “White Eagle,” a tenor in the Metropolitan Opera (208).

For the uninitiated to these Native languages, there should be a pronunciation guide. Also needed is a guide with the syndetic structure that refers users to the nations (6-7) or tribal names used by Wright-McLeod. Since literary warrant dictates how we identify tribes, the Library of Congress has agreed with Wright-McLeod that those previously named Eskimos are now called Inuit. Although the author identifies one prominent tribe as Dineh, the standard form is still *Navajo Indians* (Library of Congress Subject Heading or LCSH), with *Diné Indians* as a cross reference.

Wright-McLeod is correct that this is a work in progress. Greater access and additional indexes would enhance the volume. A tribal index would also assist those studying specifics nations. There is also a wealth of unindexed information in the essays that may prove valuable to users. For instance, in the “Peyote Ritual Music,” the author presents detailed descriptions of instruments and the song structure (285-86). In the essay preceding “Powwow Music,” he describes several relevant genres in a concise manner that will assist users, such as the Crow Hop, and the Smoke Dance, along with the importance of the drum (301-06). Certain ancillary players are not indexed either, such as Wilbur Jack (287). Several ethnomusicologists of high respect are mentioned, but not indexed, such as Frances Theresa Densmore, Alice Cunningham Fletcher, and Jesse Walter Fewkes (396). An index by ethnographers, such as Michel Hauser (29), would also make future editions even more useful. Additional volumes should describe archives of music, such as the John Donald Robb Archive in New Mexico, or collections in the Smithsonian
Institution. Currently, a prime source for these lists is Donald W. Krummel’s (1981) *Resources of American Music History*.

While a useful source in its present format, *The Encyclopedia of Native Music* would be enhanced by providing greater access, in a pattern similar to other works that preserve discographical heritage. A directory of recording labels and availability should be included. These attributes notwithstanding, Wright-McLeod’s volume supplements well Richard Keeling’s (1997) *North American Indian Music: A Guide to Published Sources and Selected Recordings*.

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**FUNERAL FESTIVALS IN AMERICA**

*Rituals for the Living*

by Jacqueline S. Thursby


158pp. Bibliographic References and Index

$35.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-8131-2380-1

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Ellen J. Jenkins, Arkansas Tech University

When a member of my family dies, the rest of us express our grief with food. There are many of us, and the scope of our grief requires a lot of food. No matter how grief-stricken we are, none of us fails to peek beneath the foil covering of each dish friends, relatives, or neighbors bring into the house. I always thought that this was our family’s tradition because we consider the consumption of food—whether by cooking or by eating—to be one of the fine arts, and as such, to require our attention no matter what the occasion. According to Jacqueline Thursby, however, the heaps of fried chicken, bowls of potato salad, and trays of desserts are part of a time-honored ritual for families everywhere and are a celebration of the continuance of life.
In *Funeral Festivals in America: Rituals for the Living*, Thursby, Associate Professor of English at Brigham Young University, compares the feasting that follows funerals in different American cultures and explains that we eat after losing a loved one not only to celebrate that person’s life but to celebrate and renew the connections among family members. At such times, according to the author, those present are bound by the same sort of harmony that binds families and friends at weddings and christenings. The solemnity of the occasion is relieved by the completion of the ceremony and the spreading of the banquet table, where families and friends reconnect and enjoy a retreat that allows for greater informality and even laughter.

Thursby also addresses the historical funeral rituals of Americans, beginning with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the burial ceremony might be part of a gathering that began when family members prepared the body for interment and often lasted for anything from a few days to several weeks. By the middle of the nineteenth century, those who could afford to do so often preferred to turn the preparations for burial over to professional undertakers, and as houses became more compact, wakes took place at funeral parlors, as well. By this time, too, instead of burial on private land, interment took place in the setting of the modern necropolis or garden cemetery, though surviving family members often found solace in holding pre- and post-funeral gatherings at home.

The tradition of the wake, or what has come to be called “visitation” in more recent times, may have been necessary on the frontier in order to protect the deceased from wild animals. Later, the wake seems to have been part of the effort to avoid premature burial. Burial before the departed had actually gone anywhere was a matter for concern throughout the nineteenth century. Thursby cites one case in which a man made arrangements for his friends to bury him with water, bread, and a pickax, just in case. Fortunately, these items turned out to be unnecessary. Wakes might be occasions for drunkenness or practical jokes, according to Thursby, though she points out that many reports of boisterous behavior were likely exaggerated.

Funeral stories collected by various funeral directors demonstrate the general public’s lack of knowledge about the preparation and burial processes. These stories include strange requests made by survivors, including one account of a woman who buried her husband in her mother’s grave since he had disliked the woman so intensely, and reports of odd items placed into caskets by loved ones, including golf clubs and bottles of liquor. Unusual epitaphs remain a subject of fascination for us all, including the funny ones like that on a headstone in West Virginia that states, “I made an ash of myself.” And always, Thursby tells the reader, food is part of the funeral tradition.
One reason for the funeral feast is to feed those who have come from great distances before their return trips home. Besides the practical, however, and certainly with the exception of the green Jell-O the author has found to be popular in Utah, certain foods historically possessed symbolism to various ethnic and religious groups, reminding the survivors to pray for the soul of the deceased or representing the cycle of life. While the symbolism may have been forgotten, the foods remain. Even nowadays, Greek Orthodox funeral feasts include lamb and baklava, and Jewish mourners eat lentils, bagels, and eggs, all foods which form part of the traditions of those groups.

Over all, Thursby gives little more than passing attention to funeral traditions in the United States. Her account skates along the surface of what should have been a fascinating topic, seldom providing any real insight on why we do the sad and funny things we do when our loved ones die. The author has not gone into any depth in her investigation of funeral traditions, and, indeed, her mention of the rituals practiced in various regions and ethnic groups is generally supported only by a single “as told by” anecdote. My recommendation is that the reader who is interested in our solemn and odd funerary traditions would do better to read Jessica Mitford’s *The American Way of Death* (1963) or *The American Way of Death Revisited* (2000).

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**PILGRIMAGE AND HEALING**

by Jill Dubisch and Michael Winkelman, Editors

$50.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-8165-2475-0.

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Kay Koppedrayer, Wilfrid Laurier University

Edited by Jill Dubish, Regents’ Professor of Anthropology at Northern Arizona University, and Michael Winkelman, Director of the Ethnographic Field School and Head of the Sociocultural Sub-discipline in the Department of Anthropology at Arizona State University, *Pilgrimage and Healing* draws together work that intersects the subfields of medical anthropology and ritual studies. With its
ten essays plus introduction, the volume brings together studies of pilgrimage routes, ancient as well as newly defined, in Brazil, Israel, North America, Europe and Nepal, resulting in a cohesive work that explores the relationship between ideas of healing and pilgrimage as expressed in a range of different cultural, religious, and secular settings. Each of the studies attends to a particular site or sites, and considers how concerns of well-being, whether physical, material, or emotional, enter into the complex of activities—intention, preparation, undertaking, returning from and reflecting upon—that make up a pilgrimage. Along with the rich descriptions, histories, and sociological details they provide, the essays address what contributes to and what constitutes healing and cure.

Many authors draw upon—and also refine and critique—the work of Victor and Edith Turner on ritual, liminality, and pilgrimage to consider the meaning of pilgrimage and how references enacted along the way associated with community and personal identity, embodiment, empowerment, religious belief, senses of place and sacrality, shared histories, transformations of consciousness and so on effect feelings of healing. Gender, socioeconomic status, cultural identity, and other factors likewise figure in the discussions. With its focus on contemporary practices, the volume pushes the reader to rethink categories and understandings of pilgrimage in light of activity that sees not only established sites such as Lourdes, but also newly emergent ones, such as the Burning Man Festival in the Nevada desert or the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, DC, as significant destinations.

In the introduction, Dubish and Winkelman contextualize the volume by reviewing and assessing the orientations and theoretical impulses of previous anthropological analyses of pilgrimage. This discussion is particularly useful in its mapping of the field of studies, as it highlights how the volume’s essays contribute to this field and also stake out new directions. By way of introducing the studies, this discussion also reviews types of pilgrimage sites, the purposes of pilgrimages, and the healing processes they entail.

The essays that follow take up specific studies. The first, from Brazil, proposes a new biomedical understanding of stress-related healing. In their reconstructed account of the circumstances that propelled a female laborer to make a pilgrimage to a shrine of St. Francis in Canindé, Sidney M. Greenfield and Antonio Mourão Cavalcante reconsider the mind-body relationship in light of the hypnotic or altered states of consciousness they argue are induced by certain ritual and religious activities. C. Lindsey King’s essay looks at the same site, but approaches it through the negotiations and transactions that are intrinsic to both the spiritual contracts of pilgrimage and the material conditions of the pilgrims.
Lena Gemzöe’s work takes up the question of gender affiliation in her study of women’s vows at the well-known Fátima shrine in the Leira region of Portugal. She examines understandings of the localization and materialization of divine power in the 1917 apparitions of the Virgin Mary and how female pilgrims identify with and relate to Mary as they discharge their vows. Also concerned with gender, Susan Sered’s study looks at the pilgrimage narratives related to the tombs of the biblical Matriarch Rachel, Rachel the Poetess, and Rachel the Wife of Rabbi Akiva, the only three women to figure in the dozens of shrines in Israel that attract pilgrims. Noting how the accounts of the Israeli women whose visit the tombs of these three Rachels are “part of a much larger cultural script that associates women with illness” (83), Sered sees in the conceptual as well as epidemiological gendering of health and illness a reflection of the dichotomized gender roles of contemporary Israel.

