PAST consists of papers and abstracts of papers presented at the annual meeting of the Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes. 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 Manuscripts are not peer-reviewed, and the Editor will make grammatical corrections only. 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 files. “On the Road” is an annual collection of photographic essays devoted to topics relating to material culture in the Americas, and the editor will consider submissions from any member of the Pioneer America Society. Address inquiries, including copyright permission, reprints, inquiries about manuscript and “On the Road” submissions, and letters, to the Editor.

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Echoes of the Past
This issue of the Pioneer America Society Transactions (PAST) continues the format established in the 2010 edition. There are 4 papers and 1 photo essay from the 2011 conference in Castleton, VT. The first, Disappearing Cheese Factories in America's Dairyland by John Cross, tracks the dramatic loss of small regional cheese producers in Wisconsin, over 87% in the last 50 years. John also examines and gives examples of the reuse of the old cheese factories.

In Worker Cottages: A Nineteenth-Century Great Lakes Urban House Type Marshall McLennan examines an often overlooked vernacular house type. The appearance of this form of housing in the mid-19th century signaled substantial changes in the both the physical and cultural landscapes.

Keith Sculle’s Curt Teich Card 6A-H959: A Fact Broadcast in a Sea of Imagination delves into how literary fiction can impact an area’s sense of place. His examination of how Maurice Thompson’s (1844-1901) novel Alice of Old Vincennes (1900) influenced the town on Vincennes, Indiana as seen through period postcards clearly shows the plasticity of cultural memory.

Douglas A. Hurt’s photo essay The Changing Landscapes of East Tennessee demonstrates the influences that changes in governmental policy and transport infrastructure can have on the landscape. This is easily seen in Greene and Cocke counties in Tennessee, where the end of federal price supports for tobacco and the widening of U.S. highway 321 to 4 lanes has led to a shift from an agricultural to a commercially based economy.

Manayunk; A Place of Waterpower, Textile Industry, Gentrification, and "Hollywood" by Wayne Brew examines a north Philadelphia neighborhood from its beginnings as a mill town to current situation. Of interest are the impacts that urban pioneers and gentrification have had on the neighborhood, particularly the relationship between the long-time and newly arrived residents.

On a more personal note, as the new editor of PAST I would like to thank Scott Roper for his excellent work on the journal. Scott edited PAST for five years, and during that time the journal maintained a consistently high level of quality and scholarship. I hope to continue this tradition during my tenure as PAST editor, which would not be possible without the help of Deborah Slater, who developed and maintains the PAST webpage.

– Paul Marr, Professor of Geography, Shippensburg University
Abstracts of Papers Presented

Contentious Preservation down at the Old OTO: Some Novel Outcomes from an Unlikely Public/Private Partnership
Christopher Boettcher, Castleton State College

In its hey day in the 1920s and early ’30s, the OTO Ranch, Montana’s first “dude ranch,” played host to socialites from New York and Chicago as well as Big Shots from Hollywood looking for the “authentic western experience.” The ranch was abandoned in 1938, however, and left to disintegrate until its unlikely rediscovery in 1991. What followed was a 15-year struggle over the final use of the lands and its buildings. The United States Forest Service rangers who discovered it embarked upon a secret plan to save the site and restore it as an interpretive facility. Their plan was complicated, however, by its discovery by USFS administrators and the original provisions for land use as a zone protecting elk migration patterns and grizzly habitat. What likely saved the OTO was the rangers’ strategy of partnering on preservation work with vacation volunteer” groups, chiefly Elderhostel and Amizade. By the time the rangers’ plans were officially brought to the attention of Washington, too much work had been done and too much volunteer energy had been invested to simply burn the buildings as originally planned. As a consequence, the main lodge entered the National Record of Historic Places in 2004, two years before a final decision was made on the official land usage plan. Although that plan puts strong limitations on use facilitating preservation, this adaptive use of the ranch site suggests some interesting parallels between its original ranch activities and current vacation preservation.

The Mobility of Settlers of a Northeastern Nevada Valley
Marshall E. Bowen, University of Mary Washington

Analysis of the life histories of thirty-one family heads and single adults who lived in a northeastern
Nevada valley between 1909 and 1927 shows that the largest number of settlers were born in the North American heartland and made their way westward by way of Kansas, Colorado, and Utah. Immediately before settling here, about three-fourths were living in California and Nevada, where they were employed as carpenters, laborers, and farm and ranch hands. When they departed, approximately seventy percent moved to communities in California and Nevada, but not necessarily to the same places where they had previously made their homes. After a transitional period that involved a great number of short moves, nearly half of the settlers died in California, but only three were still in Nevada at the time of their deaths. Maps illustrating these individuals’ movements, supplemented by a detailed account of the migration paths of one family, provide fresh insights into the mobility of blue collar workers and their families in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

**Work in Progress: Assessing the development potential of Historic Business District Properties in Danville, PA**

*Cara Bowns, Pennsylvania State University*

This study is integral to on-going research of Pennsylvania’s Middle Susquehanna River Valley’s cultural landscape and regional planning efforts for sustainable development. The study combines funded research to explore the efficacy of Form-Based Code (FBC) zoning to facilitate development of historic properties and community-based inquiries about the economic viability of developing unfinished and under-utilized upper story units in the historic business district of Danville, PA.

The significance of the research is highlighted in the 2003 Brookings Institution Report, “Back to Prosperity”:

...one opportunity that could be addressed more effectively...is the potential to support the development of mixed-use properties — particularly three-and four-story buildings with first floor storefronts and upstairs residential space, the latter of which is often vacant. Small-scale mixed-use is an important link between Main Street and Elm Street, as well as between what Pennsylvania has and what could become genuinely alluring.

Organized into three sections, the first discusses the research inquiries and provides overviews of “Form-Based Code,” a new zoning approach (advocated as a potential mechanism for revitalization development in existing and historic districts) and the socio-cultural context for current development goals in Danville PA.

The second part details the research methodology (surveys/photography) to document and assess structures in Danville’s historic business district and what the preliminary findings reveal about existing conditions and the potential for viable future development. Part third concludes the study with a discussion of “next steps” based on community stakeholders’ assessment of the preliminary findings and whether FBC is an applicable measure to facilitate development in downtown Danville and other historic business districts.

**Manayunk: A Place of Waterpower, Textile Industry, Gentrification, and “Hollywood”**

*Wayne Brew, Montgomery County Community College*

The first place that comes to mind in relation to water power and textiles is New England, but this
also took place in Manayunk located along the Schuylkill River in the Northwest section of Philadelphia. In 1819 the Schuylkill Navigation Company completed a 2 mile section of canal to provide better transportation to the coal fields in the North. This triggered the development of textile mills along the canal to take advantage of the water power available. By the mid nineteenth century steam engines (and later electricity) replaced water as the power source. Manayunk continued to thrive as an industrial area until the mid-twentieth century attracting many diverse groups of migrants. This illustrated presentation will provide a brief history of transportation, industry, and migration of Manayunk. Other discussion items include; the revitalization of ‘Main Street’, gentrification, and Hollywood films shot in this neighborhood.

Disappearing Cheese Factories in America’s Dairyland
John A. Cross, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh

The number of Wisconsin farms with milk cows fell by over 90,000 over the past fifty years. This drop, together with the rise in megadairy operations, has resulted in tremendous changes in the dairy farming landscape. Not only did Wisconsin lose 87 percent of its dairy farms over the past half century, but the state is losing its cheese factories. In 1920 Wisconsin had 2,771 cheese factories. By 1960 that number had fallen to 808, and now only 126 cheese factories are operating.

The crossroads cheese factory once dotted Wisconsin’s farming landscape. While some relatively small family-operated cheese factories remain in business, most of Wisconsin’s cheese production now comes from industrial-sized operations. This paper focuses upon discussing the spatial distribution of those cheese factories remaining in operation and describing the changing role of those former factories that once helped define Wisconsin’s dairy landscape.

Many former cheese factories, including the state’s first, have simply been erased from the landscape. Of those former factories still remaining, the most common new usage is residential. Among the 204 cheese factories listed on the Wisconsin Historical Society’s Architecture and History Inventory, over a third had undefined uses at the time of their listing. Thirty-eight remained as operating cheese factories, while 58 were clearly being used for housing. Although inclusion in the inventory is highly biased by county location and the listing is outdated, it provides a hint to the changes that are sweeping Wisconsin’s rural dairyland.

The Curious Landscape of Automotive Proving Grounds
Michael W. R. Davis, Eastern Michigan University

A hundred, even a thousand years from now, scholars may puzzle over the archaeological remains, especially roads which go nowhere, of the automobile industry’s Proving Grounds, better known by the public simply as “test tracks.” Since the inauguration of these facilities in 1924 by General Motors near the village of Milford, 40 miles northwest of Detroit, virtually every vehicle manufacturer in the world has needed to create proving grounds of up to 4,000 acres with a variety of natural and man-made structures, including specialized roads and engineering buildings. The roads have included short stretches of virtually every worldwide road surface imaginable from sand, dirt and gravel up to multi-lane concrete high-speed ovals and straightaways mirroring motorsports venues. Typically these proving grounds lie behind high walls to keep out prying eyes from anxious competitors and a public curious to view future models under test. In the U. S., these unique landscapes have been located in Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Florida, Texas, Arizona and
California. Based on the presenter’s tenth published book [Detroit Area Test Tracks, Arcadia, 2010], the illustrated lecture unveils in an historical journey what takes place behind the secretive walls, what today's structures look like and — if not destroyed by encroaching real estate developments — which features may last for future study.

**The Rangeley ‘Mystique’: Tracking Regional Identity and Development through Landscape Formation**  
*Owen Dwyer, Indiana University at Indianapolis and Matt McCourt, University of Maine-Farmington*

This paper tracks the overlaps and divergences among scholarly landscape traditions through a case study of the Rangeley lakes region in western Maine. We specifically examine three frameworks that reveal the forces that have shaped this area’s unique identity. First, we rehearse a material culture analysis of regional forms and practices that predominate among representations of Rangeley landscapes. Next, we outline a political economic appreciation for the transition from industrial to financial ownership of forestland, as pulp and paper companies have divested their holdings and given way to a new cast of owners including REITs, TIMOs, and conservation NGOs. And, lastly, we examine Rangeley’s symbolic/discursive landscape formation through the lens of successive waves of tourism promotion as well as current efforts to market the Rangeley mystique. Each of these three frameworks helps us place the Rangeley “mystique,” as well as confirming the value of multifaceted landscape analyses.