Walsingham, in England, is the site of Simon Coleman’s thoughts on the ambivalent private, public, and institutional responses to religious localities. He examines the charged significance the multivalent associations, theological attitudes (Anglo-Catholic, Roman Catholic, and to a lesser degree evangelical), and liturgical claims (and denunciations) pertaining to the site have for pilgrims, relating these to contemporary understandings of agency, engagement and restoration. In her study of two Roman Catholic shrines in southern France, Lourdes and Rocamadour, Deana L. Weibel compares the differences in approach, activities, and healing schemas between what she identifies as the more traditional Catholic pilgrim and the “religious creativist,” individuals whose belief systems are eclectic, syncretic, experiential and influenced by what is known as New Age thought. Her essay, along with several others in the volume, draws attention to increasingly secularized patterns of pilgrimage.

The next two essays turn to North America. Jill Dubish draws upon her own participation in the Run for the Wall, an annual motorcycle journey of Vietnam veterans traveling from California to their memorial in Washington, DC, to consider the resources veterans call up to deal with the effects of their participation in the war. These include post-traumatic stress, survivor guilt, substance abuse, and other emotional and psychic wounds. Pointing out the difference between “healing” and “curing,” Dubish discusses how the ritualized cross-country journey, its intense physicality and the community it builds help the participants narrativize in a more integrative way their experiences. Lee Gilmore, in her essay, turns to a different North American happening, the annual Burning Man Festival of the Nevada desert. Attracting upwards of 35,000 participants, the festival is both an expression as well as a rejection of late-modern capitalism and the commodification of goods and experiences it entails. Arguing for a definition of pilgrimage that foregrounds separation,
transformation, and reorganization, Gilmore utilizes Turner’s theories of liminality and communitas to probe the impact of the festival on its participants.

Shamanistic practices in relation to pilgrimage are the focus of the last two essays. In discussing the religious use of peyote and tobacco among the Wixárika (Huichol) peoples, Stacy B. Shafer examines the centrality of pilgrimage to the peyote fields in their worldview and how, during the challenging journey, knowledge of and relationship with these plants as well as communal interactions bestow healing gifts upon participants. Her essay details the lives of several men and women with whom she worked in northern Mexico. The final essay discusses shamanic healing and journeying practices of an ethnic Tibetan community in Nepal. Like Shafer, Dubish and others from this volume of essays who draw upon their own participation in the pilgrimages they discuss, Larry G. Peters writes out of his own experiences to provide a first-hand account of the initiatory process of pilgrimage undertaken on Janai Purnima, the full-moon day that marks the resumption of shamanic healing rituals upon the return of the Himalayan gods and goddesses from their month-long period of retreat and rejuvenation.

Taken together, the rich cross-cultural data of these essays highlight the complex nexus of inter- and intra-personal relations involved in any act of pilgrimage. The essays point out that pilgrimage is undertaken for all sorts of reasons: fulfillment of vows, out of curiosity, for community, for help, to participate in a larger history, and as part of shamanic rites. Likewise the healings or transformations involved encompass a broad range of meanings, including not only healing from physical afflictions, but also many other states. The essays provide perspective on how various factors such as gender, socio-economic status, marginality, religious orientation, faith, and altered states of consciousness are implicated when individuals undertaken such journeys. For certain tastes, some of the essays may seem more descriptive than analytic, and one might have wanted to have seen a little more attention to understandings of place and locality in certain pieces. These are quibbles; overall, the volume makes a significant contribution by introducing the question of healing to pilgrimage studies.
Music and the Making of a New South is a rich exploration of New South Atlanta in which Gavin James Campbell explores how Americans used music to shape and sustain different facets of identity in the early twentieth century. He examines three very popular annual music festivals presented by the city between 1909 and 1925: Metropolitan Opera Week, founded in 1910; the Colored Music Festival, organized in 1910; and the Georgia Old Time Fiddling Contest, begun in 1913. Campbell questions what the extreme popularity of these three particular genres of music—grand opera, black spirituals, and Appalachian fiddle music—reveals about race, class, and gender in the building of this premier New South city. The popularity of these genres of music was not limited to the South in early twentieth-century America. Throughout the nation, the public’s appetite for all three styles was nearly insatiable. Campbell argues that white, male New South boosters’ attempts to establish and control the meanings of popular music reveal both the power these men wielded and the limitations of that power to control the meanings of race, class, and gender in the New South Atlanta of the early twentieth century. The simple organization of the book—one chapter covering each of the festivals, flanked by an introduction and an epilogue—makes it readable and easy to reference.

The first chapter, entitled “Grand Opera,” details the shifting meanings of the annual Opera Week events. Anxiety about the feminization of urban life informed white male behavior in its negotiation of Opera Week activities. By emphasizing opera’s money-making and prestige-building properties for the city, wealthy white men could demonstrate their patriotism and generosity. White middle- and upper-class clubwomen enthusiastically supported Opera Week because it focused the attention of residents on an art form that they believed would bring uplift and moral improvement to the decadent municipality. By introducing the beauty of high art into the center of a madly expanding industrial city, they sought to
mitigate the harsher consequences of unchecked capitalism on society. They enjoyed the opportunity to expand their own influence while simultaneously reinforcing traditional gender roles by appearing at the opera resplendent in expensive gowns and glittering jewelry as a testament to the power, wealth, and prestige of their husbands. Male performers and conductors advertised their manliness through participation in strenuous sports such as weightlifting and wrestling, while female performers advertised their preferences for lives focused on the domestic arts. Filled with anxiety about race relations in the New South, the all-white, all-male Atlanta Music Festival Association insisted that Opera Week admit white patrons only, even though many other events featured special performances for patrons of color or set aside seats in the balcony to accommodate black concert-goers. By singling out Opera Week as a whites-only event, they made a claim for the cultural superiority of whites and specifically excluded non-whites from sharing in the city’s premier high culture events. By inviting the complicity of Metropolitan Opera musicians in this show of white supremacy, New South boosters attempted to deflect outside criticism of the region’s ruthless segregationist policies and penchant for lynching.

No less than whites, New South blacks attempted to shape the conditions of life in their city. At least partially in response to the whites-only Opera Week, black business leaders and ministers organized the Colored Music Festival, featuring the nation’s greatest classically trained African-American musicians, including the Fisk Jubilee Singers, tenor Roland Hayes, soprano Anita Patti Brown, and composer/baritone Harry T. Burleigh, among others. The Reverend Henry Hugh Proctor, Yale-educated pastor of the highly respected First Congregational Church, led the event. Although the festival was organized along segregated lines, it worked to undermine the cultural underpinnings that supported segregation. By inviting white audiences, middle-class black Atlantans created an impressive venue in which to display the accomplishments of black musicians and the refinement of black citizens. By creating and presenting high art compositions based on the folk material of black spirituals, black cultural leaders attempted to demonstrate through music the astonishing progress of the race from slave days to the highest cultural refinement in the present. By using folk material in this way, black cultural leaders joined a then-current conversation in music circles that made claims of cultural superiority for a race based on the quality of their folk materials and how they subsequently developed those materials into high art. This argument was used repeatedly by white supremacist cultural leaders to demonstrate the supposed superiority of the Teutonic peoples, based on their cultural output developed from the seed material of folk myths and folk tunes. With the Colored Music Festival, black cultural leaders provided evidence
to the white community of the cultural worthiness of the African race. White Atlantans flocked to the Colored Music Festival, but based on the enthusiastic press coverage, it seemed that whites were taking different messages from the event than what the organizers intended. Rather than hearing the high-art aspirations expressed in the arrangements of black spirituals, white New South audiences heard a nostalgic longing for plantation days.

Although white civic leaders appeared to ignore or misread the intentions expressed in the Colored Music Festival, their subsequent organization of the Georgia Old Time Fiddling Contest belied their feigned lack of awareness, as they weighed in with their own argument in favor of the superiority of the raw folk material of Appalachian whites. Campbell highlights the racialized discourse surrounding this group of isolated white people who had allegedly carried forward a pure white strain of blood and culture from the pioneer days of the nation’s founding. Advocates for the Georgia Old Time Fiddling Contest, and for other educational and outreach programs to the Appalachian white community, frequently infused their rhetoric with encouragement to support white patrons’ own living ancestors. For their part, the fiddlers resented the way that they were represented as backwoods, pre-modern people. Some of the most celebrated fiddlers were not even from Appalachia—nevertheless they used the contest to broaden their base of support, and many poor whites eagerly took advantage of their newly recognized value to the white race.