**Northern New England Corn Shops: Gender and Memory**  
*Paul B. Frederic, University of Maine at Farmington*

Spatial economic history is usually documented by records left by primary decision makers and evidence on the landscape. In the mid-nineteenth century, women started to play a major role in the industrial labor force. Many young women left their rural communities for work in mill towns; however, for those that remained behind, corn shops provided opportunities to earn a wage. Their jobs were local, related to agriculture, viewed as a community endeavor and considered socially acceptable. With limited mobility, female corn cannery workers were a captive labor pool. An exodus from corn shops occurred following World War II as more women began driving automobiles and employment opportunities expanded for them in nearby larger places. Because role and gender may influence how an industry is perceived, I interviewed former corn cannery workers in Northern New England to identify differences in employment tasks and work memories. Beginning in the 1850s, corn canning developed into a significant rural enterprise in Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. By 1920, over 120 corn processing factories employed about 8,000 seasonal workers. Most of the operations were located in small towns and hamlets where wage labor opportunities were limited. The region’s last corn shop closed in 1968 due largely to competition from states to the west. Duration of employment, starting age of employment, access to transportation, nearness to canneries, hourly wages, spending priorities, job satisfaction and socializing among workers differed between men and women at the canneries. The corn canning industry and its workers helped shape rural Northern New England’s cultural and physical landscape from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s.

**Perry Maxwell’s Green Revolution: A Banker Brings Golf to the Midwest**  
*Jim Gabbert, National Park Service*
Perry Duke Maxwell is acknowledged by many as one of the finest American-born golf course designers of the first half of the 20th century. A relative latecomer to the sport, Maxwell embraced golf wholeheartedly. While not a talented player, he turned out to be an exemplary designer. His courses populated the young state of Oklahoma and his reputation spilled out across its borders. Working from coast to coast as a designer and builder, Maxwell achieved a reputation for creating beautiful, challenging, but fair golf courses. Along the way, he helped changed how the game was played. By concentrating primarily on his Oklahoma golf courses, this paper will look at the evolution of Perry Maxwell’s design philosophy within the context of course design of the first half of the 20th Century. It will also attempt to place Maxwell in the pantheon of course designers from the Golden Age of golf course architecture, the 1920s and 1930s, by demonstrating the legacy of his best designs and the important contributions he made to the profession.

Clothesline Debates and the Transformation of the American Backyard Landscape

Blake Harrison, Southern Connecticut State University

In recent years, a number of states have passed “right-to-dry” legislation guaranteeing the right to use clotheslines in cases where neighborhood restrictions stipulate otherwise. These efforts are rooted primarily in concerns about energy conservation and carbon emissions associated with the use of electric and gas-powered driers. This presentation examines the politics of clothesline usage with two goals in mind. First, it reviews the discourse and logistics of clothesline debates, particularly in New England. Second, and more specifically, it frames those debates in terms of a contemporary transformation of the American backyard landscape. During the early to middle decades of the twentieth century American backyards underwent a shift from being primarily utilitarian spaces to aesthetically pleasing spaces reserved for familial and social activities. Clothesline debates reflect a new cultural shift occurring in how many Americans view and utilize outdoor domestic space. Rather than reserving the backyard as a space for consumptive practice alone, I argue, many Americans are now turning their yards into spaces for domestic productivity as well. Clotheslines have become an important material symbol for this shift.

Highway Expansion and Landscape Change in East Tennessee

Douglas A. Hurt, University of Central Oklahoma

Many of America’s historic cultural landscapes are threatened by economic development. These traditional landscapes have received much attention from geographers who have attempted to understand and interpret their meaning before these places are radically transformed. Two counties in East Tennessee provide another example of conflict over the idea of progress as urban and suburban residents, recently moved retirees, and small-scale, long-term farming families have reacted to the current expansion of U.S. Highway 321 in vastly different manners. Coupled with changes to national tobacco policy, the highway project has undermined the region’s historic landscapes while promoting increased accessibility and economic development. Like other American regions, East Tennessee has evolved into a location where residents compete to either shape a modernized landscape of progress and technological efficiency or maintain a predominantly agricultural landscape in hopes of supporting a greater degree of traditional place identity. Once again, the American landscape is shaped by often-conflicting human goals, aspirations, values, and public policies. Field work conducted between 1995 and 2010 chronicled
The Dynamic Hinterland of New York City: The Transition from Farming to Watershed Protection in Delaware County, NY
Claire A. Jantz, Shippensburg University

The Cannonsville and Pepacton watersheds make up the headwaters of the Upper Delaware River Basin in Delaware County, New York, and serve as critical areas that protect the water supply for New York City (>8 million residents). Within these watersheds, which cover about two-thirds of Delaware County, New York City is actively engaged in land protection and management strategies that include land acquisition, stream restoration, and voluntary programs to promote best management practices on farms and forestland. New York City's success in watershed protection has been heralded by planners and environmentalists, however it is strongly criticized by local residents for restricting access and use to land and preventing viable economic development. This paper will present a historical analysis that highlights the complex and dynamic relationship between New York City and its hinterland. Historical census data provide the basis for an examination of demographic and economic trends, and land use data are used to assess landscape dynamics. The analysis is informed by Walker and Solecki's (2004) framework of land use change in coupled and decoupled urban-hinterland systems. In the Upper Delaware region, New York City's hinterland once exhibited a traditional and tightly coupled system in terms of their economic interdependency, where timber and farm production (primarily dairying) formed the basis of the hinterland economy. These tight economic relationships declined as New York's economy and markets globalized, leaving the farming economy in Delaware County faltering. At the same time, New York began to form new relationships with its hinterland that focus on ecosystem services (water supply and recreation), creating an ecologic and economic interdependency, the implications of which are still unfolding.

The Global Reach Cultural Community – The Connected Museum Landscape and Memory at Global Scale
Margaret J. King, Center for Cultural Studies & Analysis

The dynamics driving cultural institutions are taking a globally connected direction. Rather than concentrating on their immediate material culture collections, museums in particular are discovering their range is far broader and richer when defined by the intercultural and international networks for their subject matter and expertise. In discovering and building these networks, museums are discovering themselves to be a type of brain trust, which defines new forms of intelligence, resourcing wealth as social media, brain power, and creativity.

This networked power matrix portends a future model for cultural institutions in general to analyze material and memory. This trans-border network constitutes a new definition of community in its global focus on connecting and inspiring people, programs, organizations, and ideas. The outcome is more than the sum of any single institution, creating a world matrix of idea and resource exchange. A case study is the recreated Fort Worth Museum of Science and History, with its world-wide reach of programming and expertise.

“My Mountain Home!”: Understanding Place in Mid-Nineteenth Century Vermont
Laura Kolar, University of Virginia

This paper examines two ways that Vermonters understood place during the 1860s and 1870s, a period of great transition for the state of Vermont and the United States generally. During these years, thousands of Vermonters traveled West to seek opportunity and many of these migrants, as well as others, sought to capture and document Vermont during this transformative time. Two different kinds of publications in particular appeared that documented Vermont.

One of these publications, *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, totaled five volumes and over 6000 pages. Over thirty years, a woman named Abby Hemenway compiled thousands of Vermonters’ contributions to try and capture the essence of her home state before it was too late. The emergence of this compilation coincided with the rise of another movement to document place: the county atlases. A distinctly American product, the county atlas was invented in 1861 and reached the height of its popularity in the mid-1870s. A handful of major companies created and mass-produced these atlases in the eastern hubs of New York City and Philadelphia.

Both the histories and the atlases were products of their time. They each reacted to, reflected and embodied major events and movements of the period: the Civil War and its aftermath, westward and urban migrations, and the rise of modern, industrial capitalism. Analyzed together, these varied publications reveal that Vermonters valued and held conflicting understandings of home: the desire to embrace a modern future, but also the need to cherish the past, the participation in a national story at the same time attempting to cling to the distinctly local nature of home.

Living in a Ghost Town on Social Security

*Chris Mayda, Eastern Michigan University*

Cherry Creek is listed as a ghost town, yet 26 people lived there, many since the 1970s. Who are these people and what is this town miles and miles from anywhere in far eastern Nevada? Fieldwork provided the answers about the retired residents living in this old mining town on social security. This town is what happens to those of us without resources and now retired. What will happen when and if social security disappears?

Worker Cottages in American Cities; Observations & Comparisons

*Marshall McLennan, Eastern Michigan University*

By and large, cultural geographers and folk-life scholars have utilized Fred Kniffen’s morphological approach to the analysis of American dwelling types to identify regionally distinct rural and small-town house forms. A notable urban exception is the “shotgun” house. In the early stages of the American industrial revolution, employers provided housing for their workers. Soon, however, the provision of shelter was abandoned to real-estate speculators, and a variety of single- and multi-unit house forms materialized. This paper focuses analysis on one category of urban housing, the single-unit, narrow-frontage worker cottage. Because urban lots are narrow several cottage types bear a superficial resemblance to the shotgun in massing characteristics although floor plans, and in some instances, raised basements, distinguish them from the New Orleans shotgun. Specific attention will be given to Detroit’s mid-nineteenth-century Corktown cottage and to a more diverse range of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century worker cottages in Chicago and its environs. The presentation will conclude with morphological analysis of another shotgun-like urban house type, the Prairie-style Chicago bungalow. The range of cottages considered share an elongated
shape and longitudinal orientation to the street, dictated by narrow frontage platting. The ever-growing numbers of worker cottages in many American cities were a response to industrialization and immigration. The Chicago bungalow, as well as other bungalow forms, met the housing needs of Chicago’s expanding middle class.

**Losing Louisiana Artifacts**
*Gerald T. McNeill, Southeastern Louisiana University*

South Louisiana is losing small parts of its unique cultural landscape, especially above-ground tombs in cemeteries and one particular folk housing type. One by one, the tombs and the houses are falling to the ground on their respective landscapes. In New Orleans, the situation of one cemetery has been noted and is now listed on the 2010 World Monuments Fund’s Watch List. This cemetery, St. Louis #2, is located in Treme, one of the old Creole Faubourgs of New Orleans. This listing follows the designation of another cemetery in New Orleans, Lafayette #1, on the WMF Watch List in 1996 due to its advanced state of deterioration. Fortunately, Lafayette #1 was the recipient of grants to improve the cemetery landscape and restore some of the above-ground tombs, but more restoration is necessary. The folk house type fading away is the built-in porch type that was first identified by Dr. Fred Kniffen in the 1930s. Field work in the above-mentioned cemeteries and other south Louisiana cemeteries along with observations of the remaining built-in porch type folk houses visible from the roadways of southern Louisiana shows the immediate need of documentation. But, only some form of quick stabilization followed by restoration will save many of these artifacts. Similar to many places around the country, the problem lies with private ownership. Yes, even many of the above-ground tombs are privately owned, even though they are located in a city burial ground. The privately owned above-ground tombs have to be declared abandoned for a fifty year period before the city will even consider allowing any exterior tomb work to be started by any group or person whom does not own the tomb.

**TELL ME WHAT IT DOES: An Architect’s Plea for More Attention to Function in Analyzing Built Resources.**

Cultural geographers, architectural historians, and architects see the built environment differently. For architects, buildings and their components become architecture when they are both functional and art. Architects see “function” in every aspect of building “form.” Architectural historians have historically treated architecture as a matter of pure aesthetics, categorizing everything by style with little if any reference to function. As both architects and historians ignored vernacular building traditions, cultural geographers stepped into the mix and made them their specialty.

While cultural geographers have access to a tremendous range of information on the functions of the buildings and features they study, they often focus exclusively on form in their analyses. For instance, as important as threshing was in the design of most barns built before machines arrived, the way function and orientation to the wind and fields generates the design of a barn is often overlooked in favor of comparing similar examples and discussing form alone.

I will present an architect’s view of vernacular rural buildings and landscapes, demonstrating the value of a “form follows function” approach. Nineteenth century drawings of farms from county atlases and similar publications will illustrate the presentation. The illustrations contain rich
information on the siting, orientation, and functional issues of agricultural resources, and it can easily be argued that functionality was commonly understood and was on the minds of the illustrators who depicted it so clearly in the drawings they produced.

The vernacular buildings and rural landscapes that cultural geographers study are full of information on functional design. More emphasis on how function generates building form is needed in the literature of cultural geography.

**Forgotten Histories, Misplaced Geographies: Monuments and Memory in a New Hampshire Town**
*Scott C. Roper, Castleton State College*

In 2009, the town of Lyndeborough, New Hampshire, moved its decorative Civil War-era cannon, World War I monument, and combined World War II/Korean War memorial from the village of South Lyndeborough to Lyndeborough Center, a federally recognized historic district. The move, which seems to have been undertaken in part to beautify the center district, created a storm of controversy among the populace of South Lyndeborough, a working-class village located along the former Boston and Maine Railroad. Residents there reasoned that the monuments had “always” been in the village and, therefore, belonged there. Yet at the time, no one in the community could establish the ages or more than general significance of these memorials.

In this paper, I suggest that three conditions existing in 2009 allowed the monuments to be moved: popular images of South Lyndeborough as a working-class landscape rendered it an “illegitimate” New England village; the actual histories of the monuments had been lost to the public; and at both the public and institutional levels, misconceptions existed regarding the status of public land in the village. Only after recovering the monuments’ history and village’s historical geography, and — ironically — only by elevating Lyndeborough Center’s historic status in the public consciousness, could the monuments be returned to the south village with reasonable expectation that they would not be moved again in the foreseeable future.

**An Architectural Genealogy of an American Family**
*Maggie Valentine, University of Texas at San Antonio*

I teach American history through the history of architecture, especially vernacular, since that reveals the more democratic side of history. I have been studying genealogy after discovering some old documents and photographs from my family, but the research can be tedious and the results a long list of begats. This study combines the methodologies of genealogy, oral history, and vernacular architecture as it explores the occupant-built houses lived in by a middle-class family as they set down new roots across frontier America from England to New England to Ohio and the Midwest to Georgia to Arizona and California over the course of three hundred years.

As the family alternately prospered and suffered disappointments, their lives intertwined with others through marriage, war, migration, and religious affiliations. Each generation of homebuilders was responding to a new environment, strong religious beliefs, a changing society, and ideas of home that were shaped by the houses in which they grew up. The form, plan, and style of each house reveal the history of its time and place, and link it with the houses of both the previous and the next generations. The context of place tells of the growth of communities and cities, as each generation moved on and settled in new places, but repeated the pattern of clearing
new land, starting new communities, and seeing their children leave for new places. The houses evolved from English Tudor to New England saltboxes to Midwestern farms to California bungalows, and along the way, included a stop on the Underground Railway, a farmhouse on the National Register, and a sod homestead in Arizona.

**Rootedness in Mobility - Identity, Space and Spatial Relationships in the Nineteenth-Century American West.**

_Nina Vollenbröker, The Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London, UK, 2010 Hubert G.H. Wilhelm Student Research Award Winner_

Across the disciplines which consider human-spatial relationships – anthropology, architecture, geography, philosophy, travel theory etc. – rootedness is defined as the long-term attachment to a single, known and geographically bounded location. The absence of this kind of familiar home-place is seen to result in rootlessness, a condition which threatens relational space and its meaningful inhabitation.

In this paper I question these accepted definitions which tie rootedness to long-term stasis and familiar places. I propose instead that it is possible to be at home in travel and that manifestations of rootedness can not only be found, but are particularly developed and elaborate, amongst migrants who spend extended periods of time in motion.

I am pursuing a Ph.D. in architectural history and theory, but my research, although firmly grounded in my discipline’s discourse, turns to unusual architectural evidence: to manuscript diaries kept by the Overland travellers to California and Oregon (1844-1885), to songs and poetry written by roaming cowboys (1860-1890) and to artefacts created and utilized by the pioneers inhabiting the constantly moving frontier (1840-1880).

I use the textual and artefactual evidence left behind by the transitory inhabitants of the nineteenth-century American West to show that for these travellers feelings of belonging — supposedly only capable of emerging through the static inhabitation of a known home-place — come forward from their unfamiliar surroundings and from the act of continual movement itself. I demonstrate the highly compassionate and complex relationships the migrants develop with their extended environment — with mountains and river’s, with weather and light conditions, with silence and distance — and show how the transitory landscape becomes a place which guards their privacy, nurtures their identity and affords feelings of care, devotion and belonging. I conclude that rootedness requires neither sites which are enclosed and predictable, nor forms of inhabitation which are static and repetitive, but that the sites, the practice and the processes of rootedness can be open, dynamic and multilayered.

The paper stems from a larger work on belonging, home and mobility. Its aim is to challenge our perception of being-at-home and being-on-the-move as mutually exclusive and shows that we can, in fact, find a sense of home, belonging and rootedness in mobility. Acknowledging mobility as a practice which is (and has always been) able to provide meaningful ways of being in space allows us to recognize mobile lifestyles as alternative visions of life as opposed to marginalizing and labeling them as alienated, rootless and spatially destructive.

**Oklahoma Winescapes**

_Jeff Widener, University of Central Oklahoma_
Before 2000, Oklahoma had few winescapes — landscapes comprised of elements unique to wine culture. After the passage of State Question 688, which allowed wineries to self-distribute their products, Oklahomans began witnessing a rural and sometimes urban cultural landscape change. Over the past decade, several wineries and vineyards have opened. Despite Oklahoma’s often fickle weather and the state’s antiquated liquor laws, a unique wine culture has emerged. After conducting extensive field research at over 30 of the 55 registered wineries from 2006 to 2010 and archival research of various sources, I found it evident that these businesses and the citizens and visitors who support this industry have made an impress in state politics, on local and statewide economies, and on Oklahoma’s cultural landscape.
Congratulations to the 2010 award recipients

**Henry H. Douglas Distinguished Service Award**
The Award is named in honor of the founder of the Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts & Landscapes, Mr. Henry H. Douglas, and is given to an individual who has made significant contributions over the years in furthering the Society’s goals through service, teaching, publications, and/or the promotion of historic preservation.

*The recipient was Philippe Oszuscik*, Associate Professor of Art History at the University of South Alabama, Mobile, Alabama.

**Fred B. Kniffen Book Award**
The Fred B. Kniffen Book Award, established in 1989 by PAS: APAL, honors the work of Fred Kniffen, a long-time scholar at Louisiana State University. The Kniffen Award recognizes the best-authored book in the field of North American material culture.

*The recipient was Charles S. Aiken*, Professor Emeritus of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee, for: *William Faulkner and the Southern Landscape*. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2009.

**Allen G. Noble Book Award**
The Allen G. Noble Book Award is given in honor of the scholarship Allen G. Noble contributed to cultural geography. The award recognizes the best-edited book in the field of North American material culture.

*The recipients were Warren R. Hofstra* of Shenandoah University, Winchester, Virginia and *Karl Raitz* of the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, eds., for: *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to the Present*. Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2010.

**PAS:APAL Historic Preservation Award**
The Historic Preservation Award, established in 2000, recognizes the preservation, interpretation, instruction, celebration, or exhibit of American material culture.

*The Historic Preservation Award winner was the Mount Holly Barn Preservation Association* for its outstanding contributions to the recognition and preservation of Vermont heritage and material culture. [http://www.savevermontbarns.org/MHBPA.htm](http://www.savevermontbarns.org/MHBPA.htm).
The Historic Preservation Certificate of Merit recipients were:

1) *The Vermont Division for Historic Preservation* in recognition of its outstanding efforts to preserve, restore, and interpret the Mount Independence State Historic Site of Orwell, Vermont, in conjunction with the Mount Independence Coalition.

http://www.historicvermont.org/mountindependence/

2) *The Mount Independence Coalition* in recognition of its outstanding efforts to preserve, restore, and interpret the Mount Independence State Historic Site of Orwell, Vermont, in conjunction with the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation.

http://www.mountindependence.org/

**Warren E. Roberts Graduate Student Paper Competition Award**
The Warren E. Roberts Graduate Student Paper Competition, established in 2001 in memory of folklife scholar Warren E. Roberts, a longtime PAS: APAL member and former member of the Board of Directors, is an annual competitive award that recognizes excellence in original graduate student fieldwork, documentary research, and writing in the area of traditional North American material culture.

*There was no award presented in 2010.*

**Hubert G. H. Wilhelm Student Research Award**
The Hubert G.H. Wilhelm Student Research Award, established in 2006 in honor of long-time PAS: APAL member, Hubert Wilhelm, a cultural geographer, whose enthusiasm for teaching has had a global impact, is an annual competitive award in the field of American material culture which is open to both undergraduate and graduate students.

*The recipient was doctoral student Nina Vollenbroker* of the Bartlett School of Architecture, University College, London, England, UK, for her paper entitled, "Rootedness in Mobility — Identity, Space and Spatial Relationship in the Nineteen-Century American West.”
Manayunk; A Place of Waterpower, Textile Industry, Gentrification, and “Hollywood”

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Several of the images in this article are multi-part, and are presented here as slideshows. In order to view them properly in this PDF document, you will want to be sure that you are using a recent version of Adobe Reader.