In Jim Crow America, various groups frequently used music as proof of cultural competency. Considering how central this idea is to Campbell’s book, it is somewhat surprising that he did not include a discussion of women composers active at that time. In the chapter on grand opera, he addresses women performers, but makes no mention of women involved in composition. By the turn of the century, nationally known female composers such as Amy Beach and Margaret Ruthven Lang were challenging the assumption that only men possessed the genius to create large-form composition (symphony and opera) and to compose lieder and art song of the highest quality. The very existence of women composers challenged traditional understandings of the innate capabilities of women and men, and was much remarked upon in the press.

Music and the Making of a New South will be useful to a broad spectrum of scholars, including historians, American studies scholars, Southern studies scholars, Women’s and gender studies scholars, urbanists, African American studies and critical whiteness studies scholars, and American music historians. Material culture scholars in particular will appreciate Campbell’s discussion of the material trappings of each musical genre. For example, he dwells at length on the accoutrements of men’s formal attire. As Campbell attests, the clothing and accompanying elements of full formal
attire have a story of their own to tell. The book’s scholarly appeal is further complemented by its easy readability and lack of specialized academic or discipline-specific language, making it an excellent text to assign to undergraduates and useful in interdisciplinary contexts. Campbell’s expert reading of a number of complex cultural currents through a small selection of significant musical events in a single city highlights the usefulness of reading larger cultural and historical trends through cultural artifacts. A major contribution of the book is its excellent demonstration of the fact that music (or any cultural product) never exists in a vacuum, but rather in deeply imbedded relationships within and between the culture, people, and city of those who perform, produce, and patronize it.

ARCHITECTURAL GUIDE TO ICELAND

by Brigit Abrecht

Reykjavik: Mal og menning, 2000
324pp. Photographs, Illustrations, Maps, Glossary, and Index
$16.00 (spiral)

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Allen G. Noble, The University of Akron

Architectural Guide to Iceland offers a comprehensive view of both formal buildings and traditional structures. The country is divided into eight geographical districts or divisions, and each of 114 structures is numbered and discussed within each district in chronological order. Sixty of the 114 structures occur in Reykjavik, which is not surprising given the uneven distribution of the Icelandic population.

The author, an architect, clearly feels more comfortable dealing with academic architecture. A large majority of the buildings listed are architect-designed structures, even including a large number of ancient and rural churches. Still, it is refreshing that author Brigit Abrecht felt secure enough to provide the first extensive treatment of Icelandic traditional buildings. Students of material culture will find this easily readable volume to be useful.

The text is written in three languages—Icelandic, German and English, accompanied by sets of small photos, and floor plans or architectural elevation illustrations. This means that discussions of structures must be limited. The result is that only the most basic information can be included for each structure or site. Hence, descriptions of buildings often are more an expanded listing than a detailed analysis. Each structure is numbered and located precisely on the appropriate one of the eight geographical-district maps.
Additionally, the position of structures in urban locations is aided by identification on large-scale neighborhood maps.

With reference to traditional structures, the author is on firmest ground when discussing those for which architects can be identified or strongly suggested. Students of material culture interested primarily in traditional vernacular building will be disappointed that analysis of such structures is usually limited only to floor plan and construction materials. The importance of such factors as orientation, location, and environmental considerations is rarely discussed. For example, the shifts in floor plans of early turf houses are chronologically given, but with little or no explanation as to what motivated such changes.

Let us not forget, however, that the fate of pioneering authors is often to have their worthy efforts devalued by later researchers, who follow the path illuminated by these pioneers. Later scholars often reap much acclaim, even though a large portion might justifiably be credited to the earlier writers. These pioneers, often lacking the guidance of the complex arguments generated by forerunners, nevertheless have the audacity, the courage and the curiosity to attempt to understand, and to blaze the trail into a largely undocumented or investigated field of study.

The *Architectural Guide to Iceland* should be considered the initial step in cataloging the vernacular buildings of Iceland. Students of material culture will find it a most valuable addition to their libraries.

**REVOLUTION TELEVISED**

*Prime Time and the Struggle for Black Power*

by Christine Acham

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004

248pp. Illustrations, Notes, Bibliographic References, and Index

$24.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8166-4431-4

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Debbie Clare Olson, Oklahoma State University

In *Revolution Televised: Prime Time and the Struggle for Black Power*, Christine Acham explores the growing black presence on mainstream television during the Civil Rights Era and the power that representation afforded the black community to counteract white construction of black identity. The social struggle for civil rights in the 1960s and 1970s was reflected in expanding black presence within the mass media—in radio, television, and film—and Acham
revisits key television programs from a variety of genres. Acham gives a brief history of black television, black humor, and the Chit-lin’ Circuit, a group of theaters and exhibition halls—the Apollo in Harlem, the Howard in Washington, DC, the Royal in Baltimore, and many others—that showcased many black entertainers (13). Rather than merely reaffirming black stereotypes, Acham argues that the bevy of black-cast shows of the 1960s and 1970s actually enabled blacks to dissipate and fracture white stereotypes by presenting and controlling the black image within those programs. For Acham, the shows under discussion—Black Journal, Soul Train, The Flip Wilson Show, Sanford and Son, Julia, Good Times, and The Richard Pryor Show—actually exhibit unique sites of resistance to white America that often “nurtured African American culture and resistant politics” (xiii). In each chapter Acham attempts to counter the predominant criticism of those programs by scholars who charge that the shows simply reinforced common black stereotypes of the time.

In the first chapter, Acham confronts the myth of the objectivity of documentary television programs during the Civil Rights Era by pointing out that “in dealing with black subject matter, more often than not reporters did not have regular contacts within the black community and thus lacked an understanding of black perspectives” (32). She critiques some key documentaries, particularly the CBS report Watts: Riots or Revolt? and its “centrally positioned” reliance on the discriminatory Moynihan report “The Negro Condition in America” (37), along with key placement of interviews with white authority figures that, for Acham, counter any claim of authenticity. Acham explores the political messages and resistance to such white documentaries and news features in the PBS news magazine Black Journal that ran from 1968 to 1977, evolving in 1982 to Tony Brown’s Journal, which is still produced on PBS. Black Journal was the first news magazine on broadcast television that focused on black issues from a black perspective. Acham argues that Black Journal “provided a space for black people to speak for themselves in political, social, and cultural arenas” during the Civil Rights Era and to challenge white documentaries that worked to contain growing black social and political movements (53).

Chapter Two explores Soul Train, the longest running syndicated show on television (66), and the popular Flip Wilson Show. Acham considers Soul Train a particular site of black cultural expression and empowerment as its format of music, dance, and call–response are rooted in African oral culture (56). Acham provides a very brief history of oral traditions and how Soul Train used those traditions to address the black audience, as well as to reach out to the white mainstream. Acham argues that Soul Train was unique in that it presented positive images and an authentic ambience of black youth, particularly when set against its white counterpart, American Bandstand.
In contrast, *The Flip Wilson Show*, according to Acham, appealed to white audiences because it was “not threatening and rarely addressed the contemporary American social and political landscape.” She argues that Flip Wilson’s humor, in a time of extreme social and political upheaval, embraced traditional American ideologies of individualism, the American work ethic, and a pull-yourself-up-by-your-bootstraps message that supported the “notion of [a] classless and raceless American society” (68). Acham explores Wilson’s childhood and key influences and experiences that found their way into his comedy. Acham believes that Wilson’s jaunty lighthearted comedy became quite popular with white audiences as it countered the black radicalism that dominated television during the Civil Rights Era. But Acham does not elaborate beyond Wilson’s non-threatening comedy (how is it a site of resistance?), and concludes that his “success indicated that the problems of black society were the fault not of racism but of the individual’s lack of effort” (72). Acham’s conclusion adroitly positions the *Flip Wilson Show* as reinforcing white stereotypes, rather than disputing or resisting them.

Acham’s reading in Chapter Three of Redd Foxx’s character on *Sanford and Son* associate his comic attempts to outdo himself, his constant elaborated unbelievable tales, and his exaggerated complaints of an imminent heart attack to the traditional trickster character of African folklore. But she does not do much more than suggest such similarities. Acham claims that *Sanford and Son* expressed the “ideology of the black urban underclass and, indeed, of the Black Power movement” (102), yet in Acham’s address to critics of the show, who believed the show “worked against the ideals of black liberation in the 1970s” (107) and that Sanford was not the “politicized image of the black man desired by several nationalist strains of black politics at the time,” she merely acknowledges the critics’ validity, and asserts that they did not consider the “more relevant qualities of Sanford and Son...[which were] ensconced in traditional African American humor usually seen in black communal sites” (108). But Acham never illuminates the reader about what those relevant qualities might be, or how they are sites of resistance, other than an analogy to the trickster character.