Introduction
The first place that comes to mind for many in relation to water power and textiles is New England, but a similar story can be told for Manayunk, a section of Philadelphia located along the Schuylkill River. In 1819 the Schuylkill Navigation Company completed a 2 mile section of canal to provide better transportation to the anthracite coal fields to the north. This triggered the development of textile mills along the canal to take advantage of the available water power. By the mid-nineteenth century steam engines replaced water as the power source. Manayunk continued to thrive as an industrial area until the mid-twentieth century attracting many diverse groups of migrants. This illustrated paper will provide a brief history of transportation, industry, and demographics of Manayunk. Gentrification, the business revitalization of ‘Main Street,’ adaptive reuse, contested space, boundaries and Hollywood films shot in this neighborhood will also be discussed.

Physical Setting and a Brief History
Roxborough was one of the original townships created by William Penn. Philadelphia County is roughly shaped as a ‘Y’ with Roxborough located in the left upper limb, northwest of the original city set out by Penn (see Figure 1). Philadelphia is located on the ‘Fall Line,’ the point of transition between the relatively flat coastal plain with navigable rivers and the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains. A steep ridge is created by the Schuylkill River and Wissahickon Creek is located here. A well-used Native American trail that starts near the Delaware River and goes in a northwest direction climbs this ridge. Soon after European settlement this trail becomes a turnpike which is now called Ridge Avenue. The top of the ridge was dominated by farms. Grist mills and access roads were soon established along a steep sided ravine carved by the Wissahickon Creek which runs parallel to the old turnpike route and the Schuylkill River.
Figure 1 shows the location of Manayunk in relation to the original townships (and city) in Philadelphia County. Manayunk was originally a subsection of Roxborough Township and became its own entity in 1840 after the rapid development of textile mills. All of Philadelphia County becomes the city of Philadelphia in 1854. Figure 1 is adapted from a figure in Cynthia Shelton’s book “The Mills of Manayunk” by Catherine Brew.

The Schuylkill Navigation Company was established in 1815 (Shank 1960) to improve navigation along the river in order to tap into the agricultural and natural resources (anthracite coal) of the interior. By 1819 a 2 mile section of canal (Figure 2) was completed in Roxborough Township which triggered the development of textile mills along the banks of the river using the available water power to run the looms. This area, first known as Flat Rock, quickly saw the development of more mills, which attracted skilled, and predominantly Protestant, English and Scotch-Irish migrants (Shelton 1986). The town was named for the Native American term used for this area, Manayunk, and was carved out of Roxborough Township in 1840 (Fisher 2006). Manayunk and Roxborough eventually were incorporated into Philadelphia in 1854.
Figure 2 shows several views of the canal and towpath as it exists today in Manayunk. The canal created water power for the development of textile mills along it. The original mills have been torn down and are now used mostly as parking (2a). Other industrial buildings have been turned into loft-style living (2b). One of the remaining buildings has a mural depicting the canal era (2c). All photographs in this article are by the author.

By 1850 steam engines replaced water as the power source for the looms and mills are established away from the canal, throughout Manayunk. Boom periods (for example, the Civil War) and bust periods (early 1890s depression) followed in the textile industry. The first Catholic migrants were from Ireland, but by 1890 the new migrants to Manayunk were from Eastern (mostly Polish) and Southern (mostly Italian) Europe, with each group establishing their own parishes. These parishes exist to this day and in some cases are within sight of each other. A thriving business district was established along ‘Main Street’ to serve this section of the city. It would not be accurate to call Manayunk the ‘Lowell of Pennsylvania’, but it was sometimes referred to the ‘Manchester of America’ (Shelton 1986). For a more in-depth history of the mills and associated labor issues please see Cynthia Shelton’s informative book “The Mills of Manayunk.”

Transportation
In the early 1830s, soon after the completion of the canal, a railroad connecting Manayunk to Philadelphia and Reading was completed (Shelton 1986). This eventually became incorporated into the Reading Railroad and the tracks ran at street level parallel to Main Street on Cresson Street. The railroad was elevated through Manayunk in the 1920s (Figure 3). One of the more interesting remnants of this line is the Shawmont Station (no longer a stop) to the north of Manayunk. The station was built in 1834 and is considered as the oldest railroad station still standing in the United States. An image of the station is provided on the following web site (last checked in June 2011): http://politicalaction.com/philanet/Philadelphia/railroads/
Figure 3 shows the Reading Rail as it exists today. The tracks once ran at street level, but were elevated in the 1920s. The tracks are now used by the Southeast Pennsylvania Transit Authority (SEPTA) as a commuter line that connects Manayunk to Center City Philadelphia and Norristown. A picture of Cresson Street (and other then and now photographs) can be found in the website link (last checked in June 2011): http://wbdocu.blogspot.com/2009/01/manayunk-rephotographed_27.html.

It was not until the 1880s when the Pennsylvania Railroad muscled its way into Manayunk, crossing the river from the west side on a utilitarian iron’s bridge. The line then ran parallel to the Reading Line north to Norristown. The Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR) replaced the iron’s bridge with a concrete arched bridge in 1918 which has subsequently become the main symbol and a landmark for Manayunk. When the Southeaster Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) took over the PRR operations it shut down the stations and stops north of Manayunk. The concrete arched bridge was taken out of service and much of the PRR right-away was converted to a bike path that connects Philadelphia to Valley Forge, with plans for eventual connections to Reading. There are also plans to use the bridge and right-away to connect the bike path with the communities across the river.
**Figure 4** is the arch bridge as seen today. This bridge replaced the original’s bridge in 1918. SEPTA no longer uses the bridge and plans are underway to use it as a bike and hiking trail connecting the suburbs to the existing bike trail that runs from Manayunk to Valley Forge. A web site with an amazing set of photographs from a post card collection is linked below which shows the original’s bridge (last checked in June, 2011):

http://maggieblanck.com/Land/Philly.html.

The canal continued to operate (although much diminished) until 1926 and was used almost exclusively to haul coal from the anthracite region. The remnants of the canal can still be seen in Manayunk (see Figure 5). The ruins of a two tier or double lock system remain at the south end and a two way lock and dam (Flatrock Dam) and the ruins of the lock tender’s house are at the north end. The canal fell into disrepair until it was refurbished in 1979 (Sanders 2002). The towpath is used by hikers, runners, and bicyclists and is part of a larger system of bike paths that have been established in the Philadelphia region. There have been plans to refurbish the locks and connect the canal back to the river, but currently lacks funding to complete.
Figure 5. Figure 5a is the canal just above the remnants of a two-tier lock system. The tow-path runs approximately 2 miles to the next lock system and the Flat Rock Dam. It is used by joggers, strollers and bicyclists (5b). The tow-path and canal were refurbished in 1979 and have been maintained in good condition since.

What’s in a Name?
The name Manayunk was derived from a Lenape Indian term for this location along the river that meant ‘place where we drink’ (Sanders 2002), which made sense then and continues to make sense now for different reasons (see below). The canal created a sliver of land between itself and river which came to be known as Venice Island and was home to textile mills and other industries. Manayunk was such a prominent place that a rail stop on the other side of the river was called West Manayunk, which gave the name to the community that grew there outside the city limits of Philadelphia. When Manayunk fell on hard times and most of the business district and mills shut down, ‘West Manayunk’ was renamed in the early 1950s to ‘Belmont Hills’, the vote winner by a large margin of the residents. Since Belmont means beautiful hill in Italian it can be literally translated to the redundant beautiful hill hills; just don’t call it Manayunk! The details behind the name change makes for an interesting story that implicates James Michener and Albert Barnes. You can find the details through this link (last checked in June 2011):

More Recent History and a Personal Account
By the 1960s the Main Street business district was largely abandoned and the residents needed to go to nearby auto friendly shopping centers located on City Line Avenue and Ridge Avenue to buy necessities. Only a few industries were still operating; a frozen fish processing plant (Mrs. Paul’s), a soap factory, a handful of textile mills, and two paper mills. While the industries were gone the residents were not. The narrow streets crowded with two story worker houses that hugged the steep hills were still occupied. This is the Manayunk that I moved to in 1983.
My move to Manayunk was a practical and aesthetic decision. I was a graduate student at Temple University working summers in a paper mill in Manayunk, and did not have a car. My 8 mile commute to work from the lower northeast side (Kensington) of the city could take up to two hours by bus. The cheap rent, interesting architecture, canal ruins, steep vistas, and ten minute walk to work made it a practical and very interesting place to call home. I called it ‘The Poor Man’s San Francisco’ because of the steep hills. I started a new job in the suburbs and moved out of Manayunk in 1986 to nearby Roxborough, lured by parking and stores within walking distance. I witnessed the transformation of this neighborhood perched on the hill above, similar to the mill owners who built their homes at the crest of the hill to keep an eye on their factories and workers below.

While Manayunk’s fortunes were declining it was the goal of many to move ‘up’ the hill to Roxborough or to the suburbs. It is interesting how boundaries change with economic prosperity, trendiness, and perception. For local realtors the boundaries of Manayunk shrunk until about 20 years ago when Manayunk became a hip and happening place. Now many houses listed well outside the official boundaries are now listed in Manayunk. So in my case I bought my house in Roxborough in 1986 and sold it in Manayunk in 2003.

Gentrification
It was common knowledge while I was living in Manayunk that something was going to happen, but it did not happen quickly. There were weak signals that changes were underway in the 1970s, a few antique stores had opened and closed (Fisher 2006), but not much else that would indicate a major change was coming. Until the mid-1980s Main Street was still dominated by vacant business, building supply firms (see Figure 6), and a handful of surviving bars and sandwich shops that catered to local residents.
It is interesting to look at places that have been gentrified to identify the driving forces behind the revitalization; is it government policy, urban pioneers, or business driven? All three factors can be found in Manayunk, but I think the primary driving force was business. Although the canal was refurbished in 1979 (Sanders 2002) and Main Street was designated as a historic district in 1984 (Fisher, 2006) it is not clear how much immediate effect this had on revitalization efforts. The biggest early investor in Manayunk real estate (and still a major landowner) claimed in an interview that he did not even know that the area had been designated as historic and it had no influence on his decisions to purchase the buildings (Fisher, 2006). Whether you argue whether it was government or business that led to the revitalization of Main Street, the residential areas were still occupied by long-time residents who owned their houses. The business district may have been mostly abandoned, but the residential areas were not. When I lived in Manayunk my immediate neighbors were predominantly long-time residents. There was no significant influx of artists or other ‘urban pioneers’ until much later in the process.