The last two chapters in *Revolution Televised* look at the shows *Julia*, *Good Times*, and the short-lived *Richard Pryor Show*. But Acham’s analysis of these, and of the other shows she discusses, seems to be off center. She begins each chapter by discussing the shows and then diverts into the lives and careers of the major stars. Acham pays too much attention to Diahann Carroll’s struggles with the producers and offers scant analysis of *Julia* as a site of resistance to white media. Acham does elaborate on two scenes from different episodes, but merely points out how Julia confronts, then yields to, racist beliefs, concluding that in the show “Racism is boiled down to
being a personal misunderstanding” among the characters. Acham’s discussion of Good Times and the Richard Pryor Show again concentrates most on the actor’s negotiations around the show’s framing of blackness, rather than how the show functions as a site of resistance to white presentations of blackness.

Though not a page-turner, Revolution Televised is a satisfactory addition to the growing scholarship on Civil Rights Era media; however, throughout Revolution Televised Acham seems to sidestep and flit around her intended focus of the book—how the shows are actually sites of resistance to white construction of black identity—and instead offers examples of marginal resistance at best. In her conclusion to Chapter Six she states that Flip Wilson “kept confrontational black political attitudes under wraps and enjoyed a successful television career [while Richard] Pryor...was primarily about confrontation with mainstream U.S. politics” which resulted in Pryor’s show being cancelled after only four episodes, which would seem to contradict Acham’s thesis that the popular shows offer sites of resistance (168). Pryor’s show was a victim of dominant media pulling the plug on black resistance while Wilson’s acquiescence to the status quo ensured success. Aside from her discussion of Black Journal, Acham leaves the reader wondering whether she is advocating that black resistance to white media is realized by conforming to stereotyped images, as her examination of these shows appears to illustrate. Her look at the individual actors’ personal struggles with the mainstream media machine is much more illuminating and interesting than is her analyses of the shows themselves.

**TRAFFICKING SUBJECTS**  
*The Politics of Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America*  
by Mark Simpson  
Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005  
xxxi+193pp. Notes and Index  
$56.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8166-4162-5  
$18.95 (paper), ISBN 0-8166-4163-3  
Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Christine Photinos, National University

In American cultural mythology, travel serves as the great national symbol of democratic freedom and possibility. In Trafficking Subjects: *The Politics of Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America*, Mark Simpson offers in place of this myth an understanding of American mobility
as a site of ongoing social contest. Drawing upon recent critical work on travel writing, he begins by arguing that “travel” is too limited as a critical concept, and that its perceived wide applicability serves to obscure mobility’s complexity. Replacing “travel” with “mobility,” he seeks to bring to nineteenth-century American studies a greater attentiveness to the historical and material determinants of American movement.

The author begins illustrating the contestatory nature of mobility in the book’s introduction with an extended discussion of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. As Simpson explains, a central purpose of the Columbian Exposition was to showcase the nation’s emerging technologies of mobility. Fair organizers sought to underscore national “progress” with the presence of Potawatomi Chief Simon Pokagon, whose father in 1833 had sold what is now Chicago to the U.S. government. Outraged upon learning that Natives would be participating in Chicago Day celebrations solely as mute spectacles, Chief Pokagon wrote and distributed a birch-bark pamphlet entitled “The Red Man’s Rebuke” that gained widespread attention and ultimately a Chicago Day speaking role for Pokagon. It is not the speech, but the pamphlet, that is of primary interest to Simpson. In “The Red Man’s Rebuke,” Pokagon describes the railroads as “monstrous engines” and directly challenges triumphal understandings of white westward migration as the nation’s “destiny,” replacing the narrative of the “vanishing” Indian with a (more historically accurate) portrait of gold lust, forcible removal, and consequent death and devastation. According to Simpson, Pokagon “challenges his audience to understand mobility not as a naturally occurring phenomenon but much more rigorously as a mode of social contest decisive in the manufacture of subjectivity and the determination of belonging” (xiii). Simpson continues to develop this idea of mobility as a central site of contestation in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century United States across four chapters and an epilogue.

In “Nat Turner’s Restlessness” (Chapter One), Simpson offers a reading of the 1831 Southampton slave rebellion in which Turner’s contestation of slavery takes the form of a challenge to white control over mobility. Having been subjected to repeated dislocations through his sale from one slave owner to another, Turner, in rebellion, seized control of his own mobility and wielded it as a weapon as he and his confederates traveled through Southampton County freeing blacks and killing whites. Although Turner’s mobility was ultimately contained (he was captured, and then executed) Simpson locates a lingering mobility, or “restlessness,” in popular press accounts of the rebellion, and in the text of his confession—a document prepared by the lawyer Thomas Gray. While Gray may have intended this document to serve a “disciplinary” function (for instance, “to demonstrate the policy of our laws in restraint of this class of our population, and
to induce all...to see that they are strictly and rigidly enforced” [5]), it nevertheless, in Simpson’s reading, contains a “dissonant energy” that resists moral and legal fixity. This is so in part because, as the central figure in what is at once a confessional/autobiographical narrative and a travel narrative, Turner is discursively constituted not as “property” but as a “self” in possession of “will.” In addition, the text’s stated purpose of replacing sensational rumors with a dispassionate, authoritative account of the slave revolt in order to allay public fears comes into tension with its status as a commercial object: terror sells, and many of the sensational elements of Gray’s text serve not only to sell more books, but to stoke the rumors (for example, of Nat Turner as “demonical” and “superhuman”) the text claims to wish to dispel. “Rumor,” Simpson notes, “is...an unceasingly restless form” (20).

“Abandoned to Circulation” (Chapter Two) interrogates the connection between antebellum travel narratives and the circulation of texts in the early nineteenth-century literary marketplace. In detailed readings of Edgar Allan Poe’s The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket and Herman Melville’s The Confidence-Man, Simpson looks at how, in these two stories, Poe and Melville drew upon the highly marketable travel genre in their pursuit of commercial success, while simultaneously critiquing the literary marketplace—both its indifference to ethical and aesthetic distinctions and the rampant reprinting and piracy that occurred prior to the establishment of international copyright. Simpson argues for a reading of both Poe’s Pym and Melville’s The Confidence-Man as “dramas of uncertain circulation” (41).

In Chapter Three, “Secret Circuits, Fugitive Moves,” the focus shifts to historiographical and auto/biographical texts, including writings on the Underground Railroad by Levi Coffin, Ebber Pettit, and William Still; the fugitive slave narrative of Henry Bibb; the Civil War memoir Nurse and Spy in the Union Army, by Sarah Edmonds; and the two memoirs of Harriet Tubman (as transcribed by Sarah Bedford). Simpson brings together all of these texts in his examination of the mid-century “interimplication of mobility and secrecy.” His central argument in this chapter is that “crises of motion” in the Civil War period should be understood as “crises of knowledge” (xxx-xxxi).

Of particular interest is Simpson’s theory of “disciplinary pace,” which he develops in the book’s fourth chapter, “Mobility’s Disciplines,” and in its epilogue. Anxiety surrounding accelerated social and geographical mobility in the post-bellum period gave rise, he argues, to various mechanisms for “disciplining” movement, depriving it of disruptive agency. Simpson develops his theory through readings of a variety of turn-of-the-century cultural products, including etiquette manuals (in which can be found a recurring emphasis on
travel etiquette), the Mexican travel dispatches of Stephen Crane, and the tramp writings of Jack London. In his discussion of the latter set of texts, for example, Simpson illustrates “disciplinary pace” with a close reading of London’s 1906 short story “The Apostate,” in which Johnny, a young factory worker, turns away from his grueling work at a high-speed loom and adopts the life of a tramp. Johnny’s waywardness is, in Simpson’s reading of the story, corrected by disciplinary pace. As a vagabond, Johnny retains an “automated subjectivity” and an existence of “moveless movement” (116). Crucial to Simpson’s theory of disciplinary pace, however, is the notion that its regulations are never total, and mobility retains “traces of contest” (xxxi).

Simpson’s dense prose makes Trafficking Subjects difficult to follow at times, but the reader’s efforts are rewarded with thought-provoking analyses of a wide-ranging selection of nineteenth-century texts—analyses that yield important insights about mobility in the nineteenth-century United States.

THE GREAT SOUTHERN BABYLON
Sex, Race, and Respectability in New Orleans, 1865-1920
by Alecia P. Long

Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004
282pp. Notes, Bibliographic References, and Index
$39.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8071-2932-1

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Lizzie Seal, University of Bristol

Books about New Orleans now have an inevitable poignancy. In her conclusion to The Great Southern Babylon, Alecia Long states, “The city still serves as a safety valve, a place where visitors from near and far come to cut loose for brief periods of time” (232). Since the hurricanes and flooding of 2005, the city has been depicted as anything but a “safety valve.” However, Long’s text transports us to the period before the 1927 flood, when the “Big Easy” was known as the “Great Southern Babylon,” famous for all kinds of vice, but particularly for sex across the “color line.” Through an examination of court records, she presents the formation and history of the “Storyville” district, New Orleans’ geographically segregated red light area. Consequently, the book is a history partly of New Orleans, partly of prostitution, and partly of the Jim Crow laws and entrenched racial segregation.

Long’s approach is to focus, across five chapters, on the stories of representative individuals. Although utilizing court records, the
text is not a legal history but rather an examination of contested boundaries and identities. The thirty-year relationship of Joe Mathis, a white man, and Adeline Stringer, a woman of color (and when their relationship began in the 1850s, a slave), demonstrates the decline in tolerance for cross racial “concubinage.” A rise in the importance of notions of “respectability” meant that by the time of Mathis’s death in the 1880s, relationships between unmarried white men and women of color had become unacceptable, with sex across the “color line” confined to “derided physical spaces” (59).

The “Story Ordinances” of 1897 sought to confine prostitution to a specific district. Long emphasizes the racialized element to Storyville’s inception, arguing that drives to segregate “immoral” women were linked to emergent objections to social contact between white and African-American citizens. The draining of swamps at the turn of the twentieth century led to the city’s expansion, and was the first time that geographical areas could be segregated along racial lines.

In relating the stories of two fascinating women, Mary Ann Deubler and Willie Piazza, Long demonstrates that although women often entered prostitution due to restricted choices and economic inequality, they were not necessarily its victims. Deubler, who used the pseudonym Josie Arlington, was an extremely successful brothel madam whose grasp of early twentieth-century codes of propriety enabled her to be an astute businesswoman and to raise her niece, Anna, as a reputable woman. The era’s “Blue Books” guided single male tourists round New Orleans’ vice district, and provided information regarding the respectability of different brothels. Mary Ann’s large brothel, the Arlington, was a reputable venue. The money she earned from this venture allowed her to buy an expensive education and a sheltered upbringing for her beloved niece.

Willie Piazza was another successful madam, who defined herself as an “octoroon.” Long argues that this was an erotic—rather than ethnic-heritage—descriptor, and referred to assumptions about the sexuality of mixed race women. By 1917, sex across the “color line” was Storyville’s chief attraction, and the district was well known for its “octoroon” prostitutes. These women were believed to be refined, sophisticated and cultured but in possession of a sexual rapaciousness not found in white women. Such beliefs were the foundation of Piazza’s success as her brothel provided white men with the opportunity to sleep with “octoroon” women.

In 1917 an ordinance attempted to racially segregate Storyville, and divided prostitutes into “white” or “colored,” with “colored” women not eligible to remain there. Piazza contested the ordinance and won, with the Louisiana Supreme Court ruling that the city did not have the right to tell people where they could live. Long reflects that given the context of the time, this was a surprising victory, and its historical obscurity perhaps relates to Piazza’s profession as a prostitute and
madam, as well as her identity as an “erotic” woman. However, the “octoroon” identity disappeared both legally and culturally as people became defined according to the binary classification of “white” or “colored.” Willie Piazza’s contestation of the segregation ordinance may have helped to delay racial segregation in New Orleans, but the stricter boundaries of racial identity were culturally in place.

*The Great Southern Babylon* subtly and expertly charts the entrenchment of racial segregation and demonstrates how this was interwoven with constructions of class, respectability, and gender. Long does not present a straightforward narrative of decline, as the mid-nineteenth century did not represent an era of racial equality and the Storyville district was not a place of liberation for the women who lived and worked there. However, the possibilities for different racial and sexual identities became increasingly restricted in the period she documents.

This book can be recommended to researchers in a variety of subject areas such as African American studies, gender history, women’s studies, urban history and historical geography. However, Long’s highly readable prose style and gift for narrative also make it suitable for the general reader. Particularly impressive is her ability to cover a well-researched period in Southern history by telling largely forgotten and marginalized stories.

**THINGS THAT TALK**  
*Object Lessons from Art and Science*  
by Lorraine Daston, Editor  
447pp. Preface, Introduction, Illustrations, Notes, List of Contributors, and Index  
$34.50 (cloth), ISBN 1-890951-43-9  
Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Paul C. Thistle, Centennial Museum and National Exhibition Centre

The nine original essays in *Things That Talk* are the collaborative results of intensive discussions among the working group of authors composed of art historians and historians of science. Writing as historians, the authors focus on specific objects and how they talk to us rather than the theory of how “things in general” communicate.

Given the subject at hand, it seems most appropriate to begin this review by examining this book as an object. Jarring is the first word that comes to this reviewer’s mind when looking at the dust jacket of this substantial hardcover. The use of red, yellow, and blue colors...
in horizontal bands is unsettling—particularly on the spine where the red and blue set up the discordant “vibrating edge” that results when these two colors are adjacent. The colors employed also interfere with the reading of the text executed in white font on the yellow band. This gives a preview—if not an expectation—of the somewhat tough going in the text. If objects can indeed “talk,” it might have been wiser to instruct the book designer to focus on making this a more comfortable process on the outside, leaving the more challenging aspects for the authors to wrestle between the covers.

Inside, the book is much more pleasant to look at and handle. For example, ample margins for the text avoid a problem that often irritates this reviewer when the reader must follow the line of text around the curve of the page as it meets the binding. The book is well illustrated with many black-and-white and nine color plates, however a list of the illustrations is absent. With 54 pages of endnotes, it is also unnecessarily frustrating to find the proper reference cited in the text without a header in the Notes section indicating the pages to which the citations listed apply.

As for the content of Things That Talk, one might have anticipated a more interdisciplinary—as opposed to multi-disciplinary—approach, and related to this, use of a more transparent and widely understood vocabulary. Some of the content is rather thick with esoteric jargon for non-specialists in the subject of the article. For example, readers are expected to know what “perpetual aggiornamento” is (45) and what “Vitruvian principles” in architecture are (82). As a non-art historian and neophyte in the history of science, this reviewer would have appreciated a glossary in order to explain the meanings of some of the arcane terms and concepts presented. “Aggiornamento” is not listed in my dictionary and I prefer not to have to set my books down to log onto Google (9.6 million hits were not what I really needed!). A glossary would be especially useful given the unusual combination of art and science specializations in one book. It will surely attract readers from different fields who may not have control over all of the specialized vocabulary used by the two separate disciplines.

The book is introduced by editor Lorraine Daston, Director at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin. Unfortunately in my view, she chooses not to present a full discussion of a general theory behind the “loquacious object.” Scholars in the field of material culture such as Thomas J. Schlereth (1990) have been calling for many years for more attention to explanatory—not simply methodological—theory about how objects might actually be heard to “talk.” This reviewer had hoped that the examples presented would use art and science cases to clarify and generalize—not simply exemplify—a theory of exactly how things might “talk” to us after all.
Somewhat arbitrarily divided by this reviewer, the chapters relating to art deal with the drawing “The Treeman” and related works by Hieronymus Bosch who flourished after 1475, the evolution in the configurations of the Prussian Havel River island Pfaueninsel between 1793 and 1830, an analysis of daguerreotype photographs used as evidence at trial in the mid-nineteenth century, the use of scrapbook clippings in Berlin around 1920, and the crucial relationship between the painting of Jackson Pollack and art critic Clement Greenberg in the mid-1940s. Articles that deal with science include ones treating freestanding columns in eighteenth-century French architecture, the classical physics of soap bubbles in the late nineteenth century, the Blaschka glass models of botanical specimens crafted for Harvard University between 1890 and 1939, and the meaning of Rorschach test cards over the past century.

Although all nine chapters and Daston’s Introduction were interesting to this non-specialist and warrant commentary, space limitations here preclude making observations on each. I will focus on only two of the contributions. The first chapter is “Bosch’s Equipment” by Joseph Leo Koerner, Professor of the History of Art at University College, London and the Courtauld Institute of Art. Bosch is referred to as the last medieval painter (28)—although, given the chapter’s conclusion, why not the first of the following period? He specialized in realistic portrayal of the things in his art with many distinct details intended as “conversation pieces—things made for talk” (45). Koerner points out that this is how all artworks function for art history. They are “generators of discourse,” although he suggests we might regard this process as simple “ventriloquy” as opposed to “things” actually “talking” (45)—as suggested by the title of this book. Koerner confesses that he does not believe that things actually physically speak to us, but rather we fantasize that they do.

Unfortunately, Koerner’s article is marred by some illustrations that are so small that the details referred to are difficult to make out in this format. For example, the “bogeyman” referred to with important emphasis in Figure 1.4 is not really distinguishable in the absence of a hand lens (32-33).

It was also disappointing to this reviewer that Koerner seemed to stop writing before proposing any conclusions to his piece other than to say, post-Bosch, artists’ drawings became more than simple tools for the artist. They became finished “things” in and of themselves to be sold and collected. Given all of the author’s attention to the “thingly” character of Bosch’s art, and the impact and meaning of Bosch drawings themselves as “monstrosity/object” (45), the conclusion of the chapter was not satisfying to this reviewer.