Figure 7 (a through e) shows several views of the Italianate and Queen Anne architecture along Main Street. These structures have a turn of the century charm that many find desirable. In most cases no drastic changes needed to be made for adaptive reuse since they were constructed for business purposes to begin with. Most of the structures had not been altered (modernized) because of the rapid decline of the business district.

There are several factors that made Manayunk attractive to developers and potential business operators; namely aesthetics (adaptive re-use), accessibility, and cost. The buildings on and near Main Street are turn of the century Italianate and Queen Anne styles, constructed of brick and local stone, and for the most part unaltered. The changing whims of taste did not get a chance to alter the
integrity of the buildings; they were like a time capsule of the past. Along with the architectural charm was an urban landscape built on a human scale of 2 to 3 stories that already had a history of businesses at the street level with apartments above. Figure 7 shows several views of the architecture along Main Street. Manayunk has direct connections to many areas by rail and highway. The Schuylkill Expressway is one of the main arteries (albeit a bit clogged much of the time) in Philadelphia that has an on/off ramp just across the river from Manayunk. Along with accessibility Manayunk is closer to affluent suburbs (Main Line Communities) than center city Philadelphia. This provides a near-by upscale+clientele. Real estate values for Manayunk had fallen and remained fairly low until well into the early 1990s. Neil Smith (Smith, 1996) applied the term “rent gap” to describe this situation as the difference in the price of the building (low) compared to its potential worth at a later time (high). As Manayunk became a more popular destination rents went up, but the initial low prices helped attract many new businesses and investors in the early phase of the revitalization process.

With these amenities it was high-end restaurants that led the way with one of the early originals (1987) still there; Jakes (see Figure 8). I would like to think that Jake’s eclectic facade was influenced by relatively long term denizens (1980) of Main Street, the architects Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown (‘Learning from Las Vegas’). Other businesses followed including clothing boutiques, gift shops, hair salons, art dealers, and bars. When the rents increased some of the small businesses could no longer afford the rents. Several chain businesses moved in including The Gap, Bed Bath and Beyond, Banana Republic, and Chico’s. Interestingly many of the chains-stores are now gone; Pottery Barn, Restoration Hardware, and the ubiquitous Starbucks survive. Main Street cannot provide the foot traffic of a shopping mall during normal business hours; plenty of foot traffic can now be found between 10 PM to 3 AM, but many are not looking for furniture, housewares, or clothing!

During period of most of the business district change, the character of the residential district changed little. House prices remained reasonable, many long-time residents remained and turnover was low. Residents did not like the changes taking place and had a long list of grievances including; parking issues, late-night noise, a frat house atmosphere, public drunkenness and urination. This conflict was often between the long-term residents and the younger crowd that was frequenting the many bars and restaurants.
Figure 8. The first upscale restaurant on Main Street was ‘Jaimies’ (1986) which served French Cuisine and was closed by the early 90s. The photo shows ‘Jakes’ which opened in 1987 incorporating an electric menu and façade. Jakes is still open and has recently opened a wine bar and small plate bistro next door called ‘Coopers’.

As the turn of the century approached the number of long-time residents was declining and newer residents were moving in. The U.S. Census statistics for owner occupied housing reflect the change. In 1980 75% of the homes were owner-occupied. In 1990 this fell to 64%. In the core area of Manayunk (Philadelphia Census Tract 214) owner-occupied houses was down to 52% by 2000. The 2010 census data is not available at the time this article was completed, but the 2005-2009 American Community Survey reports an estimated drop of the owner-occupied houses to 45.7%. The change shows long-term residents being replaced by renters. The escalating price of homes have attracted outside investors who have bought properties and converted them to rentals. Another significant driver of change was government policy; a ten year tax abatement for new or significantly remodeled (loft apartments in old industrial buildings) structures. The long-term residents and any interested ‘pioneers’ could not compete with outside investors and their resources. Housing prices escalated significantly up until the 2008 housing bubble.

Yunkers and Yuppies
Temple University Professor Ricki Sanders wrote an article (Sanders 2002) that captured the social conflict between the long-time residents of Manayunk (some who proudly call themselves Yunkers) and the new residents moving in (Yuppies). This change was slow at first, but by the time Professor
Sanders was interviewing residents for the article it was changing rapidly and you can feel the resentment in their statements. A part of this conflict can be seen in the landscape. Figure 9 shows two bars in Manayunk that are just around the corner from each other. The Cresson Inn has a sign that states ‘Where Real Yunkers Drink’ and is the last of the original, pre-gentrification bars left in the business district of Manayunk. YUNKERS is a recent addition that is not for locals, but wants to attract the hip young college students visiting Manayunk. ‘The place we go to drink’ indeed! My favorite bar in the old Manayunk was called the 3rd Base (the place we go to drink before we go ‘home’) where a bartender with a gravelly Tom Waits-like voice named Wayne held court while serving up cheap drafts of beer.

Figure 9 is two different bars in the Manayunk business district. The Cresson Inn (9a) was operating before gentrification and you see on their sign the clientele they cater to. Yunkers (9b) was opened recently catering to a different crowd that now live in the neighborhood.

Jacobs, Lynch, Bike Races, and Hollywood (Oh My)
In 1997 the Philadelphia city council put a five-year moratorium on any new liquor licenses in Manayunk which was used to effectively stop any new restaurants from opening on Main Street (Fisher 2006). The fear was that it would affect the economic health of the business district if every business was a restaurant. Many felt that this was a cynical attempt to stifle competition with
established restaurants occupying properties owned by the largest land-owner (Fisher 2006). Cynical or not, this relates well to the ideas put forth by Jane Jacobs in her book “The Death and Life of Great American Cities” where she argued that a diversity of uses is essential to the vitality of urban neighborhoods. This action has appeared to work and slow down the opening of restaurants and bars, but these businesses still dominate and rely on customers coming from elsewhere. |

*Figure 10* is several photos that show the ubiquitous nature and connection of the landmark bridge to Manayunk. The bridge as ‘gateway’ to Manayunk (10a) closed off for a recent bicycle race. A view of the bridge crossing the canal (10b) with a close-up of the end of the aesthetic maintenance (10c). The bridge incorporated into business signs (10d and e), a high-rise apartment building (10f), and even an ice sculpture (10g) at a recent event.

Many of Kevin Lynch’s concepts about place could be applied to Manayunk. I have already briefly
discussed edges (boundaries) and districts, but the one that stands out the most is the concept of landmarks, which are objects that are easily identified and which serve as well-known reference points (Lynch 1960). The readily identifiable landmark is the concrete arch bridge built by the Pennsylvania Railroad that prominently crosses the Schuylkill River at considerable height (to maintain the level right-away) over and into Manayunk. Not only is this a well-known reference, but where the bridge crosses Main Street it acts as an arched gateway into Manayunk, which according to Lynch, “strengthens a landmark” (Lynch 1960, 81). Many think that this bridge is very old, but it was built to replace a more utilitarian steel girder’s bridge in 1918. Manayunk hosts an art festival every year and a poster is commissioned. It is rare when the poster does not reference the arched bridge in some way. Figure 10 is a collage of photos that indicate the ubiquitous nature of this landmark. Large sums of money have been spent to maintain the outward appearance of this bridge even though it was taken out of service and deemed no longer structurally sound for commuter trains.

Figure 11 shows scenes from the June 2011 Bicycle Race in Manayunk. Riders at the top of the ‘wall’ (11a) and turning off Main Street to start the rigorous climb up the ‘Manayunk Wall’ (11b).

In June 2011 the 27th annual bicycle race was held in Philadelphia. It is a one-day event that covers over 150 miles with 10 laps going through Manayunk. The race has had many different names and sponsors over the years, but the course has not changed. The part of the race in Manayunk has a dramatic hill climb which is referred to as the ‘Manayunk Wall’ for its steepness of grade. I attended the first race in 1985 when I lived in Manayunk (won by Olympic speed skater Eric Heiden) and have only missed two events over the last 26 years. Before he was crowned as the Tour de France winner, Lance Armstrong made a dramatic move on the last lap on ‘the wall’ in 1993 to win the race.
and a large cash bonus. Each year the crowds on Main Street and the wall are large and enthusiastic. Figure 11 has images from the 2011 race.

Figure 12 shows the old mill that was transformed into a set for the movie ‘Beloved’. It is now condominium and loft apartments.

The interesting architecture and setting have attracted three Hollywood productions to film in Manayunk. Oprah Winfrey turned one of the old mills (see Figure 12) into an outdoor set for the movie ‘Beloved’ (1998). M. Night Shyamalan shot a dramatic scene on one of the many sets of steps (Figure 13) that connect Roxborough and Manayunk in the movie ‘Unbreakable’ (2000). Several scenes were shot around the Dobson Grade School for the movie ‘Fallen’ (1998).
Figure 13. Figure 13 (a and b) shows two of the many sets of steps that connect Manayunk with Roxborough. This part of the hill is so steep that only a hand-full of streets climb the hill from the bottom up leaving many streets connected by steps.

Closing Time

The ‘Hollywood’ stage was short and appears to be over, but Manayunk continues to change. While proximity to an upscale market (Main Line) within easy driving distance was an important early factor in the revitalization of Main Street, and the commuter rail connection to center city
Philadelphia and major universities (Temple, Drexel, and Penn) has been a big component of the more recent housing and residential change. The new housing, sparked by a city-wide 10 year property tax abatement, rapidly filled in empty spaces (slowed after the 2008 housing bubble crises) bring change to both the physical (style and scale; see Figure 14) and social fabric of Manayunk. Renters and college students bring a different perspective to a neighborhood than long-time residents that own their houses. It will be interesting what the future brings. Will the end of the tax abatement slow the changes or will an improved economy continue the trends? What effects will a more transient (college student renters) have on this neighborhood? What businesses will survive on Main Street?

Figure 14. (a through c) A series of photos showing the new housing recently built in Manayunk. Note how often this new housing changes the feel and scale of the smaller former worker housing surrounding it.

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Disappearing Cheese Factories in America’s Dairyland

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The number of Wisconsin farms with milk cows fell by over 90,000 during the past fifty years (Cross 2001, WASS 2010). This drop, together with the rise in mega-dairy operations where many hundreds to thousands of cows are housed in free-stall barns, has resulted in tremendous changes to the state’s dairy farming landscape. Not only did Wisconsin lose eighty-seven percent of its dairy farms over the past half century, but the state lost most of its cheese factories. In 1920 Wisconsin had 2,771 cheese factories (Ebling et al. 1931). Their number peaked two years later, when 2,807 cheese factories were counted. By 1960 that number had fallen to 808, and now only 126 cheese factories are operating (WDATCP 2009). The state has also lost most of its creameries and condenseries, but this paper focuses upon the cheese factory because they were so much more prominent upon Wisconsin’s dairy landscape.