The second article that sparked particular interest in this reviewer—because he has for many years maintained his own clipping files—is “News, Paper, Scissors: Clippings in the Sciences and
Arts Around 1920” by Anke te Heesen, Research Scholar at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin. The process of clipping periodic literature aims at extracting, storing, or digesting a set of relevant data. Although I believe that pasting is not necessarily required as Heesen asserts, this technique does result in the generation of meaning when viewed in chronological [or otherwise organized] series (300, 314). Although Heesen appears to agree with the clippers’ idea that collections of such ephemera may be used as a means of “judging the spirit of an era” or “mood of the time” (312-13), I do not believe that this is a valid proposition. Clippings unavoidably will be a highly personal, idiosyncratic perspective that is nearly totally dependent on the approach, sources available to, interests, and biases of the clipper. My own clipping files are much more a reflection of my personal “reassemblage” of isolated “snippets of information” rather than an historiographically acceptable reflection of “the times.” Perhaps in aggregate the collections of all the clippers in Berlin in the 1920s might be used to plumb the tenor of the time, but sampling biases will be a major stumbling block for use of clippings for this purpose.

Art historians will certainly find individual chapters of Things that Talk to be of interest as will historians of science. A much more diverse audience of those who take interest in material culture also will find excellent exemplars, but will still lament the absence of an overarching explanatory theory. When it comes down to “brass tacks,” the difference between Koerner’s characterization of art history as ventriloquy (37) and how objects truly become “loquacious” remains unclear in this book except in specific cases.

In light of Mallinckrodt Professor of the History of Science and of Physics at Harvard University Peter Galison’s chapter on how Rorschach test cards are used, one might conclude that “things that talk” indeed speak only as projections of the viewer. As one of this reviewer’s questions raised, but not addressed, in this book, perhaps the next project of the Planck Institute should be an exploration of the concept of “ventriloquy” in the interpretation of objects.

References Cited

In *Visual Culture: The Study of the Visual after the Cultural Turn*, Margaret Dikovitskaya explores the development of visual studies and visual culture in U.S. academia. (As she explains in the text, the terms are used interchangeably by some in the field but carry distinct meanings to others.) The text explores a specific form of visual studies—that which sprang forth from the marriage of art history and cultural studies—and as such it will hold more interest for readers working in the humanities than for those in the social sciences, although it provides an overview that could be useful to all. Dikovitskaya conducted in-depth interviews with the authors and academics who wrote the first books, taught the first courses, and developed the first graduate programs in visual studies and visual culture. From these data she explores the field’s early development, including its major theoretical and methodological underpinnings, the debate over its proper subject matter, and the nascent institutional embrace of the area, with its attendant search for pedagogical definition.

The book consists of an introduction, two main chapters, and appendices. The introduction is a literature review (in Dikovitskaya’s terms, a “bibliographic essay”) of various works that were responsible for pioneering the field of visual studies. Chapter One is devoted to a “virtual polylogue” on the history, theoretical outlines, and methodology of visual studies. Chapter Two consists of an examination of courses and programs in visual studies: undergraduate classes at the University of Chicago and State University of New York at Stony Brook and graduate programs at University of Rochester in New York, and the University of California at Irvine.

As Dikovitskaya explains, conceptualizing this new interdisciplinary area raises two problems. First, if visual studies is to be a distinct area of study, then what is to be its subject matter? Is the proper subject all things visual, or only those objects designated as meeting some socially constructed cultural or aesthetic standard of value? The latter approach is generally rejected as being too close to
what some of Dikovitskaya’s interviewees reject as the narrowness and elitism of art history. Yet if visual studies is defined as either the study of the visual or that which is visualized, then a second problem arises: what is the limit of the field? Everything can be considered visual and cultural. For some, a focus on the primacy of seeing and interpreting defines the field, but this moves its focus away from the study of the object, a move which many of its practitioners reject. A concern only with objects can lead to the same decontextualization for which the interviewees are criticizing art history. While she presents the problems with defining the field, she does not leave the reader hanging. Slightly before giving the caveat that visual studies and visual culture mean many things to many people, Dikovitskaya gives her own statement of what visual studies is: “the scholarship that rejects the primacy of art in relation to other discursive practices and yet focuses on the sensuous and semiotic peculiarity of the visual” (49).

As the author explains it, visual studies arose first from the sense of some art historians that their traditional approach to studying the visual lacked a sense of culture or context. This insight led various academics in multiple directions, and Dikovitskaya traces the various points of contention about what the field entails. One faction sees it as an expansion of art history—either in terms of incorporating the theories of cultural studies, or in terms of expanding the range of artifacts available for study. Others view it as something separate from traditional art history, related to new visual (digital, virtual) technology. And still others consider it a threat to the future of art history. The interviewees not only struggle to define the field, but they also discuss why the field is burgeoning now. The boom is also seen as an institutional response to budget crises: a means for some departments to add graduate programs even during a crunch or a method for administrators to wrangle more interdisciplinary cooperation—and potentially more work—out of their faculty. Various respondents also point out that new field also came about because of a change in the nature of college students’ orientation to high culture and a loss of belief in an elite canon.

While the book examines undergraduate courses in visual studies taught at the University of Chicago by W. J. T. Mitchell, and SUNY-Stony Brook by Nicholas Mirzoeff, more time is devoted to a study of two graduate programs in visual studies and visual culture. The two graduate programs, while similar, evolved from different institutional needs. Rochester’s program in Visual and Cultural Studies was born from a collaboration of faculty from art, art history, comparative literature, English and film studies; the unifying element was their interest in poststructural theory and cultural studies. Irvine’s Visual Studies program came from a joint effort between art history and film studies to create a mutually beneficial graduate program.
Rochester’s program places cultural studies at its core; at Irvine less emphasis is placed on cultural studies and greater emphasis on students’ gaining expertise in one of the traditional disciplines that contributes to the program.

The text of the bibliographic essay, virtual polylogue, and discussion of institutions and pedagogy runs fewer than 100 pages; Dikovitskaya intersperses this section with images of the book covers from 27 of the texts she discusses, and photos of the people who are building the field. This section is richly footnoted and well-indexed. The remainder of the text is devoted to appendices that include the entire text of the interviews used as the book’s data; these are revealing and informative.

There are a few weaknesses in Dikovitskaya’s presentation. It is not always clear where the summaries of her interviews end; the voices of interviewees segue into the voice of the author. While her inclusion of images of book covers is interesting and relevant, since she is discussing a field focused on the visual, unfortunately she never actually mentions the covers themselves, only each book’s text. Otherwise, she deftly handles the multiple and contradictory nature of the field, presenting debates, definitions and hot-button issues clearly. Dikovitskaya is particularly strong at showing the reader the genealogy, as she calls it, of the distinct versions of visual studies and visual culture. The image of the field coalesces when Dikovitskaya describes the theses produced by the students in the program; this ultimately clarifies its contributions to the academy.

There are other criticisms to make. A few of Dikovitskaya’s respondents seem at times to set up art history as a straw man, insofar as they overstate art history’s tendency to ignore the societal relations and cultural factors that inform artworks, and understate the extent to which artists have been questioning the nature of art for the past century. Perhaps this straw man is set up to better define the new field of study. It is not always clear whether their critique is of the field of art, with its reified notion of what constitutes art, or with art history, for taking this definition as given. Some of their criticisms of art history are valid—it seems quite fair to question the definition of art—and others seem gratuitous—it is rather unfair to criticize art history for studying the history of art. A few interviewees have a tendency to treat theory as methodology, so the programmatic statements of what the field should be include many suggestions for a theoretical bedrock, and little advice about how to actually go about doing visual studies. This gap is fairly well rectified in the second chapter’s discussion of recent PhD projects in the field.

*Visual Culture* will be a good resource for anyone who wants to understand the history, development, and ontological and theoretical debates of visual studies/visual culture developed. It presents
compelling evidence that, like its predecessor cultural studies, this new approach will have an impact across many disciplines.

**THE FRENCH CANADIANS OF MICHIGAN**

*Their Contributions to the Development of the Saginaw Valley and the Keweenaw Peninsula, 1840-1914*

*by Jean Lamarre*


Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Jeff Wanser, Hiram College

Several years ago, my wife and I vacationed on the Keweenaw Peninsula. We have enjoyed exploring Michigan for years, especially the western side of the Lower Peninsula and the central Upper Peninsula, but never before had gotten as far west as the Keweenaw. I highly recommend the area for its beautiful scenery, charming towns, and historic sites related to the mining industry. However, neither in our travels nor in the numerous brochures we picked up along the way did we notice the presence of a historic French Canadian population. Historic sites make much of the Irish, Cornish, and Finnish miners, but it seems one must dig deeper for information about French Canadian migration to the region. I was pleased, therefore, to have the opportunity to review Jean Lamarre’s work, *The French Canadians of Michigan*, to fill in what was apparently a meager knowledge on my part.

A reworking of his doctoral dissertation, Lamarre’s purpose in taking on this subject was to move attention away from the usual focus on French Canadian migration to New England in the nineteenth century. They arrived in large numbers, initially for work in the lumber industry, later for factory work, during periods of economic decline in Québec. While nearly three-fourths of all Québec-U.S. migration of more than a half million people did go to the neighboring states of New England and New York, a substantial minority of migrants headed west, either directly from Québec or by way of the northeastern states. By 1890, about 58,000 had made homes, temporary or permanent, in Michigan. Three areas of the state attracted most of the immigrants, the Detroit area, the Saginaw Valley, and the Keweenaw Peninsula, in roughly chronological order. French
Canadians came for agriculture, lumber, and to some extent, mining. Here, Lamarre chooses to focus on two of the three regions, those principally dependent upon extractive industry.