Three-quarters of a century ago the crossroads cheese factory dotted Wisconsin’s rural farming landscape. The presence of these cheese factories was particularly common within those parts of the state that were too distant from the Chicago and Milwaukee metropolitan areas to ship their milk for its consumption in fluid form. Furthermore, cheese factories shipped a far less perishable product, and thus could be profitably operated at localities not along railroads. At the time the Wisconsin Crop Reporting Service prepared its bulletin on Wisconsin Dairying and mapped dairy farms (Ebling et al. 1939), the preponderance of dairy farms in southeastern Wisconsin were producing milk for the urban market. Those dairy farms within southwestern, east central, and northeast Wisconsin, as well as those located in the southern part of the North Central Wisconsin agricultural reporting district, particularly the swath across Marathon and Clark counties, focused upon sending their milk to cheese factories. Those dairy farms within west central Wisconsin relied more heavily upon creameries as a destination where their milk was converted into butter.
Cheese factories were once densely distributed across several milk producing areas of Wisconsin, as shown in this map published by the Wisconsin Crop Reporting Service in 1938 (Figure 1), when Wisconsin had 1,917 factories operating. The early cheese factories, which required less milk to operate than either a creamery or condensory, were dependent upon a supply of fresh milk that was initially delivered by horse and buggy, “sharply restrict[ing] the radius of milk procurement...when efficient means of refrigeration were lacking”; (Lewthwaite 1964: 104). As Glenn Trewartha (1926:305) explained eighty-five years ago, “[t]he rugged and much dissected driftless territory of southwestern Dane, eastern Iowa and La Fayette (sic), and western Green counties, with its poorer rail and highway service, has remained the stronghold of the small cross-roads cheese factory.” Indeed, when Trewartha described Green County’s cheese industry, that county averaged one cheese factory for each four square miles of its land area.

At the time of their peak numbers, during the early to mid 1920s, ten counties each had over one hundred operating cheese factories (Ebling et al. 1931). Although Marathon County counted 157 cheese factories in 1922, not surprising given its status as the state’s largest county, smaller Dodge County had 170 cheese factories that year, down from its high of 178 in 1918. Green County had 213
cheese factories in 1910, and its number still exceeded 150 in the early 1920s (Ebling et al. 1931). Other counties that had at least one hundred cheese factories at their peak included Clark County in north central Wisconsin, Fond du Lac, Manitowoc, and Sheboygan Counties in east central Wisconsin, and Iowa and Lafayette Counties in southwest Wisconsin.

Figure 2. Spatial distribution of large and small cheese factories in Wisconsin in 2009. Map prepared by author.

Figure 3. Union Star Cheese Factory in Zittau, Town of Wolf River, Winnebago County. This cheese factory was built in 1904.

Today, not only does Wisconsin have far fewer cheese factories, but Wisconsin’s dominant role in the nation’s cheese production has fallen. While the state produced sixty-three percent of the nation’s cheese in 1929 (Ebling et al. 1931), that share has now fallen to just over twenty-five
percent (NASS 2010). Although some relatively small family-operated cheese factories remain in business, most of Wisconsin’s cheese production now comes from industrial-sized operations (Figure 2). These larger factories are scattered across the same general areas where most of the smaller operations are found, although the smaller operations appear slightly more frequently in portions of southwestern and west central Wisconsin.

![Figure 4. Salemville Cheese Factory in Town of Manchester, Green Lake County. This factory was purchased by the Amish to provide a market for their milk which is transported in ten gallon cans.](image)

Only twenty-six percent of Wisconsin’s cheese factories in 2009 were categorized as manufacturing under one million pounds of dairy products per year. Examples of such smaller factories include the Union Star Cheese factory (Figure 3) in the Winnebago County hamlet of Zittau, and the Amish operated Salemville Cheese Factory (Figure 4) in Green Lake County, which receives its milk supplies in ten gallon cans. However, many of the relatively small cheese factories, such as the Sartori Artisan Cheese in Linden, Iowa County (Figure 5), the Chalet Cheese Co-op’s factory north of Monroe in Green County, and the Nasonville Dairy cheese factory in Wood County produce over one million pounds a year.
Figure 5. Glacier Point Artisan Cheese Factory, operated by Sartori Artisan Cheese in the village of Linden, Iowa County. This relatively small factory processes over one million pounds of milk a year.

Other rural plants are far larger, including the Saputo Cheese factory in Fond du Lac County’s Town of Alto, the Lynn Dairy factory in Clark County, which serves a large population of both Amish and other dairy farmers, the Associated Milk Producers’ cheese factory in Jim Falls, Chippewa County, and the Land O Lakes factory in Kiel, Calumet County. While a few large cheese factories are located in metropolitan areas, the rural siting of Wisconsin’s cheese factories is clearly evident. Of the state’s ten largest cities, only two — Green Bay and Appleton — have commercial cheese factories, with the small Babcock Hall facility in Madison being located on the campus of the University of Wisconsin and operated by that institution’s College of Agriculture.

The remainder of this paper focuses upon describing the changing role of those former factories — almost all of which are located in rural areas — that once helped define Wisconsin’s dairy landscape. Many former cheese factories, including the state’s first, established in 1864 at Ladoga in Fond du Lac county (Ebling, et al. 1939), have simply been erased from the landscape. Indeed, no modern state historical marker commemorates the first cheese factory, although a small bronze plaque attached to a boulder was placed at its site in 1927 by the nearby Rosendale Men’s Club. It remains, now surrounded by flowers in a farmyard. The author has witnessed the loss of some former cheese factories, such as the one shown in Figure 6 that was falling into ruin when photographed a decade ago east of Bonduel in Shawano County. Now the adjacent field has been expanded to the intersection of the two rural roads. Others, such as the Brookside Creamery just west of Augusta in Eau Claire County produced cheese from the milk of nearby Amish farmers until 2009, but now some of the milk tanks have been ripped from the side of the building and the facility operates only as a milk receiving station, from where milk is shipped to another factory. Still other facilities, such as Laack’s Cheese factory in Brown County, remain in cheese related businesses, now producing cheese spreads and cutting and wrapping cheeses produced elsewhere, but not operating as a cheese factory. However, now it is far more common that surviving former cheese factories have uses unconnected with the dairy industry.
Figure 6. Ruins of a cheese factory in Town of Angelica, Shawano County, photographed in August, 1998.

Figure 7. Former cheese factory within Town of Burnett, Dodge County that is currently being used as a residence.

Of those former cheese factories still standing, the most common current usage is residential, such as a former cheese factory (Figure 7) north of Burnett in Dodge County. Among the 204 cheese factories listed on the Wisconsin Historical Society’s (2010) “Architecture and History Inventory,” over a third had undefined uses at the time of their listing, with the earliest listings dating to the 1970s. When listed, thirty-eight were then operating cheese factories, of which only fourteen now remain in business as cheese factories. When placed on the Historical Society’s inventory, fifty-eight former cheese factory buildings were clearly being used for housing. Undoubtedly many of the seventy-six structures whose contemporary use was undefined were also being used as residences.
Several structures were described in the historical society listing as having gone through a series of uses — such as first as a cheese factory, then as a tavern, before finally being adapted for residential use. Other inventoried usages for former cheese factories included retail stores, offices, farm buildings, storage facilities, as well as single examples serving as an apiary, an art gallery, a stable, a workshop, and a town hall. Inclusion in the inventory is highly influenced by the county of its location, with some counties, such as Dodge and Fond du Lac which at one time had large numbers of cheese factories, now having few, if any, included in the inventory. Although the listing is spatially biased and often outdated, it provides a hint of the changes that are sweeping Wisconsin’s rural dairyland. Furthermore, while the State Historical Society’s inventory noted that several former cheese factories were in ruins, the author’s attempt to locate just a small subsample of listed standing structures verified that several had disappeared, providing further evidence of the loss of the once common “icon of Wisconsin’s dairy industry.

In several counties detailed inventories of cheese factories have been made. When the Lafayette County Historical Society attempted to inventory that county’s 171 current and former cheese factories (Ronnerud and Halfen 2004), they discovered that forty-three were either in ruins or were “gone.” In addition, thirty-eight were listed as having an “unknown” status, given that their exact locations were likewise unknown. As with the State Historical Society’s state-wide inventory, the most common usage of Lafayette County’s former cheese factories was residential, accounting for fifty-eight percent of those for which current usage information was available. The Iowa County Historical Society (2009) also undertook an inventory and detailed history of all 182 of the cheese factories that had operated in that county since the 1879. Only six cheese factories producing cheese from cow’s milk remained in operation plus one farm factory making Chevre from goats milk. Most (sixty-five percent) of the former cheese factories had disappeared from the landscape and an additional six percent of the structures were either abandoned or in ruins. Of Iowa County’s remaining former cheese factories, eighty-three percent of those still standing were being used as private residences. The Sheboygan County Historical Society published its history of that county’s 210 cheese factories nearly two decades ago, at which time fifty-three percent of the factories had already disappeared (Fisher 1992). At the time of the study forty-seven of the former cheese factories were used as residences, with three being listed as apartment buildings. While seven of the cheese factories were still making cheese, and another six were either processing cheese or other dairy products, currently only four Sheboygan County cheese factories remain open (WDATCP 2009). Thus, in all three counties where detailed inventories had been prepared, most of the former cheese factories that remain standing are now used for housing or storage.
Many of those former cheese factories that remain on the landscape display several architectural clues to their former usage. They are often conspicuous by the presence of the large chimney located in that portion of the structure where the boiler was once located. This is clearly seen in this example of a former cheese factory nestled in a valley southeast of Postville in Green County (Figure 8) and in another near Eldorado in Fond du Lac County (Figure 9). The cheese factory was often located at one end of a structure which often had a residential area at its opposite end, or manufacturing took place on the ground floor with a residential area above. Thus, within many former cheese factories the residential section continues in the same position as before, with the site of the factory being used for storage or as a garage. Some former cheese factories, such as this one (Figure 10) near Verona in Dane County, underwent considerable remodeling as they were converted into a residence, yet its large chimney remains to remind the viewer of its past history.
The adoption of industrial cheese-making processes and faster transport have had a substantial impact on the viability of Wisconsin’s crossroads cheese factories. Although most of the over 2,800 cheese factories that once served the Wisconsin dairy industry have long ceased receiving milk, many remain a visible part of the landscape, although their uses have changed. The significant role that cheese factories played in their communities, such as that filled by the former Tonet Cheese Factory in the Belgian settlement area northeast of Green Bay, remains largely unheralded.
However not all of the news is bad: within the small village of Hustler in Juneau County the former cheese factory, now sporting a fresh coat of paint, is being converted into an agricultural museum with financial support from the U.S.D.A.’s rural development agency. The small rural cheese factories that once operated throughout Wisconsin are now largely a part of the past, yet they played a key role in shaping the landscape of America’s dairyland and it is important to both recognize and preserve this vanishing landscape.

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The end of the federal tobacco price support system and an extended influx of retirees and lifestyle refugees have dramatically transformed East Tennessee during the past two decades. At the same time these changes were altering the region, government officials advanced plans to transform U.S. Highway 321 through Greene and Cocke counties from a winding, narrow two-lane road into a four-lane divided highway with 12-foot traffic lanes and shoulders, a 48-foot depressed median, and a minimum 250-foot right-of-way.

In addition to improving the transportation corridor connecting Johnson City and Pigeon Forge near Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the highway was planned to boost the regional economy by expanding the tax base as new businesses and industry relocated to the road. Although limited commercial development has accompanied road construction to this point, changing agricultural land uses astride the road are notable. Where tobacco patches once dotted the landscape, family farmers graze cows and cut hay several times per year. Although several observers recently suggested that the amount of tobacco grown in the region has stabilized, fewer farmers are planting the crop. Large tobacco fields, instead of the historically smaller patches, now infrequently dot the East Tennessee landscape.

In-migration, economic development, and agricultural changes are remaking East Tennessee, threatening the historic cultural landscape of the region. Although many long-time residents remain dissatisfied by these changes, little can be done to stop progress. As similar processes transform rural and small town geographies throughout the Mountain West, Desert Southwest, and Upland South it is worth remembering what the past landscapes of East Tennessee were like while observing what they are becoming.
Figure 1. This unusually large burley tobacco field was located in Greene County in the mid-1990s. Due to the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, farmers with tobacco quotas were guaranteed minimum payments per pound. Before the end of federal price supports for tobacco in 2004, hillside patches were a common landscape feature in the undulating Great Valley of East Tennessee. Photo by author, 1995.

Figure 2. U.S. Highway 321 winds through Greene County before construction transformed the roadway. The narrow old road extended commute times while several notorious sharp curves were common accident locations. Photo by author, 2001.
Figure 3. New housing on acreage tracks began appearing in East Tennessee in the mid-1990s. Retirees, lifestyle refugees, and seasonal residents were drawn to the region by dramatic mountain views, moderate climate, and inexpensive cost of living from East Coast states like New Jersey, New York, and Florida. Increasing demand for real estate increased land prices and encouraged the subdivision of farms, like this one in Cocke County. Photo by author, 2003.

Figure 4. Construction crews work on a nearly-complete section of the U.S. 321 in Cocke County. Engineers designed the four-lane, divided roadway to handle 40,000 vehicles a day at high speeds. Current traffic rates are close to 4,000 cars per day. Photo by author, 2010.
Figure 5. Corn, alfalfa, and soybeans have replaced tobacco after the conclusion of federal price supports. Some farmers, like this operator in Greene County, have increased their non-farm employment and only harvest hay several times per year. Photo by author, 2010.

Figure 6. This large tobacco field in Cocke County is one of the limited number remaining in the county. The number of tobacco farms in neighboring Greene County has dropped from 1,600 in the late 1990s to as few as 50 today. Photo by author, 2010.
Figure 7. The construction and realignment of U.S. 321 has isolated many businesses on the old road. A Marathon gas station near Parrottsville in Cocke County attempts to lure travelers off the new road for gas and beer. Photo by author, 2010.

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Fred Kniffen formulated the concept of “house type,” developed a methodology for field study, and legitimized dwellings as significant material culture artifacts worthy of scholarly attention. Cultural geographers and folk-life scholars who subsequently have followed Fed Kniffen’s lead in their study of American vernacular architecture have largely overlooked or ignored the Worker Cottage, a nineteenth-century house type most numerous in the industrial cities of the Great Lakes region (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Prototype façade of a “working class” cottage, a dwelling promoted by pattern books in the 1840s and 1850s. These worker cottages were designed to accommodate to narrow urban lots. (McMillan 1987).

The methodology by which Kniffen identified house types was based on morphological analysis of dwelling features. He argued that colonial and many nineteenth-century vernacular buildings are
artifacts associated with the traditional material cultures of various culture groups. His purpose was to identify regionally distinct American house forms, and explain these regionalisms in terms of the migrations of peoples bearing distinct sets of traditional cultural practices. According to Kniffen, traditional eighteenth- and nineteenth-century house types have best survived in rural areas and country towns not overwhelmed by the cosmopolitan ways of big cities. A rural bias, consequently, is built into Kniffen’s methodology, and his association of house types with material culture traditions explains why Kniffen and subsequent cultural geographers and folklife scholars interested in vernacular architecture, have largely ignored urban dwellings.

But there are reasons other than material culture associations to study dwellings as landscape objects. To paraphrase an observation by Pierce Lewis (1979) when we see changes taking place in the cultural landscape, it suggests to us that the culture is changing. For instance, when new house forms suddenly appear on the scene and old forms cease being built, something is going on in the cultural fabric.

Figure 2. A worker cottage with front-facing gable of the type built in Chicago from the great fire in 1871 until the advent of bungalows early in the twentieth century (Jennifer Roche April 27, 2007).
The appearance of a new house type, the Worker Cottage, during the second half of the nineteenth century was emblematic of dramatic cultural and social changes taking place in America during that period (Figure 2). The nineteenth-century industrial revolution brought tremendous and ongoing changes to the cultural landscape of cities, one of which was construction of whole neighborhoods of inexpensive worker housing to provide shelter for factory laborers and their families. Early industrialization was centered in New England. Initially textile mill owners tried to provide housing for their workers, but this task soon devolved to speculative real estate developers. New housing forms like the Three-Decker tenement emerged to provide multiple-unit housing in many of the mill towns in New England. As industrialization spread to other parts of the country, the provision of urban worker housing yielded regionally distinct streetscapes. Row houses and half-a-double units (McLennan 2000) comprised other forms of worker housing, particularly in the Philadelphia – Baltimore – Pittsburgh triangle (Figure 3). Another house type, the Shotgun, was introduced into New Orleans at the beginning of the nineteenth century and diffused northward up the Mississippi into the Ohio River Valley (Figure 4).
Figure 4. Shotguns in a working-class neighborhood, Louisville, Kentucky (author).

A number of years ago one of my students claimed that she had stumbled across some Shotgun houses in Detroit. What she actually had seen was a similar-looking narrow single-family dwelling type locally called a “Corktown Cottage.” By the 1840s Detroit was easily accessible from the East by the Erie Canal and was undergoing rapid growth. Irish immigrants settled in what came to be called Corktown near the downtown riverfront. Initially they were accommodated in boarding houses and tenements. By the 1850s, the locally famous Corktown Cottages began to provide an alternative to the tenements (Figure 5).
At first glance a Corktown Cottage does look like a Side-Hall Shotgun. A number of years ago, the *Old House Journal* published a small feature about these Detroit cottages and provided a representative floor plan (Palmer 1995). Although narrow, this cottage type accommodates two files of rooms (Fig 6). Their construction coincided with the publication in America of pattern books promoting cottage residences for “the working man.” Concurrently, traditional heavy brick or stone fireplaces were giving way to stoves, and post-and-beam framing was evolving into lighter braced-frame and then balloon-frame construction. All of these developments simplified labor requirements for building a house and met the needs of functionality and economy. In terms of morphology they represented a complete break with traditional cultural norms.
Figure 6. Floor plan of a Corktown Cottage. The width of the cottage accommodates one wide and one narrow room standing side by side. In other examples, the narrow bedrooms align directly behind the hall vestibule and the wide rooms are located one behind the other (Palmer 1995).

Prior to making an exploratory trip to Corktown, I initiated an internet-search for the “Corktown Cottage.” When I switched from a textural to an image search, I encountered morphologically identical dwellings called “worker cottages” ranging in location from Buffalo, New York, to Minneapolis, Minnesota. These images were particularly numerous for Chicago, where they are referred to as a specific house type called a “Worker Cottage” (Figure 7). The reality is that Detroit’s Corktown Cottage simply carries a local name for a widely distributed urban house type.
Turning to the literature for Worker Cottages, I found Joseph C. Bigott’s *From Cottage to Bungalow; Houses and the Working Class in Metropolitan Chicago, 1869-1929* particularly enlightening. Using Kniffen’s morphological descriptors, we can define the Worker Cottage as a narrow rectangular-shaped dwelling, longitudinal in orientation with a two or three-bay gabled façade, two to three rooms in depth (a four to six room plan), and a height of one to one-and-a-half stories. Designed for a lot of 25-foot frontage, the cottage is two rooms in width, one narrow, the other more fully proportioned, with an average facade width of twenty feet (Figures 1 and 8). A raised basement is also common. Figure 9 depicts a representative Worker Cottage floor plan.
Figure 8. After the Great Chicago Fire, many Worker Cottages were constructed of brick. This example, located on North Hoyne Street, was built circa 1890 (Urban Real Estate n.d.).

Figure 9. Floor plan for a Worker Cottage from the 1870 “Illustrated Catalogue: Lyman Bridges Building Materials & Ready-Made Houses,” reprinted in Bigott (44).