The author sets the stage for his discussion with a chapter on nineteenth-century Québec and the forces that triggered out-migration. These included population increase, settlement of marginal lands, westward movement of the lumber industry in Canada, and the collapse of wheat production in the 1830s and 1840s. The general economic downturn led to increased mobility in the search for a living. Lamarre emphasizes the simultaneous increase in diversity of occupations and the tendency to follow “cultures of work” in lumber or agriculture wherever they might lead, as French Canadian survival strategies. New England and New York were prime destinations, but sometimes-temporary ones for migrants from the north. Alternative routes west and better modes of transportation took them into the Midwestern United States. Until the Civil War, agriculture was the most common occupation, and within Michigan, Detroit the most likely destination. This would change with the postwar development of more northerly regions in the state.

Lamarre’s second chapter focuses on his two areas of research, for the period from 1840 until World War I. Here he describes development of the two regions economically, as lumber became the prime industry in the Saginaw Valley, and somewhat later, copper mining the key industry on the Keweenaw Peninsula. He discusses each industry in some detail, its rise and decline with continued westward expansion, population growth in central counties, and principal labor disputes. This is an excellent overview for someone looking for a capsule summary of the industries or the regions.

French-Canadian migrants to the Saginaw Valley finally make their appearance in the third chapter. Here Lamarre covers the period 1840-1900, with primary emphasis on the postwar period, when the lumber industry was in full swing, and then later contracted with resource depletion. French Canadians never were the majority population, but represented a significant minority among larger groups of Irish, German, and other immigrants throughout the time period. By 1880, the French Canadian population reached approximately 7,300 in Saginaw and Bay Counties, perhaps 7.5 percent of the population. Of interest is not so much their sheer numbers but their continued maintenance of ethnic identity in the form of separate churches, parish schools, and ethnic organizations. French Canadians chose the Saginaw Valley not just for work opportunities, but also for the strong presence of a supportive community already there (chain migration). Lamarre examines in some detail the workings of the community—church politics, the Lafayette and Saint-Jean-Baptiste Societies, occupational patterns, and family structure. He also documents migration patterns from New York/New England as well as
Québec, and out-migration to the west or return migration to Québec as economic opportunity waxed and waned. The author changes scale and often uses individual case studies of families to good effect. The ethnic nature of the community declined with the fortunes of lumber. No longer a magnet for new migrants, many moved out, others settled into agriculture, and most became U.S. citizens.

The fourth chapter, focusing on the Keweenaw Peninsula, shows some of the same patterns, but considerable variation too, and provides an opportunity for comparison. Unlike the Saginaw, the Keweenaw’s interest was copper mining, an unfamiliar industry to migrants from Québec at the time. More often than not they chose occupations in service or support industries, including lumber, or surface jobs in mining, rather than go into the mines themselves (this may explain their lack of presence in the travel brochures, which tend to romanticize the mining life). By 1880, French Canadians represented 12.5 percent of the population, nearly 3,700, concentrated in Hancock and Houghton Counties. Unlike the Saginaw situation, though, a significant portion of the population preferred to settle outside of the larger towns and into smaller enclaves such as Lake Linden, where they dominated, or Calumet, where they could be a significant minority. Occupational preference was for sawmills, stamp mills and service jobs. Familiar patterns appeared with regard to church parish organization and ethnic associations, and in many respects the decline of ethnic identity parallels the Saginaw example, associated with economic decline of mining, out-migration, labor disputes, and increased citizenship.

A final chapter summarizes Lamarre’s findings, drawing out the differences and similarities in the two regions. Overall, the author does a good job of documenting a neglected aspect of the French Canadian migration experience in a rather limited space. However, there are several shortcomings. A few concern subjects not covered, which may or may not be fair criticisms, since Lamarre never intended to deal with them. One wishes for more comparison with the New England experience, most prominent in the literature. Clearly the author wrote the book partly in response to this domination of the scholarship, so more contrast would have helped his argument. Second is the glaring absence of Detroit, the third Michigan population center for French Canadians, and perhaps the largest. More examination of the relationships between the northern regions and Detroit would have been enlightening. Third is the lack of discussion about how French Canadian immigrants, individually or collectively, got along with other ethnic groups. Lamarre keeps others at a distance. Perhaps all of these could be part of some future project. Lastly, the paltry use of maps and photos is more than just an annoyance. Two county outline maps are insufficient. I would like to have seen a map of Québec, one delineating major migration routes, and perhaps
several smaller-scale maps showing villages mentioned in the text or city neighborhoods. There are no photographs save those on the front and back covers. This lack of visual presentation detracts from an otherwise enjoyable and useful study for those interested in ethnic or labor history, extractive industries, or the state of Michigan.

**RECORDING HISTORIC STRUCTURES**

*by John A. Burns, Editor*

Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2004

275pp. Illustrations, Bibliographic References, Appendices, and Index

$65.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-471-27380-5

**Reviewed for PAS/APAL by James Liphus Ward, College of Charleston**

*Recording Historic Structures*, edited by John A. Burns, is a refreshingly articulate and beautifully illustrated reference on architectural, engineering, and landscape-architectural, historic-project documentation. Its main purpose, however, is to be a teaching tool for future practitioners. The work is broken down into two sections. The first part provides a background of HABS, the development of historic reporting, the use and techniques of photography, documentation through fieldwork and drawings. The second part gives separate case studies representing seven distinct types of documentation for historical, constructed artifacts. Moreover, this edition attempts to improve its content—both as a narrative and an illustrative guide—from its previous edition. Its stated objective is to “continue to teach methods of learning by doing” (vii). The second edition promises to be both useful for the novice and inspirational for the seasoned practitioner.

This book speaks particularly to the needs of beginning students of nontraditional backgrounds. On the one hand, they are without the basic drafting tools and are intimidated by graphics. On the other hand, they usually have an ability to analyze verbally and keenly desire to achieve new skills. The book achieves some success by not depending on just the graphics to convey meaning. By allowing separate discussions in history, photography, fieldwork, and drafting, students have a greater opportunity to engage new fields and see several perspectives which gives some richness and depth to the discussion. Together these techniques make graphics more approachable, more of a defined skill set, and less forbidding. This is not a field that lends itself to abstraction nor should its educational
methods. In addition, the larger idea that one might learn from previous efforts and can gain insight to the meaning of practice in the projects themselves is profoundly useful.

There are some negative aspects to this edition. While the editor is careful to stipulate where changes have occurred in its format and content from previous editions, the price of the book has increased substantially. While the cost is very favorable compared to other architectural texts, this increase is not something the average student will abide if they can get their hands on an earlier copy. The changes that have been made are not substantial nor has the quality of the graphics been measurably improved. Unfortunately, this edition misses an opportunity to discuss several areas of modern practice more analytically, which would perhaps justify the cost differential.

First, the authors’ treatment of digital technologies in part one is somewhat dismissive. For example, the breakouts called “Digital Documentation Technologies” (20-21) and “Digital Access to HABS/HAER/HALS Collections” (25) leave out much important information. The authors make some redress with online information; however, some more shared insights to protocol and methods—such as issues with specific file types and their usefulness or not in archiving and applications—would be helpful. The point that the edition makes is that digital technology is problematic for archiving. Certainly the accuracy of the drawings achieved in CAD is no more reliable than the manually drawn plans in principle. In reality revisions are far less daunting in the digital medium, facilitating the process of double-checking and verification. What is required is experience in using the medium so that students question for themselves (or their professors will for them) what appear to be finish drawings. The reality that students face is that they cannot get jobs in the private sector without this experience.

Second, the discussion of measurements and drawing in this book is inferior both in detail and techniques to the online information. For example, more detailed accounts related solely to field craft with different sets of problems in the field and alternate ways to work around these issues would be welcome. The breakout given to the topic called “Measuring Tips” (102) is not sufficient. The reliability of one seemingly simple technique of squaring measurements to base lines is highly questionable in its application. Also, a more thorough formulation of recording and referencing horizontal and vertical base lines would be very helpful and is not well articulated in either the online sources or in this edition. This continues to be a major hurdle to students who approach this for the first time.

Finally, probably the most promising area of work for historic architects and materials conservators is not mentioned at all—the emerging field of developing structures reports. As the approaches
to these studies so closely depend on the technologies developed by HABS, it is a problematic omission. Perhaps, this is the stuff of future editions. In fact, Preservation Brief 43, “The Preparation and Use of Historic Structures Reports,” only recently has been released. Incorporating this level of analysis certainly will require a more nuanced and detailed look at condition assessments in both historic reporting and field notes. Techniques and methods for understanding how buildings are functioning are being developed and would benefit from some testing and oversight. It is at least this reviewer’s view that this is long overdue especially given the development pressures on historic properties, most especially reflected the recent surge in modifications to the interior environments (air conditioning). Considerable structural, long term damage is being done behind restored facades. The case studies, however, do strongly suggest the variety of radically different techniques required in practice—an important caveat in any classroom discussion—and perhaps the beginnings of a satisfactory way to manage information needs in the future.