The rapid multiplication of Worker cottages in Chicago and its surrounding factory suburbs is associated with the city’s rise as a major focus of post-Civil War industrialization (Figure 10). Many industrial employers recruited laborers from abroad. This is illustrated by an 1883 broadside advertising the availability of “handsome brick cottages in Chicago,” which was printed with both English and German text (Figure 11, Chicago Historical Society 1883).
Figure 10. An unidentified Chicago neighborhood of wood-frame Worker Cottages, circa 1910 (Chicago Historical Society ICHi-00855, gift of United Charities, reprinted in Prosser 1981).
My Internet image search for “worker cottage” turned up dwellings of a variety of shapes and sizes. One has to make a case-by-case evaluation as to when the term is used as a simple descriptor (i.e., housing for blue-collar workers), and when it is intended as a more specific typological identifier. I found that when used as a typological designator, most of the examples were limited in geographic distribution to the Great Lakes portion of the old industrial belt, the region often referred to as
A Worker Cottage in Buffalo, New York, is depicted in 1887 and again in 2007 (Figure 12). Surviving Worker Cottages may be found in industrial cities and towns all across northern Ohio in such places as Cleveland, Akron, and Toledo. In the latter city, most of the Worker Cottages are the typical gable-front one-and-a-half cottages previously described, but five cottages in the Hungarian neighborhood of Birmingham have two oversized archways, serving as a corner entry (Figure 13). The same round arch entries are found in Hungary (Ligibel n.d.). In Detroit Worker Cottages are not limited to Corktown. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, in the “Old West Side” German ethnic neighborhood, Murray Court is lined with Worker Cottages (Figure 14). Despite the Irish-sounding street name, the Old West Side is the historic German quarter of town. Breweries, wagon manufactories, and foundries were once located nearby. Worker Cottages of similar morphology were also constructed in Fort Wayne, Indiana, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Minneapolis, Minnesota (Figure 15).
By way of contrast, the southern portion of the old industrial belt, from Pittsburgh southward in the Ohio River Valley to Cincinnati and beyond, nineteenth-century industrial workers were housed primarily in row house tenements, reflecting Philadelphia - Baltimore Middle Atlantic influences (Figure 16). Although the housing built for factory workers throughout the industrial belt was mainly provided by real estate developers, and consequently not reflective of old housing traditions, it is remarkable that the worker cottage – row house distributional divide approximates the cultural boundary between New England Extended and what we might call “Middle Atlantic Extended.”
For the remainder of the nineteenth century, the Worker Cottage followed the “lumber-mill frontier” westward where it was sometimes utilized, especially in mining towns. In the Great Lakes region, the core area for the type, the Worker Cottage enjoyed a period of modernizing embellishment such as Queen Anne flourishes during the final years of the century. Then early in the twentieth century, the economic prosperity that followed in the aftermath of World War I brought with it a new house form, the Bungalow, for blue- and white-collar workers alike and quite suddenly the era of the Worker Cottage was over.3

In conclusion, because of its regionally significant distribution throughout the cities and towns of the Great Lakes region, the Worker Cottage needs to be added to the list of morphologically defined house types. It is a regionally manifested artifact of the industrial revolution, and is “important because it should be considered one of the first forms of fully industrialized housing for working-class Americans” (Kowsky n.d.)

Although seemingly well known to urban historians and geographers, amateur urban architectural enthusiasts and some informed realtors located in the Great Lakes region, we cultural geographers have largely overlooked the Worker Cottage in our typological overviews of vernacular house types. To a surprising extent, even urban historians from outside the Great Lakes region have ignored the Worker Cottage. For instance, Christine Hunter, in her otherwise very informative book length overview of American homes from colonial times to the present, in discussing new forms of single-family houses, jumps straight from Shotguns to Bungalows, making only a one paragraph reference to commercial developers erecting basic shelters for immigrants (142). These “basic shelters” are neither named nor described.

Finally, I believe that the cities and the industrial suburbs of the Great Lakes region comprise the...
innovative hearth for the development and utilization of the Worker Cottage and that it remains the core area where the bulk of such structures are to be found. My suggestion that the Worker Cottage is, to a large extent, a regional urban house type requires further verification through “eyes on the ground” fieldwork.

References


Endnotes
1 Kniffen’s methodology is explained in “Louisiana House Types.” His presidential address to the Association of American Geographers “Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion,” comprises the groundbreaking call to arms for geographers to involve themselves in regional house-type studies. [Return to text]

2 Bigott and other Chicago-based scholars group two and two-and-a-half story upright houses in the Worker Cottage category. Although these houses have traditionally housed a working population, because of their greater scale and the ease with which they can be confused with two-family flats, I prefer to categorize the two-story houses as the “Upright” house type. This is analogous to the distinction commonly made between the I-House and the I-Cottage. The term “Upright” is derived from the “Upright-and-Wing House.” [Return to text]

3 In my presentation of this paper in Castleton, Vermont, I compared the respective morphologies of the Shotgun,
Worker Cottage and the Chicago Bungalow. In this paper I have narrowed the focus to the Worker Cottage.
Curt Teich Card 6A-H959: A Fact Broadcast in a Sea of Imagination

Keith A. Sculle

Popular histories customarily abound with postcard images. They bear proof that certain places — often individual buildings — existed and had certain architectural features. They help viewers pause in the written text of abstractions to live vicariously in the very time and at the site of the building shown.

Postcards can sometimes also serve as the most accessible fact of a particular building’s very existence in scholarly history’s effort, less to entertain, than to build an enduring record. Postcards’ relative advantages to popular and scholarly audiences came home again in my on-going interest about Vincennes, Indiana.

Figure 1.

Maurice Thompson (1844-1901), an Indiana writer had his most popular work, Alice of Old Vincennes (1900), published a few months before he died. He wrote in the tradition of local color, a genre in the late-nineteenth century that brought regions to life in print by utilizing local figures and local speech, customs, and physical geography. He understood small town Vincennes’ earlier importance, in the eighteenth century, to the competition for European colonial empire in North America and America’s own expanding empire when George Rogers Clark wrested control of it from the British in 1779. Alice Roussillon was the novel’s heroine. Born of an old and distinguished English colonial family and raised among Native Americans, French trader Gaspard Roussillon adopted her at age twelve. She became instrumental in Clark’s conquest and fell in love with one of his officers. A heroine, the West, and the American Revolutionary War era — many ingredients were blended for a winsome and heroic tale. Or, as the publisher explained to readers, “the history and romance will, it is hoped, make a vivid and authentic impression . . . which must forever be kept sacred . . . .” Which was it? Fact or fiction?
Alice of Old Vincennes emerged from Thompson’s literary talents turned on a dreamy-eyed cast of mind. M. Placide Valcour, a descendant of an early French family in America, introduced Thompson to a genuine colonial document that engaged him. Thompson made more of it than there was. At the time of the introduction, Thompson was at Valcour’s house on the Louisiana Gulf Coast and mining his host’s knowledge of the French in early America when his host showed him a letter by Gaspard Rouissillon. It catalyzed the factual researcher turned novelist. In Thompson’s dedication of Alice of Old Vincennes, “a mildewed relic of the year 1788, which you so kindly permitted me to copy, as far as it remained legible, was the point from which my imagination, accompanied by my curiosity, set out upon a long and delightful quest.” Valcour’s own considerable talents (he held an M. D., Ph. D., and LL. D) turned to both literature and science. But, as Thompson recalled, “You laughed at me when I became enthusiastic regarding the possible historic importance of that ancient and, alas! fragmentary epistle . . . .” While Valcour’s scientific sense saw limitations in the document, Thompson’s literary preference thrust him toward its possibilities.
Firm fact or misty fantasy — which would prevail? After finishing his writing, the novelist dwelled on the two opposing viewpoints. The last paragraph of Thompson’s introduction to Valcour: “Accept, then, this book, which to those who came only for history will seem but an idle romance, while to the lovers of romance it may look strangely like the mustiest history.”

French architecture survived in Vincennes long after the American majority prevailed. These buildings were enduring facts. Whereas, the novel’s publisher wanted the history remembered, Vincennes cared less at the time if historical buildings served that mission. At the turn of the twentieth century, Vincennes was no longer a center in the fur trade but a center in an industrializing nation’s agricultural heartland. On the second page of his book, Thompson grounded his introduction on known landmarks. These were a cherry tree that once was a reference point for locating Roussillon’s house, and, at the novel’s writing, the Catholic church. Thompson conjured Vincennes’ visage at the time of his writing. “The new town flourishes notably and its appearance marks the latest limits of progress. Electric cars in its streets, electric lights in its beautiful houses, the roar of railway trains coming and going in all directions, bicycles whirling hither and thither, from brougham to pony-phaeton . . . .” By current standards, early architectural survivals would be cherished landmarks, ballast amidst swirling modernity. A few towns in Thompson’s time realized the potential of adding historical landmarks gilded by regional novels to their burgeoning economy. Ramona was an asset which San Diego’s boosters allied to their cause. Shepherd of the Hills likewise benefitted those re-inventing southwest Missouri as an Ozarks paradise with Branson at its center. In 1907, however, Vincennes witnessed, in the Vincennes Commercial’s words, “Two more Old French Houses Torn Down to Make Room for Modern Dwellings.” Gain, not loss characterized these events: “Thus, the old landmarks of the old town are giving way to the more modern needs of our progressive city,” the newspaper boasted. One of these houses local tradition attributed to be “The Home of Alice of Old Vincennes.”

Fact and fiction had gone separate ways in Vincennes. Perhaps the people of the town reasoned that, since Alice never existed except in print, why grieve the loss of a house said to have been hers?
Progress-oriented people celebrated economic growth and, if no significant outpouring of lament about the building could be sensed, Vincennes still enjoyed the novel. Former President Grover Cleveland asked about the novel when, shortly after its publication, he visited Vincennes. This likely flattered the citizenry. Historian Brian Spangle has noted that, in 1902, the town enjoyed a play based on the novel.

![GREETINGS FROM VINCENNES INDIANA](image)

**Figure 4.**

However, what we are most aware of now is Curt Teich postcard 6A-H959 (figure 1) of the building alleged to have been “The Original Site of the Home of ‘Alice of Old Vincennes’.” (Curt Teich was one of the largest postcard producers.) At least three other postcards showing a different building (wooden, not brick) are known (figure 2) and, two recent pictorial histories hold that it was the “supposed” home of the “fictitious” heroine of the novel. Alternatively, the Curt Teich version asserts that the brick house shown on their card was the site of the original home. The edge of this card carried the note, “Selected by Author;” this likely implied primacy among rival postcard claims. Curt Teich archival records include the name “A. A. Arnold, Vincennes” on the back of the image. It and several other Curt Teich postcards (figure 3 and 4) are likely the work of Allie A. Arnold (1889–1971). He was not only active in local politics, holding the office of City Clerk, County Clerk, and County Assessor. His enthusiasm for things local also inspired him to write newspaper columns and host a radio show, the latter of a retrospective or historical nature. Curt Teich published the card at the height of historical appreciation surrounding dedication in 1936 of the George Rogers Clark Memorial on the banks of the Wabash River at Vincennes’s western edge. F. W. Woolworth probably ordered the postcard as one of a series, offers Debra Gust of the Curt Teich Archives. More people probably still know of the Curt Teich version than the wooden building depicted on the other postcards because of Curt Teich’s mass printing and Woolworth’s voluminous sales. Thus, was broadcast a bit of fact underlying a nearly forgotten fiction about the *Alice of Old Vincennes*.

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