In the second portion of the book the discussion focuses on documentation in seven case studies: vernacular building forms, historic bridges, structural and mechanical systems, ships, monuments, industrial processes, and landscapes. Each area dramatically illustrates the requirements of documentation in each context. The efficacy of modern methods is given some play in this section, showing the usefulness of CAD as well as laser scanning to document complicated structures and increase productivity. The development of the narrative gives a compelling backdrop to the imagery as well as giving a sense of the variety of practice. For example, the chapter on structural and mechanical systems conveys its importance in a balanced and interesting fashion, allowing students to sense the challenge in this more technical area. The rich details given in describing the shape and methods used to document the historic ships, the schooner Alabama and lifting the lines of the Wawona, illustrate both building crafts as well as the limitations imposed by traditional documentation and field conditions. The chapter on Landscapes emphasizes important and unique aspects of that profession in its details and how it develops relationships—among buildings and between a modified landscape and its more visible constructed elements. The emerging nature of this practice, therefore, is what is evident. The richness of detail in these case studies is very useful background in many projects. It may be that many of these criticisms can be dealt with in a collection of online case studies that allow for a more timely publication of emerging issues and techniques.

In summary, Recording Historic Structures is invaluable to the teaching of studio work in preservation and for the continuing education of all planners and architects. The challenge in teaching from this text is to be able to tease out the meaning and details to make
it realizable and understandable for each distinctive set of students and projects. The use of this text in a course needs to be integrated with online sources, project oriented sources, and the reality of working each project. Keeping up with the new technologies with proven methods is difficult especially within a traditional textbook format. In this effort, there is some room for criticism of this edition. There is, however, more than enough presented to justify its continued use. Its format is informative to students and continues to offer teachers new ideas and inspiration. The problems discussed here are meant simply to reinvigorate an ongoing discussion among professionals and hopefully engage more students in this important work.

**MAKING NATIVE SPACE**
*Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia*

**by Cole Harris**

Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003

xxxii+415pp. Tables, Maps, Notes, Bibliographic References, and Index

$85.00 (cloth), ISBN: 0-7748-0900-0

$29.95 (paper), ISBN 0-7748-0901-9

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Derek Whitehouse-Strong

In *Making Native Space*, Cole Harris examines how issues of power and colonialism shaped the history and geography not only of British Columbia’s Indian Reserves, but also of the province as a whole. Harris, a retired professor of historical geography at the University of British Columbia, utilizes over 50 figures and nearly 30 photographs in support of his argument that colonialist settler ideology shaped British Columbia’s Indian reserve policy to a much greater degree than did the policies of federal government or the desires of the province’s Native populations. As a result, two distinct geographies, which Harris termed the “Native” and the “introduced,” developed in British Columbia (xvii). The lines that separated these geographies were not merely marks upon maps, however; they also were boundaries that marked off imbalances in legal, economic, and political power and that continue to have ramifications for the people of British Columbia to this day. Indeed, Harris points out that the very act of mapping a reserve “situated the reserve within an official ambit of sovereignty, surveillance, and management while detaching it from its surroundings as well as the complex land uses and spatial patterns of former Native lifeways” (271).
Harris notes that Euro-Canadian and European settlement (or rather resettlement) became an issue in British Columbia in the mid-nineteenth century. Settlers who were interested in exploiting the region’s natural resources and developing it for agricultural purposes encountered Native populations who, despite having been decimated by diseases, engaged in a variety of economic pursuits that took place over vast spaces. Influenced by their or their ancestors’ experiences with European land use, class, and demographic issues, European and Euro-Canadian settlers in British Columbia believed that local Native populations were not making proper use of the land or that they were not using it at all. From the settlers’ perspective, the Native populations of British Columbia were wasting that most precious resource, land; this warranted the displacement of the original inhabitants, the reshaping of local geographies, and the resettlement of the lands to ensure that they were used appropriately. The manifestation of settler ideology (supported by economic, political, military, and cultural technologies of power that for the most part overcame Native attempts at resistance) was the creation of numerous small, scattered Indian reserves. These reserves “defined two primal spaces, one for Native people and the other for virtually everyone else” (265), and were designed to draw Native populations into wage labor and to facilitate their assimilation into broader Euro-Canadian society.

To Native populations, the geographic spaces that they occupied prior to their being displaced were central to their very identities: they allowed them to practice generations old economic activities, they contained locations that held great spiritual and personal meaning, and they viewed them as their own. As the introduced settler geography superceded Native geography, Natives sought to negotiate what Harris called “a space for difference” (156) which included larger reserves (and hence greater economic security and a greater connection with the previous geography) than the settler governments provided. While adapting certain elements of the economic, political, and cultural milieu introduced by the broader settler society, many Natives in British Columbia also resisted government efforts to displace and assimilate them where and how they could. This resistance and agency, however, took place “within an equation of power balanced overwhelmingly against them” (206). Indeed, in his introduction, Harris makes the cogent observation that “wherever one went, if one were a Native person, the reserves bore on what one could and could not do. They were fixed geographical points of reference, surrounded by clusters of permissions and inhibitions that affected most Native opportunities and movements” (xxi). Thus, although he acknowledges Native agency and resistance and provides numerous examples of each throughout his work, Harris refreshingly cautions
that to deny that Natives were “relatively defenseless” against these “complexes of power” is to deny their courage and ingenuity (206).

In terms of historical analysis, the real strength of Harris’ work rests in the first nine chapters. In these chapters, the author examines the historical forces that shaped the geography of Indian Reserves in British Columbia between the 1830s and the 1930s. Harris masterfully interweaves theories, techniques, and findings from a variety of fields including (but certainly not limited to) economics, geography, literary criticism, post-colonial studies, and history to support his analysis of “how the geography of Indian reserves in British Columbia came to be” (218).

Although he relies almost exclusively on archival documents that were created by non-Natives, it is evident that Harris has carefully read and deconstructed his source material. *Making Native Space* is a well-balanced account and analysis not only of settler ideology, federal policy, and the actions of missionaries and others who opposed the Province’s Indian policy, but also of the actions and attitudes of the Native peoples who were confronted with technologies of power that were employed to displace them from their lands, confine them to scattered and miniscule reserves, and bring about the destruction of their cultural identities. Moreover, Harris takes great pains to remind his readers that neither settler society nor Native society (nor individual Native and settler communities, for that matter) were homogenous entities.

The final chapter of *Making Native Space* was much less satisfying, but this was largely a result of the subject matter. In Chapter Ten, Harris uses the information provided in the previous chapters to “assess the options currently before us.” Rather than continuing to pursue “a politics of assimilation” which had not succeeded in nearly 150 years and which “most Native people vehemently reject,” Harris suggests that a “more practical alternative” is to pursue “a politics…difference” which “entails the return of a good deal of land (resources), and a fair measure of Native government” (xxx). Harris admits that given recent legal and constitutional pressures, he can almost bring himself to believe British Columbia will embrace this new policy direction and seek to redress the ills caused by settler society. This sense of uncertainty, however, seems at odds with the solid analysis and well-developed arguments that Harris presents in the earlier chapters of the work. While the issues that the author raises in Chapter Ten certainly are rooted in the history and geography of Indian reserves in British Columbia, *Making Native Space* might have been better served had that chapter been included as a post-script or epilogue.

Overall, however, *Making Native Space* is a solid and engaging work that, as noted on the publisher’s web-site, received numerous awards including the Canadian Historical Association’s 2002 Sir John
A. Macdonald Prize and its 2002 Clio Award for British Columbia, the Royal Canadian Geographical Society’s 2003 Massey Medal, and the 2003 K. D. Srivastava Prize for Excellence in Scholarly Publishing. Academic and non-academic readers alike will enjoy Harris’ strong narrative and will appreciate his well-documented and well-supported arguments.
Contributor Biographies

Marshall E. Bowen is Distinguished Professor Emeritus in the Department of Geography at the University of Mary Washington. His current research focuses on the evolution and transformation of Russian Molokan communities in the Intermountain West and on the life histories of northeastern Nevada’s early twentieth-century pioneer settlers.

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Charles Stansfield teaches in the Geography Department at Rowan University. He has published many books on the geography and history of New Jersey, and most recently a series of geographically oriented books on the occult and supernatural.
Illustrations courtesy of Steve Gordon, Curator, McGuffey Museum, Oxford, Ohio, from his keynote address at the banquet in Springfield.
Landscapes in Stasis-Landscapes in Change: Two Views of West Central Maryland Cultural Landscapes,” offers the dual conference themes of historic agricultural landscapes and their preservation, and transportation with all of the changes that evolving transportation systems have brought to the landscape. Two day-long tours are planned in partnership with C&O Canal National Historical Park and Antietam National Battlefield. **For more information**, contact Dr. Paula S. Reed, Conference Co-chair, 301/739-2070; email: paula@paulasreed.com. www.pioneeramerica.org
Courtesy of Ohio Historical Society.